







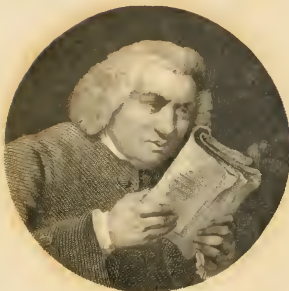
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BOSWELL'S
LIFE OF JOHNSON,

EDITED BY

The Right Hon^{ble} John Wilson Croker.

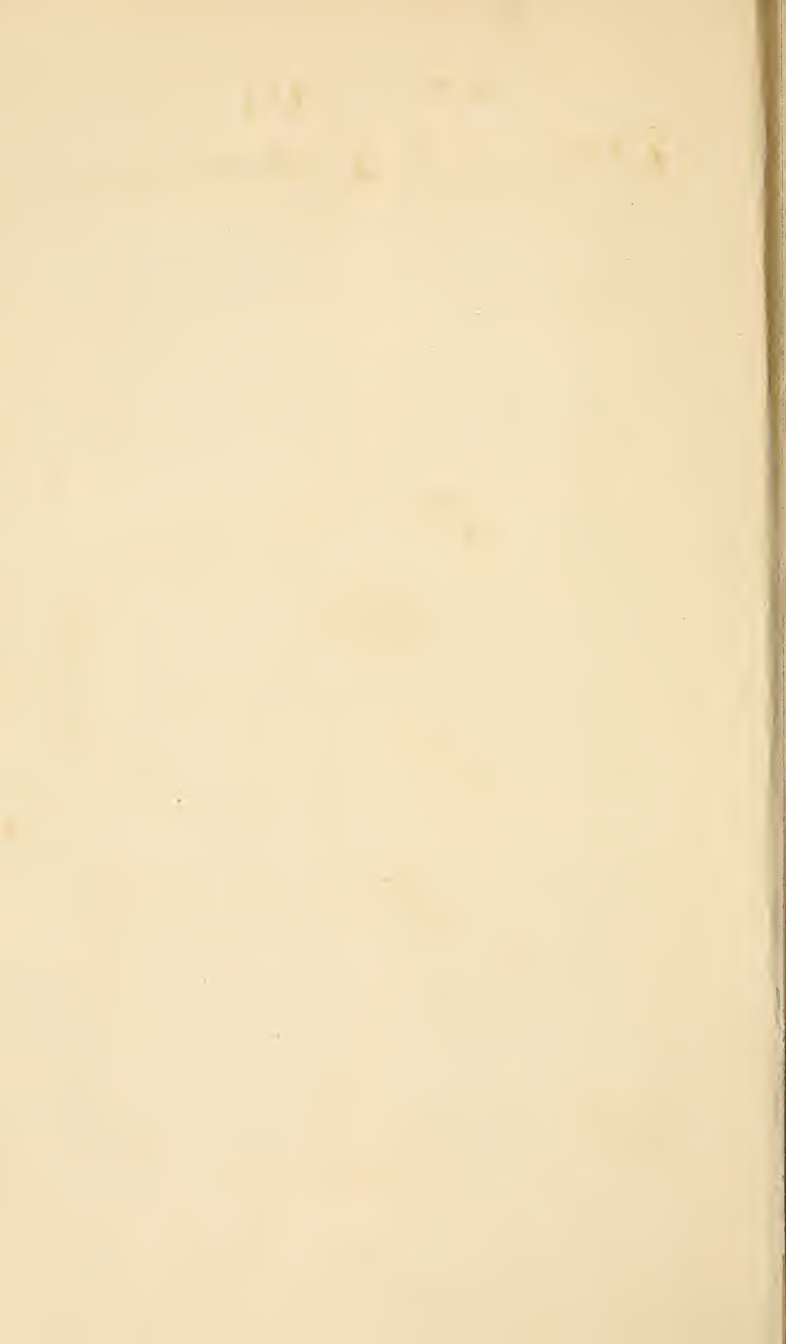
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James Boswell

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LONDON.
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.



BOSWELL'S
LIFE OF JOHNSON:

INCLUDING THEIR
TOUR TO THE HEBRIDES.

BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
JOHN WILSON CROKER, LL.D. F.R.S.

NEW EDITION.

With Portraits.

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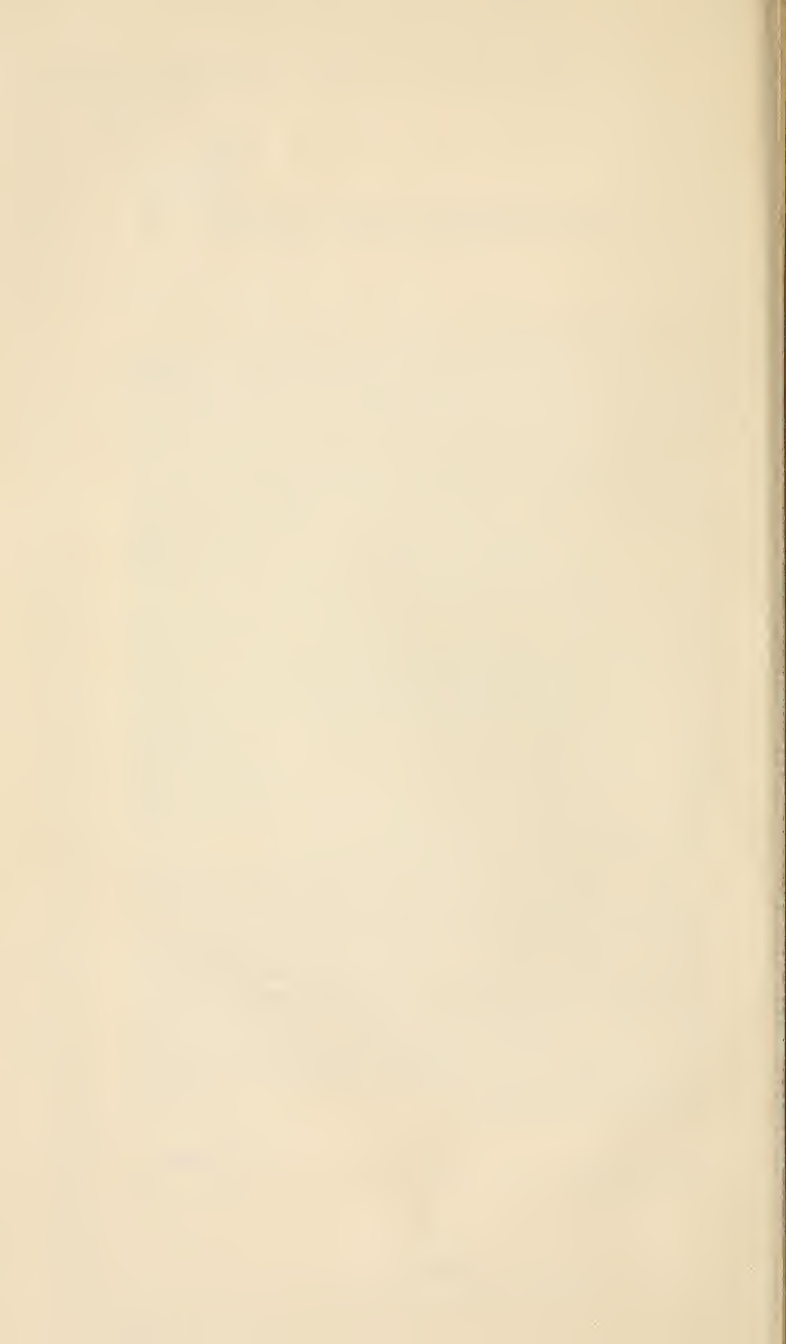
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IN my first edition of this work, in 5 vols. 8vo., 1831, besides endeavouring to elucidate the many obscurities which Mr. Boswell had designedly left or which the lapse of time had created, I hazarded the experiment of inlaying upon the text such passages from the other biographers of Johnson as seemed necessary to fill up the long and frequent chasms which exist in Boswell's narrative. This plan afforded a more complete view of *Johnson's life*, though it gave, I must own, a less perfect one of *Boswell's work*. It had, also, as I originally feared, "a confused and heterogeneous appearance" — with the further disadvantage of not completely fulfilling its object, — for the materials turned out to be too copious to admit of a thorough incorporation. On the whole, then, the publisher thought it better in a second edition, 8 vols. 12mo., 1835, to omit from the text all extracts from other works; which were either distributed into the notes, or collected into two supplemental volumes (the 9th and 10th) under the title of *JOHNSONIANA* — Boswell's Tour to the Hebrides, Johnson's own Letters, his Notes of a Tour in Wales, and extracts from his correspondence with Mrs. Thrale, being only excepted. That edition included some corrections and many additions of my own; but it was carried through the press by the late Mr. Wright, (editor of the Parliamentary History, the Cavendish Debates, &c.) who selected the *Johnsoniana*, broke the narrative into chapters, and added some notes, which I have now marked with his name.

The present edition is formed on the same principle, for, in addition to every other motive, its shape and size required as much compression as possible. Boswell's text is, therefore, uninterrupted; but I have retained the most important biographical extracts from the Thrale correspondence, and have even found room for a few more original letters. I have also added several new notes, and have abridged, altered, and I hope improved, many of the old ones. I do not flatter myself that I have corrected all former errors, but I have at least diligently endeavoured to do so. As I think I may venture to say that my original edition revived, and in some respects extended, the public interest in Boswell's delightful work, I can desire no more than that my present revision may tend to maintain it.

J. W. CROKER.

September, 1847.



C O N T E N T S.

PREFACE TO MR. CROKER'S EDITION	xi
ORIGINAL TITLE	xix
ORIGINAL DEDICATION TO SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS	xxi
MR. BOSWELL'S ADVERTISEMENTS	xxii
MR. MALONE'S ADVERTISEMENTS	xxiv

CHAPTER I. 1709—1716.

Introduction. Johnson's Birth and Parentage. He inherits from his Father "a vile melancholy." His Account of the Members of his Family. Traditional Stories of his Precocity. Taken to London to be touched by Queen Anne for the Scrofula - - - Page 1

CHAPTER II. 1716—1728.

Johnson at Lichfield School. Boyish Days. Removed to Stourbridge. Specimens of his School Exercises and early Verses. He leaves Stourbridge, and passes two Years with his Father - - - 7

CHAPTER III. 1728—1731.

Enters Pembroke College, Oxford. His College Life. The "Morbid Melancholy" increases. Translates Pope's Messiah. Course of Reading. Quits College - - - 12

CHAPTER IV. 1731—1736.

Death of his Father. Gilbert Walmesley. Captain Garrick. Mrs. Hill Boothby. "Molly Aston." Johnson becomes Usher of Market-Bosworth School. Removes to Birmingham. Translates Lobo's Voyage to Abyssinia. Returns to Lichfield. Proposes to print the Latin Poems of Politian. Offers to write for the Gentleman's Magazine. His juvenile Attachments. Marries. Opens a private Academy at Edial. David Garrick his Pupil. Commences "Irene" - - - 19

CHAPTER V. 1737—1738.

Johnson goes to London with Garrick. Lodges in Exeter Street. Retires to Greenwich, and proceeds with "Irene." Projects a Translation of the History of the Council of Trent. Returns to Lichfield, and finishes "Irene." Removes to London with his Wife. List of Residences. Becomes a writer in the Gentleman's Magazine - - - 27

CHAPTER VI. 1738—1741.

"London, a Poem." Letters to Cave. Endeavours to obtain the Degree of M. A. Recommended by Pope to Lord Gower. His Lordship's Letter on his behalf. Begins a Translation of Father Paul's History. Publishes "A Vindication of the Licensers of the Stage," and "Marmor Norfolciense." Pope's Note to Richardson concerning him. Characteristic Anecdotes. Parliamentary Debates 33

CHAPTER VII. 1741—1744.

"Irene." Review of the "Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough." Lives of Burnan and Sydenham. "Proposals for Bibliotheca Harleiana." Projects a History of Parliament. Dispute between Crousaz and Warburton. "Dedication to James's Dictionary." "Friendship, an Ode." Extreme Indigence. Richard Savage. Anecdotes. "The Life of Savage." Countess of Macclesfield. "Preface to the Harleian Miscellany" - - - 45

CHAPTER VIII. 1745—1749.

"Observations on Macbeth," and "Proposals for a new Edition of Shakspeare." "Prologue, on the opening of Drury Lane Theatre." Prospectus of the Dictionary. Progress of the Work. Ivy Lane Club. Tunbridge Wells. "Life of Roscommon." "Preface to Dodsley's Preceptor." "Vision of Theodore." "The Vanity of Human Wishes." "Irene" acted at Drury Lane - - - 53

CHAPTER IX. 1750—1751.

"The Rambler." His Prayer on commencing it. Obligations to Correspondents. Adversaria. Success of the Rambler. Collected into Volumes. "Beauties" of the Rambler. Prologue for the Benefit of Milton's Granddaughter. "Life of Chayne." Lauder's Forgery. Mrs. Anna Williams - - - 62

CHAPTER X. 1752, 1753.

Progress of the Dictionary. Conclusion of the Rambler. Death of Mrs. Johnson. Prayer on that Occasion. Inscription. Epitaph. Francis Barber. Robert Levett. Sir Joshua Reynolds. Bennet Langton. Topham Beauclerk. Johnson's Share in "The Adventurer" Page 74

CHAPTER XI. 1754.

Johnson's "Life of Cave." The Dictionary. Lord Chesterfield. His alleged Neglect. Letter to Lord Chesterfield. Belingbroke's Works. Johnson visits Oxford. Warton's Recollections. Sir Robert Chambers. Letters to Warton. Collins - - - 84

CHAPTER XII. 1755—1758.

Johnson M. A. by Diploma. Correspondence with Warton and the Authorities of the University. Publication of the Dictionary. Remarkable Definitions. Abridgment of the Dictionary. The Universal Visitor. The Literary Magazine. Defence of Tea. Pulpit Discourses. Proposals for an Edition of Shakspeare. Jonas Hanway. Soame Jenyns. Charles Burney - - - 91

CHAPTER XIII. 1758—1759.

"The Idler." Letters to Warton and Langton. Johnson's Mother. Letters to her, and to Miss Porter. Her Death. "Rasselas." Miscellanies. Excursion to Oxford. Francis Barber. Wilkes. Smollet. Mrs. Montagu. Mrs. Ogle. Mylne the Architect - - - 110

CHAPTER XIV. 1760—1763.

Miscellaneous Essays. Acquaintance with Murphy. Aken-side and Rolt. Mackenzie and Eccles. Letters to Baretti. Painting and Music. Sir George Staunton. Letter to a Lady soliciting Church Preferment for her Son. Johnson's Pension. Letters to Lord Bute. Visit to Devonshire with Sir Joshua Reynolds. Collins - - - 119

CHAPTER XV. 1763.

Boswell becomes acquainted with Johnson. Derrick. Mr. Thomas Sheridan. Mrs. Sheridan. Mr. Thomas Davies. Mrs. Davies. First interview. Johnson's Dress. His Chambers in Temple Lane. Dr. Blair. Dr. James Fordyce. Ossian. Christopher Smart. Johnson, the Equestrian. Clifton's Eating House. The Mitre. Colley Cibber's Odes. Gray. Belief in Apparitions. Cock-Lane Ghost. Churchill. Goldsmith. Mallet's "Elvira." Scotch Landlords. Plan of Study - - - 131

CHAPTER XVI. 1763.

Suppers at the Mitre. Dr. John Campbell. Churchill. Bonnell Thornton. Burlesque. "Ode on St. Cecilia's Day." The Connoisseur. The World. Miss Williams's Tea Parties. London. Miss Porter's Legacy. "The King can do no wrong." Historical Composition. Bayle. Arbuthnot. The noblest Prospect in Scotland. Rhyme. Adam Smith. Jacobitism. Lord Hailes. Keeping a Journal. The King of Prussia's Poetry. Johnson's Library. "Not at Home." Pity. Style of Hume. Inequality of Mankind. Constitutional Goodness. Miracles. Acquaintance of Young People. Hard Reading. Melancholy. Mrs. Macaulay. Warton's Essay on Pope. Sir James Macdonald. Projected Tour to the Hebrides. School-boy Happiness - - - 142

CHAPTER XVII. 1763.

Table-Talk. Influence of the Weather. Swift. Thomson. Burke. Sheridan. Evidences of Christianity. Derrick. Day at Greenwich. The Methodists. Johnson's "Walk." Convocation. Blacklock. Johnson accompanies Boswell to Harwich. The Journey. "Good Eating." "Abstinence and Temperance." Johnson's favourite Dishes. Bishop Berkeley "refuted." Burke. Boswell sails for Holland 154

CHAPTER XVIII. 1763-1765.

Boswell at Utrecht. Letter from Johnson. The Frisick Language. Johnson's Visit to Langton. Institution of "The Club." Reynolds, Garrick. Dr. Nugent. Granger's "Sugar Cane." Hypochondriac Attack. Days of Abstraction. Odd Habits. Visit to Dr. Percy. Letter to Reynolds. Visit to Cambridge. Self-examination. Letter to, and from, Garrick. Johnson created LL.D. by Dublin University. Letter to Dr. Leland. "Engaging in Politics." William Gerard Hamilton - Page 161

CHAPTER XIX. 1765-1766.

Acquaintance with the Thrales. Publication of his Shakspeare. Kenrick. Dedications. Boswell returns to England. Voltaire on Pope and Dryden. Goldsmith's "Traveller," and "Deserted Village." Suppers at the Mitre resumed. "Equal Happiness." "Courtng great Men." Convents. Second Sight. Corsica. Rousseau. Subordination. "Making Verses." Letters to Langton - - 169

CHAPTER XX. 1765-1767.

Boswell's Thesis. Study of the Law. Rash Vows. Streatham. Oxford. London Improvements. Dedications. Mrs. Williams's Miscellanies. Mr. William Drummond. Translation of the Bible into the Gaelic. Case of Heeley. Dr. Robertson. Cuthbert Shaw. "Tom Hervey." Johnson's Interview with George III. Visit to Lichfield. Death of Catherine Chambers. Lexiphanes. Mrs. Aston - - - 179

CHAPTER XXI. 1768.

State of Johnson's Mind. Visit to Town-Malling. Prologue to Goldsmith's "Good-natured Man." Boswell's "Account of Corsica." Practice of the Law. Novels and Comedies. The Douglas Cause. Reading MSS. St. Kilda. Oxford. Guthrie. Hume. Robertson. Future Life of Brutes. Natural History. Bell's Travels. Chastity. Choice of a Wife. Baretti's Italy. Liberty. Kenrick. Thomson. Monsey. Swift. Lord Eglintoun. Letter on the Formation of a Library. Boswell at the Stratford Jubilee. Johnson's Opinion of his "Corsica" 188

CHAPTER XXII. 1769.

Boswell at the Jubilee. His Account of Corsica. General Paoli. Observance of Sunday. Rousseau and Monbodo. Love of Singularity. London Life. Artemisias. Second Marriages. Scotch Gardening. Vails. Prior. Garrick's Poetry. History. Whitfield. The Corsicans. Good Breeding. Fate and Free-will. Goldsmith's Tailor. The Duaciad. Dryden. Congreve. Sheridan. Mrs. Montagu's Essay. Lord Kames. Burke. Ballad of Hardykute. Fear of Death. Sympathy with Distress. Foote. Buchanan. Baretti's Trial. Mandeville - - 198

CHAPTER XXIII. 1769-1770.

"Foote." Trade. Mrs. Williams's Tea-table. James Ferguson. Medicated Baths. Population of Russia. Large Farms. Attachment to Soil. Roman Catholic Religion. Conversion to Popery. Fear of Death. Steevens. "Tom Tyers." Blackmore's "Creation." The Marriage Service. "The False Alarm." Percival Stockdale. Self-examination. Visit to Lichfield - and Ashbourne. Baretti's Travels. Letters to Mrs. Thrale, Warton, &c. - 207

CHAPTER XXIV. 1770.

Dr. Maxwell's Collectanea. Johnson's Politics, and general Mode of Life. Opulent Tradesmen. London. Black-letter Books. "Anatomy of Melancholy." Government of Ireland. Love. Jacob Behmen. Established Clergy. Dr. Priestley. Blank Verse. French Novels. Père Boscovich. Lord Lyttelton's Dialogues. Ossian. The Poetical Cobbler. Boetius. National Debt. Mallet. Marriage. Foppery. Gilbert Cooper. Homer. Gregory Sharpe. Poor of England. Corn Laws. Dr. Browne. Mr. Burke. Economy. Fortune-hunters. Orchards. Irish Clergy 215

CHAPTER XXV. 1771.

"Pamphlet on Falkland's Islands." George Grenville. Junius. Design of bringing Johnson into Parliament. Mr. Strahan. Lord North. Mr. Flood. Boswell's Marriage. Visit to Lichfield and Ashbourne. Dr. Beattie. Lord Monbodo. St. Kilda. Scots Church. Second Sight. The Thirty-nine Articles. Thirtieth of January. Royal Marriage Act. Old Families. Mimicry. Foote. Mr. Peyton. Origin of Languages. Irish and Gaelic. Flogging at Schools. Lord Mansfield. Sir Gilbert Elliot 221.

CHAPTER XXVI. 1772.

Sir A. Macdonald. Choice of Chancellors. Lord Coke. Lord Mansfield. Scotch Accent. Pronunciation. Etymology. Disembodied Spirits. Ghost Stories. Mrs. Veal. Gray, Mason, and Akenside. Swearing. Warton's Essay on Pope. Pantheon. Luxury. Inequality of Livings. Hon Thomas Erskine. Fielding and Richardson. Coriat's Crudities. Gaming. Earl of Buchan. Attachment in Families. Feudal System. Cave's Ghost Story. Witches - - - Page 231

CHAPTER XXVII. 1772-1773.

Armorial Bearings. Duelling. Prince Eugene. Siege of Belgrade. Friendships. Goldsmith's Natural History. Story of Prendergast. Expulsion of Methodists from Oxford. "In Vino Veritas." Education of the People. Sense of Touch in the Blind. Theory of Sounds. Taste in the Arts. Francis Osborne's Works. Country Gentlemen. Long Stories. Beattie and Robertson. Advice to Authors. Climate. Walpole and Pitt. Vicious Intromission. Beattie's Essay. Visit to Lichfield and Ashbourne 239

CHAPTER XXVIII. 1773.

George Steevens. Goldsmith and Evans. Dalrymple's History. Action in Speaking. Chesterfield and Tynawley. The Spectator. Sir Andrew Freeport. Burnet's Own Times. Good Friday. Easter Day. A Dinner at Johnson's. Wages to Women Servants. Keeping a Journal. Luxury. Equality. The Stuarts. Law Reports. "The Gentle Shepherd." Whigs and Tories. Sterne. Charles Townshend. "Happy Revolution." "She Stoops to Conquer." Short-Hand. Dedications. James Harris. The Fiddle. Duelling. Lord Chatham's Verses to Garrick. Savage Life. Suicide. Budget. The Douglas Cause - 246

CHAPTER XXIX. 1773.

Dinner at Beauclerk's. Boswell elected of the Club. Goldsmith in Company, and in his Study. His Roman History. "Talking for Victory." Pilgrim's Progress. Monuments in St. Paul's. Pope. Milton. "The Whole Duty of Man." Puns. Lay Patronage. The Bread Tree. Savage Life. Reasoning of Brutes. Toleration. Martyrdom. Doctrine of the Trinity. Government of Ireland. Invocation of Saints. "Goidy." Literary Property. State of Nature. Male Succession. Influence of the Seasons on the Mind. Projected Visit to the Hebrides - 257

CHAPTER XXX. 1773.

Johnson set out on his visit to the Hebrides. Sketch of his Character, Figure, and Manner. He arrives in Scotland. Memorabilia. Law of Prescription. Trial by Duel. Mr. Scott. Sir William Forbes. Practice of the Law. Emigration. Rev. Mr. Carr. Chief Baron Orde. Dr. Beattie and Mr. Hume. Dr. Robertson. Mr. Burke. Genius. Whitfield and Wesley. Political Parties. Garrick - 267

CHAPTER XXXI. 1773.

Edinburgh. Ogen on Prayer. Lord Hailes. Parliament House. The Advocates' Library. Writing doggedly. The Union. Queen Mary St. Giles's. The Cowgate. The College. Holyrood House. Swift. Witchcraft. Lord Monbodo and the Ouran-Outang. Actors. Poetry and Lexicography. Scepticism. Vane and Sedley. MacLaurin. Literary Property. Boswell's Character of Himself. They leave Edinburgh - - - 275

CHAPTER XXXII. 1773.

Frith of Forth. Inch Keith. Kinghorn. Cupar. Composition of Parliament. Influence of Peers. St. Andrews. Literature and Patronage. Writing and Conversation. Change of Manners. Drinking and Smoking. The Union. St. Rule's Chapel. John Knox. Retirement from the World. Dinner with the Professors. Subscription of Articles. Latin Grace. Sharpe's Monument. St. Salvador's. Dinner to the Professors. Instructions for Composition. Supper at Dr. Watson's. Uncertainty of Memory. Observance of Sunday. Trees in Scotland. Leuchars. Transubstantiation. Literary Property. Montrose - - - 280

CHAPTER XXXIII. 1773.

Montrose. Lawrence Kirk. Monbodo. Emigration. Homer. Biography and History. Decrease of Learning. Promotion of Bishops. Citizen and Savage. Aberdeen. Professor Gordon. Public and Private Education. Sir Alexander Gordon. Trade of Aberdeen. Doctrines of the Trinity and the Atonement. Johnson a Burgess of Aberdeen. Dinner at Sir Alexander Gordon's. Warburton. Locke's Latin Verses. Ossian - - 287

CHAPTER XXXIV. 1773.

Ellon. "The Great Doctor." Goldsmith and Graham. Slains Castle. Lady Errol. Education of Children. Buller of Buchan. Entails. House of Peers. Sir Joshua Reynolds. Earl of Errol. Feudal Times. Strichen. Life of Country Gentlemen. Cullen. Lord Monboddo. Use and Improvement of Wealth. Elgin. Scenery of Macbeth. Fores. Leonidas. Paul Whitehead. Derrick. Origin of Evil. Nairn. Calder Castle. Calder Mause. Kenneth McAlay. Ecclesiastical Subscription. Family Worship - - - Page 294

CHAPTER XXXV. 1773.

Fort George. Sir Adolphus Oughton. Lowth and Warburton. Dinner at Sir Eyre Coche's. The Stage. Mrs. Cibber. Mrs. Clive. Mrs. Pritchard. Inverness. Macbeth's Castle. Mr. Thrale's Brewery. "Peregrinity." Coinage of new words. Johnson on Horseback. A Highland Hut. Fort Augustus. Governor Traupad. Anoch. Emigration. Goldsmith. A Ship a Jail. Glensheal. The Macraas. The Rattakin. Glenelg - - - 303

CHAPTER XXXVI. 1773.

Glenelg. Isle of Sky. Armadale. Sir Alexander Macdonald. Church of Slate. Ode on Sky. Corrichatachin. Highland Hospitality. Ode to Mrs. Thrale. Country Life. Macpherson's Dissertations. Second Sight. Rasay. Fingal. Homer. Infidelity. Bentley. Mallett. Hooke. Duchess of Marlborough. Heritable Jurisdictions. Insular Life. Macleod. Sail to Sky. Discourse on Death. Lord Elibank. Ride to Kingsburgh. Flora Macdonald 311

CHAPTER XXXVII. 1773.

Adventures of the Pretender - - - 326

CHAPTER XXXVIII. 1773.

Emigration. Dunvegan. Female Chastity. Dr. Cadogan. Preaching and Practice. Good Humour. Sir George Mackenzie. Burke. Johnson's Hereditary Melancholy. His "Seraglio." Polygamy. Dunvegan Castle. Cunningham. "Temple of Anaitis." Family Portraits. Bacon's Henry VII. Pennant - - - 333

CHAPTER XXXIX. 1773.

Johnson's Birth-day. Languages the Pedigree of Nations. The Laird of Muck. Choice of a Wife. Boswell's Journal. Lady Grange. Poetry of Savages. French Literati. Prize Fighting. French and English Soldiers. Duelling. Change of Manners. Landed and trading interests. Loyal's Pyramid. Ulinish. Lord Orrery, &c. &c. - - 339

CHAPTER XL. 1773.

Ulinish. Tanning. Butchers. Learning of the Scots. Ship worse than Jail. Peter the Great. "Island Isa." Talisker. Scottish Clergy. French Hunting. Cuchilin's Well. Young Col. Birch. Percy. "Every Island is a Prison." Corrichatachin. Good Fellowship - and Headache. Kingsburgh's Song. Lady Marret. Macdonald. Threshing and F'atching. Price of Labour. Ostig. Shenstone. Hammond. Sir C. H. Williams. Burke. Young. Doddridge's Motto. "Adventures of a Guinea." Armadale. German Courts. Goldsmith's Love of Talk. St. Kilda - - - 343

CHAPTER XLI. 1773.

Johnson leaves the Isle of Sky. A Storm. Driven into Col. His Appearance on a Sheltie. Sea Sickness. "Burnet's Own Times." Rev. Hector McLean. Bayle, Leibnitz, and Clarke. Survey of Col. Grissipol. Cucumbers. Insular Life. Song. "Hatryn foam' eri." Breachaca. Johnson's Power of Ridicule. Happiness in a Cottage. Advice to Landlords. Pretended Brother of Johnson. Carte's Life of Ormond. Family of Col. Letters by Montrose 360

CHAPTER XLII. 1773.

Col. Blenheim. Tenants and Landlords. London and Pekin. Superstitions. Coarse Manners. Bustle not necessary to Despatch. Oats. Moll. Addison. French Ana. Racine. Corneille. Molière. Fenelon. Voltaire. Bossuet. Massillon. Reception of Travellers. Spence. Eriss Maclean. Account of Mull. Ulva. Second Sight. Mercheta Mulierum. Inch-Kenneth. Sir Allan Maclean. Sunday Reading. Dr. Campbell. Drinking. Verses on Inch-Kenneth. Young Col's good Qualities. Solander. Burke. Johnson's Intrepidity. Singular Customs. French Credulity - - - 369

CHAPTER XLIII. 1773.

Voyage to Iona. Death of young Col. M'Kinnon's Cave. "La Crédulité des Incrédulés." Coast of Mull. Nuns' Island. Icolmkill. Quotation from Johnson's Tour. Return to Mull. Pulteney. Pitt. Walpole. Wilkes. English and Jewish History compared. "Turkish Spy." Moy. Lochbny's War-saddle. Sheep-heads. Sail to Oban. Goldsmith's "Traveller." Shenstone's Observations on Pope. Inverary. Letter from Garrick. Hervey's "Meditations." "Meditation on a Pudding." Country Neighbourhood. Castle of Inverary. Duke and Duchess of Argyle. Influence of Peers - - - Page 380

CHAPTER XLIII. 1773.

Inverary Castle. Bishop Archibald Campbell. Douglas. Juvenal. Religious Buildings. Rosedow House. Loch-lomond. Cameron House. Smollett's Monument. Glasgow. The Foulies, &c. Loudoun Castle. Treesbank. Dundonald Castle. Eglintoun Castle. Auchinleck. Boswell's Father. Anecdotes. Hamilton. Edinburgh - 388

CHAPTER XLIV. 1773.

Edinburgh. Lord Elibank. Edinburgh Castle. Fingal. Credulity. Second Sight. Garrick and Foote as Companions. Moravian Missions and Methodism. History. Robertson. Rebellion. Lord Mansfield. Richardson. Private Life of a Judge. Blair. Boswell's Imitations. Officers of the Army. Academy for Deaf and Dumb. Scotch Highlander and English Sailor. Roslin and Hawthornden. Cranston. Sir John Dalrymple. Johnson's Departure for London. Letters from Lord Hailes and Mr. Dempster. Correspondence with Rasay. Conclusion of the Tour to the Hebrides - - - 398

CHAPTER XLV. 1773-1774.

Recapitulation of the Tour. Letters to Boswell, &c. Davies publishes his "Fugitive Pieces" without his Knowledge. Writes his Tour. Religious Festivals and Pilgrimages. Death of Goldsmith. Greek Epitaph - - - 409

CHAPTER XLVI. 1774.

Dr. Johnson's Diary of a Tour into Wales. Chatsworth. Dovedale. Kedleston. Derby. Combermere. Hawkestone. Chester. St. Asaph. Denbigh. Holywell. Rhulan Castle. Penmaen Mawr. Bangor. Caernarvon. Bodville. Conway Castle. Ombersley. Hagley. The Leasowes. Blenheim. Beaconsfield - - - 415

CHAPTER XLVII. 1774-1775.

Mr. Thrale's Political Position. Johnson's "Patriot." Death of young Col. Mr. Perkins. Hoole's Tragedy. Charlotte Lennox. Baretti's "Easy Lessons." Case of Dr. Memis. Lord Hailes's "Annals." Mary Queen of Scots. American Politics. Ossian. Letter to Macpherson. Personal Courage. Foote. Publishes "Journey to the Western Islands." Mr. Knox. Mr. Tytler. Mr. Windham. Irish and Scotch Impudence compared. Ossian Controversy. Visit to Oxford - - - 425

CHAPTER XLVIII. 1775.

Boswell revisits London. Peter Garrick. "Taxation no Tyranny." Dr. Towers's "Answer." Gerard Hamilton. Sheridan's Gold Medal to Home. Mrs. Abington. Cibber's "Nonjuror." Boswell's "Surveillance." Garrick's Prologues. The Adams. Garrick's Imitations of Johnson. Gray's Odes. Lord Chesterfield's Letters. Johnson's Diploma of LL.D. Abyssinian Bruce. Colman's "Odes to Obscurity and Oblivion." Mason's "Elfrida," and "Caractacus." The Bath-Easton Vase. Fleet Street and Charing Cross - - - 434

CHAPTER XLIX. 1775.

Public Speaking. Statutes against Bribery. Cibber's Comedies. Gentility and Morality. Charles II. George I. Trading Judges. Christopher Smart. Twiss's Travels. Addison's Italy. "Lilliburlero." Gibbon. Patriotism. Mrs. Fritchard. Happiness. General Oglethorpe. Middle-rate Poets. Patronage. Lord Bute. Good Friday. London. Commerce. Value of Knowledge. Literary Fame. Infidelity. "Niladmirari." Advantages of Reading - 443

CHAPTER L. 1775.

Dinner at Owen Cambridge's. Female Portrait Painters. "Good-humoured Fellows." Isaac Walton's "Lives." Flattery. History. Early Habits. "The Beggars' Opera." Richard Brinsley Sheridan. Modern Politics. Sir Roger de Coverley. Visit to Bedlam. Sunday Consultations. Gray's Letters. Alchymy. Johnson's Laugh. Letters to Langton. Mrs. Thrale, &c. Ramble into the Middle Counties. Tour to France - - - 451

CHAPTER LI. 1775.

Excursion into France. Paris. Benedictine Monks. Choisi. Palais Royal. Mrs Fermor. Palais-Bourbon. Fontainebleau. Versailles. Trianon. Santerre, the Brewer. King's Library. Sorbonne. St. Cloud. Sève. Bellevue. Meudon. Grande-Chartreuse. Luxembourg. Friar Wilkes. St. Denis. Chantilly. Compeigne. Cambray. State of Society in France. Madame de Boufflers. Voltaire. Dr. Burney's Collectanea. Letters to Mrs. Montagu, &c. Page 459

CHAPTER LII. 1776.

Law of Entail. Boswell's Melancholy. John Wesley. Clarendon Press. Booksellers' Profits. Bolt Court. Mrs. Thrale's Birth-day. Entails. Smith's "Wealth of Nations." Lawyers and Law-suits. Scotch Militia Bill. Obligation in settling Estates. "Johnsoniana." Value of Truth. Monastic Orders. Carthusians. Religious Austerities. Wine-bibbing. Fasting. Influence of Education. Arithmetic. Sea Life - - - - - 471

CHAPTER LIII. 1776.

Excursion to Oxford with Boswell. Ornamental Architecture. Statuary. Advice to Hypochondriacs. "Anatomy of Melancholy." Dr. Wetherell. Dr. Adams. Conversation. Bishop Horne. Walton's "Lives." Biography. Dartineuf. Gibbon. Steel. "Tristram Shandy." Burke. Blenheim. Taverns and Inns. Dyer's "Fleece." Grainger's "Sugar Cane." Birmingham. Legitimation. Marriage. Quakers. Holidays. Nelson's "Festivals." Mr. Boulton. Lichfield and its Inhabitants - - - 481

CHAPTER LIV. 1776.

Lichfield. Peter Garrick. Death of Mr. Thrale's only son. Shakspeare's Mulberry-tree. Lord Bute. Marriage. Questioning. Sir Fletcher Norton. Ashbourne. Dr. Taylor. "Old Men putting themselves to nurse." "Il Palmerino d'Inghilterra." Ingratitude. Mr. Wedderburne. "Marrying for Love." Dr. James. Melancholy. Captain Cook. Omai. Character of a Soldier. Good Humour of ancient Philosophers. Public Schools. English Universities. Libels on the Dead - - - 490

CHAPTER LV. 1776.

Popish Corruptions. Licensed Stews. Seduction. "Jack Ellis." Gaming. Card-playing. Conjugal Obligations. Law of Usury. Beggars. Dr. Cheyne. Solitude. Joseph Simpson. Children. Cowley Flatman's Poems. Cibber's "Lives." Gray. Akenside. Mason. The Reviews. Lord Lyttelton. "The Spectator." Dr. Barry. Dinner at General Paoli's. "Abel Druggier." Italy. The Mediterranean. Poetical Translation. Art of Printing. Education of the People. Thomson. "Hudibras." Purpose of Tragedy. "Othello." John Dennis. Swearing. Wine-drinking. Cumberland's "Odes" - - - 499

CHAPTER LVI. 1776.

Boswell's Visit to Bath and Bristol. Rowley's Poems. Chatterton. Garrick's "Archer." Brute Creation. Chesterfield's "Letters." Notes on Shakspeare. Luxury. Ogilthorpe. Lord Elibank. Conversation. Egotism. Dr. Oldfield. Commentators on the Bible. Thompson's Case. Dinner at Mr. Dilly's. John Wilkes. Foote's Mimicry. Garrick's Wit. Biography. Dryden. Cibber's Plays. "Difficile est propriè." &c. City Poets. "Diabolus Regis." Lord Bute. Mrs. Knowles. Mrs. Rudd 509

CHAPTER LVII. 1776-1777.

Johnson's Temper. Sir Joshua Reynolds's Dinners. Goldsmith's Epitaph. The Round Robin. Employment of Time. Correspondence. Reconciliation in the Boswell Family. Blair's Sermons. Severe Indisposition. Easter Day. Prayer. Sir Alexander Dick. Shaw's Erse Grammar. Johnson engages to write "The Lives of the English Poets." Edward Dilly. Correspondence. Charles O'Connor - - - - - 518

CHAPTER LVIII. 1777.

Bishop Pearce. Prologue to Kelly's Play. Richard Brinsley Sheridan. Savage's "Sir Thomas Overbury." Thomson. Mrs. Strickland. The Townley Collection. Dr. Dodd. Boswell at the Tomb of Melancthon. Isaac De Groot. Dr. Watts. Letter to Mrs. Boswell. Visit to Ashbourne. "Harry Jackson." Sidney's "Arcadia." Projected Trip to the Baltic. Sale of Ulva and Staffa - - - - - 531

CHAPTER LIX. 1777.

Boswell at Ashbourne. Grief for Relatives and Friends. Incomes of Curates. Johnson's Interference for Dr. Dodd. Mr. Fitzherbert. Hamilton of Bangour. Bleeding. Hume. Fear of Death. Duties of a Biographer. Stuart Family. Birth-days. Warton's Poems - Page 539

CHAPTER LX. 1777.

Keddestone. Derby. Shaving. Nichols's "De Anima Medicâ." Dr. Dodd. Blair. Goldsmith. Monboddo's "Air-bath." Early-rising. Sleep. Water-drinking. Rutty's "Spiritual Diary." Autobiographers. Imitators of Johnson's Style. Biographia Britannica. Melancholy and Madness. London Life. Profession of the Law. Employment. Dr. Taylor's "Sermons." Actors - 548

CHAPTER LXI. 1777-1778.

Personal disputes. Duke of Devonshire. Burke's Definition of a Free Government. Ham. The Christian Revelation. Mungo Campbell. Dr. Taylor's Bull-dog. "Æsop at play." Memory. Rochester's Poems. Prior. Hypochondria. Books. Homer and Virgil. Lord Bacon. Topham Beauclerk. Grainger's "Ode on Solitude." Music. Happiness. Future State. Slave Trade. American Independence. Corruption of Parliament. Planting. "Oddity Johnson." Decision of the Negro Cause. Mr. Saunders Welch. Advice to Travellers. Correspondence - - - - - 556

CHAPTER LXII. 1778.

Inmates of Bolt Court. Tom Davies. Counsel at the Bar of the House of Commons. Thomas à Kempis. Uses of a Diary. Strict Adherence to Truth. Ghosts. John Wesley. Alcibiades' Dog. Emigration. Parliamentary Eloquence. Place Hunters. Irish Language. Thicknesse's "Travels." Honesty. Temptation. Dr. Kennedy's Tragedy. Shooting a Highwayman. Mr. Dunning. Contentment. Laxity of Narration. Mrs. Montagu. Harris of Salisbury. Definition. Wine-drinking. Pleasure. Goldsmith. Charles the Fifth. Best English Sermons. "Seeing Scotland." Absenteeism. Delany's "Observations on Swift" - - - - - 570

CHAPTER LXIII. 1778.

Horace's Villa. Country Life. Great Cities. French Literature. Old Age. "Unius Lacerte." Potter's Eschylus. Pope's Homer. Sir W. Temple's Style. Elphinstone's Martial. Hawkins's Tragedy. Insubordination. Fame. Use of Riches. Economy. Soldiers and Sailors. Charles Fox. De Foe. Cock-Lane Ghost. Asking Questions. Hulks. Foreign Travel. Short Hand. Dodd's Poems. Pennant. Johnson and Percy. Streatham. Correspondence - - - - - 579

CHAPTER LXIV. 1778.

"Chapter concerning Snakes." Styles in Painting and Writing. George Stevens. Luxury. Different Governments. Maccaronic Verses. Cookery Books. Inequality of the Sexes. Degrees of Happiness. Soame Jenyns's "Internal Evidence." Courage. Friendship. Free Will. Mandeville. "Private Vices, public Benefits." Hannah More. Mason's Prosecution of Mr. Murray the Bookseller. Fear of Death. Annihilation. Future State of Existence. Wesley's Ghost Story. Jane Harry. Change of Religion. Mrs. Knowles - - - - - 689

CHAPTER LXV. 1778.

Good Friday. Bad Housewifery. Books of Travels. Fleet Street. Meeting with Mr. Oliver Edwards. Lawyers. Tom Tyers. Choice of a Profession. Dignity of Literature. Lord Camden. George Psalmanazar. Daines Barrington. Punishment of the Pillory. Insolence of Wealth. Extravagance. "Demosthenes Taylor." Pamphlets. Goldsmith's Comedies. The Beggars' Opera. Johnson's "Historia Studiolum." Gentleman's Magazine. Avarice. Bon Mots. Burke's Classical Pun. Egotism. 597

CHAPTER LXVI. 1778.

Buying Buckles. "The first Whig. Wine. Tasso. Homer. Adam Smith. Pope. Voltaire. Henry's History. Modern Writers. Greece. Rome. Old Age. Dr. Robertson. Addison. Chinese Language. Interest of Money. Imagination. Existence. Virtue and Vice. The Bat. Lord Marchmont. "Transpire." House of Peers. Pope's "Universal Prayer." Divorces. Parson Furd's Ghost. Lord Clive - - - - - 605

CHAPTER LXVII. 1778—1779.

Lord Kames. Sir George Villiers's Ghost. Innate Virtue. Native Modesty. Foreign Travel. Lord Charlemont. Country Life. Manners of the Great. Horne's "Letter to Dunning." Dr. Mead. Rasselas and Candide. Francis's Horace. Modern Books of Travels. Lord Chatham. Vows. Education. Milton's "Tractate." Locke. Visit to Warley Camp. Dr. Burney. Sir Joshua Reynolds's "Discourses." Publication of the "Lives of the Poets." Death of Garrick. Correspondence - Page 615

CHAPTER LXVIII. 1779.

Tasker's "Ode." Man of the World. "Vicar of Wakefield." Junius's Letters. Parental Authority. London. "Government of the Tongue." Good Friday. Easter Day. Eel-skinning. Claret, Port, Brandy. Shakspeare's Witches. Lochlinmond. Liberty. Hackman. Johnson and Topham Beauclerk. Mallet. Friendship. Eulogy on Garrick. "Art of getting drunk." Empirics. Parental Affection. Lord Marchmont. Pope. Parnell's "Hermit." Correspondence - 623

CHAPTER LXIX. 1779.

Experiments on the Constancy of Friends. Colonel James Stuart. Choice of Guardians. Adventurers to the East Indies. Poor of London. Pope's "Essay on Man." Lord Belingbroke. Johnson's Residences in London. Conjugal Infidelity. Roman Catholics. Helps to the Study of Greek. Middlesex Election. House of Commons. Right of Expulsion. George Whitfield. Philip Astley. Keeping Company with Infidels. Irish Union. Vulgar Prosperity. "The Ambassador says well." Correspondence - 633

CHAPTER LXX. 1780.

"Lives of the Poets" creep on. Dr. Lawrence. Loss of a Wife. Death of Beauclerk. Letter-writing. Mr. Melmoth. Fitzosborne's Letters. Somerset-House Exhibition. Rits in London. Lord George Gordon. Mr. Akerman. Correspondence. Dr. Beattie. Davies's "Life of Garrick." Advice to a young Clergyman. Composition of Sermons. Borough Election. Lady Southwell. Mr. Alexander Macbean. Lord Thurlow. Langton's Collectanea. Dr. Franklin's "Demonax" - 642

CHAPTER LXXI. 1781.

The "Lives of the Poets" completed. Observations upon, and various Readings in, the Life of Cowley. Waller. Milton. Dryden. Pope. Broome. Addison. Parnell. Blackmore. Philips. Congreve. Tickell. Aken-side. Lord Lyttelton. Young. Swift - 665

CHAPTER LXXII. 1781.

Warren Hastings. Liberty and Necessity. Picture of a Man, by Shakspeare and by Milton. Registration of Deeds. Duty of a Member of Parliament. Deportment of a Bishop. "Merriment of Parsons." Zachariah Mudge. Dr. Walter Harte. Scale of Liquors. Dancing. Sir Philip Jennings Clerk. American War. Dudley Long. Exaggerated Praise. "Learning to Talk." Veracity. Death of Mr. Thrale. Queen's Arms Club. Constructive Treason. Castes of Men. Passion Week. Addison. Blackstone. Steele. Educating by Lectures. The Resurrection. Apparitions - 675

CHAPTER LXXIII. 1781.

Dinner at Mrs. Garrick's. Miss Hannah More. Mudge's "Sermons." A Printer's Devil. Quotation. Letter-writing. Bet Flint. Oratory. Beauclerk's Library. English Sermons. Blue-Stocking Clubs. Miss Monckton. Talking for Victory. A Cui Bono Man. "Heroic Epistle." Lord Carlisle's Poems. Dr. Barnard. "Of Tory and Whig." Visit to Welwyn. Dr. Young. Trusting to Impressions. Original Sin. Ancient Egyptians. Wealth. Memory and Recollection. Marrying a pretty Woman. Thrale's Brewery. Mr. Bewick. Johnson's Hearth-broom. Dr. Patten. Visit to Ashbourne and Lichfield - 685

CHAPTER LXXIV. 1782.

Death of Robert Leveitt. Verses to his Memory. Chatterton. Dr. Lawrence. Death of Friendship. "Beauties" and "Deformities" of Johnson. Misery of being in Debt. Six Rules for Travellers. Death of Lord Auchinleck. "Kindness and Fondness." Life. Old Age. Evils of Poverty. Prayer on leaving Streatham. Visit to Cowdrey. Nichols's "Anecdotes." Wilson's "Archaeological Dictionary." Dr. Patten - Page 700

CHAPTER LXXV. 1783.

Country Gentleman. House of Hanover. Conversation. Lies of Vanity. Opium. Exaggeration. Neglect of Merit. Use of Riches. Craube's "Village." Keeping Accounts. Lords Mansfield, Loughborough, and Thurlow. Harrington's Nuzze Antique. "Quos Deus vult perdere," &c. Prince of Wales. Burney's Travels. Chinese Architecture. Innovation. Tyburn. Dr. Hurd. Parenthesis. "Derrick or Smart." "The great Twalmley." Owen Cambridge. Family Histories. "Turkish Spy." Orchards. Oratory. Origin of Language. Madness. Rev. James Compton - 712

CHAPTER LXXVI. 1783.

Population of London. Natural Affection. Self-defence. Duelling. Corrupcency. Government of India. Reviewers. Horace. Sickness. Liberty of Teaching. "Alias." Virgil. Cant. Hospitality. Miss Burney. Barry's Pictures. Baxter's Works. Devotion. Johnson attacked with a Stroke of the Palsy. Recovery. Visit to Langton at Rochester - 728

CHAPTER LXXVII. 1783.

Visit to Hrale. Death of Mrs. Williams. Conversation. French Literature. Dr. Priestley. Candour. Mrs. Siddons. Mrs. Porter. Kitty Clive. Mrs. Pritchard. John Philip Kemble. George Anne Bellamy. Lord Carlisle's Tragedy. Unconstitutional Influence of the Scotch Peers. Old Horses. Mickle's "Lusiad." Ossian. Rules for the Essex Head Club - 737

CHAPTER LXXVIII. 1784.

Burton's Books. Alderman Clark. Correspondence. Dr. Gillespie. Drs. Cullen, Hope, and Monro. Divine Interposition. Lord Monboddo. Dr. Ross. George Steevens. Mrs. Montagu. Burke's Conversation. Foote. The Empress of Russia. Mrs. Thrale. Ecclesiastical Discipline. Fear of Death. Cenci Loft. Thomas à Kempis. Dr. Douglas. Editions of Horace. Charles Fox - 747

CHAPTER LXXIX. 1784.

Departed Friends. Argument. Testimony. Helen Maria Williams. Knotting. Oxford. Newton on the Prophecies. Nonjurors. Infidel Writers. Church of Rome. Whig and Tory. Miss Adams. Fox and Pitt. Radcliffe's Travelling Fellowships. Prayer. Jeremy Taylor. Ifley. Dr. Nowell. Rev. Henry Bate. John Henderson. Balance of Misery - 756

CHAPTER LXXX. 1784.

Milton. Anonymous Writings. Pope. David Lewis. Sackville Parker. Cook's Voyages. Barristers. Lord Hale. Attorneys. Puns. "Tommy Townshend." "The Rehearsal." Painting. Cross Readings. Last Dinner at the Club. Italy. Free Will. Miss Seward. Lord Chesterfield. Carleton's Memoirs. Intuition and Sagacity. Lord Thurlow. Country Life. Mrs. Piozz's "Anecdotes" - 765

CHAPTER LXXXI. 1784.

Projected Tour to Italy. Reynolds. Thurlow. Rev. Mr. Bagshaw. Excursion to Staffordshire and Derbyshire. Correspondence. Air Balloons. Last Visit to Lichfield. Uttoxeter. The Learned Pig. Last Visit to Oxford. Return to London. Ancient Universal History. Imitations of Johnson's Style - 781

CHAPTER LXXXII. 1784.

Last Illness, and Death. His Will, Funeral, and Burial 793

APPENDIX.

No. 1.		Page
AN ACCOUNT OF THE EARLY LIFE OF DR. JOHNSON,		
WRITTEN BY HIMSELF	- - -	812

No. II.				
OMISSIONS FROM MR. BOSWELL'S TEXT AND NOTES, AND HIS APPENDIX				
1. Law Cases	-	-	-	814
2. Notes	-	-	-	818
3. Mr. Boswell's Appendix	-	-	-	824

No. III.

SOME ACCOUNT OF FRANCIS STUART • - 827

NO. IV.

EXTRACTS FROM BOSWELL'S LETTERS TO MR. MALONE - 828

	No: V.	
ORIGINAL ANECDOTES OF DR. JOHNSON, COMMUNICATED		Page
TO MR. CROKER	- - -	830

1. Miss Reynolds's Recollections	-	-	830
2. By Mr. Wickins	-	-	835
3. By Mr. Green, of Lichfield	-	-	836
4. By the Rev. Mr. Parker	-	-	836
5. By Mrs. Rose	-	-	836
6. By Mr. Barclay	-	-	837
7. By the Right Hon. W. Windham	-	-	837
8. Miscellaneous	-	-	838

No. VI.

ACCOUNTS OF DR. JOHNSON'S LAST DAYS. - . 838

1. By Mr. Windham	-	-	-	838
2. By Sir John Hawkins	-	-	-	840
3. By J. Hoole, Esq.	-	-	-	842

No. VII.
LESSON IN BIOGRAPHY ; OR, HOW TO WRITE THE LIFE OF
ONE'S FRIEND. By Alexander Chalmers, Esq. - 845

INDEX - - - - - Page 847

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

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PREFACE TO MR. CROKER'S EDITION.¹

It were superfluous to expatiate on the merits, at least as a source of amusement, of Boswell's *LIFE OF JOHNSON*. Whatever doubts may have existed as to the prudence or the propriety of the *original* publication—however naturally private confidence was alarmed, or individual vanity offended, the voices of criticism and complaint were soon drowned in the general applause. And no wonder—the work combines within itself the four most entertaining classes of writing—biography, memoirs, familiar letters, and that assemblage of literary anecdotes which the French have taught us to distinguish by the termination *Ana*.

It was originally received with an eagerness and relished with a zest which undoubtedly were sharpened by the curiosity which the unexpected publication of the words and deeds of so many persons still living could not but excite. But this motive has gradually become weaker, and may now be said to be extinct; yet we do not find that the popularity of the work, though somewhat changed in quality, is really diminished; and as the interval which separates us from the actual time and scene increases, so appear to increase the interest and delight which we feel at being introduced, as it were, into that distinguished society of which Dr. Johnson formed the centre, and of which his biographer is the historian.

But though every year thus adds to the interest and instruction which this work affords, something is, on the other hand, deducted from the amusement which it gives, by the gradual obscurity that time throws over the persons and incidents of private life: many circumstances known to all the world when Mr. Boswell wrote are already obscure to the best informed, and wholly forgotten by the rest of mankind.²

For instance, when he relates (p. 69.) that a "great personage" called the English Divines of the sixteenth and seventeenth cen-

turies "*Giants*," we conclude that George III. was the great personage; but all my inquiries (and some of His Majesty's illustrious family have condescended to permit these inquiries to extend even to them) have failed to ascertain to what person or on what occasion that happy expression was used.

Again: When Mr. Boswell's capricious delicacy induced him to suppress names and to substitute such descriptions as "an eminent friend," "a young gentleman," "a distinguished orator," these were well understood by the society of the day; but it is become necessary to apprise the reader of our times, that Mr. Burke, Mr. Sheridan, and Mr. Fox were respectively meant. Nor is it always easy to appropriate Mr. Boswell's circumlocutory designations. It will be seen in the course of this work, that several of them have become so obscure that even the surviving members of the Johnsonian Society were unable to recollect who were meant, and it was on one of these occasions that Sir James Mackintosh told me that "*my work had, at least, not come too soon*."

Mr. Boswell's delicacy is termed *capricious*, because he is on some occasions candid even to indiscretion, and on others unaccountably mysterious. In the report of a conversation he will clearly designate half the interlocutors, while the other half, without any apparent reason, he casts into studied obscurity.

Considering himself to be (as he certainly has been to a greater degree than he could have contemplated) one of the distributors of fame, he has sometimes indulged his partialities or prejudices³ by throwing more or less light, and lights more or less favourable, on the different persons of his scene; some of whom he obtrudes into broad day, while others he only "*adumbrates*" by imperfect allusions. But many, even of those the most clearly designated and spoken of as familiar to every eye

¹ A few slight alterations have been made in the original preface, to suit it to the present edition.—1847.

² "Dr. Johnson talked with approbation of an intended edition of the *Spectator*, with notes. He observed that all works which describe manners *require notes* in sixty or seventy years or less," *post*, p. 219. And Dean Swift wrote to Pope on the subject of the Dunciad, "I could wish the notes to be very large in what relates to the persons concerned; for I have long observed, that twenty miles from London nobody understands hints, initial letters, or town facts or passages, and in a few years not even those who live in London,"—*Lett.* 16. July, 1728.

³ Mr. Boswell confesses that he has sometimes been influenced by the subsequent conduct of persons in exhibiting or suppressing Dr. Johnson's unfavourable opinion of them.—See the cases of Lord Monboddo, p. 200., and of Mr. Sheridan, p. 204.; and it is to be feared he has some-

times done so without confessing, perhaps without being conscious, of the prejudice. On the other hand, he is sometimes more amiably guilty of extenuation, as in the instances of Doctors Robertson and Beattie, pp. 182, 191, 244, and 258.

It is not easy to explain why Mr. Boswell was unfavourably disposed towards old Sheridan and Goldsmith, though the bias is obvious; but wholly unaccountable are the frequent ridicule and censure which he delighted to provoke and to record against the amiable Bennet Langton. This is, I think, more apparent latterly: though he still generally designates him by some kindly epithet.

Those who knew Mr. Boswell intimately have informed me (as indeed he himself involuntarily does) that his vanity was very sensitive, and there can be no doubt that personal *pique* tinged many passages of his book, which, whenever I could trace it, I have not failed to notice.

and ear, have already lived their day, and are hardly to be heard of except in this work. Yet this work must be read with imperfect pleasure, without some knowledge of the history of those more than half-forgotten persons.

Facts, too, fade from memory as well as names; and fashions and follies are still more transient. But, in a book mainly composed of familiar conversation, how large a portion must bear on the facts, the follies, and the fashions of the time!

To clear up these obscurities—to supply these deficiencies—to retrieve obsolete and to collect scattered circumstances—and so to restore to the work as much as possible of its original clearness and freshness, were the main objects of the present Editor. I am but too well aware how unequal I am to the task, and how imperfectly I have accomplished it. But as the time was rapidly passing away in which any aid could be expected from the contemporaries of Johnson, or even of Boswell, I determined to undertake the work—believing that, however ill I might perform it, I should still do it better than, twenty years later, it could be done by any diligence of research or any felicity of conjecture.

But there were also deficiencies to be supplied. Notwithstanding the diligence and minuteness with which Mr. Boswell detailed *what he saw* of Dr. Johnson's life, his book left large chasms. It must be recollected that they never *resided* in the same neighbourhood, and that the *detailed* account of Johnson's domestic life and conversation is limited to the opportunities afforded by Mr. Boswell's occasional visits to London—by the Scottish Tour—and by one meeting at Dr. Taylor's in Derbyshire. Of above *twenty years*, therefore, that their acquaintance lasted, periods equivalent in the whole to about three-quarters of a year only¹ fell under the personal notice of Boswell—and thus has been left many a long *hiatus*—*valde defendus*, and now, alas, quite irreparable!

Mr. Boswell endeavoured, indeed, to fill up these chasms as well as he could with letters, memoranda², notes, and anecdotes collected from every quarter; but the appearance of his work was so long delayed, that Sir John Hawkins, Mrs. Piozzi, Dr. Strahan, Mr. Tyers, Mr. Nichols, and many others, had anticipated

much of what he would have been glad to tell. Some squabbles about copyright had warned him that he must not avail himself of their publications³; and he was on such bad terms with his rival biographers that he could not expect any assistance or countenance from them. He nevertheless went as far as he thought the law would allow in making frequent quotations from the preceding publications; but as to all the rest, which he did not venture to appropriate to his own use,—*the grapes were sour*—and he took every opportunity of representing the anecdotes of his rivals as extremely inaccurate and generally undeserving of credit.

It is certain that none of them have attained—indeed they do not pretend to—that extreme verbal accuracy with which Mr. Boswell had, by great zeal and diligence, learned to record conversations; nor in the details of facts are they so precise as Mr. Boswell, with good reason, claims to be. After all, however, Mr. Boswell himself is not exempt from those errors—

— quas aut incuria fudit,
Aut humana parum cavit natura ;

and an attentive examination and collation of the authorities (and particularly of Mr. Boswell's own) produced the final conviction that the minor biographers are entitled not merely to more credit than Mr. Boswell allows them, but to as much as any person writing from recollection, and not from notes made at the moment, can be.

But much the largest, and, for the purpose of filling up the intervals of his private history, the most valuable part of Dr. Johnson's correspondence was out of Boswell's reach, namely, that which he for twenty years maintained with Mrs. Thrale, and which she published in 1788, in two volumes octavo. For the copyright of these, Mr. Boswell says, in a tone of admiring envy, "she received five hundred pounds." The publication, however, was not very successful—it never reached a second edition, and is now almost forgotten. But through these letters are scattered almost the only information we have relative to Johnson during the long intervals between Mr. Boswell's visits; and from them he has occasionally but cautiously (having the fear of the

¹ It appears from the LIFE, that Mr. Boswell visited England a dozen times during his acquaintance with Dr. Johnson, and that the number of days on which they met were about 180, to which is to be added the time of the Tour, when they were together from the 18th August to the 23d November, 1773; in the whole about 276 days. The number of pages in the separate editions of the two works is 2528, of which, 1320 are occupied by the history of these 276 days; so that a little less than an hundredth part of Dr. Johnson's life occupies above one half of Mr. Boswell's works. Every one must regret that his personal intercourse with his great friend was not more frequent or more continued; but I could do but little towards rectifying this disproportion, except by the insertion of the correspondence with Mrs. Thrale.

² On the use of this Latinism, I venture to repeat

a pleasant anecdote told by Bishop Elrington. The late Lord Avonmore, giving evidence relative to certain certificates of degrees in the University of Dublin, called them (as they are commonly called) "*Testimoniums*." As the clerk was writing down the word, one of the counsel said, "Should it not be rather *testimonia*?" "Yes," replied Lord Avonmore, "if you think it *better English*!" This pleasantry contains a just grammatical criticism; but *memoranda* has of late been so generally used as an English plural that I have ventured to retain it.

³ It is a curious proof of these jealousies, that Mr. Boswell entered at Stationers' Hall as distinct publications, *Dr. Johnson's letter to Lord Chesterfield*, and the account of his *Conversation with George III.*, which occupy a few pages of the LIFE.

copyright law before his eyes) made interesting extracts.

These letters being now public property, I have been at liberty to follow up Mr. Boswell's imperfect example, and have therefore made numerous and copious selections from them, less as specimens of Johnson's talents for letter-writing, than as notices of his domestic and social life during the intervals of Mr. Boswell's narrative. Indeed, as *letters*, few of Johnson's can have any great charm for the common reader; they are full of good sense and good-nature, but in forms too didactic and ponderous to be very amusing. In the extracts which I have made from Mrs. Thrale's correspondence, I have been guided entirely by the object of completing the history of Johnson's life.¹

The most important addition, however, which I have made is one that needs no apology — the incorporation with the 'LIFE' of the whole of the 'TOUR TO THE HEBRIDES,' which Boswell published in one volume in 1785, and which, no doubt, if he could legally have done so, he would himself have incorporated in the LIFE — of which indeed he expressly tells us, he looks on the TOUR but as a *portion*. It is only wonderful, that since the copyright has expired, any edition of his Life of Johnson should have been published without the addition of this, the most original, curious, and amusing portion of the whole biography.

The *Prayers and Meditations*, published by Dr. Strahan too hastily after Johnson's death, and I think in other respects also, indiscreetly², have likewise been made use of to an extent which was forbidden to Mr. Boswell. What Dr. Strahan calls *meditations* are, in fact, nothing but *diaries* of the author's moral and religious state of mind, intermixed with some notices of his bodily health and of the interior circumstances of his domestic life. Mr. Boswell had ventured to quote *some* of these: the present edition contains *all* that appear to offer any thing of interest.

I have also incorporated a diary which Johnson had kept during a *Tour through North Wales*, made, in 1775, in company with Mr. Thrale and his family. Mr. Boswell had, it appears, inquired in vain for this diary: if he could have obtained it, he would, no doubt, have inserted it, as he did the similar notes of the *Tour in France* in the succeeding year. By the liberality of Mr. Duppa, who published it in 1806, with copious explanatory notes, I was enabled to add it to my edition. I have likewise given in the Appendix an *Account of Dr. Johnson's early*

life, written by himself, published in 1802, but now become scarce; and I have thrown into the notes or the Appendix a few extracts from other published lives and anecdotes of Dr. Johnson which seemed necessary to complete Boswell's picture.

But besides these *printed* materials, I have been favoured with many *papers* connected with Dr. Johnson, his life, and society, hitherto unpublished. Of course, my first inquiries were directed towards the original manuscript of Mr. Boswell's Journal, which would no doubt have enabled me to fill up all the blanks and clear away much of the obscurity that exist in the printed LIFE. It was to be hoped that the '*archives of Auchinleck*,' which Mr. Boswell frequently and pompously mentions, would contain the original materials of these works, which he himself, as well as the world at large, considered as his best claims to distinction. And I thought that I was only fulfilling the duties of courtesy in requesting from Mr. Boswell's representative any information which he might be disposed to afford on the subject. To that request I never received any answer: though the same inquiry was afterwards, on my behalf, repeated by Sir Walter Scott, whose influence might have been expected to have produced a more satisfactory result.³ But was more fortunate in other quarters.

The Reverend Doctor Hall, Master of Pembroke College, was so good as to collate the printed copy of the *Prayers and Meditations* with the original papers, now (most appropriately) deposited in the library of that college, and some, not unimportant, light has been thrown on that publication by the personal inspection of the papers which he permitted me to make. Doctor Hall has also elucidated some facts and corrected some misstatements in Mr. Boswell's account of Johnson's earlier life, by an examination of the college records; and he has found some of Johnson's Oxford exercises, one or two specimens of which have been selected as likely to interest the classical reader. He has further been so obliging as to select and copy several letters written by Dr. Johnson to his early and constant friends, the daughters of Sir Thomas Aston, which, having fallen into the hands of Mrs. Parker, were by her son, the Reverend S. H. Parker, presented to Pembroke College. The papers derived from this source are marked *Pemb. MSS.* Dr. Hall, feeling a fraternal interest in the most illustrious of the sons of Pembroke, continued, as will appear in the course of the work, to favour me with his valuable assistance.

The Reverend Dr. Harwood, the historian

¹ The number of *original* letters in my edition of 1831 was about 100 — to which I have now added about 20; and there are above 50 extracts from the Thrale Correspondence.

² See the remarks on this subject, pp. 792, 803.

³ Sir Walter Scott and Sir James Boswell, to whom, as the grandson of Mr. Boswell, the inquiries were addressed, unfortunately missed one another in mutual calls; but I have heard from another quarter that the original

journals do not exist at Auchinleck: perhaps to this fact the silence of Sir James Boswell may be attributed. The manuscript of the TOUR was, it is known, fairly transcribed, and so, probably, were *portions* of the LIFE; but it appears from a memorandum book and other papers in Mr. Auderdon's possession, that Boswell's materials were in a variety of forms; and it is feared that they have been irretrievably dispersed.

of Lichfield, procured for me, through the favour of Mrs. Pearson, the widow of the legatee of Miss Lucy Porter, many letters addressed to this lady by Johnson; for which, it seems, Mr. Boswell had inquired in vain. These papers are marked *Pearson MSS.* Dr. Harwood supplied also some other papers, and much information collected by himself.¹

Lord Rokeby, the nephew and heir of Mrs. Montague, was so kind as to communicate Dr. Johnson's letters to that lady.

Mr. Langton, the grandson of Mr. Bennet Langton, has furnished some of his grandfather's papers, and several original MSS. of Dr. Johnson's Latin poetry, which have enabled me to explain some errors and obscurities in the published copies of those compositions.

Mr. J. F. Palmer, the grand-nephew of Sir Joshua Reynolds and of Miss Reynolds, most liberally communicated all the papers of that lady, containing a number of letters or rather notes of Dr. Johnson to her, which, however trivial in themselves, tend to corroborate all that the biographers have stated of the charity and kindness of his private life. Mr. Palmer also contributed a paper of more importance—a MS. of about seventy pages, written by Miss Reynolds, and entitled *Recollections of Dr. Johnson*.² The authenticity and general accuracy of these *Recollections* cannot be doubted, and I had therefore admitted extracts from them into the text of my first edition; I have now given the whole in the Appendix.

Mr. Markland has, as the reader will see by the notes to which his name is affixed, favoured me with a great deal of zealous assistance and valuable information.

He also communicated a copy of Mrs. Piozzi's anecdotes, copiously annotated, *propria manu*, by Mr. Malone. These notes have been of use in explaining some obscurities; they guide us also to the source of many of Mr. Boswell's charges against Mrs. Piozzi; and have had an effect that Mr. Malone could neither have expected or wished—that of tending rather to confirm than to impeach that lady's veracity.

Mr. J. L. Anderdon favoured me with the inspection of a portfolio bought at the sale of the library of Boswell's second son James, which contained some of the original letters, memoranda, and note books, which had been used as materials for the *LIFE*. Their chief value, now, is to show that as far as we may judge from this specimen, the printed book is

a faithful transcript from the original notes, except only as to the suppression of names. Mr. Anderdon's portfolio also contains Johnson's original draft of the *Prospectus* of the Dictionary, and a fair copy of it (written by an amanuensis, but signed, *in form*, by Johnson), addressed to Lord Chesterfield, on which his lordship appears to have made a few critical notes.³

Through the obliging interposition of Mr. Appleyard, private secretary of the second Earl Spencer, Mrs. Rose, the daughter of Dr. Strahan, favoured me with copies of several letters of Dr. Johnson to her father, one or two only of which Mr. Boswell had been able to obtain.

In addition to these contributions of manuscript materials, I have to acknowledge much and valuable assistance from numerous literary and distinguished friends.

The venerable Lord Stowell, the friend and executor of Dr. Johnson, was one of the first persons who suggested this work to me: he was pleased to take a great interest in it, and kindly endeavoured to explain the obscurities which were stated to him; but he confessed, at the same time, that the application had in some instances come rather *too late*, and regretted that an edition on this principle had not been undertaken when full light might have been obtained. His lordship was also so kind as to dictate, in his own happy and peculiar style, some notes of his recollections of Dr. Johnson. These, by a very unusual accident⁴, were lost, and his lordship's great age and increasing infirmity deterred me from again troubling him on the subject. A few points, however, in which I could trust to my own recollection, will be found in the notes.

To my revered friend, Dr. Thomas Elrington, Lord Bishop of Ferns, I had to offer my thanks for much valuable advice and assistance, and for a continuance of that friendly interest with which his lordship for many years, and in more important concerns, honoured me.

Sir Walter Scott, whose personal kindness to me and indefatigable good-nature to every body were surpassed only by his genius, found time from his higher occupations to annotate a considerable portion of this work—the *Tour to the Hebrides*—and continued his aid to the very conclusion of my task.

The Right Honourable Sir James Mackintosh, whose acquaintance with literary men and literary history was so extensive, and who, although not of the Johnsonian circle, became early in life acquainted with most of the sur-

¹ Dr. Harwood likewise favoured me with permission to engrave for the edition of 1831, the earliest known portrait of Dr. Johnson—a miniature worn in a bracelet by his wife, which Dr. Harwood purchased from Francis Barber, Dr. Johnson's servant and legatee. The engraving in the original was by *mistake* stated to be "in the possession of Mrs. Pearson." It belonged to Dr. Harwood.

² A less perfect copy of these *Recollections* was also communicated by Mr. Gwatkin, who married one of Sir Joshua's nieces.

³ This attention on the part of Lord Chesterfield renders still more puzzling Johnson's conduct towards his lordship. See pp. 58. 84. *et seq.*

⁴ They were transmitted by post, addressed to Sir Walter Scott in Edinburgh for his perusal; after a considerable lapse of time, Sir Walter was written to to return them—he had never had them. It then appeared that the post office bag which contained this packet and several others, had been lost, and it has never been heard of. Some of my friends reproached me with want of due caution in having trusted this packet to the post, but I think unjustly. There is, perhaps, no individual now alive who has despatched and received a greater number of letters than I have done, and I can scarcely recollect an instance of a similar loss.

vivors of that society, not only approved and encouraged my design, but was, as the reader will see, good enough to contribute to its execution. It were to be wished, that he himself could have been induced to undertake the work—too humble indeed for his powers, but which he was, of all men then living, perhaps, the fittest to execute.

Mr. Alexander Chalmers, the ingenious and learned editor of the last London edition, gave me, with great candour and liberality, all the assistance in his power—regretting and wondering, like Lord Stowell and Sir James Mackintosh, that so much should be forgotten of what at no remote period every body must have known.

To Mr. D'Israeli's love and knowledge of literary history, and to his friendly assistance, I was very much indebted; as well as to Mr. (now Sir Henry) Ellis of the British Museum, for his readiness on this and other occasions to afford me every information in his power.

The Marquis Wellesley took an encouraging interest in the work, and improved it by some valuable observations; and the Marquis of Lansdowne, Earl Spencer, Lord Bexley, and Lord St. Helens, the son of Dr. Johnson's early friend Mr. Fitzherbert, were so obliging as to answer some inquiries with which I found it necessary to trouble them.¹

In this edition (1847) I have had some valuable assistance from Mr. Peter Cunningham (son of Allan Cunningham the Poet) as well as from my friend Mr. Lockhart, author of the '*Life of Sir Walter Scott*'—a work second only, if indeed it be second, to that of Boswell, in all its higher qualities.

How I may have arranged all these materials, and availed myself of so much assistance, it is not for me to decide. Situated as I was when I began and until I had nearly completed the edition of 1835, I could not have ventured to undertake a more serious task; and I fear that even this desultory and gossiping kind of employment must have suffered from the weightier occupations in which I was then engaged, as well as from my own deficiencies.

If unfortunately any one should think that I have failed in my attempt to improve the original work, I still have the consolation of thinking that there is no great harm done. For, as I have retrenched² *nothing* from the best editions of the *LIFE* and the *TOUR*, the worst that can happen is that what I have added to the collection may, if the reader so pleases, be rejected as *surplusage*.

Of the value of the *notes* with which my friends favoured me, I can have no doubt;

of my own, I will only say, that I have endeavoured to make them at once concise and explanatory. I hope I have cleared up some obscurities, supplied some deficiencies, and, in many cases, saved the reader the trouble of referring to dictionaries and magazines for notices of the various persons and facts which are incidentally mentioned.³

In some cases I candidly confess, and in many more I fear that I have shown, my own ignorance; but I can say, that when I have so failed, it has not been for want of diligent inquiry after the desired information.

I have not considered it any part of my duty to defend or to controvert the statements or opinions recorded in the text; but in a few instances, in which either a matter of *fact* has been evidently misstated, or an important *principle* has been heedlessly invaded or too lightly treated, I have ventured a few words towards correcting the error.

The desultory nature of the work itself, the repetitions in some instances and the contradictions in others, are perplexing to those who may seek for Dr. Johnson's final opinion on any given subject. This difficulty I could not hope, and have, therefore, not attempted to remove; it is inevitable in the transcript of table-talk so various, so loose, and so extensive; but I have endeavoured to alleviate it by occasional references to the different places where the same subject is discussed, and by a copious, and I trust, satisfactory index.

I have added translations of most if not all the classical quotations in the work—generally from the most approved translators—sometimes, when they did not appear to hit the point in question, I have ventured a version of my own.

With respect to the spirit towards Dr. JOHNSON himself by which I was actuated, I beg leave to say that I feel and have always felt for him a great, but, I hope, not a blind admiration. For his writings, and especially for his *Vanity of Human Wishes*, the *Prefaces* to the Dictionary and Shakespeare, and the *Lives of the Poets*, that admiration has little or no alloy. In his personal conduct and conversation there may be occasionally something to regret and (though rarely) something to disapprove, but less, perhaps, than there would be in those of any other man, whose words, actions, and even thoughts should be exposed to public observation so nakedly as, by a strange concurrence of circumstances, Dr. Johnson's have been.

Having no domestic ties or duties, the latter

¹ Of all these eminent persons mentioned in the text, Lords Lansdowne and Bexley, Sir Henry Ellis, and Messrs. Markland and D'Israeli, only survive—but I preserve, with a tender pleasure and a very excusable pride, this record of my gratitude to so many illustrious friends and assistants. Of all that are mentioned in the work itself as having been acquainted with Johnson, two only—acquaintances also of mine—Lady Keith (Miss Thrale) and Miss Langton, only survive.

² In half a dozen instances an indelicate expression has been omitted; and, in one or two places (always, however, stated in the notes), the insertion of new matter has occasioned the omission or alteration of a few words in the text.

³ As some proof of diligence, I may be allowed to state that the *Variorum* notes to the edition by Chalmers were little over 1000, while the number of my *additional* notes is nearly 2500.

portion of his life was, as Mrs. Piozzi observes, nothing but *conversation*, and that conversation was watched and recorded from night to night and from hour to hour with zealous attention and unceasing diligence. No man, the most staid or the most guarded, is always the same in health, in spirits, in opinions. Human life is a series of inconsistencies; and when Johnson's early misfortunes, his protracted poverty, his strong passions, his violent prejudices, and, above all, his bodily and I may say mental infirmities, are considered, it is only wonderful that a portrait so laboriously minute and so painfully faithful does not exhibit more of blemish, incongruity, and error.

The life of Dr. Johnson is indeed a most curious *chapter in the history of man*; for certainly there is no instance of the life of any other human being having been exhibited in so much detail, or with so much fidelity. There are, perhaps, not many men who have practised so much self-examination as to know *themselves* as well as every reader knows Dr. Johnson.

We must recollect that it is not his *table-talk* or his literary conversations only that have been published: all his most private and most trifling correspondence—all his most common as well as his most confidential intercourse—all his most secret communion with his own conscience—and even the solemn and contrite exercises of his piety, have been divulged and exhibited to the "garish eye" of the world without reserve—I had almost said, without delicacy. Young, with gloomy candour, has said

"Heaven's Sovereign saves all beings but himself
That hideous sight, a naked human heart."

What a man must Johnson have been, whose heart, having been laid more bare than that of any other mortal ever was, has passed so little blemished through so terrible an ordeal!

But while we contemplate with such interest this admirable and perfect *portrait*, let us not forget the *painter*. Mr. Burke told Sir James Mackintosh that he thought Johnson showed more powers of mind in company than in his writings, and on another occasion said, that he thought Johnson appeared greater in Boswell's volumes than even in his own.

It was a strange and fortunate concurrence, that one so prone to talk and who talked so well, should be brought into such close contact and confidence with one so zealous and so able to record. Dr. Johnson was a man of extraordinary powers, but Mr. Boswell had qualities, in their own way, almost as rare. He united lively manners with indefatigable diligence, and the volatile curiosity of a *man about town* with the drudging patience of a *chronicler*. With a very good opinion of himself, he was quick in discerning, and frank in applauding, the excellencies of others. Though proud of his own name and lineage, and ambitious of the countenance of the great, he was yet so

cordial an admirer of *merit*, wherever found, that much public ridicule, and something like contempt, were excited by the *modest assurance* with which he pressed his acquaintance on all the *notorieties* of his time, and by the ostentatious (but in the main, laudable) assiduity with which he attended the exile Paoli and the low-born Johnson! These were amiable, and, for us, fortunate inconsistencies. His contemporaries indeed, not without some colour of reason, occasionally complained of him as vain, inquisitive, troublesome, and giddy; but his vanity was inoffensive—his curiosity was commonly directed towards laudable objects—when he meddled, he did so, generally, from good-natured motives—his giddiness was only an exuberant gaiety, which never failed in the respect and reverence due to literature, morals, and religion: and posterity gratefully acknowledges the taste, temper, and talents with which he selected, enjoyed, and described that polished and intellectual society which still lives in his work, and without his work had perished!

"Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
Multi: sed omnes illacrymabiles
Urgentur, ignotique longa
Nocte, carent quia vate sacro."

Such imperfect though interesting sketches as Ben Jonson's visit to Drummond, Selden's Table Talk, Swift's Journal, and Spence's Anecdotes, only tantalise our curiosity and excite our regret that there was no *Boswell* to preserve the conversation and illustrate the life and times of Addison, of Swift himself, of Milton, and, above all, of Shakespeare! We can hardly refrain from indulging ourselves with the imagination of works so instructive and delightful; but that were idle; except as it may tend to increase our obligation to the faithful and fortunate biographer of Dr. Johnson.

Mr. Boswell's birth and education familiarised him with the highest of his acquaintance, and his good-nature and conviviality with the lowest. He describes society of all classes with the happiest discrimination. Even his foibles assisted his curiosity; he was sometimes laughed at, but always well received; he excited no envy, he imposed no restraint. It was well known that he made notes of every conversation, yet no timidity was seriously alarmed, no delicacy demurred; and we are perhaps indebted to the lighter parts of his character for the patient indulgence with which every body submitted to sit for their pictures.

Mr. Boswell took, indeed, extraordinary and most laudable pains to attain accuracy. Not only did he commit to paper at night the conversation of the day, but even in general society he would occasionally take a note of any thing remarkable that occurred; and he afterwards spared no trouble in arranging and

supplying the inevitable deficiencies of these hasty memoranda.¹

Nor were his talents inconsiderable. He had looked a good deal into books, and more into the world. The narrative portion of his works is written with good sense, in an easy and perspicuous style, and without (which seems odd enough) any palpable imitation of Johnson. But in recording conversations he is unrivalled: that he was eminently accurate in substance, we have the evidence of all his contemporaries; but he is also in a high degree characteristic—dramatic. The incidental observations with which he explains or enlivens the dialogue, are terse, appropriate, and picturesque—we not merely hear his company, *we see them!*

Yet his *father* was, we are told, by no means satisfied² with the life he led, nor his eldest son with the kind of reputation he attained; neither liked to hear of his connexion even with Paoli or Johnson; and both would have been better pleased if he had contented himself with a domestic life of sober respectability.

¹ Mr. Wordsworth obligingly furnished me with the following copy of a note in a blank page of his copy of Boswell's work, dictated and signed in Mr. Wordsworth's presence by the late Sir George Beaumont, whose own accuracy was exemplary, and who lived very much in the society of Johnson's latter days.

"Rydal Mount, 12th Sept. 1826.

"Sir Joshua Reynolds told me at his table, immediately after the publication of this book, that every word of it might be depended upon as if given on oath. Boswell was in the habit of bringing the proof sheets to his house previously to their being struck off, and if any of the company happened to have been present at the conversation recorded, he requested him or them to correct any error, and, not satisfied with this, he would run over all London for the sake of verifying any single word which might be disputed.

"G. H. BEAUMONT."

Although it cannot escape notice, that Sir Joshua is here reported to have drawn a somewhat wider inference than the premises warranted, the general testimony is satisfactory, and it is to a considerable extent corroborated by every kind of evidence external and internal.

² See p. 397. n. This feeling is less surprising in old Lord Auchinleck than in Sir Alexander, who was himself a man of the world, clever, literary, and social.

³ The following letter (in the *Reynolds Papers*) from Mr. Boswell to Sir Joshua, on the subject of this portrait, ought not to be lost.

"London, 7th June, 1785.

"MY DEAR SIR,—The debts which I contracted in my father's lifetime will not be cleared off by me for some years. I therefore think it unconscientious to indulge myself in any expensive article of elegant luxury. But in the mean time,

The public, however, the dispenser of fame, has judged differently, and considers the biographer of Johnson as the most eminent branch of the family pedigree. With less activity, less indiscretion, less curiosity, less enthusiasm, he might, perhaps, have been what the old lord would, no doubt, have thought more respectable; and have been pictured on the walls of Auchinleck (the very name of which we never should have heard) by some stiff, provincial painter in a lawyer's wig or a squire's hunting cap; but his portrait, by Reynolds³, would not have been ten times engraved; his name could never have become—as it is likely to be—as far spread and as lasting as the English language; and "the world had wanted" a work to which it refers as a manual of amusement, a repository of wit, wisdom, and morals, and a lively and faithful history of the manners and literature of England, during a period hardly second in brilliancy, and superior in importance, even to the Augustan age of Anne.

1st May, 1831.

J. W. C.

you may die, or I may die; and I should regret very much that there should not be at Auchinleck my portrait painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds, with whom I have the felicity of living in social intercourse.

"I have a proposal to make to you. I am for certain to be called to the English bar next February. Will you now do my picture, and the price shall be paid out of the first fees which I receive as a barrister in Westminster Hall. Or if that fund should fail, it shall be paid at any rate in five years hence, by myself or my representatives.

"If you are pleased to approve of this proposal, your signifying your concurrence underneath, upon two duplicates, one of which shall be kept by each of us, will be a sufficient voucher of the obligation. I ever am, with very sincere regard, my dear sir, your faithful and affectionate humble servant,

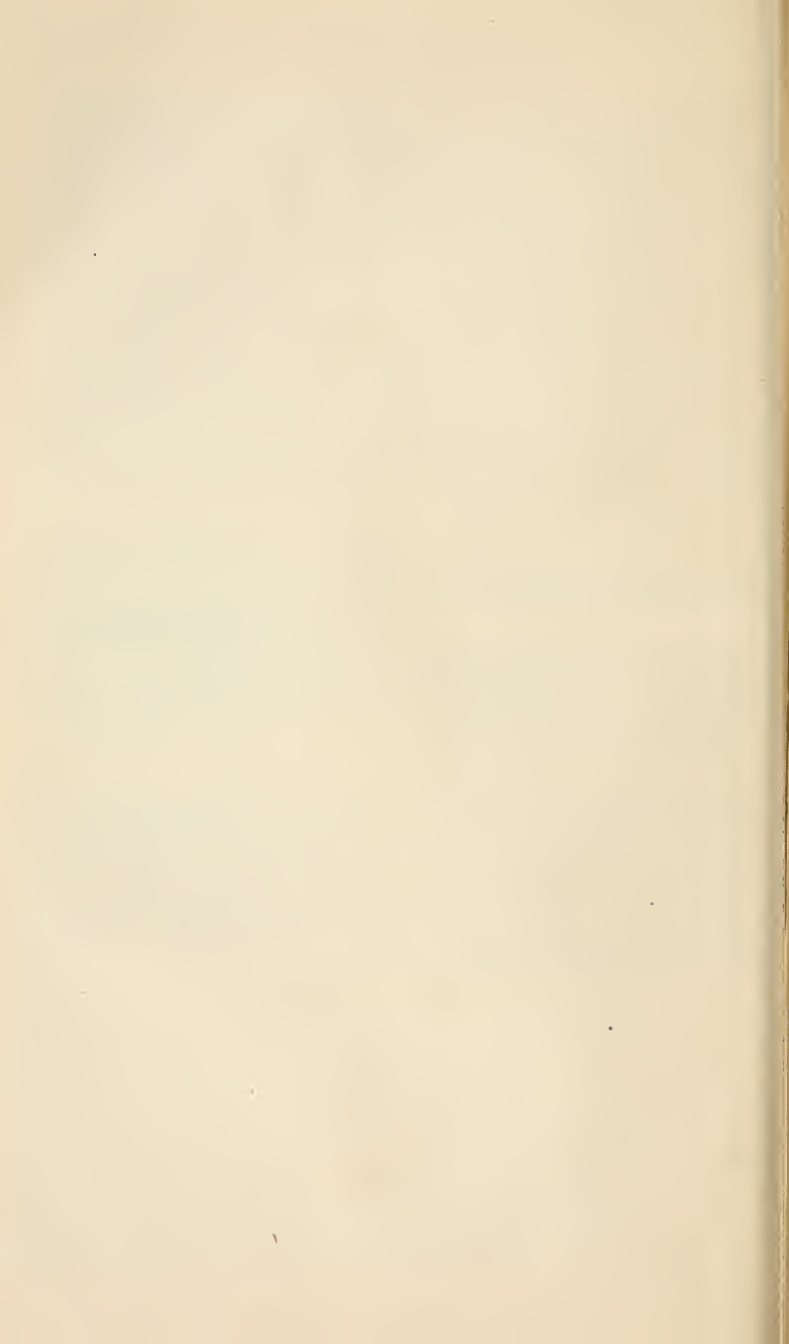
"JAMES BOSWELL.

"I agree to the above conditions.

"J. Reynolds.

"London, 10th Sept. 1785."

An engraving from Sir Joshua's portrait is prefixed to the present volume. I was favoured by Mrs. Denham with a pencil sketch of Mr. Boswell in later life, by Sir Thomas Lawrence: which, although bordering on caricature, is so evidently characteristic, and (as I am assured) so identically like, that I think it worth reproducing. I have also added, on the next page, a whole length (first published in the duodecimo edition) of Boswell during the period when he "*flourished*" (as Mr. Chalmers slyly phrases it) with Johnson. Both these sketches will, I think, be acceptable, as giving a lively idea, not merely of his person, but also, (and particularly the first,) of his mind and manner:—busy self-importance and dogmatical good-nature were seldom better expressed.





JAMES BOSWELL

(From an Original Sketch by George Langton, Esq.)

[ORIGINAL TITLE-PAGE.]

THE
L I F E
OF
SAMUEL JOHNSON, LL.D.

COMPREHENDING
AN ACCOUNT OF HIS STUDIES,
AND NUMEROUS WORKS,
IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER;
A SERIES OF HIS EPISTOLARY CORRESPONDENCE
AND CONVERSATIONS WITH MANY EMINENT PERSONS;
AND
VARIOUS ORIGINAL PIECES OF HIS COMPOSITION,
NEVER BEFORE PUBLISHED.

THE WHOLE EXHIBITING A VIEW OF LITERATURE AND LITERARY MEN IN GREAT BRITAIN,
FOR NEAR HALF A CENTURY DURING WHICH HE FLOURISHED.

BY
JAMES BOSWELL, ESQ.

IN TWO VOLUMES [QUARTO]

Quò fit ut omnis
Votiva pateat veluti descripta tabella
VITA SENIS ——— HORAT.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY HENRY BALDWIN,
FOR CHARLES DILLY, IN THE POULTRY.

M DCC XCL.

“ After my death I wish no other herald,
No other speaker of my living actions,
To keep mine honour from corruption,
But such an honest chronicler as Griffith.”¹

SHAKSPEARE, *Henry VIII.*

¹ See Dr. Johnson's letter to Mrs. Thrale, dated Ostick, in Skie, September 30. 1773: "Boswell writes a regular journal of our travels, which I think contains as much of what I say and do, as of all other occurrences together; '*for such a faithful chronicler is Griffith.*'"¹⁷ — BOSWELL.

DEDICATION.

TO SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS.

MY DEAR SIR,—Every liberal motive that can actuate an author in the dedication of his labours concurs in directing me to you, as the person to whom the following work should be inscribed.

If there be a pleasure in celebrating the distinguished merit of a contemporary, mixed with a certain degree of vanity, not altogether inexcusable, in appearing fully sensible of it, where can I find one, in complimenting whom I can with more general approbation gratify those feelings? Your excellence, not only in the art over which you have long presided with unrivalled fame, but also in philosophy and elegant literature, is well known to the present, and will continue to be the admiration of future ages. Your equal and placid temper, your variety of conversation, your true politeness, by which you are so amiable in private society, and that enlarged hospitality which has long made your house a common centre of union for the great, the accomplished, the learned, and the ingenious; all these qualities I can, in perfect confidence of not being accused of flattery, ascribe to you.

If a man may indulge an honest pride, in having it known to the world that he has been thought worthy of particular attention by a person of the first eminence in the age in which he lived, whose company has been universally courted, I am justified in availing myself of the usual privilege of a dedication, when I mention that there has been a long and uninterrupted friendship between us.

If gratitude should be acknowledged for favours received, I have this opportunity, my dear Sir, most sincerely to thank you for the many happy hours which I owe to your kindness,—for the cordiality with which you have at all times been pleased to welcome me,—for the number of valuable acquaintances to whom you have introduced me,—for the *noctes cœneque Deûm*, which I have enjoyed under your roof.

If a work should be inscribed to one who is master of the subject of it, and whose approbation, therefore, must ensure it credit and success, the Life of Dr. Johnson is, with the greatest propriety, dedicated to Sir Joshua Reynolds, who was the intimate and beloved friend of that great man; the friend whom he declared to be “the most invulnerable man he knew; whom, if he should quarrel with him, he should find the most difficulty how to abuse.” You, my dear Sir, studied him, and knew him well; you venerated and admired him. Yet, luminous as he was upon the whole,

you perceived all the shades which mingled in the grand composition, all the little peculiarities and slight blemishes which marked the literary Colossus. Your very warm commendation of the specimen which I gave in my “Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides,” of my being able to preserve his conversation in an authentic and lively manner, which opinion the public has confirmed, was the best encouragement for me to persevere in my purpose of producing the whole of my stores.

In one respect, this work will in some passages be different from the former. In my “Tour,” I was almost unboundedly open in my communications; and from my eagerness to display the wonderful fertility and readiness of Johnson’s wit, freely showed to the world its dexterity, even when I was myself the object of it. I trusted that I should be liberally understood, as knowing very well what I was about, and by no means as simply unconscious of the pointed effects of the satire. I own, indeed, that I was arrogant enough to suppose that the tenour of the rest of the book would sufficiently guard me against such a strange imputation. But it seems I judged too well of the world; for, though I could scarcely believe it, I have been undoubtedly informed, that many persons, especially in distant quarters, not penetrating enough into Johnson’s character, so as to understand his mode of treating his friends, have arraigned my judgment, instead of seeing that I was sensible of all that they could observe.

It is related of the great Dr. Clarke, that when in one of his leisure hours he was unbending himself with a few friends in the most playful and frolicsome manner, he observed Beau Nash approaching; upon which he suddenly stopped. “My boys,” said he, “let us be grave—here comes a fool.” The world, my friend, I have found to be a great fool as to that particular on which it has become necessary to speak very plainly. I have therefore in this work been more reserved; and though I tell nothing but the truth, I have still kept in my mind that the whole truth is not always to be exposed. This, however, I have managed so as to occasion no diminution of the pleasure which my book should afford, though malignity may sometimes be disappointed of its gratifications. I am, my dear Sir, your much obliged friend and faithful humble servant,

JAMES BOSWELL.

London, 20th April, 1791.

MR. BOSWELL'S ADVERTISEMENTS.

TO THE FIRST EDITION.

I AT last deliver to the world a work which I have long promised, and of which, I am afraid, too high expectations have been raised. The delay of its publication must be imputed, in a considerable degree, to the extraordinary zeal which has been shown by distinguished persons in all quarters to supply me with additional information concerning its illustrious subject; resembling in this the grateful tribes of ancient nations, of which every individual was eager to throw a stone upon the grave of a departed hero, and thus to share in the pious office of erecting an honourable monument to his memory.

The labour and anxious attention with which I have collected and arranged the materials of which these volumes are composed, will hardly be conceived by those who read them with careless facility. The stretch of mind and prompt assiduity by which so many conversations were preserved, I myself, at some distance of time, contemplate with wonder; and I must be allowed to suggest, that the nature of the work, in other respects, as it consists of innumerable detached particulars, all which, even the most minute, I have spared no pains to ascertain with a scrupulous authenticity, has occasioned a degree of trouble far beyond that of any other species of composition. Were I to detail the books which I have consulted, and the inquiries which I have found it necessary to make by various channels, I should probably be thought ridiculously ostentatious. Let me only observe, as a specimen of my trouble, that I have sometimes been obliged to run half over London, in order to fix a date correctly: which, when I had accomplished, I well knew would obtain me no praise, though a failure would have been to my discredit. And after all, perhaps, hard as it may be, I shall not be surprised if omissions or mistakes be pointed out with invidious severity. I have also been extremely careful as to the exactness of my quotations; holding that there is a respect due to the public, which should oblige every author to attend to this, and never to presume to introduce them with, "I think I have read," or "If I remember right," when the originals may be examined.

I beg leave to express my warmest thanks to those who have been pleased to favour me with communications and advice in the conduct of my work. But I cannot sufficiently acknowledge my obligations to my friend Mr. Malone, who was so good as to allow me to read to him almost the whole of my manuscript, and made such remarks as were greatly for the advantage of the work; though it is but fair to him to mention, that upon many occasions I differed from him, and followed my own judgment. I regret exceedingly that I was deprived of the benefit of his revision, when not more than one half of the book had passed through the press; but after having completed his

very laborious and admirable edition of Shakspeare, for which he generously would accept of no other reward but that fame which he has so deservedly obtained, he fulfilled his promise of a long-wished-for visit to his relations in Ireland; from whence his safe return *finibus Atticis* is desired by his friends here, with all the classical ardour of *Sic te Diva potens Cypri*; for there is no man in whom more elegant and worthy qualities are united; and whose society, therefore, is more valued by those who know him.

It is painful to me to think, that while I was carrying on this work, several of those to whom it would have been most interesting have died. Such melancholy disappointments we know to be incident to humanity; but we do not feel them the less. Let me particularly lament the Reverend Thomas Warton and the Reverend Dr. Adams. Mr. Warton, amidst his variety of genius and learning, was an excellent biographer. His contributions to my collection are highly estimable; and as he had a true relish of my "Tour to the Hebrides," I trust I should now have been gratified with a larger share of his kind approbation. Dr. Adams, eminent as the head of a college, as a writer, and as a most amiable man, had known Johnson from his early years, and was his friend through life. What reason I had to hope for the countenance of that venerable gentleman to this work will appear from what he wrote to me upon a former occasion from Oxford, November 17. 1785:—"Dear Sir, I hazard this letter, not knowing where it will find you, to thank you for your very agreeable 'Tour,' which I found here on my return from the country, and in which you have depicted our friend so perfectly to my fancy, in every attitude, every scene and situation, that I have thought myself in the company and of the party almost throughout. It has given very general satisfaction: and those who have found most fault with a passage here and there, have agreed that they could not help going through, and being entertained with the whole. I wish, indeed, some few gross expressions had been softened, and a few of our hero's foibles had been a little more shaded; but it is useful to see the weaknesses incident to great minds; and you have given us Dr. Johnson's authority that in history all ought to be told."

Such a sanction to my faulty of giving a just representation of Dr. Johnson I could not conceal. Nor will I suppress my satisfaction in the consciousness, that by recording so considerable a portion of the wisdom and wit of "the brightest ornament of the eighteenth century,"¹ I have largely provided for the instruction and entertainment of mankind.

J. BOSWELL.

London, 20th April, 1791.

¹ See Mr. Malone's Preface to his edition of Shakspeare.—BOSWELL.

TO THE SECOND EDITION.

THAT I was anxious for the success of a work which had employed much of my time and labour, I do not wish to conceal; but whatever doubts I at any time entertained, have been entirely removed by the very favourable reception with which it has been honoured. That reception has excited my best exertions to render my book more perfect; and in this endeavour I have had the assistance not only of some of my particular friends, but of many other learned and ingenious men, by which I have been enabled to rectify some mistakes, and to enrich the work with many valuable additions. These I have ordered to be printed separately in quarto, for the accommodation of the purchasers of the first edition. May I be permitted to say that the typography of both editions does honour to the press of Mr. Henry Baldwin, now Master of the Worshipful Company of Stationers, whom I have long known as a worthy man and an obliging friend.

In the strangely mixed scenes of human existence, our feelings are often at once pleasing and painful. Of this truth, the progress of the present work furnishes a striking instance. It was highly gratifying to me that my friend, Sir Joshua Reynolds, to whom it is inscribed, lived to peruse it, and to give the strongest testimony to its fidelity; but before a second edition, which he contributed to improve, could be finished, the world has been deprived of that most valuable man; a loss of which the regret will be deep, and lasting, and extensive, proportionate to the felicity which he diffused through a wide circle of admirers and friends.

In reflecting that the illustrious subject of this work, by being more extensively and intimately known, however elevated before, has risen in the veneration and love of mankind, I feel a satisfaction beyond what fame can afford. We cannot, indeed, too much or too often admire his wonderful powers of mind, when we consider that the principal store of wit and wisdom which this work contains was not a particular selection from his general conversation, but was merely his occasional talk at such times as I had the good fortune to be in his company; and, without doubt, if his discourse at other periods had been collected with the same attention, the whole tenour of what he uttered would have been found equally excellent.

His strong, clear, and animated enforcement of religion, morality, loyalty, and subordination, while it delights and improves the wise and the good, will, I trust, prove an effectual antidote to that detestable sophistry which has been lately imported from France, under the false name of philosophy, and with a malignant industry has been employed against the peace, good order, and happiness of society, in our free and prosperous country: but, thanks be to God, without producing the pernicious effects which were hoped for by its propagators.

It seems to me, in my moments of self-com-

placency, that this extensive biographical work, however inferior in its nature, may in one respect be assimilated to the *Odyssey*. Amidst a thousand entertaining and instructive episodes, the hero is never long out of sight; for they are all in some degree connected with him; and he, in the whole course of the history, is exhibited by the author for the best advantage of his readers:

— Quid virtus et quid sapientia possit,
Utile proposuit nobis exemplar Ulysses.

Should there be any cold-blooded and morose mortals who really dislike this book, I will give them a story to apply. When the great Duke of Marlborough, accompanied by Lord Cadogan, was one day reconnoitring the army in Flanders, a heavy rain came on, and they both called for their cloaks. Lord Cadogan's servant, a good-humoured alert lad, brought his lordship's in a minute. The duke's servant, a lazy sulky dog, was so sluggish, that his grace, being wet to the skin, reproved him, and had for answer, with a grunt, "I came as fast as I could;" upon which the duke calmly said, "Cadogan, I would not for a thousand pounds have that fellow's temper."

There are some men, I believe, who have, or think they have, a very small share of vanity. Such may speak of their literary fame in a decorous style of diffidence. But I confess, that I am so formed by nature and by habit, that to restrain the effusion of delight, on having obtained such fame, to me would be truly painful. Why then should I suppress it? Why "out of the abundance of the heart" should I not speak? Let me then mention with a warm, but no insolent exultation, that I have been regaled with spontaneous praise of my work by many and various persons, eminent for their rank, learning, talents, and accomplishments; much of which praise I have under their hands to be repositied in my archives at Auchinleck. An honourable and reverend friend speaking of the favourable reception of my volumes, even in the circles of fashion and elegance, said to me, "You have made them all talk Johnson." Yes, I may add, I have *Johnsonised* the land; and I trust they will not only talk but think Johnson.

To enumerate those to whom I have been thus indebted would be tediously ostentatious. I cannot however but name one, whose praise is truly valuable, not only on account of his knowledge and abilities, but on account of the magnificent, yet dangerous embassy, in which he is now employed, which makes every thing that relates to him peculiarly interesting. Lord Macartney favoured me with his own copy of my book, with a number of notes, of which I have availed myself. On the first leaf I found, in his lordship's handwriting, an inscription of such high commendation, that even I, vain as I am, cannot prevail on myself to publish it.

J. BOSWELL.

1st July, 1793.

MR. MALONE'S ADVERTISEMENTS.

TO THE THIRD EDITION.

SEVERAL valuable letters, and other curious matter, having been communicated to the author too late to be arranged in that chronological order, which he had endeavoured uniformly to observe in his work, he was obliged to introduce them in his second edition, by way of Addenda, as commodiously as he could. In the present edition they have been distributed in their proper places. In revising his volumes for a new edition, he had pointed out where some of these materials should be inserted; but unfortunately, in the midst of his labours, he was seized with a fever, of which, to the great regret of all his friends, he died on the 19th of May, 1795.¹ All the notes that he had written in the margin of the copy, which he had in part revised, are here faithfully preserved; and a few new notes have been added, principally by some of those friends to whom the author, in the former editions, acknowledged his obligations. Those subscribed with the letter B. were communicated by Dr. Burney; those to which the letters J. B. are annexed, by the Rev. J. B. Blakeway, of Shrewsbury, to whom Mr. Boswell acknowledged himself indebted for some judicious remarks on the first edition of his work; and the letters J. B.—O. are annexed to some remarks furnished by the author's second son, a student of Brazen-Nose College in Oxford. Some valuable observations were communicated by James Bindley, Esq., first commissioner in the Stamp-office, which have been acknowledged in their proper places. For all those without any signature, Mr. Malone is answerable. Every new remark, not written by the author, for the sake of distinction has been enclosed within crotchets²; in one instance, however, the printer, by mistake, has affixed this mark to a note relative to the Rev. Thomas Fysche Palmer (see vol. iv. p. 129.), which was written by Mr. Boswell, and therefore ought not to have been thus distinguished.

I have only to add, that the proof-sheets of the present edition not having passed through my hands, I am not answerable for any typographical errors that may be found in it. Having, however, been printed at the very accurate press of Mr. Baldwin, I make no doubt it will be found not less perfect

than the former edition; the greatest care having been taken, by correctness and elegance, to do justice to one of the most instructive and entertaining works in the English language.

EDM. MALONE.

8th April, 1799.

TO THE FOURTH EDITION.

IN this edition are inserted some new letters, of which the greater part has been obligingly communicated by the Rev. Dr. Vyse, Rector of Lambeth. Those written by Dr. Johnson, concerning his mother in her last illness, furnish a new proof of his great piety and tenderness of heart, and therefore cannot but be acceptable to the readers of this very popular work. Some new notes also have been added, which, as well as the observations inserted in the third edition, and the letters now introduced, are carefully included within crotchets, that the author may not be answerable for any thing which had not the sanction of his approbation. The remarks of his friends are distinguished as formerly, except those of Mr. Malone, to which the letter M. is now subjoined. Those to which the letter K. is affixed were communicated by my learned friend, the Rev. Dr. Kearney, formerly senior Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, and now beneficed in the diocese of Raphoe, in Ireland, of which he is archdeacon.

Of a work which has been before the public for thirteen years with increasing approbation, and of which near four thousand copies have been dispersed, it is not necessary to say more; yet I cannot refrain from adding, that, highly as it is now estimated, it will, I am confident, be still more valued by posterity a century hence, when all the actors in the scene shall be numbered with the dead; when the excellent and extraordinary man, whose wit and wisdom are here recorded, shall be viewed at a still greater distance; and the instruction and entertainment they afford will at once produce reverential gratitude, admiration, and delight.³

E. M.

20th June, 1804.

¹ In London, at No. 47, Great Portland Street, Oxford Street, and was buried at Achnaleck. — P. CUNNINGHAM.

² In my editions Mr. Malone's, and, indeed, every one's share in the notes, is distinguished by the writer's name at length. — CROKER.

³ Mr. Malone published a fifth edition in 1807, and a sixth in 1811; Mr. Chalmers a seventh in 1822; and an anonymous editor another, in Oxford, in 1826. Of publications so re-

cent, the editor would not have felt justified in making an unpermitted use; but in fact there was little to be borrowed from any of them, except that of Mr. Chalmers; and his liberality, by pointing out such of the original sources of information as the editor had not himself previously discovered, has enabled him to enrich his copy with all the information which Mr. Chalmers could afford. — CROKER.

ANSWERS

TO

MR. MACAULAY'S REVIEW OF MR. CROKER'S BOSWELL.

‘To any one who reads the article on CROKER’S BOSWELL, in the last number of the *Edinburgh Review*, it will be evident that the book has been taken up by one determined to punish the MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT in the EDITOR, and who, moreover, in the common spirit of the *Edinburgh*, is determined to SACRIFICE TRUTH to brilliancy.’
—*Spectator*, 1831.

REVIEW.

‘In one place we are told that Allan Ramsay the painter was born in 1709, and died in 1784; in another, that he died in 1784, in the 71st year of his age. If the latter statement be correct, he must have been born in or about 1713.’

‘Mr. Croker says, that at the commencement of the INTIMACY between Dr. Johnson and Mrs. Thrale, IN 1765, the lady was 25 years old.’

‘In another place he says that Mrs. Thrale’s 35th year coincided with Johnson’s 70th. Johnson was born in 1709; if, therefore, Mrs. Thrale’s 35th coincided with Johnson’s 70th, she could have been but 21 years old in 1765.’

‘But this is not all: Mr. Croker, in another place, assigns the year 1777 as the date of the complimentary lines which

ANSWER.

This is but a dishonest trick of his Reviewer. The age is indeed stated differently in the two notes; but one note is Mr. Croker’s, and one is Mr. Boswell’s. Mr. Boswell states colloquially that ‘Allan Ramsay died in 1784, in his 71st year;’ Mr. Croker states, with more precision, that ‘he was born in 1709; and died in 1784,’ and Mr. Croker is right—see, if you choose, *Biographical Dictionary*, voce Ramsay—and thus, because Mr. Croker corrects an error, the Reviewer accuses him of making one.

Why, Mr. Croker says no such thing. He says, ‘Mrs. Thrale was 25 years of age when the acquaintance commenced,’ but *he* does not say *when* it commenced, nor when it became *intimacy*. It is *Mr. Boswell* who states that in 1765 Mr. Johnson was introduced into the family of Mrs. Thrale; but in the very next page we find Mrs. Thrale herself stating that the *acquaintance* began in 1764, and that the more strict *intimacy* might be dated from 1766. So that the discrepancy of two or three years which, by a *double falsification* of Mr. Croker’s words, the Reviewer attributes to him, belongs really to Mr. Boswell and Mrs. Thrale themselves.

‘Mr. Croker states, that from a passage in one of Johnson’s letters, “*he suspects*,” and “it may be *surmised*,” that Mrs. Thrale’s 35th and Johnson’s 70th years coincided.’ Is it not an absolute misrepresentation to call an opinion, advanced in the cautious terms of *surmise* and *suspicion*, as a *statement* of a fact?

Mr. Croker does no such thing. He inserts the complimentary lines under the year 1777, because he must needs place

REVIEW.

'Johnson made on Mrs. Thrale's 35th birth-day. If this date be correct, Mrs. Thrale must have been born in 1742, and could have been only 23 when her acquaintance with Johnson commenced.'

'We will not decide between them; we will only say that the reasons he gives for thinking that Mrs. Thrale was exactly 35 years old when Johnson was 70, appear to us utterly frivolous.'

'Mr. Croker informs his readers, that Lord Mansfield survived Johnson full ten years. Lord Mansfield survived Dr. Johnson just eight years and a quarter.'

ANSWER.

them somewhere, and, in the doubt of two or three years, which, as I have already shown, may exist between Mr. Boswell's account and Mrs. Thrale's own, he placed them under 1777; but, so far from positively assigning them to that particular year, he cautiously premises, '*It was about this time* that these verses were written;' and he distinctly states, in two other notes, that he *doubts* whether that was the precise date. Here again, therefore, his Reviewer is dishonest. 'Two of Mr. Croker's three statements must be false.' Mr. Croker has made but *one statement*, and that is not *impugned*; the two discrepancies belong to Mr. Boswell and Mrs. Thrale, and the falsehood—to the Reviewer.

Mr. Croker's reason is this: Mrs. Thrale had offended Johnson, by supposing him to be 72 when he was only 70. Of this Johnson complains, at first somewhat seriously, but he afterwards gaily adds, 'If you try to plague me (*on the subject of age*), I shall tell you that life begins to decline at 35.' Mr. Croker's note on this passage, which the Reviewer has misrepresented as an *assertion*, is, 'It may be *surmised*, that Mrs. Thrale, at her last birth-day, was 35.' Surmise appears to be too dubious an expression. The meaning seems indisputable; and if this be not the point of Johnson's retort, what is it?

The Reviewer is right. Dr. Johnson died in 1784, and Lord Mansfield in 1793. But the occasion on which Mr. Croker used the inaccurate colloquial phrase of *full ten years*, makes the inaccuracy of no consequence at all. He is noticing an anecdote of a gentleman's having stated that he called on Dr. Johnson soon after Lord Mansfield's death, and that Johnson said, 'Ah, sir, *there* was little learning, and less virtue.' This cruel anecdote Mr. Croker's natural indignation refutes from his general recollection, and, without waiting to consult the printed obituaries, he exclaims, 'It cannot be true, for Lord Mansfield survived Johnson *full ten years*!' whereas he ought to have said, 'It cannot be true, because Lord Mansfield survived Johnson "eight years and three months;"' or, what would have been still more accurate, 'eight years, three months, and seven days!'

REVIEW.

'Mr. Croker tells us that the great Marquess of Montrose was beheaded at Edinburgh in 1650. There is not a forward boy at any school in England who does not know that the Marquess was *hanged*. The account of the execution is one of the finest passages in Lord Clarendon's history. We can scarcely suppose that Mr. Croker has never read the passage; and yet we can scarcely suppose that any one who has ever perused so noble and pathetic a story can have utterly forgotten all its most striking circumstances.'

ANSWER.

We really almost suspect that the *Reviewer* himself has not read the passage to which he refers, or he could hardly have accused Mr. Croker of showing—by having said that Montrose was '*beheaded*,' when the Reviewer thinks he should have said '*hanged*'—that he had forgotten the most '*striking passage*' of Clarendon's noble '*account of the execution*.' For it is not on the *execution* itself that Lord Clarendon dwells with the most pathos and effect, but on the previous indignities at and after his trial, which Montrose so magnanimously endured. Clarendon, with scrupulous delicacy, avoids *all mention of the peculiar mode of death*, and is wholly silent as to any of the circumstances of the *execution*, leaving the reader's imagination to supply, from the terms of the sentence, the odious details; but the Reviewer, if he had really known or felt the true pathos of the story, would have remembered that the sentence was, that the Marquess should be *hanged and beheaded*, and that his *head* should 'be stuck on the Tolbooth of Edinburgh;' and it was this very circumstance of the *beheading*, which excited in Montrose that burst of eloquence which is the *most striking* beauty of the whole of the '*noble and pathetic story*.' 'I am prouder,' said he to his persecutors, 'to have *my head* set upon the place it is appointed to be, than I should be to have my picture hung in the King's bedchamber!' And this—the *beheading*—is the incident which the Reviewer imagines that Mr. Croker may have '*forgotten*,' because he does tell us that Montrose was *beheaded*, when he should have drily told us he was *hanged*.

"Nothing," says Mr. Croker, "can be more unfounded than the assertion that Byng fell a martyr to political party. By a strange coincidence of circumstances it happened that there was a total change of administration between his condemnation and death, so that one party presided at his trial, and another at his execution. There can be no stronger proof that he was not a political martyr." Now what will our readers think of this writer, when we assure them that this statement, so confidently made respecting events so notorious, is absolutely untrue? One and the same administration was in office when the court-martial on Byng commenced

This contradiction to Mr. Croker, 'so confidently made with respect to events so notorious,' is absolutely untrue! But so it is. The Reviewer catches at what may be a verbal inaccuracy (I doubt whether it be one, but at worst it is no more), and is himself guilty of the most direct and substantial falsehood. Of all the audacities of which this Reviewer has been guilty, this is the greatest, not merely because it is the most important as an historical question, but because it is an instance of—to use his own expression—"the most scandalous inaccuracy." The question between Mr. Croker and the Reviewer is this,—whether *one* Ministry did not *prosecute* Byng, and a *succeeding* Ministry *execute*

REVIEW.

'its sittings, through the whole trial, at
'the condemnation and at the execution.
'In the month of November, 1756, the
'Duke of Newcastle and Lord Hardwicke
'resigned; the Duke of Devonshire be-
'came First Lord of the Treasury, and Mr.
'Pitt, Secretary of State. This adminis-
'tration lasted till the month of April,
'1757. Byng's court-martial began to sit
'on the 23th of December, 1756. He was
'shot on the 14th March, 1757. There is
'something at once diverting and provok-
'ing in the cool and authoritative manner
'in which Mr. Croker makes these random
'assertions.'

ANSWER.

him? Mr. Croker says *ay*—the Reviewer says *no*. Byng's action was in May, 1756, at which time the Duke of Newcastle was Minister, and Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple in violent opposition; and when the account of the action arrived in England, 'the Ministers' (see Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*)—'the Ministers determined to turn, if possible, the popular clamour and indignation from *themselves*, upon the Admiral.' And, again, 'the hired writers in the pay of the Ministry were set to work to censure his conduct in the most violent and inflammatory manner.' And, again, 'The popular clamour and indignation were so extremely violent that *Ministers* were under the necessity of making known *their intention to try Byng*, in a singular, unprecedented, and not very decorous or fair manner. Orders were sent to all the outposts to put him, on his arrival, into close arrest. The facts seem to have been, that *Ministers* had roused the public to such a state of irritation, that it would be directed against themselves, unless they proceeded against Byng in the most rigorous manner.' On the 26th July, Byng arrived at Portsmouth, and was committed to close custody, and removed thence 'to Greenwich, where he was to remain till his trial, and where he was guarded, as if he had been guilty of the most heinous crimes. The part of the hospital in which he was confined was most scrupulously and carefully fortified; and what marked most decidedly the feeling of the *Ministers*, they took care that all these precautions should be made known.'

In short, if we are to believe the writers of the day, and above all, Byng's own friends and advocates, the *Ministers* had already condemned him, and had predestined him to execution to save themselves. 'The Ministers,' says Charnock (*Naval Biog.*, vol. iv. p. 159), 'treated him like a criminal already condemned.'

The resolution to try Byng was, as I have thus shown, taken at least as early as July; but the absence of witnesses, and other formalities, delayed the actual assembling the court-martial for some months, during which the controversy between the partisans of Byng, and those of the Ministry, was maintained with the greatest rancour and animosity. In these circumstances, and while Byng was on the brink of his trial, about the 20th November, 1756, his inveterate enemies, the Ministers, resigned, and a total change of

REVIEW.

ANSWER.

administration took place. The new administration, however, resolved to execute the intentions of the former—the proceedings instituted against Byng by the Duke of Newcastle's administration were followed up by Mr. Pitt's; and the imprisonment of Byng, which was ordered by Lord Anson, was terminated by his execution, the warrant for which was signed by Lord Temple, six months after! Now, if Mr. Croker had been writing history, or even a review, he probably might not have said that 'the change of Ministers took place between the *condemnation* and death,' if by *condemnation* the actual *sentence* of the court were to be understood. Certainly the actual trial happened to be held a few days after the accession of the new Ministry, but the prosecution—the alleged persecution—the *official condemnation*—the indictment, if I may borrow the common-law expression—the collection of the evidence in support of it—and every step preparatory to the actual swearing of the court, were all perpetrated under the auspices of the old Ministry. The new Ministry had no real share nor responsibility in the transaction till after the sentence was pronounced, and then (without, as it would seem, any hesitation on their part, though delays from other causes arose) *they* executed the sentence.

After this, nobody can have any doubt in deciding which speaks the historic truth—he, certainly, who represents *one* set of Ministers as conducting the prosecution, and the *other* as ordering the execution.

Is the editor of the Life of Johnson, or the Edinburgh Reviewer, '*scandalously inaccurate*'? The truth seems to be, that the Reviewer knew nothing more of the history of the transaction than its *dates*—the *skeleton of history*; and because he saw in some chronological work that Mr. Pitt became Minister some days before the court-martial upon Byng was opened, he imagined that Mr. Pitt's Ministry were the responsible prosecutors in that court-martial. Mr. Croker, on this occasion, as on many others, has looked to the *spirit* of the proceeding, as well as the *letter*—to the *design* as well as the *date*—and has contributed to trace historic truth by the motives and causes of events, rather than by the day of the month on which the event happens to explode.—His justification and the refutation of his Reviewer are complete!

REVIEW.

'But we must proceed. These volumes contain mistakes more gross, if possible, than any that we have yet mentioned. Boswell has recorded some observations made by Johnson on the changes which took place in Gibbon's religious opinions. "It is said," cried the Doctor, laughing, "that he has been a Mahometan." "This sarcasm," says the editor, "probably alludes to the tenderness with which Gibbon's malevolence to Christianity induced him to treat Mahometanism in his history." Now, the sarcasm was uttered in 1776; and that part of the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire which relates to Mahometanism was not published till 1788, twelve years after the date of this conversation, and nearly four years after the death of Johnson.'

ANSWER.

What! does the Reviewer doubt that Mr. Croker is right, and that Gibbon was the person intended?

Certainly not. He adopts, without acknowledgment, Mr. Croker's interpretation, but then turns round and says, 'You have given a bad reason for a just conclusion.' Then why does the Reviewer not give a better, and explain why he adopts Mr. Croker's opinion, if he is not satisfied with Mr. Croker's reason? The fact is, the poor creature is at his *skeleton* work again. He found that the origin of Mahometanism, which sprung up about the year 600, could not be chronologically included in the first volume of Gibbon, which ends about the year 300. And he kindly informs Mr. Croker that Gibbon's account of Mahometanism was not published till after Johnson's death; but the Reviewer chooses to forget that, in every page of his *first* volume as of his last, Gibbon takes or makes opportunities of sneering at and depreciating Christianity; while, on the other hand, he shows everywhere remarkable 'tenderness' for Paganism and Mahometanism.

These insinuations and innuendos are to be found *all through* the work, and are indeed the great peculiarity of his style.

It is evident, too, from the concluding part of Mr. Croker's note, *which the Reviewer has suppressed*, that this was his meaning; for Mr. Croker adds, '*something of this sort* must have been in Johnson's mind on this occasion.' If Mr. Croker had meant to allude to the *professed* history of Mahometanism, published in Gibbon's latter volumes, he could not have spoken dubiously about it, as '*something of this sort*,' for *there* the bias is clear and certain. It is therefore evident that Mr. Croker meant to allude to Gibbon's numerous *insinuations* against Christianity in the first volumes; and if Johnson did not mean '*something of this sort*,' I wish the Reviewer would tell us what he meant.

"It was in the year 1761," says Mr. Croker, "that Goldsmith published his Vicar of Wakefield. This leads the editor to observe a more serious inaccuracy of Mrs. Piozzi than Mr. Boswell notices, when he says Johnson left her table to go and sell the Vicar of Wakefield for Goldsmith. Now, Dr. Johnson was not acquainted with the Thrales till 1765, four years after the book had been published." Mr. Croker,

Here again the Reviewer, in attempting to correct a verbal inaccuracy, displays 'the error or the ignorance' of which he unjustly accuses Mr. Croker. It would, indeed, have been more accurate if Mr. Croker had said that Goldsmith had, in 1761, '*sold the work to the publisher*,' for it was not actually published to the world till after the *Traveller*; but the fact as to the *publication* has nothing to do with the point in question, which is the time when

REVIEW.

ANSWER.

'in reprehending the fancied inaccuracy of Mrs. Thrale, has himself shown a degree of inaccuracy, or, to speak more properly, a degree of ignorance, hardly credible. The Traveller was not published till 1765; and it is a fact as notorious as any in literary history, that the Vicar of Wakefield, though written before the Traveller, was published after it. It is a fact which Mr. Croker may find in any common Life of Goldsmith; in that written by Mr. Chalmers, for example. It is a fact which, as Boswell tells us, was distinctly stated by Johnson, in a conversation with Sir Joshua Reynolds. It is, therefore, quite possible and probable, that the celebrated scene of the landlady, the sheriff's-officer, and the bottle of Madeira, may have taken place in 1765. Now, Mrs. Thrale expressly says that it was near the beginning of her acquaintance with Johnson, in 1765, or, at all events, not later than 1766, that he left her table to succour his friend. Her accuracy is therefore completely vindicated.'

Goldsmith *sold* the work, and whether Johnson could have left Thrale's table to sell it for him,—in other words, whether the sale took place prior to 1765. Mr. Croker again says *ay*—the Reviewer says *no*—and the Reviewer is again decidedly in the wrong, and Mr. Croker is clearly right, according to the very authority to which the Reviewer refers us. Chalmers tells us, indeed, that the novel was published after the poem; but he also tells us, to the utter discomfiture of the Reviewer, that 'the novel was *sold*, and the money paid for it, some time before!' So that the sale took place, even according to the Reviewer's own admission, *before* 1765.

The Reviewer states that the Traveller was not *published* till 1765; but even in this fact he is wrong. The Traveller was published in 1764; and if he will open the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1764, he will find extracts in it from that poem. This fact corroborates Mr. Croker's inference; Mrs. Piozzi had said that 'Johnson was called away from her table *either* in '1765 or 1766, to sell the novel.' Mr. Croker says this must be inaccurate, because the book was sold long before that date. Now it is proved that it was sold before the publication of the Traveller, and it is also proved that the Traveller was published in 1764; and, finally, the Reviewer's *assertion*, that 'it is quite possible and probable that the sale took place in 1765,' is thus shown to be 'a monstrous blunder.'

'The very page which contains this monstrous blunder contains another blunder, if possible, more monstrous still. Sir Joseph Mawbey, a foolish member of Parliament, at whose speeches and whose pigsties the wits of Brookes's were, fifty years ago, in the habit of laughing most unmercifully, stated, on the authority of Garrick, that Johnson, while sitting in a coffee-house at Oxford, about the time of his doctor's degree, used some contemptuous expressions respecting Home's play and Macpherson's Ossian. "Many men," he said, "many women, and many children, might have written "Douglas." Mr. Croker conceives that he has detected an inaccuracy, and glories over poor Sir Joseph in a most characteristic manner. "I have quoted this anecdote solely with the view of showing to how little credit hearsay anecdotes are in general entitled. Here is

Now, this is a tissue of misrepresentation. The words '*about the time of his doctor's degree*,' which the Reviewer attributes to Mr. Croker, are Sir Joseph Mawbey's own, and distinguished by Mr. Croker with marks of quotation (*omitted by the Reviewer*) to call the reader's attention to the mistake which Mr. Croker supposes Sir Joseph to have made as to the date of the anecdote.

But, says the Reviewer, 'Mr. Croker has missed the only real objection to the story, namely, that Johnson had used, as early as 1763, respecting Ossian, the same expressions which Sir Joseph represents him as having used respecting Douglas.' This is really too bad—the Reviewer says that Mr. Croker has *missed*, because he himself has chosen to *suppress*! Mr. Croker's note *distinctly* states the very fact which he is accused of *missing*! 'Every one knows,' says Mr. Croker, 'that Dr. John-

REVIEW.

“ a story published by Sir Joseph Mawbey, a member of the House of Commons, and a person every way worthy of credit, who says he had it from Garrick. Now mark :—Johnson’s visit to Oxford, about the time of his doctor’s degree, was in 1754, the first time he had been there since he left the university. But Douglas was not acted till 1756, and Ossian not published till 1760. All, therefore, that is new in Sir Joseph Mawbey’s story is false.” Assuredly we need not go far to find ample proof that a member of the House of Commons may commit a very gross error. Now mark, say we, in the language of Mr. Croker. The fact is, that Johnson took his *Master’s* degree in 1754, and his *Doctor’s* degree in 1775. In the spring of 1776 he paid a visit to Oxford, and at this visit a conversation respecting the works of Home and Macpherson might have taken place, and, in all probability, did take place. The only real objection to the story *Mr. Croker has missed*. Boswell states, apparently on the best authority, that as early at least as the year 1763, Johnson, in conversation with Blair, used the same expressions respecting Ossian, which Sir Joseph represents him as having used respecting Douglas. Sir Joseph, or Garrick, confounded, we suspect, the two stories. But their error is venial, compared with that of Mr. Croker.

“ Boswell has preserved a poor epigram by Johnson, inscribed “ad Lauram paritūram.” Mr. Croker censures the poet for applying the word *puella* to a lady in Laura’s situation, and for talking of the beauty of Lucina. “Lucina,” he says, “was never famed for her beauty.” If Sir Robert Peel had seen this note, he possibly would again have refuted Mr. Croker’s criticisms by an appeal to Horace. In the secular ode, Lucina is used as one of the names of Diana, and the beauty of Diana is extolled by all the most orthodox doctors of ancient mythology, from Homer, in his *Odyssey*, to Claudian, in his *Rape of Proserpine*. In another ode, Horace describes Diana as the goddess who assists the “*laborantes utero puellas*.”

ANSWER.

“ son said of Ossian, that “ many men, many women, and many children, might have written it;” and Mr. Croker concludes by inferring *exactly what the Reviewer himself does*, that Sir Joseph Mawbey was inaccurate in thus applying to Douglas what had been really said of Ossian!

But the Reviewer, in addition to suppressing Mr. Croker’s statement, blunders his own facts; for he tells us that Johnson’s visit to Oxford, about the time of his doctor’s degree, was ‘in the spring of 1776.’ I beg to inform him it was in the latter end of May, 1775. (See Boswell, v. iii. p. 254.) The matter is of no moment at all, but shows that the Reviewer falls into the very inaccuracies for which he arraigns Mr. Croker, and which he politely calls in this very instance ‘*scandalous!*’

Euge! by this rule the Reviewer would prove that HECATE was famed for her beauty, for ‘Hecate is one of the names of Diana, and the beauty of Diana,’ and, consequently, of Hecate, ‘is extolled by all the most orthodox doctors of heathen mythology.’ Mr. Croker does not, as the Reviewer says he does, *censure* the poet for the application of the word *puella* to a lady in Laura’s situation; but he says that the designation in the first line—which was proposed as a *thesis*—of the lady as *pulcherrima puella*, would lead us to expect anything rather than the turn which the latter lines of the epigram take, of representing her as about to lie-in. It needs not the authority either of Horace or the Reviewer to prove that ‘*puellæ*’ will sometimes be found ‘*laborantes utero*.’ But it will take more than the authority of the Reviewer to persuade me that Mr. Croker was wrong in saying that it seems a very strange mode of complimenting an English beauty.

REVIEW.

'Johnson found in the library of a French lady, whom he visited during his short visit to Paris, some works which he regarded with great disdain. "I looked," says he, "into the books in the lady's closet, and, in contempt, showed them to Mr. Thrale. Prince Titi—Bibliothèque des Fées—and other books." "The History of Prince Titi," observes Mr. Croker, "was said to be the autobiography of Frederick Prince of Wales, but was probably written by Ralph his secretary." A more absurd note never was penned. The History of Prince Titi, to which Mr. Croker refers, whether written by Prince Frederick or by Ralph, was certainly never published. If Mr. Croker had taken the trouble to read with attention the very passage in Park's Royal and Noble Authors, which he cites as his authority, he would have seen that the manuscript was given up to the government.

ANSWER.

Here is a pretty round assertion of a matter of fact. 'The History of Prince Titi, whether written by Prince Frederick or Ralph, was certainly never published!' Now, unfortunately for this learned Reviewer, we have at this moment on our table the

HISTOIRE
DU
PRINCE TITI.

A(*llegorie*) R(*oyale*).

Paris chez la Veuve Oissot, Quai de Conti
à la Croix d'Or.

And not only was it thus published in Paris, but it was translated into English, and republished in London, under the title of

THE
HISTORY
of

Prince TITI,

A
Royal Allegory.

Translated by a Lady.

'Even if this memoir had been printed, it was not very likely to find its way into a French lady's bookcase. And would any man in his senses speak contemptuously of a French lady for having in her possession an English work so curious and interesting as a Life of Prince Frederick, whether written by himself or by a confidential secretary, must have been?

'The history at which Johnson laughed was a very proper companion to the Bibliothèque des Fées—a fairy tale about good Prince Titi, and naughty Prince Violent. Mr. Croker may find it in the Magasin des Enfants, the first French book which the little girls of England read to their governesses.'

What say you to *that*, Mr. Reviewer? Is not this, to say the least of it, 'a scandalous inaccuracy, and is not *he* who falls into such a mistake as this entitled to no confidence whatever?'

But 'if it had been printed, it was not likely to have found its way into the French lady's bookcase.' Why not?—it was written in French, printed in Paris, a very neat little volume, and is, moreover, just such a piece of fashionable secret history as would be sure to 'find its way to a French lady's bookcase.'

But the *real fairy tale* would have been 'a very proper companion to the Bibliothèque des Fées.' Indeed! Pray has the Reviewer, then, ever seen that fairy tale in a separate volume? He seems to imply that it has been so published; and yet in the next sentence he tells us it is to be found in the *Magasin des Enfants*. But even here he is mistaken. The old fairy tale of Prince Titi is *not* to be found in the

REVIEW.

ANSWER.

'Magasin des Enfans;' but a *refacimento* of it is, and Madame de Beaumont was even blamed by some critics for having spoiled the *old story* by her *modern version*.

We have no doubt in the world that Mr. Croker is quite right that the *Royal Allegory* of PRINCE TITI (the only volume with that title which we ever heard of) was on the lady's table, perhaps laid there purposely, in the expectation that her *English* visitors would think it a *literary curiosity*, which, indeed, it has proved to be; for Dr. Johnson seems not to have known what it was, and the Edinburgh Reviewer had never seen it, and, even now, so obstinately disbelieves the fact, that he ungratefully calls his informant very hard names.

We add, as a point of literary history connected with this curious little volume, that it is possible that Ralph may have been preparing a *continuation* of it, which has been suppressed; but it is hardly possible that he could have had any share in the composition of the original volume, which was written before Ralph was in the Prince's confidence.

'Mr. Croker has favoured us with some Greek of his own. "At the altar," says Dr. Johnson, "I recommended my $\theta. \phi.$ " "These letters," says the editor, "(which "Dr. Strahan seems not to have understood,) probably mean $\theta\eta\eta\tau\omicron\iota$ $\phi\iota\lambda\omicron\iota$ —*departed friends*." Johnson was not a first-rate Greek scholar; but he knew more Greek than most boys when they leave school; and no schoolboy could venture to use the word $\theta\eta\eta\tau\omicron\iota$ in the sense which Mr. Croker ascribes to it "without imminent danger of a flogging.'

The question is not here about classical Greek, but what Johnson meant by the cipher $\Theta \Phi$. Mr. Croker's solution is not only ingenious, but, we think, absolutely certain: it means '*departed friends*,' beyond all doubt. See, in Dr. Strahan's book, under 'Easter Sunday, 1781,' an instance of the same kind—"I commended (*in prayer*) my Θ friends." The Reviewer, with notable caution, omits to tell us which of the derivatives of $\theta\alpha\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ and $\theta\eta\eta\sigma\kappa\omega$ he would have chosen; but we think with Mr. Croker that none was more likely to have occurred to Johnson's mind than $\theta\eta\eta\tau\omicron\iota$, because it is *good Greek*, and is moreover a word which we find him quoting on another occasion, in which he deploras the loss of a friend. *Good Greek*, we say, in defiance of the menaced flogging; for we have authority that we suppose even the Reviewer may bow to.

What does the Reviewer think of the well-known passage in the *Supplikes* of Euripides, cited even in Hederic?—

' $\beta\acute{\alpha}\theta\iota$, καὶ ἀντίσπον—,

$\tau\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\omega\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ $\theta\eta\eta\tau\omega\upsilon\kappa$ κόμισσαι δέμας.'—v. 275.

where $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\omega\upsilon\kappa$ $\theta\eta\eta\tau\omega\upsilon\kappa$ is used in the same sense as $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\omega\upsilon\kappa$ $\theta\alpha\nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\upsilon\kappa$, v. 12 and 85;

REVIEW.

ANSWER.

Τέκνων φθίμενων, v. 60; and Τέκνων κα-
θανόντων, v. 103!

Suppose it had been—

φύλων τε θνητῶν.

The Edinburgh Reviewer seems inclined to revive his old reputation for *Greek*! He thought he was safely sneering at Mr. Croker, and he unexpectedly finds himself *correcting* Euripides.

'Mr. Croker has also given us a specimen of his skill in translating Latin. Johnson wrote a note in which he consulted his friend, Dr. Lawrence, on the propriety of losing some blood. The note contains these words:—"Si per te licet, imperatur nuncio Holderum ad me deducere." Johnson should rather have written "imperatum est." But the meaning of the words is perfectly clear. "If you say yes, the messenger has orders to bring Holder to me." Mr. Croker translates the words as follows: "If you consent, pray tell the messenger to bring Holder to me." If Mr. Croker is resolved to write on points of classical learning, we would advise him to begin by giving an hour every morning to our old friend Corderius.'

This is excellent! The Reviewer tells us that Johnson's Latin is incorrect, and then blames Mr. Croker for not having *correctly* translated that which the Reviewer thinks himself obliged to alter, in order to make it intelligible.

Mr. Croker probably saw, as well as the Reviewer, that the phrase was inaccurate; but, instead of clumsily changing *imperatur* into *imperatum est*, (which, with all deference to the Reviewer, is much worse than the original,) he naturally supposes that *imperatur*, the indicative mood, is merely the transcriber's error of a *single letter* for either the imperative or the conditional moods, and translates it accordingly, without thinking it necessary to blazon the exploit in a long explanation,—

'How A's deposed, and E with pomp restored.'

We venture to surmise, that, if Johnson's original note be in existence, it will be found that he wrote the word as Mr. Croker has translated it, and has therefore not deserved the ignominy of having his Latin *corrected* by an Edinburgh Reviewer; though, to be sure, *that* is no great insult, seeing that these omniscients appear inclined to correct the *Greek* of Euripides.*

I have thus shown that he has charged Mr. Croker—in some instances *ignorantly*, and in others *falsely*—with ignorance and falsehood; and such being the Reviewer's own sins in the course of half a sheet of the Blue and Yellow, manifestly got up with much assiduity, (for he quotes, I perceive, from all the five volumes,) is it not contemptible to hear his chuckle over Mr. Croker, who, in the course of between two and three thousand additions to Boswell, has been shown to have fallen, perhaps, into some half-dozen † errors or inaccuracies, one of them evidently a misprint—one an expression apparently incorrect, because elliptical, and the others——.

* The three last paragraphs are additional to the answers in Blackwood.

† The whole of the passages objected to by the Reviewer are about 28; viz. 17 as to dates or facts, 11 as to literature and criticism. We have noticed 18 or 19 of the most considerable of both classes, and the reader may judge for himself as to the importance and value of the 28 questions raised by the Reviewer upon the 2800 notes of Mr. Croker.

Mr. Croker has been convicted of the 'gross and scandalous' inaccuracy of having assigned wrong dates to the deaths of Derrick, Sir Herbert Croft, and the amiable Sir William Forbes, biographer of Beattie.* He has, moreover, attributed to Henry Bate Dudley, the Fighting Parson, the Editorship of the old *Morning Herald*, instead of the old *Morning Post*; and he has erroneously said that Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga took place in March, 1778, instead of October, 1777. He is mistaken, too, in saying that Lord Townshend was not Secretary of State till 1720,† the perpetration of which has so incensed the immaculate and infallible Reviewer, that he has not scrupled to assert that the *whole* of Mr. Croker's part of the work is ill compiled, ill arranged, ill expressed, and ill printed.

* These and several similar errors are probably errors of the press, as 1760 for 1769—1806 for 1816: every one knows how frequently 0 and 9—0 and 1—3 and 8—are confounded in the press.

† For he had been Secretary in 1714, and was a second time called to office in 1720.

"Mr. Macaulay has republished from the *Edinburgh Review* his slashing article on Mr. Croker's edition of *Boswell's Johnson*, repeating in a text of to-day accusations which were refuted long ago, and charges which, if ever true, are not true now, as Mr. Macaulay knows. Everybody is aware that the article was originally levelled less against Mr. Croker the editor than Mr. Croker the politician, and the abuse which may have been relished in times of hot passion and party vindictiveness, reads in our calmer days as so much bad taste and bad feeling. Mr. Croker's 'Johnson,' as it stands in recent editions, is a valuable and ably-edited book."

The Athenæum, May 17, 1856.

THE LIFE OF SAMUEL JOHNSON, LL.D.

CHAPTER I.

1709—1716.

Introduction.—Johnson's Birth and Parentage.—He inherits from his Father "a vile melancholy."—His Account of the Members of his Family.—Traditional Stories of his Precocity.—Taken to London to be touched by Queen Anne for the Scrofula.

To write the life of him who excelled all mankind in writing the lives of others, and who, whether we consider his extraordinary endowments, or his various works, has been equalled by few in any age, is an arduous, and may be reckoned in me a presumptuous task.

Had Dr. Johnson written his own Life, in conformity with the opinion which he has given, that every man's life may be best written by himself¹, had he employed in the preservation of his own history, that clearness of narration and elegance of language in which he has embalmed so many eminent persons, the world would probably have had the most perfect example of biography that was ever exhibited. But although he at different times, in a desultory manner, committed to writing many particulars of the progress of his mind and fortunes, he never had persevering diligence enough to form them into a regular composition. Of these memorials a few have been preserved; but the greater part was consigned by him to the flames, a few days before his death.

As I had the honour and happiness of enjoying his friendship for upwards of twenty years; as I had the scheme of writing his life constantly in view; as he was well apprised of this circumstance, and from time to time obligingly satisfied my inquiries, by communicating to me the incidents of his early years; as I acquired a facility in recollecting, and was very assiduous in recording his conversation, of which the extraordinary vigour and vivacity constituted one of the first features of his character; and as I have spared no pains in obtaining materials concerning him, from every quarter where I could discover that they were to be found, and have been favoured with the most

liberal communications by his friends; I flatter myself that few biographers have entered upon such a work as this, with more advantages; independent of literary abilities, in which I am not vain enough to compare myself with some great names who have gone before me in this kind of writing.

Since my work was announced, several Lives and Memoirs of Dr. Johnson have been published, the most voluminous of which is one compiled for the booksellers of London, by Sir John Hawkins, Knight², a man whom, during my long intimacy with Dr. Johnson, I never saw in his company, I think, but once, and I am sure not above twice. Johnson might have esteemed him for his decent religious demeanour, and his knowledge of books and literary history; but, from the rigid formality of his manners, it is evident that they never could have lived together with companionable ease and familiarity; nor had Sir John Hawkins that nice perception which was necessary to mark the finer and less obvious parts of Johnson's character. His being appointed one of his executors gave him an opportunity of taking possession of such fragments of a diary and other papers as were left; of which, before delivering them up to the residuary legatee, whose property they were, he endeavoured to extract the substance. In this he has not been very successful, as I have found upon a perusal of those papers, which have been since transferred to me. Sir John Hawkins's ponderous labours, I must acknowledge, exhibit a *farra*go, of which a considerable portion is not devoid of entertainment to the lovers of literary gossiping; but besides its being swelled out with long unnecessary extracts from various works, (even one of several

¹ Idler, No. 84. "Those relations are commonly of most value, in which the writer tells his own story."—BOSWELL.

² The greatest part of this book was written while Sir John Hawkins was alive; and I avow, that one object of my strictures was to make him feel some compunction for his illiberal treatment of Dr. Johnson. Since his decease, I have suppressed several of my remarks upon his work. But though I would not "war with the dead" *offensively*, I think it necessary to be strenuous in defence of my illustrious friend, which I cannot be, without strong animadversions upon a writer

who has greatly injured him. Let me add, that though I doubt I should not have been very prompt to gratify Sir John Hawkins with any compliment in his lifetime, I do now frankly acknowledge, that, in my opinion, his volume, however inadequate and improper as a life of Dr. Johnson, and however discredited by unpardonable inaccuracies in other respects, contains a collection of curious anecdotes and observations, which few men but its author could have brought together.—BOSWELL. I will here observe, once for all, that Mr. Boswell is habitually unjust to Sir J. Hawkins, whose Life

leaves from Osborne's Harleian Catalogue, and those not compiled by Johnson, but by Oldys,) a very small part of it relates to the person who is the subject of the book; and, in that, there is such an inaccuracy in the statement of facts, as in so solemn an author is hardly excusable, and certainly makes his narrative very unsatisfactory. But what is still worse, there is throughout the whole of it a dark uncharitable cast, by which the most unfavourable construction is put upon almost every circumstance in the character and conduct of my illustrious friend; who, I trust, will, by a true and fair delineation, be vindicated both from the injurious misrepresentations of this author, and from the slighter aspersions of a lady who once lived in great intimacy with him.

There is, in the British Museum, a letter from Bishop Warburton to Dr. Birch, on the subject of biography, which, though I am aware it may expose me to a charge of artfully raising the value of my own work, by contrasting it with that of which I have spoken, is so well conceived and expressed, that I cannot refrain from here inserting it:—

"I shall endeavour," says Dr. Warburton, "to give you what satisfaction I can in any thing you want to be satisfied in any subject of Milton, and am extremely glad you intend to write his life. Almost all the life-writers we have had before Toland and Desmaseaux are indeed strange insipid creatures; and yet I had rather read the worst of them, than be obliged to go through with this of Milton's, or the other's life of Boileau, where there is such a dull, heavy succession of long quotations of disinteresting passages, that it makes their method quite nauseous. But the verbose, tasteless Frenchman seems to lay it down as a principle, that every life must be a book, and, what's worse, it proves a book without a life; for what do we know of Boileau, after all his tedious stuff? You are the only one (and I speak it without a compliment) that by the vigour of your style and sentiments, and the real importance of your materials, have the art (which one would imagine no one could have missed) of adding agreements to the most agreeable subject in the world, which is literary history. — Nov. 24. 1737."¹

Instead of melting down my materials into one mass, and constantly speaking in my own person, by which I might have appeared to have more merit in the execution of the work, I have resolved to adopt and enlarge upon the excellent plan of Mr. Mason, in his *Memoirs of Gray*. Wherever narrative is necessary to explain, connect, and supply, I furnish it to the best of my abilities; but in the chronological series of Johnson's life, which I trace as distinctly as I can, year by year, I produce, wherever it is in my power, his own minutes,

letters, or conversation, being convinced that this mode is more lively, and will make my readers better acquainted with him, than even most of those were who actually knew him — but could know him only partially; whereas there is here an accumulation of intelligence from various points, by which his character is more fully understood and illustrated.

Indeed, I cannot conceive a more perfect mode of writing any man's life, than not only relating all the most important events of it in their order, but interweaving what he privately wrote, and said, and thought; by which mankind are enabled as it were to see him live, and to "live o'er each scene" with him, as he actually advanced through the several stages of his life. Had his other friends been as diligent and ardent as I was, he might have been almost entirely preserved. As it is, I will venture to say, that he will be seen in this work more completely than any man who has ever yet lived.

And he will be seen as he really was; for I profess to write not his panegyric, which must be all praise, but his life; which, great and good as he was, must not be supposed to be entirely perfect. To be as he was, is indeed subject of panegyric enough to any man in this state of being; but in every picture there should be shade as well as light; and when I delineate him without reserve, I do what he himself recommended, both by his precept and his example:—

"If the biographer writes from personal knowledge, and makes haste to gratify the public curiosity, there is danger lest his interest, his fear, his gratitude, or his tenderness, overpower his fidelity, and tempt him to conceal, if not to invent. There are many who think it an act of piety to hide the faults or failings of their friends, even when they can no longer suffer by their detection; we therefore see whole ranks of characters adorned with uniform panegyric, and not to be known from one another but by extrinsic and casual circumstances. 'Let me remember,' says Hale, 'when I find myself inclined to pity a criminal, that there is likewise a pity due to the country.' If we owe regard to the memory of the dead, there is yet more respect to be paid to knowledge, to virtue, and to truth."—*Rambler*, No. 60.

What I consider as the peculiar value of the following work, is the quantity it contains of Johnson's Conversation; which is universally acknowledged to have been eminently instructive and entertaining; and of which the specimens that I have given upon a former occasion² have been received with so much approbation, that I have good grounds for supposing that the world will not be indifferent to more ample communications of a similar nature.

of Johnson (published in 1787) is by no means so inaccurate or unsatisfactory as he misrepresents it. He borrowed largely from it, and it contains a great deal of Johnsonian life which Mr. Boswell had not the opportunity of seeing. Sir John died in 1789. — CROKER.

¹ Brit. Mus. 4320. Ayscough's Catal. Sloane MSS. — BOSWELL.

² In the "*Journal of a Tour in the Hebrides*;" separately published in 1783, but which I have incorporated under its proper date in the general "*Life of Johnson*." — CROKER.

That the conversation of a celebrated man, if his talents have been exerted in conversation, will best display his character, is, I trust, too well established in the judgment of mankind, to be at all shaken by a sneering observation of Mr. Mason, in his Memoirs of Mr. William Whitehead, in which there is literally no *Life*, but a mere dry narrative of facts. I do not think it was quite necessary to attempt a depreciation of what is universally esteemed, because it was not to be found in the immediate object of the ingenious writer's pen; for, in truth, from a man so still and so tame as to be contented to pass many years as the domestic companion of a superannuated lord and lady¹, conversation could no more be expected, than from a Chinese mandarin on a chimney-piece, or the fantastic figures on a gilt leather screen.

If authority be required, let us appeal to Plutarch, the prince of ancient biographers:—*Οὐτε ταῖς ἐπιφανιστάταις πράξει πάντως ἐνεστί δῆλως ἀρετῆς ἢ κακίας, ἀλλὰ πρᾶγμα βραχὺ πολλάκις, καὶ ῥῆμα, καὶ παιδία τις ἔμφραυν ἦθους ἐποίουν μᾶλλον ἢ μάχαι μυριόνηκροί, παρατάξεις αἱ μέγισται, καὶ πολιορκία πόλεων*:—"Nor is it always in the most distinguished achievements that men's virtues or vices may be best discerned; but very often an action of small note, a short saying, or a jest, shall distinguish a person's real character more than the greatest sieges, or the most important battles."²

To this may be added the sentiments of the very man whose life I am about to exhibit:—

"The business of the biographer is often to pass slightly over those performances and incidents which produce vulgar greatness, to lead the thoughts into domestic privacies, and display the minute details of daily life, where exterior appendages are cast aside, and men excel each other only by prudence and by virtue. The account of Thuanus is, with great propriety, said by its author to have been written, that it might lay open to posterity the private and familiar character of that man, *cujus ingenium et candorem ex ipsius scriptis sunt olim semper miraturi*,—whose candour and genius will, to the end of time, be by his writings preserved in admiration.

"There are many invisible circumstances, which, whether we read as enquirers after natural or moral knowledge, whether we intend to enlarge our science or increase our virtue, are more important than public occurrences. Thus, Sallust, the great master of nature, has not forgot, in his account of Catiline, to remark, that his walk was now quick, and again slow, as an indication of a mind revolving with violent commotion. Thus the story of Melancthon affords a striking lecture on the value of time, by informing us, that when he had made an appointment, he expected not only the hour, but the minute to be fixed, that the day might not run out in the idleness of suspense; and all the plans and enter-

prises of De Witt are now of less importance to the world, than that part of his personal character, which represents him as careful of his health, and negligent of his life.

"But biography has often been allotted to writers who seem very little acquainted with the nature of their task, or very negligent about the performance. They rarely afford any other account than might be collected from public papers, but imagine themselves writing a life, when they exhibit a chronological series of actions or preferences; and have so little regard to the manners or behaviour of their heroes, that more knowledge may be gained of a man's real character by a short conversation with one of his servants, than from a formal and studied narrative, begun with his pedigree and ended with his funeral.

"There are, indeed, some natural reasons why these narratives are often written by such as were not likely to give much instruction or delight, and why most accounts of particular persons are barren and useless. If a life be delayed till interest and envy are at an end, we may hope for impartiality, but must expect little intelligence; for the incidents which give excellence to biography are of a volatile and evanescent kind, such as soon escape the memory, and are rarely transmitted by tradition. We know how few can pourtray a living acquaintance, except by his most prominent and observable particularities, and the grosser features of his mind; and it may be easily imagined how much of this little knowledge may be lost in imparting it, and how soon a succession of copies will lose all resemblance of the original." [Rambler, No. 60.]

I am fully aware of the objections which may be made to the minuteness, on some occasions, of my detail of Johnson's conversation, and how happily it is adapted for the petty exercise of ridicule, by men of superficial understanding, and ludicrous fancy; but I remain firm and confident in my opinion, that minute particulars are frequently characteristic, and always amusing, when they relate to a distinguished man. I am therefore exceedingly unwilling that any thing, however slight, which my illustrious friend thought it worth his while to express, with any degree of point, should perish. For this almost superstitious reverence, I have found very old and venerable authority, quoted by our great modern prelate, Secker, in whose tenth sermon there is the following passage:—

"Rabbi David Kimchi³, a noted Jewish commentator, who lived about five hundred years ago, explains that passage in the first psalm, 'His leaf also shall not wither,' from rabbins yet older than himself, thus:—That 'even the idle talk,' so he expresses it, 'of a good man ought to be regarded;' the most superfluous things, he saith, are always of some value. And other ancient authors have the same phrase nearly in the same sense."

Of one thing I am certain, that, considering how highly the small portion which we have of

¹ William Whitehead lived with William, third Earl of Jersey, and Anne Egerton, his countess.—WRIGHT.

² Plutarch's Life of Alexander; Langhorne's translation.—BOSWELL.

³ Kimchi was a Spanish rabbi, who died in 1240. One

wonders that Secker's good sense should have condescended to quote this far-fetched and futile interpretation of the simple and beautiful metaphor by which the Psalmist illustrates the prosperity of the righteous man.—CROKER.

the table-talk, and other anecdotes, of our celebrated writers is valued, and how earnestly it is regretted that we have not more, I am justified in preserving rather too many of Johnson's sayings, than too few; especially as, from the diversity of dispositions, it cannot be known with certainty beforehand, whether what may seem trifling to some, and perhaps to the collector himself, may not be most agreeable to many; and the greater number that an author can please in any degree, the more pleasure does there arise to a benevolent mind.

To those who are weak enough to think this a degrading task, and the time and labour which have been devoted to it misemployed, I shall content myself with opposing the authority of the greatest man of any age, Julius Cæsar, of whom Bacon observes, that "in his book of apophthegms which he collected, we see that he esteemed it more honour to make himself but a pair of tables, to take the wise and pithy words of others, than to have every word of his own to be made an apophthegm or an oracle." [Advancement of Learning, Book I.]

Having said thus much by way of Introduction, I commit the following pages to the candour of the public.

SAMUEL JOHNSON¹ was born at Lichfield, in Staffordshire, on the 18th of September, N.S. 1709; and his initiation into the Christian

church was not delayed; for his baptism is recorded, in the register of St. Mary's parish in that city, to have been performed on the day of his birth: his father is there styled *Gentleman*, a circumstance of which an ignorant panegyrist has praised him for not being proud; when the truth is, that the appellation of Gentleman, though now lost in the indiscriminate assumption of *Esquire*, was commonly taken by those who could not boast of gentility.² His father was Michael Johnson, a native of Derbyshire, of obscure extraction, who settled in Lichfield as a bookseller and stationer. His mother was Sarah Ford, descended of an ancient race of substantial yeomanry in Warwickshire. They were well advanced in years when they married, and never had more than two children, both sons; Samuel, their first-born, who lived to be the illustrious character whose various excellence I am to endeavour to record, and Nathanael, who died in his twenty-fifth year.

Mr. Michael Johnson was a man of a large and robust body, and of a strong and active mind; yet, as in the most solid rocks veins of unsound substance are often discovered, there was in him a mixture of that disease, the nature of which eludes the most minute enquiry, though the effects are well known to be a weariness of life, and unconcern about those things which agitate the greater part of mankind, and a general sensation of gloomy wretchedness. From him, then, his son inherited, with some other qualities, "a vile melancholy"³

¹ He derived, no doubt, his christian name from his godfather, Doctor Samuel Swinfen, a gentleman of landed property in the neighbourhood of Lichfield, who happened to lodge in Michael Johnson's house at the time of the birth of the child, in whose welfare he seems ever after to have taken a lively interest. This, and some other circumstances subsequently mentioned, I have found, since my first edition, in a small volume entitled "*Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Dr. Johnson*," published in 1785, anonymously; but the writer seems to have received information from Dr. Swinfen's daughter, Mrs. Desmoulins, and Johnson's early friend, Mr. Elphinstone. Dr. Swinfen took a degree of Doctor of Medicine from Pembroke College, in 1712, and attained considerable eminence in his profession. — CROKER.

² The title *Gentleman* had still, in 1709, some degree of its original meaning, and as Mr. Johnson served the office of sheriff of Lichfield in that year, he seems to have been in some measure entitled to it. The Doctor, at his entry on the books of Pembroke college, and at his matriculation, designated himself as *filius generosi*. There seems, however, considerable difficulty in arriving at a satisfactory opinion as to Michael Johnson's real condition and circumstances. That in the latter years of his life he was poor, is certain; and Dr. Johnson (in the "*Account of his early Life*," see Appendix No. I.) not only admits the general fact of poverty, but gives several instances of what may be called *indigence*: yet, on the other hand, there is evidence that for near fifty years he occupied a respectable rank amongst his fellow-citizens, and appears in the annals of Lichfield on occasions not bespeaking poverty. In 1687, a subscription for recasting the cathedral bells was set on foot, headed by the bishop, dean, &c., aided by the neighbouring gentry; Michael Johnson's name stands the twelfth in the list; and his contribution, though only 10s., was not comparatively contemptible; for no one, except the bishop and dean, gave so much as 10l. Baronets and knights gave a guinea or two, and the great body of the contributors gave less than Johnson. (*Harwood's Lichfield*, p. 69.) In 1694, we find him burying in the cathedral, and placing a marble stone over a young woman in whose fate he was interested. His house, a handsome one, and in one of the best situations in the town, was his own freehold; and he appears to have added to it, for we find in the books of the corporation the following entry: "1708, July 18. Agreed, that Mr. Michael Johnson, bookseller, have a lease of his encroachment of his house in Sadler's Street, for forty years, at 2s. 6d. per an."

And this lease, at the expiration of the forty years, was renewed to the Doctor as a mark of the respect of his fellow-citizens. In 1709, Michael Johnson served the office of sheriff of the county of the city of Lichfield. Nor is it any derogation from the respectability of a county-town tradesman that he should let part of his house in lodgings to the principal physician of the city. In 1718, he was elected junior bailiff; and in 1725, senior bailiff, or chief magistrate. Thus respected and apparently thriving in Lichfield, the following extract of a letter, written by the Rev. George Plaxton, chaplain to Lord Gower, will show the high estimation in which he was held in the neighbouring country: "Trentham, St. Peter's day, 1716. Johnson, the Lichfield Librarian, is now here; he propagates learning all over this diocese, and advances knowledge to its just height; all the clergy here are his pupils, and suck all they have from him; Allen cannot make a warrant without his precedent, nor our quondam John Evans draw a recognizance *sine directione Michaelis*." (*Gentleman's Magazine*, October, 1791.) But on the whole it seems probable that the growing expenses of a family, and losses in trade, had in his latter years reduced Mr. Johnson, from the state of competency which he had before enjoyed, to very narrow circumstances. — CROKER.

³ See post, September 16. 1773. — BOSWELL. Miss Seward who latterly showed a great deal of malevolence towards Johnson, delighted to repeat a story that one of his uncles had suffered the last penalty of the law. "Shortly after Mr. Porter's death, Johnson asked his mother's consent to marry the old widow. After expressing her surprise at a request so extraordinary — 'No, Sam, my willing consent you will never have to so preposterous an union. You are not twenty-five, and she is turned fifty. If she had any prudence, this request had never been made to me. Where are your means of subsistence? Porter has died poor, in consequence of his wife's expensive habits. You have great talents, but as yet have turned them into no profitable channel.' — 'Mother, I have not deceived Mrs. Porter. I have told her the worst of me; that I am of mean extraction; that I have no money; and that I have had an *uncle hanged*.' She replied, 'that she valued no one more or less for his descent; that she had no more money than myself; and that, though she had not had a relation hanged, she had fifty who deserved hanging.'" (*Seward's Letters*, vol. i. p. 45.) This account was given to Mr. Boswell, who, as Miss Seward could not

which, in his too strong expression of any disturbance of the mind, "made him mad all his life, at least not sober."¹ Michael was, however, forced by the narrowness of his circumstances to be very diligent in business, not only in his shop, but by occasionally resorting to several towns in the neighbourhood, some of which were at a considerable distance from Lichfield. At that time booksellers' shops in the provincial towns of England were very rare, so that there was not one even in Birmingham, in which town old Mr. Johnson used to open a shop every market-day. He was a pretty good Latin scholar, and a citizen so creditable as to be made one of the magistrates of Lichfield; and, being a man of good sense, and skill in his trade, he acquired a reasonable share of wealth, of which, however, he afterwards lost the greatest part, by engaging unsuccessfully² in a manufacture of parchment.³ He was a zealous high-churchman and royalist, and retained his attachment to the unfortunate house of Stuart, though he reconciled himself, by casuistical arguments of expediency and necessity, to take the oaths imposed by the prevailing power.

There is a circumstance in his life somewhat romantic, but so well authenticated⁴, that I shall not omit it. A young woman of Leek, in Staffordshire, while he served his apprenticeship there, conceived a violent passion for him; and, though it met with no favourable return, followed him to Lichfield, where she took lodgings

opposite to the house in which he lived, and indulged her hopeless flame. When he was informed that it so preyed upon her mind that her life was in danger, he, with a generous humanity, went to her and offered to marry her, but it was then too late: her vital power was exhausted; and she actually exhibited one of the very rare instances of dying for love. She was buried in the cathedral of Lichfield; and he, with a tender regard, placed a stone over her grave with this inscription:—

Here lies the Body of
MRS. ELIZABETH BLANEY, a Stranger.
She departed this Life
20th of September, 1694.

JOHNSON'S mother was a woman of distinguished understanding. I asked his old school-fellow, Mr. Hector, a surgeon, of Birmingham⁵, if she was not vain of her son. He said, "she had too much good sense to be vain, but she knew her son's value." Her piety was not inferior to her understanding; and to her must be ascribed those early impressions of religion upon the mind of her son, from which the world afterwards derived so much benefit. He told me, that he remembered distinctly having had the first notice of heaven, "a place to which good people went," and hell, "a place to which bad people went," communicated to him by her, when a little child in bed with her; and that it might be the better fixed in his memory, she sent him to repeat it

have known it of her own knowledge, asked the lady for her authority. Miss Seward, in reply, quoted Mrs. Cobb, an old friend of Johnson's, who resided at Lichfield. To her, then, Boswell addressed himself; and, to his equal surprise and satisfaction, was answered that Mrs. Cobb had not only never told such a story, but that she had not even heard of it. — *Gent. Mag.* vol. 63. p. 1069.) It is painful to have to add, that notwithstanding this denial, Miss Seward persisted in her story to the last. The report as to the hanging was probably derived from a coarse passage in the Rev. Donald Mc Nicol's Remarks on Dr. Johnson's "*Journey to the Hebrides*." "But whatever the Doctor may insinuate about the present scarcity of trees in Scotland, we are much deceived by fame if a very near ancestor of his, who was a native of that country, did not find to his cost that a tree was not quite such a rarity in his days." (P. 18, ed. 1779.) There seems no reason whatsoever to believe that any of Dr. Johnson's family were natives of Scotland. — CROKER.

¹ One of the most curious and important chapters in the history of the human mind is still to be written, that of *Hereditary Insanity*. The symptomatic facts by which the disease might be traced are generally either disregarded from ignorance of their real cause and character, or, when observed, carefully suppressed by domestic or professional delicacy. This is natural, and even laudable; yet there are several important reasons why the obscurity in which such facts are usually buried may be regretted. *Morally*, we should wish to know, as far as may be permitted to us, the nature of our own intellect, its powers, and its weaknesses: — *medically*, it might be possible, by early and systematic treatment, to avert or mitigate the disease which, there is reason to suppose, is now often unknown or mistaken; — *legally*, it would be desirable to have any additional means of discriminating between guilt and misfortune, and of ascertaining, with more precision, the nice bounds which divide moral guilt from what may be called physical errors; — and in the highest and most important of all the springs of human thought or action, it would be consolatory and edifying to be able to distinguish, with greater certainty, rational faith and judicious piety, from the enthusiastic confidence or the gloomy despondence of disordered imaginations. The memory of every man who has lived not inattentively in society will furnish him with instances to which such considerations as these might have been usefully applied. But in reading the life of Doctor Johnson (who was conscious of the disease and of its cause, and of whose blood there remains no one whose feelings can

be now offended), they should be kept constantly in view; not merely as a subject of general interest, but as elucidating and explaining many of the errors, regularities, and weaknesses of that extraordinary man. — CROKER.

² In this undertaking, nothing prospered; they had no sooner bought a large stock of skins, than a heavy duty was laid upon that article, and, from Michael's absence by his many avocations as a bookseller, the parchment business was committed to a faithless servant, and thence they gradually declined into strait circumstances. — *Gent. Mag.*, vol. lv. p. 100. — CROKER.

³ Johnson, in his Dictionary, defines "EXCISE, a hateful tax, levied upon commodities, and adjudged not by the common judges of property, but by wretches hired by those to whom excise is paid;" and, in the *Idler* (No. 65.), he calls a *Commissioner of Excise* "one of the lowest of all human beings." This violence of language seems so unreasonable, that I was induced to suspect some cause of *personal animosity*; this mention of the trade in parchment (an *excisable* article) afforded a clue, which has led to the confirmation of that suspicion. In the records of the Excise Board is to be found the following letter, addressed to the supervisor of excise at Lichfield:—"July 27, 1725. The Commissioners received yours of the 22d instant, and since the justices would not give judgment against Mr. Michael Johnson, the *tanner*, notwithstanding the facts were fairly against him, the Board direct that the next time he offends, you do not lay an information against him, but send an affidavit of the fact, that he may be prosecuted in the Exchequer." — It does not appear whether he offended again, but here is a sufficient cause of his son's animosity against *Commissioners of Excise*, and of the allusion in the Dictionary to the *special jurisdiction* under which that revenue is administered. The reluctance of the justices to convict will appear not unnatural, when it is recollected that M. Johnson was, *this very year*, chief magistrate of the city. — CROKER.

⁴ The *romantic* part of this story does not seem otherwise *authenticated* than by an assertion in the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. 55, p. 100, on, as it would seem, the very doubtful authority of Miss Seward, that Doctor Johnson had told it. Admitting that he did so, it is to be observed that the fact happened *fifteen years* before his birth; and his father may be excused if he gave to his wife and son a *romantic* account of an affair of this nature. — CROKER.

⁵ He died Sept. 2. 1794, Æt. 85. He was, therefore, about the same age as Johnson. — CROKER.

to Thomas Jackson, their man-servant¹: he not being in the way, this was not done; but there was no occasion for any artificial aid for its preservation.

In following so very eminent a man from his cradle to his grave, every minute particular which can throw light on the progress of his mind is interesting. That he was remarkable, even in his earliest years, may easily be supposed; for, to use his own words in his *Life* of Sydenham, "That the strength of his understanding, the accuracy of his discernment, and the ardour of his curiosity, might have been remarked from his infancy, by a diligent observer, there is no reason to doubt; for there is no instance of any man, whose history has been minutely related, that did not in every part of life discover the same proportion of intellectual vigour."

In all such investigations it is certainly unwise to pay too much attention to incidents which the credulous relate with eager satisfaction, and the more scrupulous or witty inquirer considers only as topics of ridicule; yet there is a traditional story of the infant Hercules of toryism, so curiously characteristic, that I shall not withhold it. It was communicated to me in a letter from Miss Mary Adye of Lichfield.

"When Dr. Sacheverel was at Lichfield, Johnson was not quite three years old. My grandfather Hammond observed him at the cathedral perched upon his father's shoulders, listening and gaping at the much celebrated preacher. Mr. Hammond asked Mr. Johnson how he could possibly think of bringing such an infant to church, and in the midst of so great a crowd. He answered, because it was impossible to keep him at home; for, young as he was, he believed he had caught the public spirit and zeal for Sacheverel, and would have staid for ever in the church, satisfied with beholding him."²

Nor can I omit a little instance of that jealous independence of spirit, and impetuosity of temper, which never forsook him. The fact was acknowledged to me by himself, upon the authority of his mother. One day, when the servant who used to be sent to school to conduct him home had not come in time, he set out by himself, though he was then so near-sighted, that he was obliged to stoop down on his hands and knees to take a view of the kennel before he ventured to step over it. His school-

mistress, afraid that he might miss his way, or fall into the kennel, or be run over by a cart, followed him at some distance. He happened to turn about and perceive her. Feeling her careful attention as an insult to his manliness, he ran back to her in a rage, and beat her, as well as his strength would permit.

Of the power of his memory, for which he was all his life eminent to a degree almost incredible, the following early instance was told me in his presence at Lichfield, in 1776, by his step-daughter, Mrs. Lucy Porter, as related to her by his mother. When he was a child in petticoats, and had learnt to read, Mrs. Johnson one morning put the common prayer-book into his hands, pointed to the collect for the day, and said, "Sam, you must get this by heart." She went up stairs, leaving him to study it: but by the time she had reached the second floor, she heard him following her. "What's the matter?" said she. "I can say it," he replied; and repeated it distinctly, though he could not have read it more than twice.

But there has been another story of his infant precocity generally circulated, and generally believed, the truth of which I am to refute upon his own authority. It is told³ that, when a child of three years old, he chanced to tread upon a duckling, the eleventh of a brood, and killed it; upon which, it is said, he dictated to his mother the following epitaph:—

"Here lies good master duck,
Whom Samuel Johnson trod on;
If it had lived, it had been good luck,
For then we'd had an odd one."

There is surely internal evidence that this little composition combines in it what no child of three years old could produce, without an extension of its faculties by immediate inspiration; yet Mrs. Lucy Porter, Dr. Johnson's step-daughter, positively maintained to me, in his presence, that there could be no doubt of the truth of this anecdote, for she had heard it from his mother. So difficult is it to obtain an authentic relation of facts, and such authority may there be for error; for he assured me, that his father made the verses, and wished to pass them for his child's. He added, "My father was a foolish old man; that is to say, foolish in talking of his children."⁴

¹ Mrs. Piozzi with more probability, calls him a *workman*.—CROKER.

² The gossiping anecdotes of the Lichfield ladies are all apocryphal. Sacheverel, by his sentence, pronounced in Feb. 1710, was interdicted for three years from preaching; so that he could not have preached at Lichfield while Johnson was under three years of age. Sacheverel, indeed, made a triumphal progress through the midland counties in 1710; and it appears by the books of the corporation of Lichfield, that he was received in that town and complimented by the attendance of the corporation "and a present of three dozen of wine," on the 16th of June, 1710: but then the "infant Hercules of toryism" was just nine months old.—CROKER.

³ Piozzi's Anecdotes, and Sir John Hawkins's Life.—BOSWELL.

⁴ This anecdote of the duck, though disproved by internal and external evidence, has, nevertheless, upon supposition of

its truth, been made the foundation of the following ingenious and fanciful reflections of Miss Seward, amongst the communications concerning Dr. Johnson with which she has been pleased to favour me:—"These infant numbers contain the seeds of those propensities which, through his life, so strongly marked his character, of that poetic talent which afterwards bore such rich and plentiful fruits; for, excepting his orthographic works, everything which Dr. Johnson wrote was poetry, whose essence consists not in numbers, or in jingle, but in the strength and glow of a fancy, to which all the stores of nature and of art stand in prompt administration; and in an eloquence which conveys their blended illustrations in a language more tunable than needs or rhyme or verse to add more harmony." The above little verses also show that superstitious bias which grew with his growth, and strengthened with his strength," and, of late years particularly, injured his happiness, by presenting to him the gloomy side of religion,

Young Johnson had the misfortune to be much afflicted with the scrofula, or king's evil, which disfigured a countenance naturally well formed, and hurt his visual nerves so much, that he did not see at all with one of his eyes, though its appearance was little different from that of the other. There is amongst his prayers, one inscribed "*When my EYE was restored to its use* (P. & M. p. 27.)," which ascertains a defect that many of his friends knew he had, though I never perceived it.¹ I supposed him to be only near-sighted; and indeed I must observe, that in no other respect could I discern any defect in his vision; on the contrary, the force of his attention and perceptive quickness made him see and distinguish all manner of objects, whether of nature or of art, with a nicety that is rarely to be found. When he and I were travelling in the Highlands of Scotland, and I pointed out to him a mountain which I observed resembled a cone, he corrected my inaccuracy, by showing me that it was, indeed, pointed at the top, but that one side of it was larger than the other. And the ladies with whom he was acquainted agree that no man was more nicely and minutely critical in the elegance of female dress. When I found that he saw the romantic beauties of Islam, in Derbyshire, much better than I did, I told him that he resembled an able performer upon a bad instrument. How false and contemptible, then, are all the remarks which have been made to the prejudice either of his candour or of his philosophy, founded upon a supposition that he was almost blind. It has been said, that he contracted this grievous malady from his nurse.² His mother — yielding to the superstitious notion, which, it is wonderful to think, prevailed so long in this country, as to the virtue of the regal touch, a notion which our kings encouraged, and to which a man of such inquiry and such judgment as Carte³ could give credit — carried him to London, where he was actually touched by Queen Anne.⁴ Mrs. Johnson, indeed, as Mr. Hector informed me, acted by the advice of the celebrated Sir John Floyer, then a physician in Lichfield. Johnson used to talk of this very frankly; and Mrs. Piozzi has preserved his very picturesque description of

the scene, as it remained upon his fancy. Being asked, if he could remember Queen Anne, — "He had," he said, "a confused, but somehow a sort of solemn recollection of a lady in diamonds, and a long black hood." This touch, however, was without any effect. I ventured to say to him, in allusion to the political principles in which he was educated, and of which he ever retained some odour, that "his mother had not carried him far enough; she should have taken him to ROME" [—to the Pretender].

CHAPTER II.

1716 — 1728.

Johnson at Lichfield School. — Boyish Days. — Removed to Stourbridge. — Specimens of his School Exercises and early Verses. — He leaves Stourbridge, and passes two Years with his Father.

He was first taught to read English by Dame Oliver, a widow, who kept a school for young children in Lichfield.⁵ He told me she could read the black letter, and asked him to borrow for her, from his father, a bible in that character. When he was going to Oxford, she came to take leave of him, brought him, in the simplicity of her kindness, a present of gingerbread, and said he was the best scholar she ever had. He delighted in mentioning this early compliment; adding, with a smile, that "this was as high a proof of his merit as he could conceive." His next instructor in English was a master, whom, when he spoke of him to me, he familiarly called Tom Brown, who, said he, "published a spelling-book, and dedicated it to the UNIVERSE: but, I fear, no copy of it can now be had."

He began to learn Latin with Mr. Hawkins, usher or under-master of Lichfield school, "a man," said he, "very skilful in his little way." With him he continued two years, and then rose to be under the care of Mr. Hunter, the head master, who, according to his account, "was very severe, and wrongheadedly severe."⁶ He used," said he, "to beat us unmercifully; and he did not distinguish between ignorance

rather than that bright and cheering one which gilds the period of closing life with the light of pious hope." This is so beautifully imagined, that I would not suppress it. But, like many other theories, it is deduced from a supposed fact, which is, indeed, a fiction. — BOSWELL. Mr. Boswell, when he wrote this flattering note, was endeavouring to propitiate Miss Seward; but she was obstinate, and maintained a very wrong-headed hostility and paper war with him on this and a similar subject (*the Verses on a Sprig of Myrtle*), on which she was wrong every way. — CROKER.

¹ Speaking himself of the imperfection of one of his eyes, he said, "The dog was never good for much." — BURNBY.

² So, he says — in his own "*Account of his early Life*" — Dr. Swinfen informed him; but his mother thought it was derived from her family. His mother and Dr. Swinfen were both perhaps wrong in their conjecture as to the origin of the disease; he more probably inherited it from his father with the morbid melancholy which is so commonly an attendant on scrofulous habits. — CROKER.

³ In consequence of a note, in vindication of the efficacy of the royal touch, which Carte admitted into the first volume of his History of England, the corporation of London with-

drew their subscription, and the work instantaneously fell into almost total, but certainly undeserved, neglect. — NICHOLS. Hawkins repeats, after several old writers, that this healing gift was derived to our princes from Edward the Confessor; but the Kings of France claimed the same privilege, which they exercised under this modest formula. — *L'roi le touche. Dieu le guerisse.* — CROKER.

⁴ It appears, by the newspapers of the time, that on the 30th of March, 1712, two hundred persons were touched by Queen Anne. — WRIGHT.

⁵ She lived in Dam Street, at the north corner of Quoniam's Lane. — HARWOOD. CROKER.

⁶ Mr. Hunter was an odd mixture of the pedant and the sportsman; he was a very severe disciplinarian and a great setter of game. Happy was the boy who could inform his offended master where a covey of partridges was to be found; this notice was a certain pledge of his pardon. — "*Davies' Life of Garrick*, vol. i. p. 3. He was a prebendary in the Cathedral of Lichfield, and grandfather to Miss Seward. One of this lady's complaints against Johnson was, that he, in all his works, never expressed any gratitude to his preceptor. It does not appear that he owed him much. — CROKER.

and negligence; for he would beat a boy equally for not knowing a thing, as for neglecting to know it. He would ask a boy a question, and if he did not answer it, he would beat him, without considering whether he had an opportunity of knowing how to answer it. For instance, he would call up a boy and ask him Latin for a candlestick, which the boy could not expect to be asked. Now, sir, if a boy could answer every question, there would be no need of a master to teach him."

It is, however, but justice to the memory of Mr. Hunter to mention, that though he might err in being too severe, the school of Lichfield was very respectable in his time. The late Dr. Taylor, prebendary of Westminster, who was educated under him, told me, that "he was an excellent master, and that his ushers were most of them men of eminence; that Holbrook¹, one of the most ingenious men, best scholars, and best preachers of his age, was usher during the greatest part of the time that Johnson was at school. Then came Hague, of whom as much might be said, with the addition that he was an elegant poet. Hague was succeeded by Green², afterwards bishop of Lincoln, whose character in the learned world is well known. In the same form with Johnson was Congreve³, who afterwards became chaplain to Archbishop Boulter, and by that connection obtained good preferment in Ireland. He was a younger son of the ancient family of Congreve, in Staffordshire, of which the poet was a branch. His brother sold the estate. There was also Lowe, afterwards canon of Windsor."⁴

Indeed, Johnson was very sensible how much he owed to Mr. Hunter. Mr. Langton one day asked him, how he had acquired so accurate a knowledge of Latin, in which, I believe, he was exceeded by no man of his time: he said, "My master whipt me very well. Without that, sir, I should have done nothing." He told Mr. Langton, that while Hunter was flogging his boys unmercifully, he used to say, "And this I do to save you from the gallows." Johnson, upon all occasions, expressed his approbation of enforcing instruction by means of the rod⁵: "I would rather," said he, "have the rod to be the general terror to all, to make them learn, than tell a child, if you do thus or thus, you will be more esteemed than your brothers or sisters. The rod produces an effect which terminates in itself. A child is afraid

of being whipped, and gets his task, and there's an end on't; whereas, by exciting emulation and comparisons of superiority, you lay the foundation of lasting mischief; you make brothers and sisters hate each other."

When Johnson saw some young ladies in Lincolnshire⁶ who were remarkably well behaved, owing to their mother's strict discipline and severe correction, he exclaimed, in one of Shakspeare's lines a little varied⁷,

"Rod, I will honour thee for this thy duty."

That superiority over his fellows, which he maintained with so much dignity in his march through life, was not assumed from vanity and ostentation, but was the natural and constant effect of those extraordinary powers of mind, of which he could not but be conscious by comparison; the intellectual difference, which in other cases of comparison of characters is often a matter of undecided contest, being as clear in his case as the superiority of stature in some men above others. Johnson did not strut or stand on tip-toe: he only did not stoop. From his earliest years, his superiority was perceived and acknowledged. He was from the beginning *ἄνεκ ἀνθρώπων*, a king of men. His school-fellow, Mr. Hector, has obligingly furnished me with many particulars of his boyish days; and assured me that he never knew him corrected at school, but for talking and diverting other boys from their business.⁸ He seemed to learn by intuition; for though indolence and procrastination were inherent in his constitution, whenever he made an exertion he did more than any one else. In short, he is a memorable instance of what has been often observed, that the boy is the man in miniature; and that the distinguishing characteristics of each individual are the same, through the whole course of life. His favourites used to receive very liberal assistance from him; and such was the submission and deference with which he was treated, such the desire to obtain his regard, that three of the boys, of whom Mr. Hector was sometimes one, used to come in the morning as his humble attendants, and carry him to school. One in the middle stooped, while he sat upon his back, and one on each side supported him; and thus he was borne triumphant. Such a proof of the early predominance of intellectual vigour is very remarkable, and does honour to human nature.⁹ Talking to me once himself of his being much

¹ Edward Holbrook, A.M., afterwards minister of Wittenhall, near Wolverhampton, and in 1744, at the request of the corporation of Lichfield presented by the Dean and Chapter to the vicarage of St. Mary's in that city, ob. 1772. — CROKER.

² Dr. John Green was born in 1706, and died, Bishop of Lincoln, in 1779. He wrote three of the "Athenian Letters," but was not usher at Lichfield till after Johnson had left school. — CROKER.

³ Charles Congreve, of whose latter days see Johnson's striking description, sub. 22. Mar. 1776. — CROKER.

⁴ Among other eminent men, Addison, Wollaston, Garrick, Bishop Newton, Chief Justice Willes, Chief Baron

Parker, and Chief Justice Wilmot were educated at this seminary. — ANDERSON.

⁵ See *post*, towards the end of 1775. — CROKER.

⁶ Probably the sisters of his friend Mr. Langton. — CROKER.

⁷ More than a little. This line is in *King Henry VI.*, Part II. act iv. sc. last: —

"Sword, I will hallow thee for this thy deed." — MALONE.

⁸ This is not consistent with Johnson's own statement, to Mr. Langton *suprà*. — CROKER.

⁹ Doctor Anderson, in his life of Johnson, suggests that this boyish mastery was obtained more probably by corporeal than intellectual vigour. — CROKER.

distinguished at school, he told me, "They never thought to raise me by comparing me to any one; they never said, Johnson is as good a scholar as such a one, but such a one is as good a scholar as Johnson; and this was said but of one, but of Lowe; and I do not think he was as good a scholar."

He discovered a great ambition to excel, which roused him to counteract his indolence. He was uncommonly inquisitive; and his memory was so tenacious, that he never forgot any thing that he either heard or read. Mr. Hector remembers having recited to him eighteen verses, which, after a little pause, he repeated *verbatim*, varying only one epithet, by which he improved the line.

He never joined with the other boys in their ordinary diversions; his only amusement was in winter, when he took a pleasure in being drawn upon the ice by a boy barefooted, who pulled him along by a garter fixed round him; no very easy operation, as his size was remarkably large. His defective sight, indeed, prevented him from enjoying the common sports; and he once pleasantly remarked to me, "how wonderfully well he had contrived to be idle without them." Lord Chesterfield, however, has justly observed in one of his letters, when earnestly cautioning a friend against the pernicious effects of idleness, that active sports are not to be reckoned idleness in young people; and that the listless torpor of doing nothing alone deserves that name. Of this dismal inertness of disposition, Johnson had all his life too great a share. Mr. Hector relates, that "he could not oblige him more than by sauntering away the hours of vacation in the fields, during which he was more engaged in talking to himself than to his companion."¹

Dr. Percy², the Bishop of Dromore, who was long intimately acquainted with him, and has preserved a few anecdotes concerning him, regretting that he was not a more diligent collector, informs me, that "when a boy he was immoderately fond of reading romances of chivalry, and he retained his fondness for them

through life; so that," adds his lordship, "spending part of a summer at my parsonage-house in the country, he chose for his regular reading the old Spanish romance of *Felixmarte of Hircania*³, in folio, which he read quite through. Yet I have heard him attribute to these extravagant fictions that unsettled turn of mind which prevented his ever fixing in any profession."

After having resided for some time at the house of his uncle, Cornelius Ford⁴, Johnson was, at the age of fifteen, removed to the school of Stourbridge, in Worcestershire, of which Mr. Wentworth⁵ was then master. This step was taken by the advice of his cousin the Rev. Mr. Ford, a man in whom both talents and good dispositions were disgraced by licentiousness⁶, but who was a very able judge of what was right. At this school he did not receive so much benefit as was expected. It has been said, that he acted in the capacity of an assistant to Mr. Wentworth, in teaching the younger boys. "Mr. Wentworth," he told me, "was a very able man, but an idle man, and to me very severe; but I cannot blame him much. I was then a big boy; he saw I did not reverence him, and that he should get no honour by me. I had brought enough with me to carry me through; and all I should get at his school would be ascribed to my own labour, or to my former master. Yet he taught me a great deal."

He thus discriminated, to Dr. Percy, bishop of Dromore, his progress at his two grammar-schools:—"At one, I learned much in the school, but little from the master; in the other, I learnt much from the master, but little in the school."

The Bishop also informs me, that Dr. Johnson's father, before he was received at Stourbridge, applied to have him admitted as a scholar and assistant to the Rev. Samuel Lea, M.A., head master of Newport school, in Shropshire;—a very diligent good teacher, at that time in high reputation, under whom Mr. Hollis is said, in the Memoirs of his Life,

¹ Mr. Hector's recollections had already been published by Hawkins, but Boswell suppressed a remarkable passage: "After a long absence from Lichfield, when he returned I was apprehensive of something wrong in his constitution, which might either impair his intellect, or endanger his life; but, thanks to Almighty God, my fears have proved false."—This absence was, no doubt, his residence at Oxford, on his return from which he had a severe fit of hypochondriacal illness, at Lichfield, in 1729-30. — CROKER.

² Dr. Thomas Percy, the editor of the "*Reliques*" was born at Bridgenorth, in 1728. In 1752 he was nominated to the see of Dromore; where he died in 1811. — WRIGHT.

³ In one of his journeys we shall see (27th March, 1766), that he took with him "*Il Palmerino d'Inghilterra*" in Italian, but then it was for exercise in the language, and he took no pleasure in the work itself. — CROKER.

⁴ Dr. Ford, an eminent physician, was brother of Johnson's mother. — MALONE. Dr. Johnson had four uncles Ford, Dr. Joseph (the eldest), Cornelius, Samuel, after whom he was named, and Nathaniel. — J. M.

⁵ Hawkins says that his name was *Winkworth*, but that, affecting to be of the Strafford family, he assumed that of *Wentworth*. — CROKER.

⁶ He is said to be the original of the parson in Hogarth's *Midnight Modern Conversation*. — BOSWELL.

This fact has been doubted, though Johnson himself seems to have believed it (see *post*, 12 May, 1778), and in his Life of Fenton, admits the blameable levity of his cousin's character. "Ford, a clergyman at that time too well known, whose abilities, instead of furnishing convivial merriment to the voluptuous and dissolute, might have enabled him to excel among the virtuous and the wise." In the *Historical Register* for 1731, we find, "Died Aug. 22., the Rev. Mr. Ford, well known to the world for his great wit and abilities." And the *Gentleman's Magazine* of the same date states that he was "esteemed for his polite and agreeable conversation." Mr. Murphy asserts that he was chaplain to Lord Chesterfield, but this was a mistake, arising, as Mr. Peter Cunningham has pointed out to me, from the following passage in the *Richardsonia*:—"When Parson Ford, an infamous fellow, but of much off-hand conversation and wit, besought Lord Chesterfield to carry him over with him as his chaplain when he went ambassador to Holland, he said to him, 'I would certainly take you, if you had one vice more than you already have.' 'My Lord,' said Ford, 'I thought I should never be reproached for my deficiency that way.' 'True,' replied the earl, 'but if you had still one more, almost worse than all the rest put together, it would hinder these from giving scandal.'" p. 225. — CROKER, 1846.

to have been also educated.¹ This application to Mr. Lea was not successful; but Johnson had afterwards the gratification to hear that the old gentleman, who lived to a very advanced age, mentioned it as one of the most memorable events of his life, that "he was *very near* having that great man for his scholar."

He remained at Stourbridge little more than a year², and then he returned home, where he may be said to have loitered, for two years, in a state very unworthy his uncommon abilities. He had already given several proofs of his poetical genius, both in his school-exercises and in other occasional compositions. Of these I have obtained a considerable collection, by the favour of Mr. Wentworth, son of one of his masters, and of Mr. Hector, his schoolfellow and friend; from which I select the following specimens:—

TRANSLATION OF VIRGIL. Pastoral I.

Melibæus.

Now, Tityrus, you, supine and careless laid,
Play on your pipe beneath this beechen shade;
While wretched we about the world must roam,
And leave our pleasing fields and native home,
Here at your ease you sing your amorous flame,
And the wood rings with Amarillis' name.

Tityrus.

Those blessings, friend, a deity bestow'd,
For I shall never think him less than God:
Oft on his altar shall my firstlings lie,
Their blood the consecrated stones shall dye:
He gave my flocks to graze the flowery meads,
And me to tune at ease th' unequal reeds.

Melibæus.

My admiration only I express
(No spark of envy harbours in my breast),
That, when confusion o'er the country reigns,
To you alone this happy state remains.
Here I, though faint myself, must drive my goats,
Far from their ancient fields and humble cots.
This scarce I lead, who left on yonder rock
Two tender kids, the hopes of all the flock.
Had we not been perverse and careless grown,
This dire event by omens was foreshown;
Our trees were blasted by the thunder stroke,
And left-hand crows, from an old hollow oak,
Foretold the coming evil by their dismal croak.

TRANSLATION OF HORACE. Book I. Ode xxii.

THE man, my friend, whose conscious heart
With virtue's sacred ardour glows,
Nor taints with death the evenom'd dart,
Nor needs the guard of Moorish bows:

Though Scythia's icy cliffs he treads,
Or horrid Afric's faithless sands;
Or where the famed Hydaspes spreads
His liquid wealth o'er barbarous lands.

For while by Chloe's image charm'd,
Too far in Sabine woods I stray'd;
Me singing, careless and unarm'd,
A grizzly wolf surprised, and fled.

No savage more portentous stain'd
Apulia's spacious wilds with gore;
No fiercer Juba's thirsty land,
Dire nurse of raging lions, bore.

Place me where no soft summer gale
Among the quivering branches sighs;
Where clouds condens'd for ever veil
With horrid gloom the frowning skies:

Place me beneath the burning line,
A clime denied to human race:
I'll sing of Chloe's charms divine,
Her heavenly voice and beauteous face.

TRANSLATION OF HORACE. Book II. Ode ix.

CLOUDS do not always veil the skies,
Nor showers immerse the verdant plain;
Nor do the billows always rise,
Or storms afflict the ruffled main.

Nor, Valgius, on th' Armenian shores
Do the chain'd waters always freeze;
Not always furious Boreas roars,
Or bends with violent force the trees.

But you are ever drown'd in tears,
For Mystes dead you ever mourn;
No setting Sol can ease your care,
But finds you sad at his return.

The wise experienc'd Grecian sage
Mourn'd not Antilochus so long;
Nor did King Priam's hoary age
So much lament his slaughter'd son.

Leave off, at length, these woman's sighs,
Augustus' numerous trophies sing;
Repeat that prince's victories,
To whom all nations tribute bring.

Niphates rolls an humbler wave,
At length the undaunted Seythian yields,
Content to live the Roman's slave,
And scarce forsakes his native fields.

TRANSLATION OF PART OF THE DIALOGUE BETWEEN
HECTOR AND ANDROMACHE. From the Sixth
Book of HOMER'S ILIAD.

SHE ceas'd; then godlike Hector answer'd kind
(His various plumage sporting in the wind),
That post, and all the rest, shall be my care;
But shall I, then, forsake th' unfinish'd war?
How would the Trojans brand great Hector's name!
And one base action sully all my fame,
Acquir'd by wounds and battles bravely fought!
Oh! how my soul abhors so mean a thought.

¹ As was likewise the Bishop of Dromore many years afterwards. — BOSWELL.

² Yet here his genius was so distinguished that, although little better than a school-boy, he was admitted into the best

company of the place, and had no common attention paid to him; of which remarkable instances were long remembered there. — PERCY.

Long since I learn'd to slight this fleeting breath,
And view with cheerful eyes approaching death.
The inexorable sisters have decreed
That Priam's house and Priam's self shall bleed:
The day will come in which proud Troy shall yield,
And spread its smoking ruins o'er the field.
Yet Hecuba's, nor Priam's hoary age,
Whose blood shall quench some Grecian's thirsty
rage,

Nor my brave brothers, that have bit the ground,
Their souls dismiss'd through many a ghastly wound,
Can in my bosom half that grief create,
As the sad thought of your impending fate:
When some proud Grecian dame shall tasks impose,
Mimic your tears, and ridicule your woes;
Beneath Hyperia's waters shall you sweat,
And, fainting, scarce support the liquid weight:
Then shall some Argive loud insulting cry,
Behold the wife of Hector, guard of Troy!
Tears, at my name, shall drown those beauteous eyes,
And that fair bosom heave with rising sighs.
Before that day, by some brave hero's hand,
May I lie slain, and spurn the bloody sand!

TO A YOUNG LADY ON HER BIRTHDAY.¹

This tributary verse receive, my fair,
Warm with an ardent lover's fondest prayer.
May this returning day for ever find
Thy form more lovely, more adorn'd thy mind;
All pains, all cares, may favouring Heaven remove,
All but the sweet solicitudes of love!
May powerful nature join with grateful art,
To point each glance, and force it to the heart!
Oh then, when conquer'd crowds confess thy sway,
When ev'n proud wealth and prouder wit obey,
My fair, be mindful of the mighty trust,
Alas! 'tis hard for beauty to be just.
Those sovereign charms with strictest care employ;
Nor give the generous pain, the worthless joy:
With his own form acquaint the forward fool,
Shown in the faithful glass of ridicule;
Teach mimic censure her own faults to find,
No more let coquettes to themselves be blind,
So shall Belinda's charms improve mankind.

THE YOUNG AUTHOR.²

When first the peasant, long inclin'd to roam,
Forsakes his rural sports and peaceful home,
Pleas'd with the scene the smiling ocean yields,
He scorns the verdant meads and flow'ry fields;
Then dances jocund o'er the watery way,
While the breeze whispers, and the streamers play:
Unbounded prospects in his bosom roll,
And future millions lift his rising soul;
In blissful dreams he digs the golden mine,
And raptur'd sees the new-found ruby shine.
Joys insincere! thick clouds invade the skies,
Loud roar the billows, high the waves arise;

Sick'ning with fear, he longs to view the shore,
And vows to trust the faithless deep no more.

So the young Author, panting after fame,
And the long honours of a lasting name,
Intrusts his happiness to human kind,
More false, more cruel, than the seas or wind.
"Toil on, dull crowd," in ecstasies he cries,
"For wealth or title, perishable prize;
"While I those transitory blessings scorn,
"Secure of praise from ages yet unborn."
This thought once form'd, all counsel comes too late,
He flies to press, and hurries on his fate;
Swiftly he sees the imagin'd laurels spread,
And feels the unfading wreath surround his head.
Warn'd by another's fate, vain youth, be wise,
Those dreams were Settle's once, and Ogilby's.

The pamphlet spreads, incessant hisses rise,
To some retreat the baffled writer flies;
Where no sour critics snarl, no sneers molest,
Safe from the tart lampoon and stinging jest;
There begs of Heaven a less distinguish'd lot,
Glad to be hid, and proud to be forgot.

EPILOGUE INTENDED TO HAVE BEEN SPOKEN BY A LADY WHO WAS TO PERSONATE THE GHOST OF HERMIONE.³

Ye blooming train, who give despair or joy,
Bless with a smile, or with a frown destroy;
In whose fair cheeks destructive Cupids wait,
And with unerring shafts distribute fate;
Whose snowy breasts, whose animated eyes,
Each youth admires, though each admirer dies;
Whilst you deride their pangs in barb'rous play,
Unpitied see them weep, and hear them pray,
And unrelenting sport ten thousand lives away;
For you, ye fair, I quit the gloomy plains,
Where sable night in all her horror reigns;
No fragrant bowers, no delightful glades,
Receive the unhappy ghosts of scornful maids.
For kind, for tender nymphs the myrtle blooms,
And weaves her bending boughs in pleasing glooms:
Perennial roses deck each purple vale,
And scents ambrosial breathe in every gale:
Far hence are banish'd vapours, spleen, and tears,
Tea scandal, ivory teeth, and languid airs:
No pug, nor favourite Cupid there enjoys
The balmy kiss, for which poor Thyrsis dies;
Form'd to delight, they use no foreign arms,
Nor torturing whalebones pinch them into charms;
No conscious blushes there their cheeks inflame,
For those who feel no guilt can know no shame;
Unfaded still their former charms they shew,
Around them pleasures wait, and joys for ever new.
But cruel virgins meet severer fates;
Expell'd and exiled from the blissful seats,
To dismal realms, and regions void of peace,
Where furies ever howl, and serpents hiss.
O'er the sad plains perpetual tempests sigh,
And pois'nous vapours black'ning all the sky,
With livid hue the fairest face o'creast,
And every beauty withers at the blast:

¹ Mr. Hector informs me that this was made almost *impromptu* in his presence. — BOSWELL.

² This he inserted, with many alterations, in the Gentleman's Magazine, 1743, p. 378. — BOSWELL. He, however, did not add his name. — MALONE.

³ Some young ladies at Lichfield having proposed to act "The Distressed Mother," Johnson wrote this, and gave it to Mr. Hector to convey it privately to them. — BOSWELL.

Where'er they fly their lovers' ghosts pursue,
 Inflicting all those ills which once they knew;
 Vexation, Fury, Jealousy, Despair,
 Vex ev'ry eye, and ev'ry bosom tear;
 Their foul deformities by all described,
 No maid to flatter, and no paint to hide.
 Then melt, ye fair, while clouds around you sigh,
 Nor let disdain sit louring in your eye;
 With pity soften every awful grace,
 And beauty smile auspicious in each face;
 To ease their pains exert your milder power,
 So shall you guiltless reign, and all mankind adore.

The two years which he spent at home, after his return from Stourbridge, he passed in what he thought idleness, and was scolded by his father for his want of steady application.¹ He had no settled plan of life, nor looked forward at all, but merely lived from day to day. Yet he read a great deal in a desultory manner, without any scheme of study, as chance threw books in his way, and inclination directed him through them. He used to mention one curious instance of his casual reading, when but a boy. Having imagined that his brother had hid some apples behind a large folio upon an upper shelf in his father's shop, he climbed up to search for them. There were no apples; but the large folio proved to be Petrarch, whom he had seen mentioned, in some preface, as one of the restorers of learning. His curiosity having been thus excited, he sat down with avidity and read a great part of the book.² What he read during these two years, he told me, was not works of mere amusement, "not voyages and travels, but all literature, Sir, all ancient writers, all manly; though but little Greek, only some of Anacreon and Hesiod: but in this irregular manner," added he, "I had looked into a great many books, which were not commonly known at the universities, where they seldom read any books but what are put into their hands by their tutors; so that when I came to Oxford, Dr. Adams, now master of Pembroke College, told me, I was the best qualified for the university that he had ever known come there."

In estimating the progress of his mind during these two years, as well as in future periods of his life, we must not regard his own hasty confession of idleness; for we see, when he explains himself, that he was acquiring various stores; and, indeed, he himself concluded the account with saying, "I would not have you think I

was doing nothing then." He might, perhaps, have studied more assiduously; but it may be doubted, whether such a mind as his was not more enriched by roaming at large in the fields of literature, than if it had been confined to any single spot. The analogy between body and mind is very general, and the parallel will hold as to their food, as well as any other particular. The flesh of animals who feed exclusively is allowed to have a higher flavour than that of those who are cooped up. May there not be the same difference between men who read as their taste prompts, and men who are confined in cells and colleges to stated tasks?

CHAPTER III.

1728—1731.

Enters Pembroke College, Oxford. — His College Life. — The "Morbid Melancholy" increases. — Translates Pope's Messiah. — Course of Reading. — Quits College.

THAT a man in Mr. Michael Johnson's circumstances should think of sending his son to the expensive university of Oxford, at his own charge, seems very improbable. The subject was too delicate to question Johnson upon: but I have been assured by Dr. Taylor, that the scheme never would have taken place, had not a gentleman of Shropshire, one of his school-fellows, spontaneously undertaken to support him at Oxford, in the character of his companion; though, in fact, he never received any assistance whatever from that gentleman.³

He, however, went to Oxford, and was entered a commoner of Pembroke College, on the 31st of October, 1728, being then in his nineteenth year.

The Reverend Dr. Adams, who afterwards presided over Pembroke College with universal esteem, told me he was present, and gave me some account of what passed on the night of Johnson's arrival at Oxford. On that evening, his father, who had anxiously accompanied him, found means to have him introduced to Mr. Jorden, who was to be his tutor. His being put under any tutor, reminds us of what Wood says of Robert Burton, author of the "Anatomy of Melancholy," when elected student of Christ-

¹ He probably helped his father in his business. Hawkins heard him say that he himself was able to bind a book, and Dr. Harwood showed me a pocket-book with a parchment cover, said to have been bound by him. — CROKER.

² Probably, the folio edition of Petrarch's *Opera Omnia quæ extant*, Bas. 1554; which contain both his Latin and Italian works: this accident may have led to Johnson's early though probably slight acquaintance with Italian. (See *post*, p. 31. n. 4.) — CROKER.

³ Hawkins says that "A neighbouring gentleman, Mr. Andrew Corbett, having a son, who had been educated in the same school with Johnson, whom he was about to send to Pembroke College, in Oxford, a proposal was made and accepted, that Johnson should attend his son thither in quality of assistant in his studies;" but the indisputable dates of Corbett's college life do not tally with the accounts

of either Boswell or Hawkins. Corbett was of the University twenty months before and twelve or thirteen months after Johnson. And, on reference to the college books, it appears that Corbett's residence was so irregular, and so little coincident with Johnson's, that there is no reason to suppose that Johnson was employed either as the private tutor of Corbett, as Hawkins states, or his companion, as Boswell suggests. Much more probable is the statement made in the *Memoirs* before mentioned, that his godfather Dr. Swinfen and some other gentlemen of the neighbourhood contributed to send him to Oxford. This is corroborated by the facts of his having been sent to Dr. Swinfen's own college, and of his constant and generous protection of Mrs. Desmoulins, Dr. Swinfen's daughter, from whom, indeed, the writer of the *Memoirs* seems to have derived his information. — CROKER.

church; "for form's sake, *though he wanted not a tutor*, he was put under the tuition of Dr. John Bancroft, afterwards Bishop of Oxon."¹

His father seemed very full of the merits of his son, and told the company he was a good scholar, and a poet, and wrote Latin verses. His figure and manner appeared strange to them; but he behaved modestly, and sat silent, till upon something which occurred in the course of conversation, he suddenly struck in and quoted Macrobius; and thus he gave the first impression of that more extensive reading in which he had indulged himself.

His tutor, Mr. Jorden², fellow of Pembroke, was not, it seems, a man of such abilities as we should conceive requisite for the instructor of Samuel Johnson, who gave me³ the following account of him:—

"He was a very worthy man, but a heavy man; and I did not profit much by his instructions. Indeed, I did not attend him much. The first day after I came to college I waited upon him, and then staid away four. On the sixth, Mr. Jorden asked me why I had not attended. I answered, I had been sliding in Christ-church meadow. And this I said with as much *nonchalance* as I am now talking to you. I had no notion that I was wrong or irreverent to my tutor."—BOSWELL. "That, Sir, was great fortitude of mind."—JOHNSON. "No, Sir; stark insensibility."⁴

The fifth of November was at that time kept with great solemnity at Pembroke College, and exercises upon the subject of the day were required. Johnson neglected to perform his, which is much to be regretted; for his vivacity of imagination, and force of language, would probably have produced something sublime

upon the Gunpowder Plot. To apologise for his neglect, he gave in a short copy of verses, entitled *Somnium*, containing a common thought "that the Muse had come to him in his sleep and whispered, that it did not become him to write on such subjects as politics; he should confine himself to humbler themes:" but the versification was truly Virgilian.

He had a love and respect for Jorden, not for his literature⁵ but for his worth. "Whenever," said he, "a young man becomes Jorden's pupil, he becomes his son."

Having given such a specimen of his poetical powers, he was asked by Mr. Jorden to translate Pope's Messiah into Latin verse, as a Christmas exercise.⁶ He performed it with uncommon rapidity, and in so masterly a manner, that he obtained great applause from it, which ever after kept him high in the estimation of his college, and, indeed, of all the university.

It is said, that Mr. Pope expressed himself concerning it in terms of strong approbation. Dr. Taylor told me, that it was first printed for old Mr. Johnson, without the knowledge of his son, who was very angry when he heard of it. A Miscellany of Poems, collected by a person of the name of Husbands, was published at Oxford in 1731.⁷ In that Miscellany, Johnson's Translation of the Messiah appeared, with this modest motto from Scaliger's Poetics, "*Ex alieno ingenio poeta, ex suo tantum versificator.*"

I am not ignorant that critical objections have been made to this and other specimens of Johnson's Latin poetry. I acknowledge myself not competent to decide on a question of such extreme nicety. But I am satisfied with

¹ Athen. Oxon. edit. 1721, i. 627.—BOSWELL.

² There are, as Dr. Hall informed me, several errors in Mr. Boswell's account of Johnson's college life. He either did not consult Dr. Adams, or must have misunderstood Dr. Adams's information. There are at Pembroke two tutors for the whole college, so that Mr. Jorden was no more the tutor of Johnson than of any other student, and Johnson was equally the pupil of the other college tutor. But a more serious error is that as to the period of Johnson's *actual residence* at Oxford, which pervades, and, in some important points, falsifies Boswell's narrative. Boswell assumes that the years 1729, 1730, and 1731 were all spent—with only the usual interruption of the college vacations—at Oxford, and he adapts all his subsequent statements, and several anecdotes, to this hypothesis; but an examination of the college books proves that Johnson, who entered on the 31st October, 1728, remained there, even during the vacations, to the 12th December, 1729, when he personally left the college, and never returned—though his *name* remained on the books till 8th October, 1731. This abrupt termination of his residence was no doubt occasioned by the hypochondriacal illness mentioned (*ante*, p. 9. n. 1. and *post*, p. 14.), and it is probable that his name remained on the books in the hope that his health and his means might enable him to return. His health, we shall see, mended, but the pecuniary resources failed. If Johnson had remained in college in 1730, there would be scholarships to which he would have been eligible, and one of which Dr. Hall did not doubt that he would have obtained. But see, in his visit to Oxford, in 1754, his own opinion that it was fortunate for his literary character that he had been forced out of the routine of a college life.

—CROKER.

³ Oxford, March 20, 1776.—BOSWELL.

⁴ It ought to be remembered, that Dr. Johnson was apt, in his literary as well as moral exercises, to overcharge his defects. Dr. Adams informed me, that he attended his tutor's lectures, and also the lectures in the College Hall, very regularly.—BOSWELL. When he related this anecdote to Mrs.

Piozzi, he laughed very heartily at his own insolence, and said they endured it from him with a gentleness that, whenever he thought of it, astonished himself. Hawkins, also says, "that he would oftener risk the payment of a small fine than attend his lectures; nor was he studious to conceal the reason of his absence. Upon occasion of one such imposition, he said to Jorden, 'Sir, you have scolded me twopence for non-attendance at a lecture not worth a penny.'" I do not much credit this early specimen of Johnson's anti-theoretical style, and indeed I believe, with Boswell, that all these instances of insubordination and insolence were very much exaggerated,—for he told the same anecdotes to Tom Warton at Oxford in a very different tone, and confessed that he expected his tutor's rebuke with a "*beating heart.*" It would seem as if Johnson had been induced, by the too obsequious deference of his later admirers, to assign to his youthful character a little more of sturdy dignity than, when his recollection was fresher and his ear unspoiled by flattery, he assumed to Mr. Warton. (See *post*, under July 1754.)

—CROKER.

⁵ Johnson used to say, "He scarcely knew a noun from an adverb."—NICHOLS. Johnson told Mr. Windham that he was so ignorant as to say that the *Ramei* (the disciples of Ramus) were so called from *ramus*, a *bough*.—CROKER.

⁶ This must have been the Christmas (1728) immediately following his entering into college; for he never spent a second Christmas at Pembroke.—CROKER.

⁷ John Husbands was a contemporary of Johnson at Pembroke College, having been admitted a Fellow and A.M. in 1728. Hawkins says that the poem having been shown to Pope, by a son of Dr. Arbuthnot, then a gentleman commoner of Christ-church, was read, and returned with this encomium, "The writer of this poem will leave it a question for posterity, whether his or mine be the original." But see Pope's own statement, *post*, p. 41. I do not find that it was again published till twenty-one years later, when it appeared in the *Gent. Mag.* for 1752 with Johnson's name.—CROKER.

the just and discriminative eulogy pronounced upon it by my friend Mr. Courtenay.

"And with like ease his vivid lines assume
The garb and dignity of ancient Rome,
Let college verse-men trite conceits express,
Trick'd out in splendid shreds of Virgil's dress;
From playful Ovid cull the tinsel phrase,
And vapid notions hie in pilfer'd lays,
Then with mosaic art the piece combine,
And boast the glitter of each dulcet line :
Johnson adventur'd boldly to transfuse
His vigorous sense into the Latin muse ;
Aspir'd to shine by unreflected light,
And with a Roman's ardour think and write.
He felt the tuneful Nine his breast inspire,
And, like a master, wak'd the soothing lyre :
Horatian strains a grateful heart proclaim,
While Sky's wild rocks resound his Thralia's name.¹
Hesperia's plant, in some less skilful hands,
To bloom a while, factitious heat demands :
Though glowing Maro a faint warmth supplies,
The sickly blossom in the hot-house dies
By Johnson's genial culture, art, and toil,
Its root strikes deep, and owns the fostering soil ;
Imbibes our sun through all its swelling veins,
And grows a native of Britannia's plains."²

The "morbid melancholy," which was lurking in his constitution, and to which we may ascribe those particularities, and that aversion to regular life, which at a very early period marked his character, gathered such strength in his twentieth year, as to afflict him in a dreadful manner. While he was at Lichfield, in the college vacation³ of the year 1729, he felt himself overwhelmed with a horrible hypochondria, with perpetual irritation, fretfulness, and impatience; and with a dejection, gloom, and despair, which made existence misery.

From this dismal malady he never afterwards was perfectly relieved, and all his labours, and all his enjoyments, were but temporary interruptions of its baleful influence. How wonderful, how unsearchable are the ways of God! Johnson, who was blessed with all the powers of genius and understanding in a degree far above the ordinary state of human nature, was at the same time visited with a disorder so afflictive, that they who know it by dire experience will not envy his exalted endowments. That it was, in some degree; occasioned by a defect in his nervous system, that inexplicable part of our frame, appears highly probable. He told Mr. Paradise⁴ that he was sometimes so languid and inefficient, that he could not distinguish the hour upon the town-clock.

Johnson, upon the first violent attack of this

disorder, strove to overcome it by forcible exertions. He frequently walked to Birmingham and back again, and tried many other expedients, but all in vain. His expression concerning it to me was, "I did not then know how to manage it." His distress became so intolerable, that he applied to Dr. Swinfen, physician in Lichfield, his god-father, and put into his hands a state of his case, written in Latin. Dr. Swinfen was so much struck with the extraordinary acuteness, research, and eloquence of this paper, that in his zeal for his godson he showed it to several people. His daughter, Mrs. Desmoulins, who was many years humanely supported in Dr. Johnson's house in London, told me, that upon his discovering that Dr. Swinfen had communicated his case, he was so much offended that he was never afterwards fully reconciled to him. He indeed had good reason to be offended; for though Dr. Swinfen's motive was good, he inconsiderately betrayed a matter deeply interesting and of great delicacy, which had been intrusted to him in confidence; and exposed a complaint of his young friend and patient, which, in the superficial opinion of the generality of mankind, is attended with contempt and disgrace.

But let not little men triumph upon knowing that Johnson was an HYPOCHONDRIAC, was subject to what the learned, philosophical, and pious Dr. Cheyne has so well treated under the title of "The English Malady." Though he suffered severely from it, he was not therefore degraded. The powers of his great mind might be troubled, and their full exercise suspended at times; but the mind itself was ever entire. As a proof of this, it is only necessary to consider, that, when he was at the very worst, he composed that state of his own case, which showed an uncommon vigour, not only of fancy and taste, but of judgment. I am aware that he himself was too ready to call such a complaint by the name of *madness*; in conformity with which notion, he has traced its gradations, with exquisite nicety, in one of the chapters of his *RASSELAS*.⁵ But there is surely a clear distinction between a disorder which affects only the imagination and spirits, while the judgment is sound, and a disorder by which the judgment itself is impaired. This distinction was made to me by the late Professor Gaubius⁶ of Leyden, physician to the Prince of Orange, in a conversation which I had with him several years ago, and he expanded it thus: "If," said he, "a man tells

¹ See *post*, 6 Sept. 1773, the Ode to Mrs. Thrale, written in Sky. — CROKER.

² Poetical Review of the Literary and Moral Character of Dr. Johnson, by John Courtenay, Esq. M.P. — BOSWELL.

³ A mistake. See *ante*, p. 13, n. 1. — CROKER.

⁴ John Paradise, Esq. D.C.L. of Oxford, and F.R.S., was of Greek extraction, the son of the English consul at Salonica, where he was born: he was educated at Padua, but resided the greater part of his life in London; in the literary circles of which he was generally known, and highly esteemed. He

became intimate with Johnson in the latter portion of the Doctor's life; was a member of his Essex Street club, and attended his funeral. He died Dec. 12, 1795. — CROKER.

⁵ Chapter 44. "On the dangerous Prevalence of Imagination;" in which Johnson no doubt relates his own sensations. — CROKER.

⁶ Jerome David Gaubius was born at Heidelberg, in 1705. He died in 1780, leaving several works of considerable value. A translation into English of his "Institutiones Pathologiæ Medicinalis" appeared in 1779. — WRIGHT.

me that he is grievously disturbed, for that he *imagines* he sees a ruffian coming against him with a drawn sword, though at the same time he is *conscious* it is a delusion, I pronounce him to have a disordered imagination; but if a man tells me that he *sees* this, and in consternation calls to me to look at it, I pronounce him to be *mad*."

It is a common effect of low spirits or melancholy, to make those who are afflicted with it imagine that they are actually suffering those evils which happen to be most strongly presented to their minds. Some have fancied themselves to be deprived of the use of their limbs, some to labour under acute diseases, others to be in extreme poverty; when, in truth, there was not the least reality in any of the suppositions; so that, when the vapours were dispelled, they were convinced of the delusion. To Johnson, whose supreme enjoyment was the exercise of his reason, the disturbance or obscuration of that faculty was the evil most to be dreaded. Insanity, therefore, was the object of his most dismal apprehension; and he fancied himself seized by it, or approaching to it, at the very time when he was giving proofs of a more than ordinary soundness and vigour of judgment. That his own diseased imagination should have so far deceived him is strange; but it is stranger still that some of his friends should have given credit to his groundless opinion, when they had such undoubted proofs that it was totally fallacious; though it is by no means surprising that those who wish to depreciate him should, since his death, have laid hold of this circumstance, and insisted upon it with very unfair aggravation.¹

Amidst the oppression and distraction of a disease which very few have felt in its full extent, but many² have experienced in a slighter degree, Johnson, in his writings, and in his conversation, never failed to display all the varieties of intellectual excellence.³ In his march through this world to a better, his mind

still appeared grand and brilliant, and impressed all around him with the truth of Virgil's noble sentiment—

"*Ignes est ollis vigor et cælestis origo.*"⁴

The history of his mind as to religion is an important article. I have mentioned the early impressions made upon his tender imagination by his mother, who continued her pious cares with assiduity, but, in his opinion, not with judgment. "Sunday," said he, "was a heavy day to me when I was a boy. My mother confined me on that day, and made me read 'The Whole Duty of Man,' from a great part of which I could derive no instruction. When, for instance, I had read the chapter on theft, which from my infancy I had been taught was wrong, I was no more convinced that theft was wrong than before; so there was no accession of knowledge. A boy should be introduced to such books, by having his attention directed to the arrangement, to the style, and other excellencies of composition; that the mind being thus engaged by an amusing variety of objects, may not grow weary."

He communicated to me the following particulars upon the subject of his religious progress:—"I fell into an inattention to religion, or an indifference about it, in my ninth year. The church at Lichfield, in which we had a seat, wanted reparation⁵, so I was to go and find a seat in other churches; and having bad eyes, and being awkward about this, I used to go and read in the fields on Sunday. This habit continued till my fourteenth year; and still I find a great reluctance to go to church. I then became a sort of lax *talker* against religion, for I did not much *think* against it; and this lasted till I went to Oxford, where it would not be *suffered*. When at Oxford, I took up 'Law's⁶ Serious Call to a Holy Life,' expecting to find it a dull book (as such books generally are), and perhaps to laugh at it. But I found Law quite an overmatch for me; and this was the first occasion of my thinking in

¹ This, it is to be presumed, was Boswell's reason for concealing that passage of Mr. Hector's paper quoted in p. 9, note 1.; but Johnson himself was not so scrupulous. He said (*post*, Sept. 16, 1778), that "he had inherited from his father a *vile melancholy*, which had made him *mad* all his life—at least not sober;" and, in a letter to Dr. Warton (*Dec.* 24, 1754), he says of Collins, then *insane*, "Poor dear Collins! I have been often *near his state*, and therefore have it in great commiseration."—CROKER.

² Mr. Boswell was himself occasionally afflicted with this morbid depression of spirits, and was, at intervals, equally liable to paroxysms of what may be called *morbid vivacity*. He wrote a Series of Essays in the London Magazine, under the title of the "Hypochondriac," seventy in number, commencing in 1777, and carried on till 1783.—CROKER.

Jan. 29, 1791, Boswell writes thus to Mr. Malone:—"I have, for some weeks, had the most woful return of melancholy; insomuch that I have not only had no relish of anything, but a continual uneasiness; and all the prospect before me, for the rest of life, has seemed gloomy and hopeless." Again, March 8.—"In the night between the last of February and first of this month, I had a sudden relief from the inexplicable disorder, which occasionally clouds my mind and makes me miserable."—From the originals in the possession of Mr. Upcott.—WRIGHT.

³ "Hypochondriacism has been the complaint of the good, and the wise, and the witty, and even of the gay. Regnard,

the author of the best French comedy after Molière, was atrabilious, and Molière himself saturnine. Dr. Johnson, Gray, and Burns, were all, more or less, affected by it occasionally. It was the prelude to the more awful malady of Collins, Cowper, Swift, and Smart; but it by no means follows that a partial affliction of this disorder is to terminate like theirs." *Byron*, vol. vi. p. 396.—WRIGHT. This list of superior intellects liable to constitutional, and, as I believe, hereditary disorder, might be largely augmented, and would, in my opinion, include Lord Byron himself.—CROKER, 1846.

⁴—"in them we trace

The fiery vigour of a heavenly race." *Æn.* vi. 730.—C.

⁵ Johnson's parish church, St. Mary's, being in a decayed state, was taken down in 1716, and the present structure was finished and opened in 1721. How important is this otherwise trivial circumstance towards enforcing the '*habit*' of church-going! The accidental interruption of this duty shook for a time Johnson's faith, and was felt even in his maturer days.—CROKER.

⁶ William Law was born 1686, entered, in 1705, of Em. Coll. Cambridge, Fellow in 1711, and A. M. in 1712. On the accession of the Hanover family he refused the oaths. He was tutor to Mr. Gibbon's father, at Putney, and finally retired, with two pious ladies, Mrs. Hutchinson and Mrs. Gibbon, the aunt of the historian, to a kind of conventual seclusion at King's Cliffe, his native place. He died in 1761.—CROKER.

earnest of religion, after I became capable of rational enquiry."¹ From this time forward religion was the predominant object of his thoughts; though, with the just sentiments of a conscientious Christian, he lamented that his practice of its duties fell far short of what it ought to be.

This instance of a mind such as that of Johnson being first disposed, by an unexpected incident, to think with anxiety of the momentous concerns of eternity, and of "what he should do to be saved," may for ever be produced in opposition to the superficial and sometimes profane contempt that has been thrown upon those occasional impressions which it is certain many Christians have experienced: though it must be acknowledged that weak minds, from an erroneous supposition that no man is in a state of grace who has not felt a particular conversion, have, in some cases, brought a degree of ridicule upon them; a ridicule, of which it is inconsiderate or unfair to make a general application.

How seriously Johnson was impressed with a sense of religion, even in the vigour of his youth², appears from the following passage in his minutes kept by way of diary:—"Sept. 7. 1736. I have this day entered upon my 28th year. Mayest thou, O God, enable me, for Jesus Christ's sake, to spend this in such a manner, that I may receive comfort from it at the hour of death, and in the day of judgment! Amen."

The particular course of his reading while at Oxford, and during the time of vacation which he passed at home, cannot be traced.³ Enough has been said of his irregular mode of study. He told me, that from his earliest years he loved to read poetry, but hardly ever read any poem to an end; that he read Shakspeare at a period so early, that the speech of the ghost in Hamlet terrified him when he was

alone; that Horace's odes were the compositions in which he took most delight⁴, and it was long before he liked his Epistles and Satires. He told me what he read *solidly* at Oxford was Greek; not the Grecian historians, but Homer and Euripides, and now and then a little Epigram; that the study of which he was the most fond was metaphysics, but he had not read much, even in that way. I always thought that he did himself injustice in his account of what he had read, and that he must have been speaking with reference to the vast portion of study which is possible, and to which a few scholars in the whole history of literature have attained; for when I once asked him whether a person, whose name I have now forgotten, studied hard, he answered, "No, Sir. I do not believe he studied hard. I never knew a man who studied hard. I conclude, indeed, from the effects, that some men have studied hard, as Bentley and Clarke." Trying him by that criterion upon which he formed his judgment of others, we may be absolutely certain, both from his writings and his conversation, that his reading was very extensive. Dr. Adam Smith, than whom few were better judges⁵ on this subject, once observed to me, that "Johnson knew more books than any man alive." He had a peculiar facility in seizing at once what was valuable in any book, without submitting to the labour of perusing it from beginning to end. He had, from the irritability of his constitution, at all times, an impatience and hurry when he either read or wrote. A certain apprehension arising from novelty made him write his first exercise at college twice over; but he never took that trouble with any other composition; and we shall see that his most excellent works were struck off at a heat, with rapid exertion.⁶

Yet he appears, from his early notes or memorandums in my possession, to have at

¹ Mrs. Piozzi has given a strange fantastical account of the original of Dr. Johnson's belief in our most holy religion. "At the age of ten years his mind was disturbed by scruples of infidelity, which preyed upon his spirits, and made him very uneasy; the more so, as he revealed his uneasiness to none, being naturally (as he said) of a sullen temper, and reserved disposition. He searched, however, diligently, but fruitlessly, for evidences of the truth of revelation; and at length recollecting a book he had once seen [I suppose at five years old] in his father's shop, entitled 'De Veritate Religionis,' &c. he began to think himself highly culpable for neglecting such means of information, and took himself severely to task for this sin, adding many acts of voluntary, and to others unknown, penance. The first opportunity which offered, of course, he seized the book with avidity; but, on examination, not finding himself scholar enough to peruse its contents, set his heart at rest; and not thinking to enquire whether there were any English books written on the subject, followed his usual amusements, and considered his conscience as lightened of a crime. He redoubled his diligence to learn the language that contained the information he most wished for; but from the pain which guilt [namely, having omitted to read what he did not understand] had given him, he now began to deduce the soul's immortality [a sensation of pain in this world being an unquestionable proof of existence in another], which was the point that belief first stopped at; and from that moment resolving to be a Christian, became one of the most zealous and pious ones our nation ever produced." (*Anecdotes*, p. 17.) This is one of the numerous misrepresentations of this lively lady, which it is worth while to correct; for if credit should be given to such a childish, irrational, and ridiculous statement of the founda-

tion of Dr. Johnson's faith in Christianity, how little credit would be due to it! Mrs. Piozzi seems to wish, that the world should think Dr. Johnson also under the influence of that easy logic, "Stet pro ratione voluntas."—BOSWELL.

² He was then married and resident at Edial.—CROKER.

³ See *anté*, p. 13. n. 1.

⁴ Though two or three of his pieces are easy, and in what he perhaps thought the Horatian style, we shall see that to Miss Carter he confessed a fondness for Martial, and his epigram certainly savour of that partiality. Dr. Hall had a small volume of hendecasyllabic poetry, entitled *Poeta Rusticantis Literarum Otium, sive Carmina Andree Franciscii Landessii*, Lond. 1713; which belonged to Johnson, and some peculiarities of the style of these verses may be traced in his college compositions.—CROKER.

⁵ Boswell might have selected, if not a better judge, at least a better authority; for Adam Smith had but a slight acquaintance with Johnson, and the judgment pronounced by Smith is one which could only be justified by an intimate literary intercourse. But Boswell's nationality inclined him to quote the eminent Scottish professor. We shall see many instances of a similar partiality—not illaudable in Boswell, but which the reader ought to bear in mind.—CROKER.

⁶ He told Dr. Burney, that he never wrote any of his works that were printed, twice over. Dr. Burney's wonder at seeing several pages of his *Lives of the Poets*, in manuscript, with scarce a blot or erasure, drew this observation from him.—MASON. But he made large corrections in the second edition of the *Rambler*, and in the third edition of the *Lives of the Poets* the variations were so considerable, as to be printed in a separate pamphlet, for the use of former purchasers.—CROKER.

various times attempted, or at least planned, a methodical course of study, according to computation, of which he was all his life fond, as it fixed his attention steadily upon something without, and prevented his mind from preying upon itself. Thus I find in his handwriting the number of lines in each of two of Euripides's Tragedies, of the Georgics of Virgil, of the first six books of the Æneid, of Horace's Art of Poetry, of three of the books of Ovid's Metamorphoses, of some parts of Theocritus, and of the tenth Satire of Juvenal; and a table, showing at the rate of various numbers a day, (I suppose, verses to be read,) what would be, in each case, the total amount in a week, month, and year.¹

No man had a more ardent love of literature, or a higher respect for it, than Johnson. His apartment in Pembroke College was that upon the second floor over the gateway. The enthusiast of learning will ever contemplate it with veneration. One day, while he was sitting in it quite alone, Dr. Panting², then master of the College, whom he called "a fine Jacobite fellow," overheard him uttering this soliloquy in his strong emphatic voice: "Well, I have a mind to see what is done in other places of learning. I'll go and visit the universities abroad. I'll go to France and Italy. I'll go to Padua. And I'll mind my business. For an *Athenian* blockhead is the worst of all blockheads."³

Dr. Adams told me that Johnson, while he was at Pembroke College, "was caressed and loved by all about him, was a gay and frolicsome fellow, and passed there the happiest part of his life." But this is a striking proof of the fallacy of appearances, and how little any of us know of the real internal state even of those whom we see most frequently; for the truth is, that he was then depressed by poverty, and irritated by disease. When I mentioned to

him this account as given me by Dr. Adams, he said, "Ah, Sir, I was mad and violent. It was bitterness which they mistook for frolic. I was miserably poor, and I thought to fight my way by my literature and my wit; so I disregarded all power and all authority."

The Bishop of Dromore observes in a letter to me, "The pleasure he took in vexing the tutors and fellows has been often mentioned. But I have heard him say, what ought to be recorded to the honour of the present venerable master of that college, the Reverend William Adams, D.D., who was then very young⁴, and one of the junior fellows; that the mild but judicious expostulations of this worthy man, whose virtue awed him, and whose learning he revered, made him really ashamed of himself, 'though I fear (said he) I was too proud to own it.'"

"I have heard from some of his contemporaries that he was generally seen lounging at the college gate, with a circle of young students round him, whom he was entertaining with wit, and keeping from their studies, if not spiring them up to rebellion against the college discipline, which in his maturer years he so much extolled."⁵

He very early began to attempt keeping notes or memorandums, by way of a diary of his life. I find, in a parcel of loose leaves, the following spirited resolution to contend against his natural indolence: "*Oct. 1729. Desidiæ valedixi; syrenis istius cantibus surdam posthæ aurem obversurus.* I bid farewell to Sloth, being resolved henceforth not to listen to her syren strains." I have also in my possession a few leaves of another *Libellus*, or little book, entitled *ANNALES*, in which some of the early particulars of his history are registered in Latin.

I do not find that he formed any close intimacies with his fellow-collegians. But Dr. Adams told me, that he contracted a love and

¹ Soin the *Prayers and Meditations*: "1764. — I resolve to study the Scriptures; I hope in the original languages. Six hundred and forty verses every Sunday will nearly comprise the Scriptures in a year. — The plan which I formed for reading the Scriptures was to read six hundred verses in the Old Testament, and two hundred in the New, every week." — pp. 57, 99. It appears by a subsequent passage that he meant to read the Old Testament in the *Septuagint* version. There is no trace of his having attempted *Hebrew*.

— CROKER.

² Dr. Matthew Panting died 12th Feb. 1739. — CROKER.

³ I had this anecdote from Dr. Adams, and Dr. Johnson confirmed it. Bramston, in his "*Man of Taste*," has the same thought: —

"Sure of all blockheads scholars are the worst." — BOSWELL.

Johnson's meaning, however, is, that a scholar who is a blockhead, must be the worst of all blockheads, because he is without excuse. But Bramston, in the assumed character of an ignorant coxcomb, maintains, that all scholars are blockheads, on account of their scholarship. — J. BOSWELL, jun.

⁴ Dr. Adams was about two years older than Johnson, having been born in 1707. He became a Fellow of Pembroke in 1723, D.D. in 1756, and Master of the College in 1775. — CROKER.

⁵ There are preserved, in Pembroke College, some of these themes, or exercises, both in prose and verse; the following, though the two first lines are awkward, has more point and pleasantry than his epigrams usually have. It may be surmised that the college beer was at this time indifferent: —

"*Mca nec Falerna*

Temperant vites, acque Formiani

Pocula colles." — HOR. 1 Od. 20. 10.

"*Quid mirum Maro quod dignè cant arma virumque,
Quid quod putidulum nostra Camæna sonat?
Limosum nobis Promus dat callidus haustum;
Virgilio vires uva Falerna dedit.
Carmina vis nostri scribant meliora Poetæ?
Ingenium jubeas purior haustus alai!*"

No wonder Virgil sang in lofty strain
"Arms and the Man;" — good wine inspired his vein!
If our poor Muses thick and dull appear,
We blame the crafty butler's muddy beer;
So, would you have poetic genius shine,
Give us a generous Helicon of wine. — C.

Another is in a graver and better style: —

"*Adjecere bonæ paulo plus artis Athenæ.*"

HOR. 2, Ep. 2. 43.

"*Quas Natura dedit dotes, Academia promit;
Dat menti propriis Musa nitere bonis.
Materiam statuæ sic præbet marmora tellus,
Saxea Phidiacæ spirat imago manu.*"

The talents Nature gives, the Schools expand;
The Muse the innate spark of genius fires:
Thus a rude block of stone, the sculptor's hand
Shapes into beauty and with life inspires. — C.

Johnson repeated this idea in the Latin verses on the termination of his Dictionary, entitled ΤΩΘΙ ΣΕΑΥΤΟΝ, but not, as I think, so elegantly as in the epigram. — CROKER.

regard for Pembroke College, which he retained to the last. A short time before his death he sent to that college a present of all his works¹, to be deposited in their library: and he had thoughts of leaving to it his house at Lichfield; but his friends who were about him very properly dissuaded him from it, and he bequeathed it to some poor relations. He took a pleasure in boasting of the many eminent men who had been educated at Pembroke. In this list are found the names of Mr. Hawkins the Poetry Professor, Mr. Shenstone, Sir William Blackstone, and others²; not forgetting the celebrated popular preacher, Mr. George Whitefield, of whom, though Dr. Johnson did not think very highly, it must be acknowledged that his eloquence was powerful, his views pious and charitable, his assiduity almost incredible; and that, since his death, the integrity of his character has been fully vindicated. Being himself a poet, Johnson was peculiarly happy in mentioning how many of the sons of Pembroke were poets; adding, with a smile of sportive triumph, "Sir, we are a nest of singing-birds."

He was not, however, blind to what he thought the defects of his own college: and I have, from the information of Dr. Taylor, a very strong instance of that rigid honesty which he ever inflexibly preserved. Taylor had obtained his father's consent to be entered of Pembroke, that he might be with his school-fellow Johnson, with whom, though some years older than himself, he was very intimate. This would have been a great comfort to Johnson. But he fairly told Taylor that he could not, in conscience, suffer him to enter where he knew he could not have an able tutor. He then made enquiry all round the university, and having found that Mr. Bateman, of Christchurch, was the tutor of highest reputation, Taylor was entered of that college. Mr. Bateman's lectures were so excellent, that Johnson used to come and get them at second-hand from Taylor, till his poverty being so extreme, that his shoes were worn out, and his feet appeared through them, he saw that this humiliating circumstance was perceived by the Christ-church men, and he came no more. He was too proud to accept of money, and somebody having set a pair of new shoes at his door, he threw them away with indignation.³ How

must we feel when we read such an anecdote of Samuel Johnson!

His spirited refusal of an eleemosynary supply of shoes arose, no doubt, from a proper pride. But, considering his ascetic disposition at times, as acknowledged by himself in his *Meditations*, and the exaggeration with which some have treated the peculiarities of his character, I should not wonder to hear it ascribed to a principle of superstitious mortification; as we are told by Tursellinus, in his *Life of St. Ignatius Loyola*, that this intrepid founder of the order of Jesuits, when he arrived at Goa, after having made a severe pilgrimage through the eastern deserts, persisted in wearing his miserable shattered shoes, and when new ones were offered him, rejected them as an unsuitable indulgence.

The *res angusta domi* prevented him from having the advantage of a complete academical education. The friend⁴ to whom he had trusted for support had deceived him. His debts in college, though not great, were increasing; and his scanty remittances from Lichfield, which had all along been made with great difficulty, could be supplied no longer, his father having fallen into a state of insolvency. Compelled, therefore, by irresistible necessity, he left the college in autumn 1731, without a degree, having been a member of it little more than three years.⁵

Dr. Adams, the worthy and respectable master of Pembroke College, has generally had the reputation of being Johnson's tutor. The fact, however, is, that in 1731, Mr. Jorden quitted the college, and his pupils were transferred to Dr. Adams; so that had Johnson returned, Dr. Adams *would have been his tutor*: It is to be wished, that this connection had taken place. His equal temper, mild disposition, and politeness of manners, might have insensibly softened the harshness of Johnson, and infused into him those more delicate charities, those *petites morales*, in which, it must be confessed, our great moralist was more deficient than his best friends could fully justify. Dr. Adams paid Johnson this high compliment. He said to me at Oxford, in 1776, "I was his nominal tutor⁶; but he was above my mark." When I repeated it to Johnson, his eyes flashed with grateful satisfaction, and he exclaimed, "That was liberal and noble."

¹ Dr. Hall says, "Certainly, not *all*; and those which we have are not all marked as presented by him." — CROKER.

² To the list should be added, Francis Beaumont, the dramatic writer; Sir Thomas Browne, whose life Johnson wrote; Sir James Dyer, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Lord Chancellor Harcourt, John Pym, Francis Rous, the Speaker of Cromwell's parliament, and Bishop Bonner. — WRIGHT.

³ Authoritatively and circumstantially as this story is told, it seems impossible to reconcile it with some indisputable facts and dates. Taylor was admitted commoner of Christchurch, 27, June 1730; but Johnson had left Oxford six months before. The only solution that I can imagine for these discrepancies, is the improbable one of Johnson's having accompanied Taylor to Oxford without reappearing at his own college. — CROKER.

⁴ See *anté*, p. 12. note 3. — CROKER.

⁵ Error: he was but fourteen months at Oxford. (*Anté*, p. 13. n. 1.) Here, then, are two important years, the 21st and 22d of his age, to be accounted for; and Mr. Boswell's assertion (a little farther on), "that he could not have been assistant to Anthony Blackwall, because Blackwall died in 1730, before Johnson had left college," falls to the ground. He might have been for two or three months with Blackwall, who died in April, 1730. — CROKER.

⁶ There is an obvious discrepancy between Boswell's and Dr. Adams's statements, arising, no doubt, from the general error as to the date of Johnson's leaving college. Dr. Adams never was, in any sense, Johnson's tutor. — CROKER.

CHAPTER IV.

1731—1736.

Death of his Father. — Gilbert Walmesley. — Captain Garrick. — Mrs. Hill Boothby. — "Molly Aston." — Johnson becomes Usher of Market-Bosworth School. — Removes to Birmingham. — Translates Lobo's Voyage to Abyssinia. — Returns to Lichfield. — Proposes to print the Latin Poems of Politian. — Offers to write for the Gentleman's Magazine. — His juvenile Attachments. — Marries. — Opens a private Academy at Edial. — David Garrick his Pupil. — Commences "Irene."

AND NOW (I had almost said *poor*) Samuel Johnson returned to his native city, destitute, and not knowing how he should gain even a decent livelihood. His father's misfortunes in trade rendered him unable to support his son¹; and for some time there appeared no means by which he could maintain himself. In the December of this year his father died.

The state of poverty in which he died appears from a note in one of Johnson's little diaries of the following year, which strongly displays his spirit and virtuous dignity of mind.

"1732, *Julii 15. Undecim aureos deposui, quo die quicquid ante matris funus (quod serum sit precor) de paternis bonis sperari licet, viginti scilicet libras, accepi. Usque adeo mihi fortuna fingenda est. Interea, ne paupertate vires animi languescant, nec in flagitia egestas abigat, cavendum.* I layed by eleven guineas on this day, when I received twenty pounds, being all that I have reason to hope for out of my father's effects, previous to the death of my mother; an event which I pray God may be very remote. I now therefore see that I must make my own fortune. Meanwhile, let me take care that the powers of my mind be not debilitated by poverty, and that indigence do not force me into any criminal act."

Johnson was so far fortunate, that the respectable character of his parents, and his own merit, had, from his earliest years, secured him a kind reception in the best families at Lichfield. Among these I can mention Mr. Howard², Dr. Swinfen, Mr. Simpson, Mr. Levett³, Captain Garrick, father of the great ornament of the British stage; but above all, Mr. Gilbert Walmesley⁴, Registrar of the Ecclesiastical

Court of Lichfield, whose character, long after his decease, Dr. Johnson has, in his life of Edmund Smith [1779], thus drawn in the glowing colours of gratitude:

"Of Gilbert Walmesley, thus presented to my mind, let me indulge myself in the remembrance. I knew him very early; he was one of the first friends that literature procured me, and I hope, that at least my gratitude made me worthy of his notice.

"He was of an advanced age, and I was only not a boy, yet he never received my notions with contempt. He was a Whig, with all the virulence and malevolence of his party; yet difference of opinion did not keep us apart. I honoured him, and he endured me.

"He had mingled with the gay world without exemption from its vices or its follies; but had never neglected the cultivation of his mind. His belief of revelation was unshaken; his learning preserved his principles; he grew first regular, and then pious.

"His studies had been so various, that I am not able to name a man of equal knowledge. His acquaintance with books was great, and what he did not immediately know, he could, at least, tell where to find. Such was his amplitude of learning, and such his copiousness of communication, that it may be doubted whether a day now passes, in which I have not some advantage from his friendship.

"At this man's table I enjoyed many cheerful and instructive hours, with companions such as are not often found — with one who has lengthened, and one who has gladdened life; with Dr. James, whose skill in physic will be long remembered; and with David Garrick, whom I hoped to have gratified with this character of our common friend. But what are the hopes of man? I am disappointed by that stroke of death which has eclipsed the gaiety of nations, and impoverished the public stock of harmless pleasure."

In these families he passed much time in his early years. In most of them, he was in the company of ladies, particularly at Mr. Walmesley's, whose wife and sisters-in-law, of the name of Aston, and daughters of a baronet, were remarkable for good breeding; so that the notion which has been industriously circulated and believed, that he never was in good company till late in life, and, consequently, had been confirmed in coarse and ferocious manners by long habits, is wholly without foundation.⁵ Some of the ladies have assured me,

¹ "Johnson's father," says Hawkins, "either during his continuance at the university, or possibly before, had been by misfortunes rendered insolvent, if not, as Johnson told me, an actual bankrupt." Amongst the MSS. of Pembroke College are some letters which state that his widow was left in great poverty. — CROKER.

² Mr. Howard was a proctor in the Ecclesiastical Court, and resided in the Close. — CROKER.

³ Mr. Levett was a gentleman of fortune in this neighbourhood, and must not be confounded with the humble friend of the same name to whom Johnson was so charitable in after life. — CROKER.

⁴ Mr. Howard informs me, that this early friend of Johnson was entered a Commoner of *Trinity College, Oxford*, aged 17, in 1698; and is the author of many Latin verse translations in the Gentleman's Magazine. One of them [vol. xv. p. 102.] is a translation of "My time, O ye Muses, was happily spent,"

&c. He died August 3. 1751, and a monument to his memory has been erected in the cathedral of Lichfield, with an inscription written by Mr. Seward, one of the prebendaries. — BOSWELL. He was the son of W. Walmesley, (so they spelled their name,) LL.D., chancellor of the diocese, and in 1701 M.P. for the city of Lichfield, and was born in 1680; but I think Dr. Warton was mistaken in attributing the translation of the song to him, for, though signed "G. Walmesley," it is dated *Sid. Col. Cambridge*. Johnson's friend was at that date (1745) 65 years of age. — CROKER.

⁵ His original acquaintance with these ladies must have been short and slight, for Mr. Walmesley's marriage with Miss Aston, the link of the intercourse, did not take place till April 1736, (when Mr. Walmesley was 56), about which time Johnson had removed to Edial, as he did in the following year to London. — CROKER.

they recollected him well when a young man, as distinguished for his complaisance.

And that his politeness was not merely occasional and temporary, or confined to the circles of Lichfield, is ascertained by the testimony of a lady¹, who, in a paper with which I have been favoured by a daughter of his intimate friend and physician, Dr. Lawrence, thus describes Dr. Johnson some years afterwards:—

"As the particulars of the former part of Dr. Johnson's life do not seem to be very accurately known, a lady hopes that the following information may not be unacceptable.—She remembers Dr. Johnson on a visit to Dr. Taylor, at Ashbourn, some time between the end of the year 37, and the middle of the year 40; she rather thinks it to have been after he and his wife were removed to London. During his stay at Ashbourn, he made frequent visits to Mr. Meynell, at Bradley, where his company was much desired by the ladies of the family, who were, perhaps, in point of elegance and accomplishments, inferior to few of those with whom he was afterwards acquainted. Mr. Meynell's eldest daughter was afterwards married to Mr. Fitzherbert, father to Mr. Alleyne Fitzherbert, lately minister to the court of Russia [and since Lord St. Helens]. Of her, Dr. Johnson said in Dr. Lawrence's study, that she had the best understanding he ever met with in any human being. At Mr. Meynell's he also commenced that friendship with Mrs. Hill Boothby², sister to the present Sir Brook Boothby, which continued till her death. The *young woman whom he used to call Molly Aston*³, was sister to Sir Thomas Aston⁴, and daughter to a baronet; she was also sister to the wife of his friend, Mr. Gilbert Walmesley. Besides his intimacy with the above-mentioned persons, who were surely people of rank and education, while he was yet at Lichfield he used to be frequently at the house of Dr. Swinfen, a gentleman of very ancient family in Staffordshire, from which, after the death of his elder brother, he inherited a good estate. He was, besides, a physician of very extensive practice; but for want of due attention to the management of his domestic con-

cerns, left a very large family in indigence. One of his daughters, Mrs. Desmoulins, afterwards found an asylum in the house of her old friend, whose doors were always open to the unfortunate, and who well observed the precept of the Gospel, for he 'was kind to the unthankful and to the evil.'"⁵

[JOHNSON TO MR. GEO. HICKMAN.]

"Lichfield, Oct. 30. 1731.

"Sir,—I have so long neglected to return you thanks for the favour and assistance received from you at Stourbridge, that I am afraid you have now done expecting it. I can, indeed, make no apology, but by assuring you, that this delay, whatever was the cause of it, proceeded neither from forgetfulness, disrespect, nor ingratitude. Time has not made the sense of obligation less warm, nor the thanks I return less sincere. But while I am acknowledging one favour, I must beg another—that you would excuse the composition of the verses you desired. Be pleased to consider, that versifying against one's inclination is the most disagreeable thing in the world; and that one's own disappointment is no inviting subject; and that though the gratifying of you might have prevailed over my dislike of it, yet it proves, upon reflection, so barren, that to attempt to write upon it, is to undertake to build without materials. As I am yet unemployed, I hope you will, if any thing should offer, remember and recommend,

"Sir, your humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

In the forlorn state of his circumstances, he accepted of an offer to be employed as usher⁶, in the school of Market-Bosworth, in Leicestershire, to which it appears, from one of his little fragments of a diary, that he went on foot, on the 16th of July,—"Julii 16. *Bosworthiam pedes petii*." But it is not true, as has been erroneously related, that he was assistant to the famous Anthony Blackwall, whose merit has been honoured by the testimony of Bishop Hurd⁷, who was his scholar; for Mr. Blackwall

¹ The anonymous lady's information is of no great value, even if true, but there is strong reason to doubt its accuracy. It is full of chronological difficulties, and can be at best but the vague recollections of 50 years before, as the quotation from *Hauksas* ascertains it to have been given subsequent to 1787.—CROKER.

² Miss Boothby was born in 1708, and died in 1756. For the last three years of her life this lady maintained pious and somewhat mystical correspondence with Dr. Johnson, which was published in 1805, by Mr. Wright of Lichfield, in the same little volume, with the ante-biographical "*Account of Dr. Johnson's Early Life, already mentioned*." Miss Seward choosed to imagine that there was an early attachment between Miss Boothby and Johnson; but all that lady's stories are worse than apocryphal. The first letter, dated July 1753, proves that the acquaintance was then recent.—CROKER.

³ The words of Sir John Hawkins, p. 316.—BOSWELL.

⁴ Sir Thomas Aston, Bart., who died in January, 1724-5, left one son, named Thomas also, and eight daughters. Of the daughters, Catherine married Johnson's friend, the Hon. Henry Hervey; Margaret, Gilbert Walmesley. Another of these ladies [Jane] married the Rev. Mr. Gastrell [the man who cut down Shakespeare's mulberry-tree]; Mary, or Molly Aston, as she was usually called, became the wife of Captain Brodie of the navy. Another sister, who was unmarried, was living at Lichfield in 1776.—MALONE. Of the latter, whose name was Elizabeth, Miss Seward has put an injurious character into the mouth of Dr. Johnson

(in a dialogue which she [falsely I have no doubt] reports herself to have had with him). She died in 1785, in the 78th year of her age. The youngest sister married a Mr. Pruejean (*post*, 2d Jan. 1779).—CROKER.

⁵ Mr. Boswell should not have admitted this uncharitable insinuation of an anonymous informant against poor Mrs. Desmoulins: who was, probably, not popular with "the ladies of Lichfield." She is supposed to have forfeited the protection of her own family by, what they thought, a derogatory marriage with a writing-master. She and her son were in close and grateful attendance on Johnson in his last days, and she was watching him at the moment of death.—CROKER.

⁶ Mr. Nichols, on the authority of this letter to Mr. Hickman, who was master of the Grammar School at Stourbridge, thought that Johnson had at this time made a fruitless attempt to obtain the situation of usher there. (*Literary Anecdotes*, vol. viii. p. 416.) But I do not think that the letter itself is quite conclusive on this point. His failure in such an object would be a strange theme for a poetical compliment. See *post*, p. 32, n. 4.—CROKER.

⁷ There is here (as Mr. James Boswell observes to me) a slight inaccuracy. Bishop Hurd, in the Epistle Dedicatory prefixed to his Commentary on Horace's Art of Poetry, &c., does not praise Blackwall, but the Rev. Mr. Budworth, headmaster of the Grammar School at Brewrod, in Staffordshire, who had himself been bred under Blackwall.—MALONE. We shall see presently (p. 24. n. 1), on the authority of Mr. Nichols, that Johnson proposed himself to Mr. Budworth, as an assistant.—CROKER.

died on the 8th of April, 1730, more than a year before Johnson left the University.¹

This employment was very irksome to him in every respect, and he complained grievously of it in his letters to his friend Mr. Hector, who was now settled as a surgeon at Birmingham. The letters are lost; but Mr. Hector recollects his writing "that the poet had described the dull sameness of his existence in these words, '*Vitam continet una dies*' (one day contains the whole of my life); that it was unvaried as the note of the cuckoo; and that he did not know whether it was more disagreeable for him to teach, or the boys to learn, the grammar rules." His general aversion to this painful drudgery was greatly enhanced by a disagreement between him and Sir Wolstan Dixie, the patron of the school, in whose house, I have been told, he officiated as a kind of domestic chaplain, so far, at least, as to say grace at table, but was treated with what he represented as intolerable harshness; and, after suffering for a few months such complicated misery, he relinquished a situation which all his life afterwards he recollected with the strongest aversion, and even a degree of horror. But it is probable that at this period, whatever uneasiness he may have endured, he laid the foundation of much future eminence by application to his studies.

Being now again totally unoccupied, he was invited by Mr. Hector to pass some time with him at Birmingham, as his guest, at the house of Mr. Warren, with whom Mr. Hector lodged and boarded. Mr. Warren was the first established bookseller in Birmingham, and was very attentive to Johnson, who he soon found could be of much service to him in his trade, by his knowledge of literature; and he even obtained the assistance of his pen in furnishing some numbers of a periodical essay, printed in the newspaper of which Warren was proprietor. After very diligent inquiry, I have not been able to recover those early specimens of that particular mode of writing by which Johnson afterwards so greatly distinguished himself.

He continued to live as Mr. Hector's guest for about six months, and then hired lodgings in another part of the town², finding himself as well situated at Birmingham as he supposed he could be any where, while he had no settled plan of life, and very scanty means of subsistence. He made some valuable acquaintances there, amongst whom were Mr. Porter, a mercer, whose widow he afterwards married, and Mr. Taylor, who, by his ingenuity in mechanical inventions, and his success in trade, acquired an immense fortune. But the comfort of being near Mr. Hector, his old schoolfellow and intimate friend, was Johnson's chief inducement to continue here.

In what manner he employed his pen at this period, or whether he derived from it any pecuniary advantage, I have not been able to ascertain. He probably got a little money from Mr. Warren; and we are certain, that he executed here one piece of literary labour, of which Mr. Hector has favoured me with a minute account. Having mentioned that he had read at Pembroke College a *Voyage to Abyssinia*, by Lobo³, a Portuguese Jesuit, and that he thought an abridgment and translation of it from the French into English might be an useful and profitable publication, Mr. Warren and Mr. Hector joined in urging him to undertake it. He accordingly agreed; and the book not being to be found in Birmingham, he borrowed it of Pembroke College. A part of the work being very soon done, one Osborn, who was Mr. Warren's printer, was set to work with what was ready, and Johnson engaged to supply the press with copy as it should be wanted; but his constitutional indolence soon prevailed, and the work was at a stand. Mr. Hector, who knew that a motive of humanity would be the most prevailing argument with his friend, went to Johnson, and represented to him that the printer could have no other employment till this undertaking was finished, and that the poor man and his family were suffering. Johnson, upon this, exerted the powers of his mind, though his body was relaxed. He lay in bed with the book, which was a quarto, before him,

¹ See Gent. Mag., Dec. 1784, p. 957.—BOSWELL.—But see ante, p. 18. n. 3, the disproof of this assertion.—CROKER.

² This portion of Johnson's life is involved in great obscurity. Mr. Malone states, that he had read a letter of Johnson's to a friend, dated July 27, 1732, saying, that he had then recently left Sir Wolstan Dixie's house, and had some hopes of succeeding, either as master or usher, in the school of Ashbourn. Now if Mr. Boswell be right in applying the entry in Johnson's diary of July 16, 1732, to his first visit to Bosworth, his sojourn there must have been less than ten days; a time too short to be characterised as "a period of complicated misery," and to be remembered during a long life "with the strongest aversion and horror." The probable solution of these difficulties is, that the *walk to Bosworth*, on the 16th July, 1732, was not his first appearance there, but that having been called thence to Lichfield to receive his share of his father's property (which we have just seen that he did on the 15th July), he returned to Bosworth on the 16th, perhaps for the purpose of making his final arrangements for leaving it, which he did within ten days. The *Memoirs* already quoted say that "he went to Bosworth much longer than was expected by any one who knew him, assiduously employed in the pursuit of intellectual acquisition;" but we have seen that he was "unemployed" at Lich-

field in October, 1731. I conclude from all this that he might have been usher to Blackwall in the spring of 1730, and that his connexion with Sir Wolstan Dixie commenced towards the close of 1731, or, as Hawkins says, in the ensuing spring, and ended in July, 1732. It seems very extraordinary that the laborious diligence and lively curiosity of Hawkins, Murphy, Malone, and above all Boswell, were able to discover so little of the history of Johnson's life from December, 1729, to his marriage in July, 1736, and that what they have told should be liable to so much doubt. It may be inferred, that it was a period to which Johnson looked back with little satisfaction, and of which he did not love to talk. There seems reason to suspect that Sir Wolstan Dixie's temper was, to say the least of it, irregular and violent, and Johnson's own mind had been recently in a state of morbid disturbance.—CROKER.

³ Sir John Hawkins states, from one of Johnson's diaries, that, in June, 1733, he lodged in Birmingham, at the house of a person named Jervis, probably a relation of Mrs. Porter, whom he afterwards married, and whose maiden name was Jervis.—MALONE.

⁴ Father Jerome Lobo, a Jesuit missionary, was born at Lisbon, in 1593, where he died, in 1678. His *Voyage to Abyssinia* was translated from the Portuguese into French, by the Abbé Le Grand, in 1728.—WRIGHT.

and dictated while Hector wrote. Mr. Hector carried the sheets to the press, and corrected almost all the proof sheets, very few of which were even seen by Johnson. In this manner, with the aid of Mr. Hector's active friendship, the book was completed, and was published in 1735, with London upon the title-page, though it was in reality printed at Birmingham, a device too common with provincial publishers. For this work he had from Mr. Warren only the sum of five guineas.

This being the first prose work of Johnson, it is a curious object of enquiry how much may be traced in it of that style which marks his subsequent writings with such peculiar excellence; with so happy an union of force, vivacity, and perspicuity. I have perused the book with this view, and have found that here, as I believe in every other translation, there is in the work itself no vestige of the translator's own style; for the language of translation being adapted to the thoughts of another person, insensibly follows their cast, and, as it were, runs into a mould that is ready prepared.

Thus, for instance, taking the first sentence that occurs at the opening of the book, p. 4. :—

"I lived here above a year, and completed my studies in divinity; in which time some letters were received from the fathers of Ethiopia, with an account that Sultan Segned, Emperor of Abyssinia, was converted to the church of Rome; that many of his subjects had followed his example, and that there was a great want of missionaries to improve these prosperous beginnings. Every body was very desirous of seconding the zeal of our fathers, and of sending them the assistance they requested; to which we were the more encouraged, because the Emperor's letter informed our Provincial, that we might easily enter his dominions by the way of Dancala; but, unhappily, the secretary wrote Geila for Dancala, which cost two of our fathers their lives."

Every one acquainted with Johnson's manner will be sensible that there is nothing of it here; but that this sentence might have been composed by any other man. But, in the Preface the Johnsonian style begins to appear; and though we had not yet taught his wing a permanent and equable flight, there are parts of it which exhibit his best manner in full vigour. I had once the pleasure of examining it with Mr. Edmund Burke, who confirmed me in this opinion, by his superior critical sagacity, and was, I remember, much delighted with the following specimen¹ :—

"The Portuguese traveller, contrary to the general vein of his countrymen, has amused his reader with no romantic absurdity, or incredible

fictions; whatever he relates, whether true or not, is at least probable; and he who tells nothing exceeding the bounds of probability, has a right to demand that they should believe him who cannot contradict him.

"He appears, by his modest and unaffected narration, to have described things as he saw them, to have copied nature from the life, and to have consulted his senses, not his imagination. He meets with no basilisks that destroy with their eyes, his crocodiles devour their prey without tears, and his cataracts fall from the rocks without deafening the neighbouring inhabitants.

"The reader will here find no regions cursed with irremediable barrenness, or blest with spontaneous fecundity; no perpetual gloom, or unceasing sunshine; nor are the nations here described either devoid of all sense of humanity, or consummate in all private or social virtues. Here are no Heretics without religious policy or articulate language; no Chinese perfectly polite, and completely skilled in all sciences; he will discover, what will always be discovered by a diligent and impartial inquirer, that wherever human nature is to be found, there is a mixture of vice and virtue, a contest of passion and reason; and that the Creator doth not appear partial in his distributions, but has balanced, in most countries, their particular inconveniences by particular favours."

Here we have an early example of that brilliant and energetic expression, which, upon innumerable occasions in his subsequent life, justly impressed the world with the highest admiration. Nor can any one, conversant with the writings of Johnson, fail to discern his hand in this passage of the Dedication to John Warren, Esq., of Pembrokeshire, though it is ascribed to Warren the bookseller :—

"A generous and elevated mind is distinguished by nothing more certainly than an eminent degree of curiosity; nor is that curiosity ever more agreeably or usefully employed, than in examining the laws and customs of foreign nations. I hope, therefore, the present I now presume to make will not be thought improper; which, however, it is not my business as a dedicatory to commend, nor as a bookseller to depreciate."

It is reasonable to suppose, that his having been thus accidentally led to a particular study of the history and manners of Abyssinia, was the remote occasion of his writing, many years afterwards, his admirable philosophical tale, the principal scene of which is laid in that country.

Johnson returned to Lichfield early in 1734, and in August that year he made an attempt to procure some little subsistence by his pen; for he published proposals for printing by subscription the Latin Poems of Politian² : "*An-*

¹ This very extract was published in the *Memoirs* as an early specimen of Johnson's peculiar style, long before Mr. Boswell's notice of it.—CROKER, 1846.

² See Rambler, No. 103. ["Curiosity is the thirst of the soul," &c.]—BOSWELL.

³ May we not trace a fanciful similarity between Politian and Johnson? Huetius, speaking of Paulus Pelissonius Fontanerius, says, "—in quo natura, ut olim in Angelo Politiano,

deformatem oris excellentis ingenii præstantiâ compensavit." Comment. de reb. ad eum pertin. Edit. Amstel. 1718. p. 200.—BOSWELL.

In this learned masquerade of "*Paulus Pelissonius Fontanerius*," we have some difficulty in detecting Madame de Sevigné's friend, Pelisson, of whom M. de Guilleragues used the phrase, which has since grown into a proverb, "qu'il abusait de la permission qu'ont les hommes d'être laids."—

geli Politiani Poemata Latina, quibus, Notas, cum historiâ Latinâ poseos à Petrarchâ avo ad Politiani tempora deductâ, et vitâ Politiani fusius quam antehac enarratâ, addidit SAM. JOHNSON.¹

It appears that his brother Nathaniel had taken up his father's trade; for it is mentioned, "that subscriptions are taken in by the Editor, or N. Johnson, bookseller, of Lichfield."² Notwithstanding the merit of Johnson, and the cheap price at which this book was offered, there were not subscribers enough to insure a sufficient sale; so the work never appeared, and, probably, never was executed.

We find him again this year at Birmingham, and there is preserved the following letter from him to Mr. Edward Cave, the original compiler and editor of the *Gentleman's Magazine*.³

JOHNSON TO CAVE.

"Nov. 25. 1734.

"Sir,—As you appear no less sensible than your readers of the defects of your poetical article, you will not be displeased, if, in order to the improvement of it, I communicate to you the sentiments of a person who will undertake, on reasonable terms, sometimes to fill a column.

"His opinion is, that the public would not give you a bad reception, if, beside the current wit of the month, which a critical examination would generally reduce to a narrow compass, you admitted not only poems, inscriptions, &c. never printed before, which he will sometimes supply you with, but likewise short literary dissertations in Latin or English, critical remarks on authors ancient or modern, forgotten poems that deserve revival, or loose pieces, like Floyer's⁴, worth preserving. By this method, your literary article, for so it might

be called, will, he thinks, be better recommended to the public than by low jests, awkward buffoonery, or the dull scurrilities of either party

"If such a correspondence will be agreeable to you, be pleased to inform me in two posts what the conditions are on which you shall expect it. Your late offer⁵ gives me no reason to distrust your generosity. If you engage in any literary projects besides this paper, I have other designs to impart, if I could be secure from having others reap the advantage of what I should hint.

"Your letter, by being directed to *S. Smith*, to be left at the Castle in Birmingham, Warwickshire, will reach

"Your humble servant."

Mr. Cave has put a note on this letter, "Answered Dec. 2." But whether any thing was done in consequence of it we are not informed.

Johnson had, from his early youth, been sensible to the influence of female charms. When at Stourbridge school, he was much enamoured of Olivia Lloyd, a young quaker, to whom he wrote a copy of verses, which I have not been able to recover⁶; but with what facility and elegance he could warble the amorous lay, will appear from the following lines which he wrote for his friend Mr. Edmund Hector:—

VERSES TO A LADY, ON RECEIVING FROM HER A SPRIG OF MYRTLE.

"What hopes, what terrors does thy gift create,
Ambiguous emblem of uncertain fate!
The myrtle, ensign of supreme command,
Consign'd by Venus to Melissa's hand;
Not less capricious than a reigning fair,
Now grants, and now rejects, a lover's prayer.
In myrtle shades oft sings the happy swain,
In myrtle shades despairing ghosts complain;

See Madame de Sevigné's Letter, 5 Jan. 1674. Huet, bishop of Avranches, wrote Memoirs of his own time, in Latin, from which Boswell has extracted this scrap of pedantry.—CROKER.

¹ The book was to contain more than thirty sheets, the price to be two shillings and sixpence at the time of subscribing, and two shillings and sixpence at the delivery of a perfect book in quires.—BOSWELL.

² Nathaniel kept the shop as long as he lived, as did his mother, after him, till her death. Miss Seward, who in such a matter as this may perhaps be trusted, gives us an amiable still-life picture of Miss Porter, and tells us, that "from the age of twenty to her fortieth year (when she was raised to a state of competency by the death of her eldest brother), she had boarded in Lichfield with Dr. Johnson's mother, who still kept that little bookseller's shop by which her husband had supplied the scanty means of subsistence; meantime Lucy Porter kept the best company in our little city, but would make no engagement on market-days, lest *Granny*, as she called Mrs. Johnson, should catch cold by serving in the shop. There Lucy Porter took her place, standing behind the counter, nor thought it a disgrace to thank a poor person who purchased from her a penny battledoor."—CROKER.

³ Miss Cave, the grand-niece of Mr. Edw. Cave, has obligingly shown me the originals of this and the other letters of Dr. Johnson to him, which were first published in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, with notes by Mr. John Nichols, the worthy and indefatigable editor of that valuable miscellany, signed N.; some of which I shall occasionally transcribe in the course of this work.—BOSWELL. I have felt justified, by this testimony, in doing the same.—CROKER.

⁴ "A letter from the late Sir John Floyer, in recommendation of the Cold Bath." *Gent. Mag.* 1734, p. 197.—BOSWELL. This letter was probably sent by Johnson himself; who, a very short time before his death, pressed Mr. Nichols to give to the public some account of the life and works of Sir John Floyer, "whose learning and piety," he said, "deserve recording."—See *Lit. Ance.*, vol. v. p. 19.—WRIGHT.

⁵ A prize of fifty pounds for the best poem "On Life, Death, Judgment, Heaven, and Hell." See *Gent. Mag.* vol. iv. p. 560.—NICHOLS. "Being," says Dr. Johnson, "but newly acquainted with wealth, and thinking the influence of fifty pounds very great, Cave expected the first authors of the kingdom to appear as competitors; and offered the allotment of the prize to the Universities. But, when the time came, no name was seen among the writers that had ever been seen before."—*Life of Cave*. A second prize of forty pounds, and some others of inferior value, were offered by Cave, at subsequent periods, for poems on similar subjects. It seems extraordinary that Johnson, whose wants were urgent, and who was glad, so soon after, to sell his *LONDON* for *ten pounds*, did not endeavour to obtain Cave's prize. Did his dignity of mind reject such a Meænas as Cave? or did he make the attempt, and afterwards conceal his failure in prudent silence?—CROKER.

⁶ He also wrote some amatory verses, before he left Staffordshire, which Boswell appears not to have seen. They were addressed "to Miss Hickman, playing on the spinet." At the back of this early poetical effusion, of which the original copy, in Johnson's handwriting, was obligingly communicated to me by Mr. John Taylor, is the following attestation:—"Written by the late Dr. Samuel Johnson, on my mother, then Miss Hickman, playing on the spinet. J. Turton." Dr. Turton, the physician, writer of this certificate, who died in April, 1806, in his 71st year, was born in 1735. The verses in question, therefore, which have been printed in some late editions of Johnson's poems, must have been written before that year. Miss Hickman, it is believed, was a lady of Staffordshire.—MALONE. She was probably the sister of his early friend, Mr. Hickman, the schoolmaster at Stourbridge (*anté*, p. 20, n. 5); but the verses do not seem to have been the expression of any real feeling on the part of the writer, nor to justify the idea conveyed by Mr. Malone's epithet "*amatory*."—CROKER.

The myrtle crowns the happy lovers' heads,
The unhappy lover's grave the myrtle spreads :
Oh then the meaning of thy gift impart,
And ease the throbbings of an anxious heart !
Soon must this bough, as you shall fix his doom,
Adorn Philander's head, or grace his tomb."¹

His juvenile attachments to the fair sex were, however, very transient ; and it is certain, that he formed no criminal connection whatsoever. Mr. Hector, who lived with him in his younger days in the utmost intimacy and social freedom, has assured me, that even at that ardent season his conduct was strictly virtuous in that respect ; and that, though he loved to exhilarate himself with wine, he never knew him intoxicated but once.²

In a man whom religious education has secured from licentious indulgences, the passion of love, when once it has seized him, is exceedingly strong ; being unimpaired by dissipation, and totally concentrated in one object.

¹ Mrs. Piozzi gives the following account of this little composition from Dr. Johnson's own relation to her, on her enquiring whether it was rightly attributed to him : — " I think it is now just forty years ago, that a young fellow had a sprig of myrtle given him by a girl he courted, and asked me to write him some verses that he might present her in return. I promised, but forgot ; and when he called for his lines at the time agreed on, — ' Sit still a moment,' says I, '*dear Maud*, and I'll fetch them thee' — so stepped aside for five minutes, and wrote the nonsense you now keep such a stir about." — *Anecdotes*, p. 34. In my first edition I was induced to doubt the authenticity of this account, by the following circumstantial statement in a letter to me from Miss Seward, of Lichfield : — " I know those verses were addressed to Lucy Porter, when he was enamoured of her in his boyish days, two or three years before he had seen her mother, his future wife. He wrote them at my grandfather's, [Mr. Hunter, the schoolmaster,] and gave them to Lucy in the presence of my mother, to whom he showed them on the instant. She used to repeat them to me, when I asked her for the *Perses* Dr. Johnson gave her on a Sprig of Myrtle, which he had stolen or begged from her bosom." We all know honest Lucy Porter to have been incapable of the mean vanity of applying to herself a compliment not intended for her." Such was Miss Seward's statement, which I make no doubt she supposed to be correct ; but it shows how dangerous it is to trust too implicitly to traditional testimony and ingenious inference ; for Mr. Hector has lately assured me that Mrs. Piozzi's account is, in this instance, accurate, and that he was the person [as his name *Edmund*, which Mrs. Piozzi could not have known, clearly proves] for whom Johnson wrote those verses, which have been erroneously ascribed to Mr. Hammond. I am obliged, in so many instances, to notice Mrs. Piozzi's incorrectness of relation, that I gladly seize this opportunity of acknowledging, that however often, she is not always, inaccurate. The author having been drawn into a controversy with Miss Anna Seward in consequence of the preceding statement (which may be found in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lxiii. and lxiv.), received the following letter from Mr. Edmund Hector on the subject : —

" Dear Sir, — I am sorry to see you are engaged in altercation with a lady, who seems unwilling to be convinced of her errors. Surely it would be more ingenious to acknowledge than to persevere. Lately, in looking over some papers I meant to burn, I found the original manuscript of the Myrtle, with the date on it, 1731, which I have enclosed. " The true history (which I could swear to) is as follows : — Mr. Morgan Graves, the elder brother of a worthy clergyman near Bath, [the Rev. Richard Graves, author of the " *Spiritual Quixote*,"] with whom I was acquainted, waited upon a lady in this neighbourhood, who, at parting, presented him the branch. He showed it me, and wished much to return the compliment in verse. I applied to Johnson, who was with me, and in about half an hour dictated the verses, which I sent to my friend. I most solemnly declare, at that time, Johnson was an entire stranger to the Porter family ; and it was almost two years after, that I introduced him to the acquaintance of Porter, whom I bought my clothes of. " If you intend to convince this obstinate woman, and to exhibit to the public the truth of your narrative, you are at liberty to make what use you please of this statement. I hope you will pardon me for taking up so much of your time.

This was experienced by Johnson, when he became the fervent admirer of Mrs. Porter, after her first husband's death. Miss Porter told me, that when he was first introduced to her mother, his appearance was very forbidding : he was then lean and lank, so that his immense structure of bones was hideously striking to the eye, and the scars of the scrofula were deeply visible. He also wore his hair, which was straight and stiff, and separated behind ; and he often had, seemingly, convulsive starts and odd gesticulations, which tended to excite at once surprise and ridicule.³ Mrs. Porter was so much engaged by his conversation, that she overlooked all these external disadvantages, and said to her daughter, " This is the most sensible man that I ever saw in my life."

Though Mrs. Porter was double the age of Johnson⁴, and her person and manner, as described to me by the late Mr. Garrick, were by no means pleasing to others⁵, she must have

Wishing you *multos et felices annos*, I shall subscribe myself your obliged humble servant, E. HECTOR. Birmingham, Jan. 9, 1794." — BOSWELL.

² In 1735 Mr. Walmesley endeavoured to procure Johnson the mastership of the grammar-school at Solihull, in Warwickshire. This and the cause of failure appear by the following curious letter, addressed to Mr. Walmesley, and preserved in the records of Pembroke College : —

" Solihull, ye 30 August, 1735. Sir, — I was favoured with yours of ye 13th inst. in due time, but deferred answering it till now, it taking up some time to inform the ffoefees [of the school] of the contents thereof ; and before they would return an Answer, desired some time to make enquiry of ye character of Mr. Johnson, who all agree that he is an excellent scholar, and upon that account deserves much better than to be schoolmaster of Solihull. But then he has the character of being a very haughty, ill-natured gent., and y^e he has such a way of distorting his face (wh though he can't help) ye gent. think it may affect some young lads ; for these two reasons he is not approved on, ye late master Mr. Crompton's huffing the ffoefees being still in their memory. However we are all extremely obliged to you for thinking of us, and for proposing so good a scholar, but more especially is, dear sir, your very humble servant,
HENRY GRESWOLD."

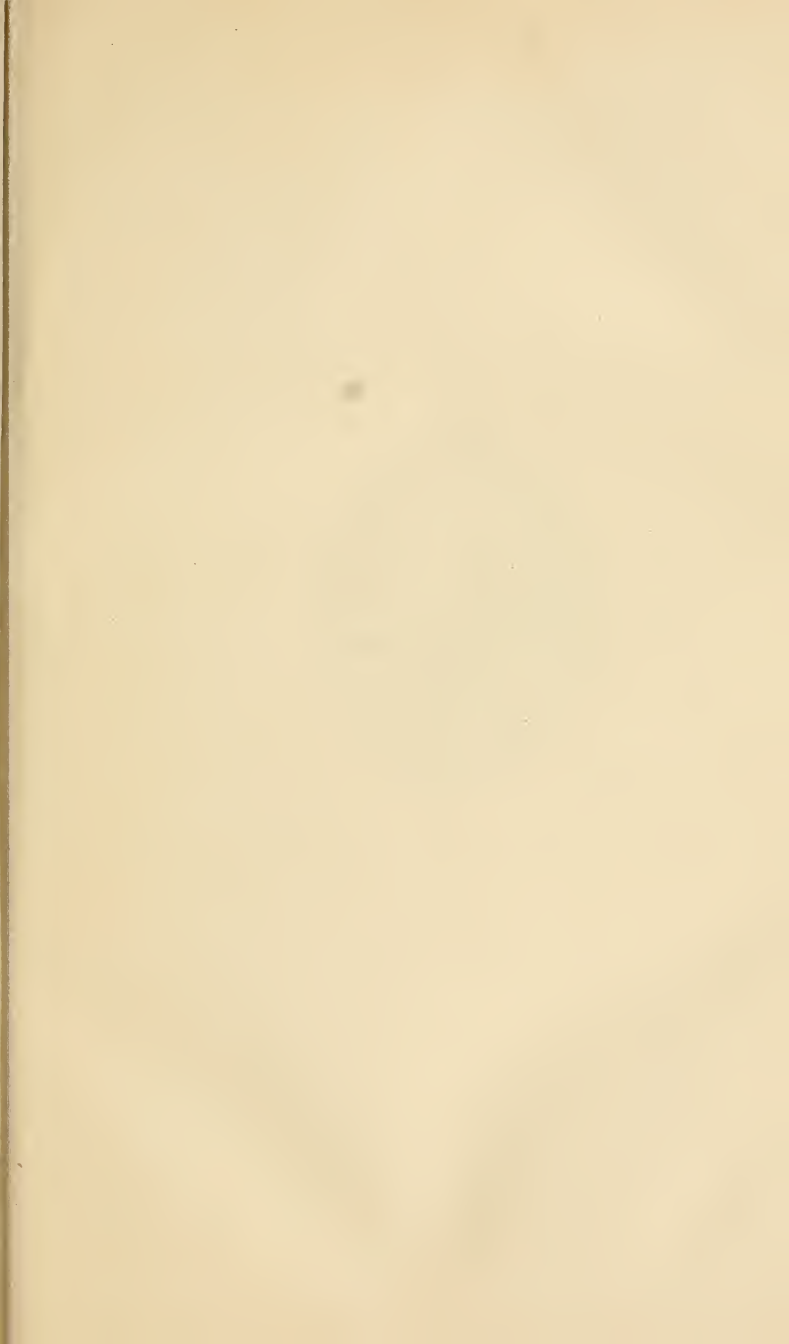
It was probably prior to this that an attempt to obtain the situation of assistant in Mr. Budworth's school, at Brewod, had also failed, and for the same reasons. Mr. Budworth lamented his having been under the necessity of declining the engagement from an apprehension that the paralytic affection under which Johnson laboured might become the object of imitation or ridicule amongst his pupils. This anecdote Captain Budworth, his grandson, (who afterwards married Miss Palmer, and took her name), confirmed to Mr. Nichols. — CROKER.

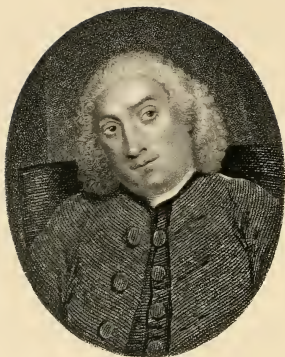
³ Johnson's countenance, when in a good humour, was not disagreeable : — his face clear, his complexion good, and his features not ill-formed, many ladies have thought they might not be unattractive when he was young. Much misrepresentation has prevailed on this subject. — FERRY.

⁴ Though there was a great disparity of years between her and Dr. Johnson, she was not quite so old as she is here represented, being only at the time of her marriage in her forty-eighth year, as appears by the following extract from the parish register of Great Peatling, in Leicestershire : — Anno Dom. 1688-9. Elizabeth, the daughter of William Jervis, Esq., and Mrs. Anne his wife, was born the 4th day of February and *was*, baptized 16th day of the same month, by Mr. Smith, Curate of Little Peatling. John Allen, Vicar.⁵ — MALONE. Johnson's size, hard features, and decided manners, probably made him look older than he really was, and diminished the apparent disproportion. — CROKER.

⁵ That in Johnson's eyes she was handsome, appears from the epitaph which he caused to be inscribed on her tombstone, not long before his own death, and which will be found in a subsequent page, under the year 1752. The following account of Mrs. Johnson, and her family, is copied from a paper, written by Lady Knight, at Rome, and transmitted by her to Mr. Hoole, the translator of *Metastasio*, &c. : —

" Mrs. Williams's account of Mrs. Johnson was, that she had a good understanding, and great sensibility, but inclined





DR JOHNSON.

From a Miniature worn in a bracelet by Mrs. Johnson.
now in the possession of Rev^d Dr. Harwood
Lichfield.

London Published by John Murray

had a superiority of understanding and talents, as she certainly inspired him with more than ordinary passion; and she having signified her willingness to accept of his hand, he went to Lichfield to ask his mother's consent to the marriage; which he could not but be conscious was a very imprudent scheme, both on account of their disparity of years, and her want of fortune. But Mrs. Johnson knew too well the ardour of her son's temper, and was too tender a parent to oppose his inclinations.

I know not for what reason the marriage ceremony was not performed at Birmingham¹; but a resolution was taken that it should be at Derby, for which place the bride and bridegroom set out on horseback, I suppose in very good humour. But though Mr. Topham Beauclerk used archly to mention Johnson's having told him, with much gravity, "Sir, it was a love-marriage on both sides," I have had from my illustrious friend the following curious account of their journey to church upon the nuptial morn [9th July]:—"Sir, she had read the old romances, and had got into her head the fantastical notion that a woman of spirit should use her lover like a dog. So, sir, at first she told me that I rode too fast, and she could not keep up with me; and, when I rode a little slower, she passed me, and complained that I lagged behind. I was not to be made the slave of caprice; and I resolved to begin as I meant to end. I therefore pushed on briskly, till I was fairly out of her sight. The road lay between two hedges, so I was sure she could not miss it; and I contrived that she should soon come up with me. When she did, I observed her to be in tears."

This, it must be allowed, was a singular beginning of connubial felicity; but there is no doubt, that Johnson, though he thus showed a manly firmness, proved a most affectionate and indulgent husband to the last moment of Mrs. Johnson's life; and in his "Prayers and Meditations," we find very remarkable evidence that

his regard and fondness for her never ceased even after her death.²

He now set up a private academy, for which purpose he hired a large house, well situated near his native city.³ In the Gentleman's Magazine for 1736 there is the following advertisement:—

"At EDIAL, near Lichfield, in Staffordshire, young gentlemen are boarded and taught the Latin and Greek languages, by SAMUEL JOHNSON."⁴

But the only pupils that were put under his care were the celebrated David Garrick and his brother George, and a Mr. Offely⁵, a young gentleman of good fortune, who died early. As yet, his name had nothing of that celebrity which afterwards commanded the highest attention and respect of mankind. Had such an advertisement appeared after the publication of his London, or his Rambler, or his Dictionary, how would it have burst upon the world! with what eagerness would the great and the wealthy have embraced an opportunity of putting their sons under the learned tuition of Samuel Johnson! The truth, however, is, that he was not so well qualified for being a teacher of elements and a conductor in learning by regular gradations, as men of inferior powers of mind. His own acquisitions had been made by fits and starts, by violent irruptions into the regions of knowledge; and it could not be expected that his impatience would be subdued, and his impetuosity restrained, so as to fit him for a quiet guide to novices. The art of communicating instruction, of whatever kind, is much to be valued; and I have ever thought that those who devote themselves to this employment, and do their duty with diligence and success, are entitled to very high respect from the community, as Johnson himself often maintained. Yet I am of opinion, that the greatest abilities are not only not required for this office, but render a man less fit for it.

While we acknowledge the justness of Thomson's beautiful remark, —

to be satirical. Her first husband died insolvent: her sons were much disgusted with her for her second marriage, perhaps because they, struggling to get advanced in life, were mortified to think she had allied herself to a man who had not any visible means of being useful to them: however, she always retained her affection for them. While they [Dr. and Mrs. Johnson] resided in Gough Square, her son, the officer, knocked at the door, and asked the maid if her mistress was at home. She answered, 'Yes, sir, but she is sick in bed.'—'Oh,' says he, 'if it's so, tell her that her son Jervis called to know how she did,' and was going away. The maid begged she might run up to tell her mistress, and, without attending his answer, left him. Mrs. Johnson, enraptured to hear her son was below, desired the maid to tell him she longed to embrace him. When the maid descended the gentleman was gone, and poor Mrs. Johnson was much agitated by the adventure: it was the only time he ever made an effort to see her. Dr. Johnson did all he could to console his wife, but told Mrs. Williams, 'Her son is uniformly ungrateful; so I conclude, like many other sober men, he might once in his life be drunk, and in that fit nature got the better of his pride.'—MALONE.

¹ To escape the angry notice of the widow's family and friends seems an obvious and sufficient reason. — CROKER.

² For instance: — "Wednesday, March 28. 1770.

³ This is the day [17th. O. S.] on which, in 1752, I was deprived of poor dear Tetty. Having left off the practice of

thinking on her with some particular combinations, I have recalled her to my mind of late less frequently; but when I recollect the time in which we lived together, my grief for her departure is not abated; and I have less pleasure in any good that befalls me, because she does not partake it. On many occasions, I think what she would have said or done. When I saw the sea at Brightonstone, I wished for her to have seen it with me. But, with respect to her, no rational wish is now left, but that we may meet at last where the mercy of God shall make us happy, and perhaps make us instrumental to the happiness of each other. It is now eighteen years." *Prayers and Med.*, p. 90, 91. — CROKER.

³ This project must have been formed before his marriage, for the advertisement appears in the magazine for *June and July*, 1736. It is possible that the obvious advantage of having a woman of experience to superintend an establishment of this kind may have had some influence with Johnson; but even Johnson's mental powers cannot excuse her having made so disproportionate an alliance. — CROKER.

⁴ A view of "Edial Hall, the residence of Dr. Samuel Johnson," is given in Harwood's History of Lichfield, 1809, where it is stated that "the house has undergone no material alteration since it was inhabited by this illustrious tenant." — CROKER.

⁵ The *Memoirs* mention Dr. Hawkesworth as one of his pupils, and seems to imply (as, indeed, does Mr. Garrick's subsequent testimony) that there were more. — CROKER.

"Delightful task! to rear the tender thought,
To teach the young idea how to shoot!"¹

we must consider that this delight is perceptible only by "a mind at ease," a mind at once calm and clear; but that a mind gloomy and impetuous, like that of Johnson, cannot be fixed for any length of time in minute attention, and must be so frequently irritated by unavoidable slowness and error in the advances of scholars, as to perform the duty, with little pleasure to the teacher, and no great advantage to the pupils. Good temper is a most essential requisite in a preceptor. Horace paints the character as *bland*:

"— Ut pueris olim dant crustula *blandi*
Doctores, eleinenta velint ut discere prima."²

Johnson was not more satisfied with his situation as the master of an academy, than with that of the usher of a school; we need not wonder, therefore, that he did not keep his academy above a year and a half. From Mr. Garrick's account, he did not appear to have been profoundly revered by his pupils. His oddities of manner, and uncouth gesticulations, could not but be the subject of merriment to them; and, in particular, the young rogues used to listen at the door of his bedchamber, and peep through the key-hole, that they might turn into ridicule his tumultuous and awkward fondness for Mrs. Johnson, whom he used to name by the familiar appellation of *Tetty* or *Tetsey*, which, like *Betty* or *Betsey*, is provincially used as a contraction for *Elizabeth*, her Christian name, but which to us seems ludicrous, when applied to a woman of her age and appearance. Mr. Garrick described her to me as very fat, with a bosom of more than ordinary protuberance, with swelled cheeks, of a florid red, produced by thick painting, and increased by the liberal use of cordials; flaring and fantastic in her dress, and affected both in her speech and her general behaviour.³ I have seen Garrick exhibit her, by his exquisite talent of mimicry, so as to excite the heartiest bursts of laughter; but he, probably, as is the case in all such representations, considerably aggravated the picture.⁴

That Johnson well knew the most proper course to be pursued in the instruction of youth is authentically ascertained by the follow-

ing paper⁵ in his own handwriting, given about this period to a relation, and now in the possession of Mr. John Nichols:—

"SCHEME FOR THE CLASSES OF A GRAMMAR SCHOOL.

"When the introduction, or formation of nouns and verbs, is perfectly mastered, let them learn

"Corderius by Mr. Clarke, beginning at the same time to translate out of the introduction, that by this means they may learn the syntax. Then let them proceed to Erasmus, with an English translation, by the same author.

"Class II. learns Eutropius and Cornelius Nepos, or Justin, with the translation.

"N.B. The first class gets for their part every morning the rules which they have learnt before, and in the afternoon learns the Latin rules of the nouns and verbs. They are examined in the rules which they have learnt, every Thursday and Saturday.

"The second class does the same whilst they are in Eutropius; afterwards their part is in the irregular nouns and verbs, and in the rules for making and scanning verses. They are examined as the first.

"Class III. Ovid's Metamorphoses in the morning, and Caesar's Commentaries in the afternoon.

"Practise in the Latin rules till they are perfect in them; afterwards in Mr. Leeds's Greek Grammar. Examined as before. Afterwards they proceed to Virgil, beginning at the same time to write themes and verses, and to learn Greek; from thence passing on to Horace, &c., as shall seem most proper.

"I know not well what books to direct you to, because you have not informed me what study you will apply yourself to. I believe it will be most for your advantage to apply yourself wholly to the languages, till you go to the university. The Greek authors I think it best for you to read are these:—

Cebes.	} Attic.
Ælian.	
Lucian, by Leeds.	
Xenophon.	
Homer.	} Ionic.
Theocritus.	
Euripides.	Doric.
	Attic and Doric.

"Thus you will be tolerably skilled in all the

¹ Thomson's remark is just only because the poet applies it to the first education of a child by its own fond parents, and not to the drudgery of hired instruction in the advanced stages of learning.—CROKER.

² "As masters *blandly* soothe their boys to read
With cakes and sweetmeats —," Hor. I Sat. l. 25.
FRANCIS.

³ As Johnson kept Garrick much in awe when present, David, when his back was turned, repaid the restraint with ridicule of him and his dulcinea, which should be read with great abatement.—PERCY.

⁴ In Logan's drawing of the 'company at Tunbridge Wells, in 1748, engraved and published in Richardson's Correspondence, Mrs. Johnson's figure is not inferior to that of the other ladies (some of whom were fashionable beauties) either in shape or dress; but it is a slight sketch, and too small and indistinct to be relied upon for details.—CROKER.

⁵ Mr. Boswell was mistaken in supposing this to have been

one paper. It is clear that there are two separate schemes, the first for a school—the second for the individual studies of some young friend; and surely this crude sketch for the arrangement of the lower classes of a grammar-school does not "authentically ascertain what Johnson thought the most proper course to be pursued in the instruction of youth." It may even be doubted whether it is good as far as it goes, and whether the beginning with authors of *inferior latinity*, and allowing the assistance of translations, be, indeed, the most proper course of classical instruction; nor are we, while ignorant of the peculiar circumstances for which the paper was drawn up, entitled to conclude that it contains Dr. Johnson's mature and general sentiments on even the narrow branch of education to which it refers. Indeed, in the second paper, Johnson advises not to read "the latter authors till you are well versed in those of the *purcr* ages."—CROKER.

dialects, beginning with the Attic, to which the rest must be referred.

"In the study of Latin, it is proper not to read the latter authors, till you are well versed in those of the purest ages; as Terence, Tully, Cæsar, Sallust, Nepos, Velleius Paterculus, Virgil, Horace, Phædrus.

"The greatest and most necessary task still remains, to attain a habit of expression, without which knowledge is of little use. This is necessary in Latin, and more necessary in English; and can only be acquired by a daily imitation of the best and correctest authors.

"SAM. JOHNSON."

While Johnson kept his academy, there can be no doubt that he was insensibly furnishing his mind with various knowledge; but I have not discovered that he wrote any thing except a great part of his tragedy of *IRENE*. Mr. Peter Garrick, the elder brother of David, told me that he remembered Johnson's borrowing the Turkish History¹ of him, in order to form his play from it. When he had finished some part of it, he read what he had done to Mr. Walmesley, who objected to his having already brought his heroine into great distress, and asked him, "How can you possibly contrive to plunge her into deeper calamity?" Johnson, in allusion to the supposed oppressive proceedings of the court of which Mr. Walmesley was registrar, replied, "Sir, I can put her into the Spiritual Court!"

Mr. Walmesley, however, was well pleased with this proof of Johnson's abilities as a dramatic writer, and advised him to finish the tragedy, and produce it on the stage.

CHAPTER V.

1737 — 1738.

Johnson goes to London with Garrick. — Lodges in Exeter Street. — Retires to Greenwich, and proceeds with "Irene." — Projects a Translation of

¹ Of Knolles's History of the Turks, Johnson says, in the Rambler; "it displays all the excellences that narration can admit, and nothing could have sunk its author in obscurity, but the remoteness and barbarity of the people whose story he relates." No. 122. "Old Knolles," said Lord Byron, at Missolonghi, a few weeks before his death, "was one of the first books that gave me pleasure when a child; and I believe it had much influence on my future wishes to visit the Levant, and gave, perhaps, the oriental colouring which is observed in my poetry." Works, vol. ix. p. 141. — LOCKHART.

² Both of them used to talk pleasantly of this their first journey to London. Garrick, evidently meaning to embellish a little, said one day in my hearing, "We rode and tied." And the Bishop of Killaloe (Dr. Barnard) informed me, that at another time, when Johnson and Garrick were dining together in a pretty large company, Johnson humorously ascertaining the chronology of something, expressed himself thus: — "That was the year when I came to London with two-pence halfpenny in my pocket." Garrick overhearing him, exclaimed, "Eh? what do you say? with two-pence halfpenny in your pocket?" — Johnson. "Why, yes; when I came with two-pence halfpenny in my pocket, and thou, Davy, with three-halfpence in thine." — BOSWELL.

This must have been mere rillery. Indeed, Boswell, in the next page, acknowledges that Johnson had a little money at his arrival; but, however that may be, Garrick, a young gentleman coming to town, not as an adventurer, but

the History of the Council of Trent. — Returns to Lichfield, and finishes "Irene." — Removes to London with his Wife. — List of Residences. — Becomes a Writer in the Gentleman's Magazine.

JOHNSON now thought of trying his fortune in London, the great field of genius and exertion, where talents of every kind have the fullest scope and the highest encouragement. It is a memorable circumstance, that his pupil, David Garrick, went thither at the same time², with intent to complete his education and follow the profession of the law, from which he was soon diverted by his decided preference for the stage.

This joint expedition of those two eminent men to the metropolis was many years afterwards noticed in an allegorical poem on Shakspeare's mulberry tree, by Mr. Lovibond, the ingenious author of "The Tears of Old-May-day."³

They were recommended to Mr. Colson⁴, an eminent mathematician and master of an academy, by the following letter from Mr. Walmesley: —

TO THE REV. JOHN COLSON.

"Lichfield, March 2. 1736-7.

"DEAR SIR, — I had the favour of yours, and am extremely obliged to you; but I cannot say I had a greater affection for you upon it than I had before, being long since so much endeared to you, as well by an early friendship, as by your many excellent and valuable qualifications; and, had I a son of my own, it would be my ambition, instead of sending him to the university, to dispose of him as this young gentleman is.

"He, and another neighbour of mine, one Mr. Samuel Johnson, set out this morning for London together. Davy Garrick to be with you early the next week, and Mr. Johnson to try his fate with the tragedy, and to see to get himself employed in some translation, either from the Latin or the French. Johnson is a very good scholar and poet, and I have great hopes will turn out a fine tragedy-writer. IF

to complete his education and prepare for the bar, could not have been in such indigent circumstances. — CROKER.

³ Edward Lovibond was a gentleman, residing at Hampton, whose works were little known in his own day, and are now quite and deservedly neglected, though Dr. Anderson has introduced them into the Scotch edition of the British Poets, with a life of the author, in a strain of the most hyperbolic and ridiculous panegyric. He died in 1773. — CROKER.

⁴ The Rev. John Colson, educated at Emanuel College, Cambridge, became, in 1709, first master of the free school at Rochester. In 1739, he was appointed Lucasian Professor of Mathematics, and died in December, 1759. Mrs. Piozzi, and after her Mr. Malone, have stated that the character of *Gelidus*, in the 24th Rambler, was meant to represent Mr. Colson; but this is a mistake. It does not appear that Johnson ever saw Professor Colson, who resided at Rochester; but there was, as we shall see hereafter, a Mr. Coulson, an acquaintance of Johnson's, fellow of University College, Oxford, and a very eccentric man, who, I at first supposed, might have afforded Johnson some characteristic traits for his *Gelidus*. But my venerable friend, Dr. Fisher, formerly of University College, and latterly Master of the Charter House, who was intimate with both Johnson and Coulson, informed me that the character of *Gelidus* had no resemblance to this Mr. Colson, whom, moreover, Johnson had never seen till after he had written the *Rambler*. — CROKER, 1846.

it should any way lie in your way, doubt not but you would be ready to recommend and assist your countryman,

"G. WALMESLEY."

How he employed himself upon his first coming to London is not particularly known. I never heard that he found any protection or encouragement by the means of Mr. Colson, to whose academy David Garrick went. Mrs. Lucy Porter told me, that Mr. Walmesley gave him a letter of introduction to Lintot¹ his bookseller, and that Johnson wrote some things for him; but I imagine this to be a mistake, for I have discovered no trace of it, and I am pretty sure he told me, that Mr. Cave was the first publisher by whom his pen was engaged in London.²

He had a little money when he came to town, and he knew how he could live in the cheapest manner. His first lodgings were at the house of Mr. Norris, a staymaker, in Exeter Street, adjoining Catherine Street, in the Strand. "I dined," said he, "very well for eight-pence, with very good company, at the Pine-Apple in New Street, just by. Several of them had travelled. They expected to meet every day; but did not know one another's names. It used to cost the rest a shilling, for they drank wine; but I had a cut of meat for sixpence, and bread for a penny, and gave the waiter a penny; so that I was quite well served, nay, better than the rest, for they gave the waiter nothing."³

He at this time, I believe, abstained entirely from fermented liquors: a practice to which he rigidly conformed for many years together, at different periods of his life.⁴

His Ofellus, in the Art of Living in London⁵, I have heard him relate, was an Irish painter, whom he knew at Birmingham, and who had practised his own precepts of economy for several years in the British capital. He assured Johnson, who, I suppose, was then meditating to try his fortune in London, but was apprehensive of the expense, "that thirty

pounds a year was enough to enable a man to live there without being contemptible. He allowed ten pounds for clothes and linen. He said a man might live in a garret at eighteen-pence a week; few people would inquire where he lodged; and if they did, it was easy to say, 'Sir, I am to be found at such a place.' By spending three-pence in a coffee-house, he might be for some hours every day in very good company; he might dine for sixpence, breakfast on bread and milk for a penny, and do without supper. On *clean-shirt-day* he went abroad, and paid visits."⁶ I have heard him more than once talk of his frugal friend, whom he recollected with esteem and kindness, and did not like to have one smile at the recital. "This man," said he, gravely, "was a very sensible man, who perfectly understood common affairs: a man of a great deal of knowledge of the world, fresh from life, not strained through books. He borrowed a horse and ten pounds at Birmingham. Finding himself master of so much money, he set off for West Chester, in order to get to Ireland. He returned the horse, and probably the ten pounds too, after he had got home."

Considering Johnson's narrow circumstances in the early part of his life, and particularly at the interesting era of his launching into the ocean of London, it is not to be wondered at, that an actual instance, proved by experience, of the possibility of enjoying the intellectual luxury of social life upon a very small income, should deeply engage his attention, and be ever recollected by him as a circumstance of much importance. He amused himself, I remember, by computing how much more expense was absolutely necessary to live upon the same scale with that which his friend described, when the value of money was diminished by the progress of commerce. It may be estimated that double the money might now with difficulty be sufficient.

Amidst this cold obscurity, there was one brilliant circumstance to cheer him; he was well acquainted with Mr. Henry Hervey⁷ one

¹ Mr. P. Cunningham observes, that this letter must have been to the son of the celebrated Bernard Lintot, the latter having died 3d Feb. 1736.—CROKER, 1846.

² One curious anecdote was communicated by himself to Mr. John Nichols. Mr. Wilcox, the bookseller, on being informed by him that his intention was to get his livelihood as an author, eyed his robust frame attentively, and, with a significant look, said, "You had better buy a porter's knot" He, however, added, "Wilcox was one of my best friends."

—BOSWELL. Perhaps he meant that Cave was the first to whom he was regularly and constantly engaged; but Wilcox and Lintot may have employed him occasionally; and Doddsley certainly printed his *London* before Cave had printed any thing of his but two or three trifles in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.—CROKER.

³ But if we may trust Mr. Cumberland's recollection, he was about this time, or very soon after, reduced still lower; "for, painful as it is to relate," (says that gentleman in his *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 355,) "I have heard that illustrious scholar, Dr. Johnson, assert, and he never varied from the truth of fact, that he subsisted himself for a considerable space of time upon the scanty pittance of *four-pence halfpenny* per day."—CROKER.

⁴ At this time his abstinence from wine may, perhaps, be attributed to poverty, but in his subsequent life he was restrained from that indulgence by, as it appears, moral, or rather medical considerations. He found by experience that wine, though it dissipated for a moment, yet eventually

aggravated the hereditary disease under which he suffered; and perhaps it may have been owing to a long course of abstinence, that his mental health seems to have been better in the latter than in the earlier portion of his life. He says, in his *Prayers and Meditations*, (17 Aug. 1777,) "By abstinence from wine and suppers, I obtained sudden and great relief, and had freedom of mind restored to me; which I have wanted for all this year, without being able to find any means of obtaining it." See also *post*, Sept. 16. 1773. These remarks are important, because *depression of spirits* is too often treated on a contrary system, from ignorance of, or inattention to, what may be its real cause.—CROKER.

⁵ Ofellus was a Roman rustic whom Horace introduces as giving precepts for frugal living. Boswell, therefore, calls this Irish professor of economy Johnson's *Ofellus*.—CROKER.

⁶ This species of economy was not confined to indigence. Swift, I think, talks of making visits on shaving-day and clean-shirt-day.—CROKER.

⁷ The Hon. Henry Hervey, third [fourth] son of the first Earl of Bristol, (born 1700,) quitted the army and took orders. He married (in 1730, Catherine the eldest) sister of Sir Thomas Aston, by whom he got the Aston Estate, and assumed the name and arms of that family.—BOSWELL. Mr. Hervey's acquaintance and kindness Johnson owed, no doubt, to his friend Mr. Walmesley; who, it will be recollected, married Mrs. Hervey's sister, Margaret Aston. But I doubt whether Mr. Boswell does not antedate this intimacy with Hervey and Johnson's love of that name by a couple of years,—for the first

of the branches of the noble family of that name, who had been quartered at Lichfield as an officer of the army, and had at this time a house in London, where Johnson was frequently entertained, and had an opportunity of meeting genteel company. Not very long before his death, he mentioned this, among other particulars of his life, which he was kindly communicating to me; and he described this early friend "Harry Hervey," thus: "He was a vicious man¹, but very kind to me. If you call a dog HERVEY, I shall love him."

He told me he had now written only three acts of his *IRENE*, and that he retired for some time to lodgings at Greenwich, where he proceeded in it somewhat further, and used to compose, walking in the Park; but did not stay long enough at that place to finish it.

At this period we find the following letter from him to Mr. Edward Cave, which, as a link in the chain of his literary history, it is proper to insert:—

JOHNSON TO CAVE.

"Greenwich, next door to the Golden Heart, Church Street, July 12. 1737.

"SIR, — Having observed in your papers very uncommon offers of encouragement to men of letters, I have chosen, being a stranger in London, to communicate to you the following design, which, I hope, if you join in it, will be of advantage to both of us.

"The History of the Council of Trent having been lately translated into French, and published with large notes by Dr. Le Courayer, the reputation of that book is so much revived in England, that, it is presumed, a new translation of it from the Italian, together with Le Courayer's notes from the French, could not fail of a favourable reception.

"If it be answered, that the History is already in English, it must be remembered that there was the same objection against Le Courayer's undertaking, with this disadvantage, that the French had a version by one of their best translators, whereas you cannot read three pages of the English history without discovering that the style is capable of great improvements; but whether those improvements are to be expected from this attempt, you must judge from the specimen, which, if you approve the proposal, I shall submit to your examination.

"Suppose the merit of the versions equal, we may hope that the addition of the notes will turn the balance in our favour, considering the reputation of the annotator.

"Be pleased to favour me with a speedy answer, if you are not willing to engage in this scheme; and appoint me a day to wait upon you, if you are. I am, Sir, your humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

It should seem from this letter, though sub-

scribed with his own name, that he had not yet been introduced to Mr. Cave. We shall presently see what was done in consequence of the proposal which it contains.

In the course of the summer he returned to Lichfield², where he had left Mrs. Johnson, and there he at last finished his tragedy, which was not executed with his rapidity of composition upon other occasions, but was slowly and painfully elaborated. A few days before his death, while burning a great mass of papers, he picked out from among them the original unformed sketch of this tragedy, in his own handwriting, and gave it to Mr. Langton, by whose favour a copy of it is now in my possession. It contains fragments of the intended plot, and speeches for the different persons of the drama partly in the raw materials of prose, partly worked up into verse; as also a variety of hints for illustration, borrowed from the Greek, Roman, and modern writers. The handwriting is very difficult to be read, even by those who were best acquainted with Johnson's mode of penmanship, which at all times was very particular. The King having graciously accepted of this manuscript as a literary curiosity, Mr. Langton made a fair and distinct copy of it, which he ordered to be bound up with the original and the printed tragedy; and the volume is deposited in the King's library.³ His Majesty was pleased to permit Mr. Langton to take a copy of it for himself.

The whole of it is rich in thought and imagery, and happy expressions; and of the *disjecta membra* scattered throughout, and as yet unarranged, a good dramatic poet might avail himself with considerable advantage. I shall give my readers some specimens of different kinds, distinguishing them by the italic character.

"Nor think to say, here will I stop,
Here will I fix the limits of transgression,
Nor farther tempt the avenging rage of heaven.
When guilt like this once harbours in the breast,
Those holy beings, whose unseen direction
Guides through the maze of life the steps of man,
Fly the detested mansions of impiety,
And quit their charge to horror and to ruin."

A small part only of this interesting admonition is preserved in the play, and is varied, I think, not to advantage:—

"The soul once tainted with so foul a crime,
No more shall glow with friendship's hallow'd ardour,
Those holy beings whose superior care
Guides erring mortals to the paths of virtue,
Affrighted at impiety like thine,
Resign their charge to baseness and to ruin."

edition of *London* contained a sneer at *Lord Hervey* (Henry's brother), for whose name that of *Clodio* was afterwards substituted.—CROKER.

¹ For the excesses which Dr. Johnson justly characterises as vicious, Mr. Hervey was, perhaps, as much to be *plighted* as blamed. He was *very eccentric*. See *aut.*, p. 5. n. 1. His eldest brother was the celebrated Lord Hervey, Pope's *Sporus*; the next, *Thomas*, of whom we shall see more here-

after (Oct. 1766), was also very clever but very mad.—CROKER.

² Or more probably to Edial, where it seems Mrs. Johnson had remained.—CROKER.

³ The library of King George III. was given, as I always have thought, under very erroneous advice, by George IV., to the British Museum. Surely the Sovereign should not have been left without a private library.—CROKER.

*"I feel the soft infection
Flush in my cheek, and wander in my veins.
Teach me the Grecian arts of soft persuasion."*

*"Sure this is love, which heretofore I conceived the
dreams of idle maids, and wanton poets."*

*"Though no comets or prodigies foretold the ruin
of Greece, signs which heaven must by another miracle
enable us to understand, yet might it be foreshown, by
tokens no less certain, by the vices which always bring
it on."*

This last passage is worked up in the tragedy
itself as follows:—

LEONTIUS.

— "That power that kindly spreads
The clouds, a signal of impending showers,
To warn the wand'ring linnet to the shade,
Beheld, without concern, expiring Greece,
And not one prodigy foretold our fate.

DEMETRIUS.

"A thousand horrid prodigies foretold it;
A feeble government, eluded laws,
A factious populace, luxurious nobles,
And all the maladies of sinking states.
When public villany, too strong for justice,
Shows his bold front, the harbinger of ruin,
Can brave Leontius call for airy wonders,
Which cheats interpret, and which fools regard?
When some neglected fabric nods beneath
The weight of years, and totters to the tempest,
Must heaven despatch the messengers of light,
Or wake the dead, to warn us of its fall?"

MAHOMET (to IRENE). *"I have tried thee, and
joy to find that thou deservest to be loved by Mahomet,
—with a mind great as his own. Sure, thou art an
error of nature, and an exception to the rest of thy
sex, and art immortal; for sentiments like thine were
never to sink into nothing. I thought all the thoughts
of the fair had been to select the graces of the day,
dispose the colours of the flaunting (flowing) robe, tune
the voice and roll the eye, place the gem, choose the
dress, and add new roses to the fading cheek, but —
sparkling."*

Thus in the tragedy:—

"Illustrious maid, new wonders fix me thine;
Thy soul completes the triumphs of thy face;
I thought, forgive my fair, the noblest aim,
The strongest effort of a female soul
Was but to choose the graces of the day,
To tune the tongue, to teach the eyes to roll,
Dispose the colours of the flowing robe,
And add new roses to the faded cheek."

I shall select one other passage, on account
of the doctrine which it illustrates.

IRENE observes, *"that the Supreme Being will
accept of virtue, whatever outward circumstances it
may be accompanied with, and may be delighted with*

*varieties of worship: but is answered, That variety
cannot affect that Being, who, infinitely happy in his
own perfections, wants no external gratifications; nor
can infinite truth be delighted with falsehood; that
though he may guide or pity those he leaves in dark-
ness, he abandons those who shut their eyes against
the beams of day."*

Johnson's residence at Lichfield, on his re-
turn to it at this time, was only for three
months; and as he had as yet seen but a small
part of the wonders of the metropolis, he had
little to tell his townsmen. He related to me
[Sept. 20. 1773] the following minute anecdote
of this period:—*"In the last age, when my
mother lived in London, there were two sets
of people, those who gave the wall and those
who took it; the peaceable and the quarrel-
some. When I returned to Lichfield, after
having been in London, my mother asked me,
whether I was one of those who gave the wall,
or those who took it. Now it is fixed that
every man keeps to the right; or, if one is
taking the wall, another yields it; and it is
never a dispute."*

He now removed to London with Mrs. John-
son; but her daughter, who had lived with
them at Edial, was left with her relations in
the country.¹ His lodgings were for some time
in Woodstock Street, near Hanover Square,
and afterwards in Castle Street, near Cavendish
Square. As there is something pleasingly in-
teresting, to many, in tracing so great a man
through all his different habitations, I shall
[here]² present my readers with an exact list of
his lodgings and houses, in order of time, which,
in placid condescension to my respectful eu-
riosity, he one evening [Oct. 10. 1779] dictated
to me, but without specifying how long he
lived at each.

1. Exeter-street, Catherine-street, Strand [1737].
2. Greenwich [1737].
3. Woodstock-street, near Hanover-square [1737].
4. Castle-street, Cavendish-square, No. 6. [1738].
5. Boswell-court.
6. Strand.
7. Strand again.³ [1741].
8. Bow-street.
9. Holborn.
10. Fetter-lane.
11. Holborn again [at the Golden Anchor, Hol-
born-bars, 1748].
12. Gough-square [1748].
13. Staple-inn [1758].
14. Gray's-inn [1759].
15. Inner Temple-lane, No. 1. [1760].
16. Johnson-court, Fleet-street, No. 7. [1765].
17. Bolt-court, Fleet-street, No. 8. [1777].

In the progress of his life I shall have occa-
sion to mention some of them as connected with
particular incidents, or with the writing of par-

¹ See *anté*, p. 23. n. 1.

² This list Mr. Boswell placed under the date at which it
was dictated to him (10th Oct. 1779). It seems more con-
veniently introduced here, and I have added, as far as I have

discovered it, the year in which Johnson first appears in any
of these residences. — CROKER.

³ In a letter dated March 31. 1741, Johnson states that he
has recently "removed to the *Black Boy* in the Strand,
over against Durham Yard." — CROKER.

ticular parts of his works. To some, this minute attention may appear trifling; but when we consider the punctilious exactness with which the different houses in which Milton resided have been traced by the writers of his life, a similar enthusiasm may be pardoned in the biographer of Johnson.

His tragedy being by this time, as he thought, completely finished and fit for the stage, he was very desirous that it should be brought forward. Mr. Peter Garrick told me, that Johnson and he went together to the Fountain tavern, and read it over, and that he afterwards solicited Mr. Fleetwood, the patentee of Drury Lane theatre, to have it acted at his house; but Mr. Fleetwood would not accept it, probably because it was not patronised by some man of high rank; and it was not acted till 1749, when his friend David Garrick was manager of that theatre.

The Gentleman's Magazine, begun and carried on by Mr. Edward Cave, under the name of Sylvanus Urban, had attracted the notice and esteem of Johnson, in an eminent degree, before he came to London as an adventurer in literature. He told me, that when he first saw St. John's Gate, the place where that deservedly popular miscellany was originally printed, he "beheld it with reverence."¹ I suppose, indeed, that every young author has had the same kind of feeling for the magazine or periodical publication which has first entertained him, and in which he has first had an opportunity to see himself in print, without the risk of exposing his name. I myself recollect such impressions from the Scots Magazine, which was begun at Edinburgh in the year 1739, and has been ever conducted with judgment, accuracy, and propriety. I yet cannot help thinking of it with an affectionate regard. Johnson has dignified the Gentleman's Magazine by the importance with which he invests the life of Cave; but he has given it still greater lustre by the various admirable essays which he wrote for it.

Though Johnson was often solicited by his friends to make a complete list of his writings, and talked of doing it, I believe with a serious intention that they should all be collected on

his own account, he put it off from year to year, and at last died without having done it perfectly. I have one in his own handwriting, which contains a certain number; I indeed doubt if he could have remembered every one of them, as they were so numerous, so various, and scattered in such a multiplicity of unconnected publications; nay, several of them published under the names of other persons, to whom he liberally contributed from the abundance of his mind. We must, therefore, be content to discover them, partly from occasional information given by him to his friends, and partly from internal evidence.²

His first performance in the Gentleman's Magazine, which for many years was his principal source of employment and support, was a copy of Latin verses, in March, 1738, addressed to the editor in so happy a style of compliment, that Cave must have been destitute both of taste and sensibility, had he not felt himself highly gratified.³

Ad URBANUM.*

URBANE, nullis fesse laboribus,
URBANE, nullis victæ calumniis,
Cui fronte sertum in eruditâ
Perpetuò viret et virebit;

Quid molitur gens imitantium,
Quid et minetur, sollicitum parum,
Vacare solis perge Musis,
Juxta animo studiisque felix.

Lingvæ procacis plumbea spicula,
Fidens, superbo frange silentio;
Vixitrix per obstantes catervas
Sedulitas animosa tendet.

Intende nervos, fortis, inanibus
Risurus olim nisibus æmuli;
Intende jam nervos, habebis
Participes operæ Camænas.

Non ulla Musis pagina gratior,
Quam quæ severis ludicra jungere
Novit, fatigatamque nugis
Utilibus recreare mentem.

¹ Johnson never could have said *seriously* that he looked at St. John's Gate as the printing-office of Cave, with *reverence*. The *Gentleman's Magazine* had been, at this time, but six years before the public, and its contents were, even when Johnson himself had contributed to improve it, not much entitled to *reverence*: Johnson's *reverence* would have been more justly excited by the recollections connected with the ancient *Gate* itself, the last relic of the once extensive and magnificent Priory of the heroic knights of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, suppressed at the Dissolution, and destroyed by successive dilapidations? Its last prior, Sir William Weston, though compensated with the annual pension (enormous in those days) of 1000*l.*, died of a broken heart, on Ascension-day, 1540, the very day the house was suppressed. — CROKER, 1831. I learn with pleasure that this relique of antiquity, which is much dilapidated, is about to be carefully restored. — CROKER, 1846.

² While, in the course of my narrative, I enumerate his writings, I shall take care that my readers shall not be left to waver in doubt, between certainty and conjecture, with

regard to their authenticity, and for that purpose shall mark with an *asterisk* (*) those which he acknowledged to his friends, and with a *dagger* (†) those which are ascertained to be his by internal evidence. When any other pieces are ascribed to him I shall give my reasons. — BOSWELL.

³ Taste and sensibility were very certainly not the distinguishing qualities of Cave; but was this ode, indeed, "*a happy style of compliment*?" Are "*fronte sertum in eruditâ*" — "*Lingvæ plumbea spicula*" — "*vixitrix per obstantes catervas*" — "*Lycoris and Iris — the rose — the violet — and the rainbow*" — in any way appropriate to the printer of St. John's Gate, his magazine, or his antagonists? How Johnson would in later life have derided, in *another*, such misapplied pedantry! Mr. Murphy surmises that "this ode may have been suggested to the mind of Johnson, who had meditated a history of the modern Latin poets (see *ante*, p. 22.), by Casimir's ode to Pope Urban, —

'Urbane regum maxime, maxime
Urbane vatum.' — CROKER.

Texente nymphis sertæ Lycoride,
Rosæ ruborem sic viola adjuvat
Immisita, sic Iris refulget
Æthereis variata fucis.¹

S. J.

It appears that he was now enlisted by Mr. Cave as a regular coadjutor in his magazine, by which he probably obtained a tolerable livelihood. At what time, or by what means, he had acquired a competent knowledge both of French and Italian, I do not know²; but he was so well skilled in them, as to be sufficiently qualified for a translator. That part of his labour which consisted in emendation and improvement of the productions of other contributors, like that employed in levelling ground, can be perceived only by those who had an opportunity of comparing the original with the altered copy. What we certainly know to have been done by him in this way was the debates in both houses of Parliament, under the name of "The Senate of Lilliput,"³ sometimes with feigned denominations of the several speakers, sometimes with denominations formed of the letters of their real names, in the manner of what is called anagram, so that they might easily be deciphered. Parliament then kept the press in a kind of mysterious awe, which made it necessary to have recourse to such devices. In our time it has acquired an unrestrained freedom, so that the people in all parts of the kingdom have a fair, open, and exact report of the actual proceedings of their representatives and legislators, which in our constitution is highly to be valued; though, unquestionably, there has of late been too much reason to complain of the petulance with which obscure scribblers have presumed to treat men of the most respectable character and situation.

This important article of the Gentleman's Magazine was, for several years, executed by Mr. William Guthrie, a man who deserves to

be respectably recorded in the literary annals of this country. He was descended of an ancient family in Scotland; but having a small patrimony, and being an adherent of the unfortunate house of Stuart, he could not accept of any office in the State; he therefore came to London, and employed his talents and learning as an "author by profession." His writings in history, criticism, and politics, had considerable merit.⁴ He was the first English historian who had recourse to that authentic source of information, the Parliamentary Journals; and such was the power of his political pen, that, at an early period, government thought it worth their while to keep it quiet by a pension⁵, which he enjoyed till his death. Johnson esteemed him enough to wish that his life should be written. The debates in Parliament, which were brought home and digested by Guthrie, whose memory, though surpassed by others who have since followed him in the same department, was yet very quick and tenacious, were sent by Cave to Johnson for his revision; and, after some time, when Guthrie had attained to greater variety of employment, and the speeches were more and more enriched by the accession of Johnson's genius, it was resolved that he should do the whole himself, from the scanty notes furnished by persons employed to attend in both houses of Parliament. Sometimes, however, as he himself told me, he had nothing more communicated to him than the names of the several speakers, and the part which they had taken in the debate.

CHAPTER VI.

1738—1741.

"London, a Poem." — *Letters to Cave.* — *Entreats to obtain the Degree of M. A.* — *Recommended*

¹ A translation of this Ode, by an unknown correspondent, appeared in the Magazine for the month of May following.

"Hail, Urban! indefatigable man," &c. &c. — BOSWELL.

The following translation, attributed by Mr. Nichols to Mr. Jackson of Canterbury, is less rapid than that quoted by Boswell, and appeared in the year of Johnson's death, 1734: —

"Urban, whom neither toil profound
Fatigues, nor calumnies o'erthrow; —
The wreath, thy learned brows around,
Still grows, and will for ever grow.

Of rivals let no cares infect,
Of what they threaten or prepare;
Blest in thyself, thy projects blest,
Thy hours still let the muses share.

The leaden shafts which folly throws,
In silent dignity despise:
Superior o'er opposing foes,
Thy vigorous diligence shall rise.

Exert thy strength, each vain design,
Each rival soon shalt thou disdain;
Arise, for see thy task to join,
Approach the muses' fav'ring train.

How grateful to each muse the page,
Where grave with sprightly themes are join'd;
And useful levities engage,
And recreate the wearied mind.

Thus the pale violet to the rose
Adds beauty 'midst the garland's dyes!
And thus the changeful rainbow throws
Its varied splendours o'er the skies." — CROKER.

² French it seems early, as he translated Lobo in 1733; but he certainly never attained ease and fluency in speaking that language. We see by his communication with General Paoli (16th Oct. 1769), and by a letter to a French lady, (*post under Nov. 1775*), — if indeed these specimens were not elaborated beforehand, — that he could write it freely. As to Italian, we have just seen (p. 28.) that he proposed to translate Father Paul from the original, and in a letter to Cave, undated, but prior to 1744, he gave an opinion on some Italian production. His attention had, probably, been directed to that language by the volume of Petrarch mentioned *antè*, p. 12. — CROKER.

³ They appeared under this title, for the first time, in June 1738; but as to Johnson's share in them, we shall see more presently. — CROKER.

⁴ How much poetry he wrote I know not; but he informed me that he was the author of the beautiful little piece, "The Eagle and Robin Redbreast," in the collection of poems entitled, "The Union," though it is there said to be written by Alexander Scott, before the year 1690. — BOSWELL. Mr. P. Cunningham has seen a letter of Jos. Warton's, which states that this poem was written by his brother Tom, who edited the volume. — CROKER, 1846.

⁵ See, in D'Israeli's *Calamities of Authors*, vol. i. p. 5., a letter from Guthrie to the minister, dated June 3. 1762, stating that a pension of 200*l.* a-year had been "regularly and quarterly" paid him ever since the year 1745-6. Guthrie was born at Brechin, in 1708, and died in 1770. — CROKER.

by Pope to Lord Gower. — His Lordship's Letter on his behalf. — Begins a Translation of Father Paul's History. — Publishes "A Vindication of the Licensers of the Stage" — and "Marmor Norfolciense." — Pope's Note to Richardson concerning him. — Characteristic Anecdotes. — Parliamentary Debates.

Thus was Johnson employed during some of the best years of his life, as a mere literary labourer "for gain, not glory," solely to obtain an honest support. He, however, indulged himself in occasional little sallies, which the French so happily express by the term *jeux d'esprit*, and which will be noticed in their order, in the progress of this work.

But what first displayed his transcendent powers, and "gave the world assurance of the man," was his "London, a Poem, in imitation of the third Satire of Juvenal;" which came out in May this year, and burst forth with a splendour, the rays of which will for ever encircle his name. Boileau had imitated the same satire with great success, applying it to Paris; but an attentive comparison will satisfy every reader, that he is much excelled by the English Juvenal.¹ Oldham had also imitated it, and applied it to London; all which performances concur to prove, that great cities, in every age, and in every country, will furnish similar topics of satire. Whether Johnson had previously read Oldham's imitation I do not know; but it is not a little remarkable, that there is scarcely any coincidence found between the two performances, though upon the very same subject. The only instances are, in describing London as the *sink* of foreign worthlessness:—

— "the common shore,
Where France does all her filth and ordure pour."
OLDHAM.

"The common shore of Paris and of Rome."
JOHNSON.

And,

"No calling or profession comes amiss,
A needy monsieur can be what he please."
OLDHAM.

"All sciences a *fasting monsieur* knows."
JOHNSON.

The particulars which Oldham has collected, both as exhibiting the horrors of London, and of the times, contrasted with better days, are different from those of Johnson, and in general well chosen, and well expressed.²

¹ It is hardly fair to compare the poems in this antagonist way: Boileau's was a mere *badinage*, complaining of, or rather laughing at, the *personal* dangers and inconveniences of Paris. Johnson's main object, like Juvenal's, was to satirise gravely the *moral* depravity of an overgrown city. — CROKER.

² I own it pleased me to find amongst them one trait of the manners of the age in London, in the last century, to

There are in Oldham's imitation, many prosaic verses and bad rhymes, and his poem sets out with a strange inadvertent blunder:—

"Though much concern'd to leave my old dear friend,
I must, however, his design commend
Of fixing in the country."

It is plain he was not going to leave his friend; his friend was going to leave him. A young lady at once corrected this with good critical sagacity, to

"Though much concern'd to lose my old dear friend."

There is one passage in the original better transfused by Oldham than by Johnson:—

"*Nil habet infelix paupertas durius in se,
Quàm quod ridiculos homines facit* —"

which is an exquisite remark on the galling meanness and contempt annexed to poverty. Johnson's imitation is,—

"Of all the griefs that harass the distressed,
Sure the most bitter is a scornful jest."

Oldham's, though less elegant, is more just,—

"Nothing in poverty so ill is borne,
As its exposing men to grinning scorn."

Where or in what manner this poem was composed, I am sorry that I neglected to ascertain with precision from Johnson's own authority. He has marked upon his corrected copy of the first edition of it, "Written in 1738;" and, as it was published in the month of May in that year, it is evident that much time was not employed in preparing it for the press. The history of its publication I am enabled to give in a very satisfactory manner; and judging from myself, and many of my friends, I trust that it will not be uninteresting to my readers.

We may be certain, though it is not expressly named in the following letters to Mr. Cave, in 1738, that they all relate to it:—

JOHNSON TO CAVE.

"Castle Street, Wednesday Morning, [March, 1738.]
SIR, — When I took the liberty of writing to you a few days ago, I did not expect a repetition of this same pleasure so soon; for a pleasure I shall always think it, to converse in any manner with an ingenious and candid man: but having the enclosed poem in my hands to dispose of for the benefit of the author (of whose abilities I shall say nothing, since I send you his performance), I believe I could not procure more advantageous terms from

shield from the sneer of English ridicule, what was, some time ago, too common a practice in my native city of Edinburgh!

"If what I've said can't from the town affright,
Consider other dangers of the night;
When brickbats are from upper stories thrown,
And emptied chamberpots come pouring down
From garret windows." — BOSWELL.

any person than from you, who have so much distinguished yourself by your generous encouragement of poetry; and whose judgment of that art nothing but your commendation of my trifle¹ can give me any occasion to call in question. I do not doubt but you will look over this poem with another eye, and reward it in a different manner from a mercenary bookseller, who counts the lines he is to purchase, and considers nothing but the bulk. I cannot help taking notice, that, besides what the author may hope for on account of his abilities, he has likewise another claim to your regard, as he lies at present under very disadvantageous circumstances of fortune. I beg, therefore, that you will favour me with a letter to-morrow, that I may know what you can afford to allow him, that he may either part with it to you, or find out (which I do not expect) some other way more to his satisfaction.

"I have only to add, that as I am sensible I have transcribed it very coarsely, which, after having altered it, I was obliged to do, I will, if you please to transmit the sheets from the press, correct it for you; and take the trouble of altering any stroke of satire which you may dislike.

"By exerting on this occasion your usual generosity, you will not only encourage learning, and relieve distress, but (though it be in comparison of the other motives of very small account) oblige, in a very sensible manner, Sir, your very humble servant,
"SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO CAVE.

"Monday, No. 6. Castle Street. [March, 1738.]

"Sir, — I am to return you thanks for the present² you were so kind as to send by me, and to entreat that you will be pleased to inform me, by the penny-post, whether you resolve to print the poem. If you please to send it me by the post, with a note to Dodsley, I will go and read the lines to him, that we may have his consent to put his name in the title-page. As to the printing, if it can be set immediately about, I will be so much the author's friend, as not to content myself with mere solicitations in his favour. I propose, if my calculation be near the truth, to engage for the reimbursement of all that you shall lose by an impression of five hundred; provided, as you very generously propose, that the profit, if any, be set aside for the author's use, excepting the present you made, which, if he be a gainer, it is fit he should repay. I beg that you will let one of your servants write an exact account of the expense of such an impression, and send it with the poem, that I may know what I engage for. I am very

sensible, from your generosity on this occasion, of your regard to learning, even in its unhappiest state; and cannot but think such a temper deserving of the gratitude of those who suffer so often from a contrary disposition. I am, Sir, your most humble servant,
"SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO CAVE.

[April, 1738.]

"Sir, — I waited on you to take the copy to Dodsley's: as I remember the number of lines which it contains, it will be no longer than Eugenio³, with the quotations, which must be subjoined at the bottom of the page; part of the beauty of the performance (if any beauty be allowed it) consisting in adapting Juvenal's sentiments to modern facts and persons. It will, with those additions, very conveniently make five sheets. And since the expense will be no more, I shall contentedly insure it, as I mentioned in my last. If it be not therefore gone to Dodsley's, I beg it may be sent me by the penny-post, that I may have it in the evening. I have composed a Greek epigram to Eliza⁴, and think she ought to be celebrated in as many different languages as Lewis le Grand. Pray send me word when you will begin upon the poem, for it is a long way to walk. I would leave my Epigram, but have not daylight to transcribe it. I am, Sir, yours, &c.

"SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO CAVE.

[April, 1738.]

"Sir, — I am extremely obliged by your kind letter, and will not fail to attend you to-morrow with Irene, who looks upon you as one of her best friends.

"I was to-day with Mr. Dodsley, who declares very warmly in favour of the paper you sent him, which he desires to have a share in, it being, as he says, a *credible thing to be concerned in*. I knew not what answer to make till I had consulted you, nor what to demand on the author's part; but am very willing that, if you please, he should have a part in it, as he will undoubtedly be more diligent to disperse and promote it. If you can send me word to-morrow what I shall say to him, I will settle matters, and bring the poem with me for the press, which, as the town empties, we cannot be too quick with. I am, Sir, yours, &c.

"SAM. JOHNSON."

To us who have long known the manly force, bold spirit, and masterly versification of this poem, it is a matter of curiosity to observe the diffidence with which its author brought it forward into public notice, while he is so cautious as not to avow it to be his own produc-

¹ No doubt the Ode "*Ad Urbanum*," the publication of which, in March 1738, and that of *London* in May, fix the date of this and the following interesting letters. — CROKER.

² Though Cave hesitated about printing the poem, he seems to have relieved the pressing wants of the author by a present. — CROKER.

³ A poem, published in 1737, of which see an account, *post*, under April 30. 1773. — BOSWELL.

⁴ The learned Mrs. Elizabeth Carter. This lady, of whom frequent mention will be found in these Memoirs, was daughter of Nicholas Carter, D.D. She [was born at Deal in 1717, and] died, in Clarges Street, February 19. 1806, in her eighty-ninth year. — MALONE. Her early acquaintance with Johnson is thus noticed by her nephew and biographer:

"Mr. Cave was the means of introducing her to many authors and scholars of note; among those was Dr. Johnson. This was early in his life, and his name was then but beginning to be known, having just published his celebrated *Imitation of the Third Satire of Juvenal*, under the name of *London*. Neither this work nor his general character were as yet much known in the country; for Dr. Carter, in a letter to his daughter, dated June 25. 1738, says: 'You mention Johnson; but that is a name with which I am utterly unacquainted. Neither his scholastic, critical, nor poetical character ever reached my ears. I a little suspect his judgment, if he is *very fond of Martial*.' Their friendship continued as long as Johnson lived." *Pennington's Life of Mrs. Carter*, p. 39. — CROKER.

tion; and with what humility he offers to allow the printer to "alter any stroke of satire which he might dislike." That any such alteration was made, we do not know. If we did, we could not but feel an indignant regret; but how painful is it to see that a writer of such vigorous powers of mind was actually in such distress, that the small profit which so short a poem, however excellent, could yield, was courted as a "relief!"

It has been generally said, I know not with what truth, that Johnson offered his "London" to several booksellers, none of whom would purchase it. To this circumstance Mr. Derrick¹ alludes in the following lines of his "Fortune, a Rhapsody:"—

"Will no kind patron Johnson own?
Shall Johnson friendless range the town?
And every publisher refuse
The offspring of his happy muse?"

But we have seen that the worthy, modest, and ingenious Mr. Robert Dodsley² had taste enough to perceive its uncommon merit, and thought it creditable to have a share in it. The fact is, that, at a future conference, he bargained for the whole property of it, for which he gave Johnson ten guineas, who told me, "I might, perhaps, have accepted of less; but that Paul Whitehead had a little before got ten guineas for a poem, and I would not take less than Paul Whitehead."

I may here observe, that Johnson appeared to me to undervalue Paul Whitehead upon every occasion when he was mentioned, and, in my opinion, did not do him justice; but when it is considered that Paul Whitehead was a member of a riotous and profane club³, we

may account for Johnson's having a prejudice against him. Paul Whitehead was, indeed, unfortunate in being not only slighted by Johnson, but violently attacked by Churchill, who utters the following imprecation:—

"May I (can worse disgrace on manhood fall?)
Be born a Whitehead, and baptized a Paul!"

yet I shall never be persuaded to think meanly of the author of so brilliant and pointed a satire as "Manners."⁴

Johnson's "London" was published in May, 1738⁵; and it is remarkable, that it came out on the same morning with Pope's satire, entitled "1738:" so that England had at once its Juvenal and Horace as poetical monitors. The Rev. Dr. Douglas⁶, now Bishop of Salisbury, to whom I am indebted for some obliging communications, was then a student at Oxford, and remembers well the effect which "London" produced. Every body was delighted with it; and there being no name to it, the first buzz of the literary circles was, "Here is an unknown poet, greater even than Pope." And it is recorded in the "Gentleman's Magazine" of that year, p. 269., that it "got to the second edition in the course of a week."

One of the warmest patrons of this poem on its first appearance was General Oglethorpe, whose "strong benevolence of soul" was unabated during the course of a very long life; though it is painful to think, that he had but too much reason to become cold and callous, and discontented with the world, from the neglect which he experienced of his public and private worth, by those in whose power it was to gratify so gallant a veteran with marks of distinction.⁷ This extraordinary person was as

¹ Samuel Derrick, a native of Ireland, was born in 1724. He was apprenticed to a linen-draper, but abandoned that calling, first, for the stage, where he soon failed, and then for the trade of literature, in which he is forgotten. Johnson had "a great kindness" for him, and he was Boswell's "first tutor in the ways of London." In 1761, he succeeded Beau Nash as master of the ceremonies at Bath, but his extravagance and irregularities always kept him poor. He died in 1769.—CROKER.

² Robert Dodsley was born in 1703. He had been a livery-servant, but wrote some poems and plays, and became an eminent bookseller and publisher. He died in 1764.—CROKER.

³ Dr. Croker imagined that the club alluded to in the text was "the Beef Steak Club, held in Covent Garden Theatre, and consisting of an heterogeneous mixture of peers, poets, and players,"—he might have added, *princes*. But this jovial club, which still exists, by no means deserves the character given in the text, and there can be no doubt that Boswell meant a dissolute and blasphemous association which called itself the *Monks of Melnham Abbey*, of which Lord Le Despencer, Wilkes, and this Paul Whitehead were leading members. Whitehead died in 1774, bequeathing his heart to his patron, Lord Le Despencer, who deposited it in a mausoleum in his garden, at High Wycombe.—CROKER, 1846.

⁴ In the printed and MS. catalogues of the British Museum "Manners" is strangely attributed to William Whitehead.—CROKER.

⁵ Sir John Hawkins, p. 86., tells us, "The event (Savage's retirement) is *antedated* in the poem of 'London;' but in every particular, except the difference of a year, what is there said of the departure of *Thales* must be understood of Savage, and looked upon as *true history*." This conjecture is, I believe, entirely groundless. I have been assured that Johnson said he was not so much acquainted with Savage when he wrote his "London." If the departure mentioned in it was the departure of Savage, the event was not *antedated*

but *foreseen*; for *London* was published in May, 1738, and Savage did not set out for Wales till July, 1739. However well Johnson could defend the credibility of *second sight*, [poet, 24 Mar. 1775,] he did not pretend that he himself was possessed of that faculty.—BOSWELL. Notwithstanding these proofs, the identity of Savage and *Thales* has been repeated by all the biographers, and has obtained general vogue. It is therefore worth while to add the decisive fact, that if *Thales* had been Savage, Johnson could never have admitted into his poem two lines that point so forcibly at the drunken fray, in which Savage stabbed a Mr. Sinclair, for which he was convicted of murder:—

"Some frolic drunkard, reeling from a feast,
Provokes a broil, and stabs you in a jest."

Mr. Murphy endeavours to reconcile the difficulties by supposing that Savage's retirement was in contemplation eighteen months before it was carried into effect; but even if this were true (which is very improbable), it would not alter the *facts*—that *London* was written before Johnson knew Savage; and that one of the severest strokes in the satire touched Savage's sorest point.—CROKER.

⁶ Dr. John Douglas was a Scotchman by birth, but educated at St. Mary Hall and Balliol College, Oxford, (M.A. 1743, D.D. 1758,) and owed his first promotions to Lord Bath (to whose son he had been tutor), and his literary reputation to his detection of Lauder. He was made Bishop of Carlisle in 1788, and translated to Salisbury in 1791, in which see he died in 1807.—CROKER.

⁷ James Edward Oglethorpe, born in 1698, was admitted of C. C. C. Oxford in 1714; but he soon after entered the army, and served under Prince Eugene against the Turks, and in after life used to affect to talk slightly of the great Duke of Marlborough. His activity in settling the colony of Georgia obtained for him the immortality of Pope's celebrated Panegyric:—

"One, driven by strong benevolence of soul,
Shall fly, like Oglethorpe, from pole to pole."

remarkable for his learning and taste, as for his other eminent qualities; and no man was more prompt, active, and generous, in encouraging merit. I have heard Johnson gratefully acknowledge, in his presence, the kind and effectual support which he gave to his "London," though unacquainted with its author.

Pope, who then filled the poetical throne without a rival, it may reasonably be presumed, must have been particularly struck by the sudden appearance of such a poet; and to his credit let it be remembered, that his feelings and conduct on the occasion were candid and liberal. He requested Mr. Richardson¹, son of the painter, to endeavour to find out who this new author was. Mr. Richardson, after some enquiry, having informed him that he had discovered only that his name was Johnson, and that he was some obscure man, Pope said, "He will soon be *déterré*." We shall presently see, from a note written by Pope, that he was himself afterwards more successful in his enquiries than his friend.

That in this justly-celebrated poem may be found a few rhymes which the critical precision of English prosody at this day would disallow cannot be denied; but with this small imperfection, which in the general blaze of its excellence is not perceived, till the mind has subsided into cool attention, it is, undoubtedly, one of the noblest productions in our language, both for sentiment and expression. The nation was then in that ferment against the court and the ministry, which some years after ended in the downfall of Sir Robert Walpole; and it has been said, that Tories are Whigs when out of place, and Whigs Tories when in place; so, as a Whig administration ruled with what force it could, a Tory opposition had all the animation and all the eloquence of resistance to power, aided by the common topics of patriotism, liberty, and independence! Accordingly, we find in Johnson's "London" the most spirited invectives against tyranny and oppression, the warmest predilection for his own country, and

the purest love of virtue; interspersed with traits of his own particular character and situation, not omitting his prejudices as a "true-born Englishman,"³ not only against foreign countries, but against Ireland and Scotland. On some of these topics I shall quote a few passages:—

"The cheated nation's happy fav'rites see;
Mark whom the great caress, who frown on me."

"Has heaven reserv'd, in pity to the poor,
No pathless waste, or undiscover'd shore?
No secret island in the boundless main?
No peaceful desert yet unclaim'd by Spain?
Quick let us rise, the happy seats explore,
And bear Oppression's insolence no more."

"How, when competitors like these contend,
Can surly *Virtue* hope to find a friend?"

"This mournful truth is every where confess'd,
SLOW RISES WORTH, BY POVERTY DEPRESS'D!"

We may easily conceive with what feeling a great mind like his, cramped and galled by narrow circumstances, uttered this last line, which he marked by capitals. The whole of the poem is eminently excellent, and there are in it such proofs of a knowledge of the world, and of a mature acquaintance with life, as cannot be contemplated without wonder, when we consider that he was then only in his twenty-ninth year, and had yet been so little in the "busy haunts of men."⁴

Yet while we admire the poetical excellence of this poem, candour obliges us to allow, that the flame of patriotism and zeal for popular resistance with which it is fraught had no just cause. There was, in truth, no "oppression;" the "nation" was not "cheated." Sir Robert Walpole was a wise and a benevolent minister, who thought that the happiness and prosperity of a commercial country like ours would be best promoted by peace, which he accordingly maintained with credit, during a very long period. Johnson himself afterwards [Oct. 21. 1773] honestly acknowledged the merit of Walpole, whom he called "a fixed star;" while he

In 1745 he was promoted to the rank of Major-General, and had a command during the Scotch Rebellion, in the course of which he was, to say the best of it, unfortunate. Though acquitted by a court of enquiry, he never was afterwards employed. He sat in five or six parliaments, and was there considered as a high Tory, if not a Jacobite: to this may, perhaps, be referred most of the particulars of his history—his dislike of the Duke of Marlborough—the praises of Pope—his partiality towards Johnson's political poetry—the suspicion of not having done his best against the rebels—and the "neglect" of the court. He died 30th June, 1785. C. 1831. I find in Mr. Knox's "*Extra-official State Papers*" the following passage on Oglethorpe's military character: "Nothing is more easy than for a military commander at a distance from home to acquire a high reputation for skill and valour, if he happens to be connected with an Opposition who never fail to puff off his exploits, while the ministers, for their own sakes, are silent on his misconduct—so it fared with Oglethorpe." (Vol. ii. p. 15.)—CROKER, 1846.

¹ There were three Richardsons known at this period in the literary world: 1st, Jonathan the elder, usually called the Painter, though he was an author as well as a painter; he died in 1745, aged 80: 2d, Jonathan the younger, who is the person mentioned in the text, who also painted, though

not as a profession, and who published several works; he died in 1771, aged 77: 3d, Samuel, the author of the celebrated novels. He was by trade a printer, and had the good sense to continue, during the height of his fame, his attention to his business. He died in 1761, aged 72.—CROKER.

² Sir Joshua Reynolds, from the information of the younger Richardson.—BOSWELL.

³ It is, however, remarkable, that he uses the epithets which undoubtedly, since the union between England and Scotland, ought to denominate the natives of both parts of our island:—

"Was early taught a *Briton's* right to prize."—BOSWELL.

⁴ What follows will show that Boswell himself was of opinion that "LONDON" was dictated rather by youthful feeling, somewhat inflamed by the political frenzy of the times, than by any "knowledge of the world," or any "mature acquaintance with life." It is remarkable that Johnson, who was, in all his latter age, the most constant and enthusiastic admirer of London, should have begun life with this bitter and yet, on some topics, common-place invective against it. The truth is, he cared comparatively little about the real merits or defects of the minister or the metropolis, and only thought how best to make his poem sell.—CROKER

characterised his opponent, Pitt, as "a meteor." But Johnson's juvenile poem was naturally impregnated with the fire of opposition, and upon every account was universally admired.

Though thus elevated into fame, and conscious of uncommon powers, he had not that bustling confidence, or, I may rather say, that animated ambition, which one might have supposed would have urged him to endeavour at rising in life. But such was his inflexible dignity of character, that he could not stoop to court the great; without which, hardly any man has made his way to a high station.¹ He could not expect to produce many such works as his "London," and he felt the hardships of writing for bread; he was therefore willing to resume the office of a schoolmaster, so as to have a sure, though moderate, income for his life; and an offer being made to him of the mastership of a school², provided he could obtain the degree of Master of Arts, Dr. Adams was applied to, by a common friend, to know whether that could be granted him as a favour from the University of Oxford. But though he had made such a figure in the literary world, it was then thought too great a favour to be asked.

Pope, without any knowledge of him but from his "London," recommended him to Earl

Gower³, who endeavoured to procure for him a degree from Dublin, by the following letter to a friend of Dean Swift:—

LORD GOWER TO—

"Trentham, Aug. 1. 1739.

"SIR,—Mr. Samuel Johnson (author of *London*, a satire, and some other poetical pieces,) is a native of this county, and much respected by some worthy gentlemen in his neighbourhood, who are trustees of a charity-school now vacant; the certain salary is sixty pounds a year, of which they are desirous to make him master; but, unfortunately, he is not capable of receiving their bounty, which *would make him happy for life*. by not being a *master of arts*; which, by the statutes of this school, the master of it must be.

"Now these gentlemen do me the honour to think that I have interest enough in you, to prevail upon you to write to Dean Swift, to persuade the University of Dublin to send a diploma to me, constituting this poor man master of arts in their University. They highly extol the man's learning and probity; and will not be persuaded, that the University will make any difficulty of conferring such a favour upon a stranger, if he is recommended by the Dean. They say, he is not afraid of the strictest examination, though he is of so long a journey; and will venture it, if the Dean thinks

¹ This seems to be an erroneous and mischievous assertion. If Mr. Boswell, by '*stooping to court the great*,' means base flatteries and unworthy compliances, then it may be safely asserted that such arts (whatever small successes they may have had) are not those by which men have risen to *high stations*. Look at the instances of elevation to be found in Mr. Boswell's own work—Lord Chatham, Lord Mansfield, Mr. Burke, Mr. Hamilton, Sir William Jones, Lord Loughborough, Lord Thurlow, Lord Stowell, and so many dignitaries of the law and the church, in whose society Dr. Johnson passed his later days—with what can *they* be charged which would have disgraced Johnson? Boswell, it may be suspected, wrote this under some little personal disappointment in his own courtship of the great, which, as we shall see, often tinges his narrative. Johnson's own opinions on this point will be found under *Feb. 1766*, and *Sept. 1777*.—CROKER.

² In a billet written by Mr. Pope in the following year, this school is said to have been in *Shropshire*; but as it appears from a letter from Earl Gower, that the trustees of it were "some worthy gentlemen in Johnson's neighbourhood," I in my first edition suggested that Pope must have, by mistake, written *Shropshire*, instead of *Staffordshire*. But I have since been obliged to Mr. Spearing, attorney-at-law, for the following information:—"William Adams, formerly citizen and haberdasher of London, founded a school at Newport, in the county of Salop, by deed dated 27th of November, 1656, by which he granted the yearly sum of *sixty pounds* to such able and learned schoolmaster, from time to time, being of godly life and conversation, who should have been educated at one of the Universities of Oxford or Cambridge, and had taken the degree of *Master of Arts*, and was well read in the Greek and Latin tongues, as should be nominated from time to time by the said William Adams, during his life, and after the decease of the said William Adams by the governors (namely, the Master and Wardens of the Haberdashers' Company of the city of London) and their successors." The manor and lands out of which the revenues for the maintenance of the school were to issue are situate at *Knigh-ton* and *Adbaston* in the county of *Stafford*." From the foregoing account of this foundation, particularly the circumstances of the salary being sixty pounds, and the degree of Master of Arts being a requisite qualification in the teacher, it seemed probable that this was the school in contemplation; and that Lord Gower erroneously supposed that the gentlemen who possessed the lands, out of which the revenues issued, were trustees of the charity.

Such was the probable conjecture. But in the "Gentleman's Magazine" for May, 1793, there is a letter from Mr. Henn one of the masters of the school of Appleby, in Leicestershire, in which he writes as follows:—

"I compared time and circumstance together, in order to

discover whether the school in question might not be this of Appleby. Some of the trustees at that period were 'worthy gentlemen of the neighbourhood of Lichfield.' Appleby itself is not far from the neighbourhood of Lichfield: the salary, the degree requisite, together with the *time of election*, all agreeing with the statutes of Appleby. The election, as said in the letter, 'could not be delayed longer than the 11th of next month,' which was the 11th of September, just three months after the annual audit-day of Appleby School, which is always on the 11th of June; and the statutes enjoin, *ne alius præceptorum electio diutius tribus mensibus moraretur*, &c.

"These I thought to be convincing proofs that my conjecture was not ill-founded, and that, in a future edition of that book, the circumstance might be recorded as fact.

"But what banishes every shadow of doubt is the *Minute Book* of the school, which declares the head mastership to be at that time VACANT."

I cannot omit returning thanks to this learned gentleman for the very handsome manner in which he has in that letter been so good as to speak of this work.—BOSWELL.

Sir John Hawkins had already stated the school to have been *Appleby*, but Mr. Boswell was reluctant to have any obligation to his rival.—CROKER.

³ At this time only Lord Gower. It seems not easy to reconcile Lord Gower's and Pope's letters, and Mr. Boswell's account of this transaction. Lord Gower's letter says that it is written at the request of some *Staffordshire* neighbours. Nothing more natural. He does not even allude to Pope; and certainly it would have been most extraordinary that Pope, the dearest friend of Swift, should solicit Lord Gower to ask a favour of the Dean. The more natural supposition would be, that Lord Gower's letter was addressed to Pope himself; but Pope says (see *post*, p. 41.) that he wrote unsolicited to Lord Gower in Johnson's favour for a school in *Shropshire*; but did not succeed. He makes no allusion to Swift, or the Master's degree. Lord Gower's letter was first published with the date of 1737, then with that of 1738, and, finally, as of 1739. The first of these dates is clearly wrong; the latter, I suppose, has been assigned from that of Pope's note, which must have been subsequent to May, 1739; but that note does not say how long before it was written the application to Lord Gower had been made. In short, I cannot reconcile these discrepancies, but by the unsatisfactory conjecture that Pope had applied in the first instance to Lord Gower; that Lord Gower was willing to assist Johnson, but was met by the difficulty about the degree of A.M.; and that then it was arranged that his Lordship should write to Pope such a letter as he could transmit to Swift. The matter is in itself of no importance, except as it might explain Johnson's strong dislike both of Lord Gower and Dean Swift; which may have arisen from some misapprehension of their share in this *disappointment*.—CROKER.

it necessary; choosing rather to die upon the road, *than be starved to death in translating for book-sellers*; which has been his only subsistence for some time past.

"I fear there is more difficulty in this affair than those good-natured gentlemen apprehend; especially as their election cannot be delayed longer than the eleventh of next month. If you see this matter in the same light that it appears to me, I hope you will burn this, and pardon me for giving you so much trouble about an impracticable thing; but, if you think there is a probability of obtaining the favour asked, I am sure your humanity, and propensity to relieve merit in distress, will incline you to serve the poor man, without my adding any more to the trouble I have already given you, than assuring you that I am, with great truth, Sir, your faithful servant, GOWER."

It was, perhaps, no small disappointment to Johnson that this respectable application had not the desired effect; yet how much reason has there been, both for himself and his country, to rejoice that it did not succeed, as he might probably have wasted in obscurity those hours in which he afterwards produced his incomparable works.

About this time he made one other effort to emancipate himself from the drudgery of authorship. He applied to Dr. Adams, to consult Dr. Smalbroke¹ of the Commons, whether a person might be permitted to practise as an advocate there, without a doctor's degree in civil law. "I am," said he, "a total stranger to these studies; but whatever is a profession, and maintains numbers, must be within the reach of common abilities, and some degree of industry." Dr. Adams was much pleased with Johnson's design to employ his talents in that manner, being confident he would have attained to great eminence. And, indeed, I cannot conceive a man better qualified to make a distinguished figure as a lawyer; for he would have brought to his profession a rich store of various knowledge, an uncommon acuteness, and a command of language, in which few could have equalled, and none have surpassed him. He who could display eloquence and wit in defence of the decision of the House of Commons upon Mr. Wilkes's election for Middlesex, and of the unconstitutional taxation of our fellow-subjects in America, must have been a powerful advocate in any cause. But here, also, the want of a degree was an insurmountable bar.

He was, therefore, under the necessity of

persevering in that course, into which he had been forced; and we find that his proposal from Greenwich to Mr. Cave, for a translation of Father Paul Sarpi's History, was accepted.²

Some sheets of this translation were printed off, but the design was dropped; for it happened oddly enough, that another person of the name of Samuel Johnson, librarian of St. Martin's in the Fields, and curate of that parish, engaged in the same undertaking, and was patronised by the clergy, particularly by Dr. Pearce, afterwards Bishop of Rochester. Several light skirmishes passed between the rival translators, in the newspapers of the day; and the consequence was that they destroyed each other, for neither of them went on with the work. It is much to be regretted, that the able performance of that celebrated genius Fra Paolo, lost the advantage of being incorporated into British literature by the masterly hand of Johnson.

I have in my possession, by the favour of Mr. John Nichols, a paper in Johnson's handwriting, entitled "Account between Mr. Edward Cave and Samuel Johnson, in relation to a version of Father Paul, &c., begun August the 2d, 1738;" by which it appears, that from that day to the 21st of April, 1739, Johnson received for this work 49*l.* 7*s.* in sums of one, two, three, and sometimes four guineas at a time, most frequently two. And it is curious to observe the minute and scrupulous accuracy with which Johnson had pasted upon it a slip of paper, which he has entitled "Small account," and which contains one article, "Sept. 9th, Mr. Cave laid down 2*s.* 6*d.*" There is subjoined to this account, a list of some subscribers to the work, partly in Johnson's handwriting, partly in that of another person; and there follows a leaf or two on which are written a number of characters which have the appearance of a short-hand, which, perhaps, Johnson was then trying to learn.

JOHNSON TO CAVE.

"Wednesday. [Aug. or Sept. 1738.]

"SIR,—I did not care to detain your servant while I wrote an answer to your letter, in which you seem to insinuate that I had promised more than I am ready to perform. If I have raised your expectations by any thing that may have escaped my memory, I am sorry; and if you remind me of it, shall thank you for the favour. If I made fewer alterations than usual in the Debates, it was only because there appeared, and still ap-

¹ Richard Smalbroke, LL.D., second son of Bishop Smalbroke, whose family were long connected with Lichfield, died the senior member of the College of Advocates. — CROKER.

² In the Weekly Miscellany, Oct. 21. 1738, there appeared the following advertisement:—

"Just published, Proposals for printing the History of the Council of Trent, translated from the Italian of Father Paul Sarpi; with the Author's Life, and Notes theological, historical, and critical, from the French edition of Dr. Le Courayer. To which are added, Observations on the History, and Notes and Illustrations from various Authors, both printed and manuscript. By S. Johnson. 1. The work will consist of two hundred sheets, and be two volumes in quarto,

printed on good paper and letter. 2. The price will be 1*l.* 8*s.* each volume, to be paid half a guinea at the delivery of the first volume, and the rest at the delivery of the second volume in sheets. Two-pence to be abated for every sheet less than two hundred. It may be had on a large paper, in three volumes, at the price of three guineas; one to be paid at the time of subscribing, another at the delivery of the first, and the rest at the delivery of the other volumes. The work is now in the press, and will be diligently prosecuted. Subscriptions are taken in by Mr. Dodsley in Pall Mall, Mr. Rivington in St. Paul's Church Yard, by E. Cave at St. John's gate, and the Translator, at No. 6. in Castle Street, by Cavenish Square." — BOSWELL.

pears to be, less need of alteration. The verses to Lady Firebrace¹ may be had when you please, for you know that such a subject neither deserves much thought nor requires it.

"The Chinese Stories² may be had folded down when you please to send, in which I do not recollect that you desired any alterations to be made.

"An answer to another query I am very willing to write, and had consulted with you about it last night, if there had been time; for I think it the most proper way of inviting such a correspondence as may be an advantage to the paper, not a load upon it.

"As to the Prize Verses, a backwardness to determine their degrees of merit is not peculiar to me. You may, if you please, still have what I can say; but I shall engage with little spirit in an affair, which I shall *hardly* end to my own satisfaction, and *certainly* not to the satisfaction of the parties concerned.³

"As to Father Paul, I have not yet been just to my proposal, but have met with impediments, which, I hope, are now at an end; and if you find the progress hereafter not such as you have a right to expect, you can easily stimulate a negligent translator.

"If any or all of these have contributed to your discontent, I will endeavour to remove it; and desire you to propose the question to which you wish for an answer. I am, Sir, your humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO CAVE.

[Sept. 1738.]

"SIR,—I am pretty much of your opinion, that the Commentary cannot be prosecuted with any appearance of success; for as the names of the authors concerned are of more weight in the performance than its own intrinsic merit, the public will be soon satisfied with it. And I think the Examen should be pushed forward with the utmost expedition. Thus, 'This day, &c. an Examen of Mr. Pope's Essay, &c.; containing a succinct Account of the Philosophy of Mr. Leibnitz on the System of the Fatalists, with a Confutation of their Opinions, and an Illustration of the Doctrine of Free Will' (with what else you think proper).

"It will, above all, be necessary to take notice, that it is a thing distinct from the Commentary.

"I was so far from imagining they stood still⁴,

that I conceived them to have a good deal beforehand, and therefore was less anxious in providing them more. But if ever they stand still on my account, it must, doubtless, be charged to me; and whatever else shall be reasonable, I shall not oppose; but beg a suspense of judgment till morning, when I must entreat you to send me a dozen proposals⁵, and you shall then have copy to spare. I am, Sir, yours, *inpransus*, SAM. JOHNSON."

"Pray muster up the proposals if you can, or let the boy recall them from the booksellers."

But although he corresponded with Mr. Cave concerning a *translation* of Crousaz's Examen of Pope's "Essay on Man," and gave advice as one anxious for its success, I was long ago convinced by a perusal of the Preface, that *this translation* was erroneously ascribed to him; and I have found this point ascertained, beyond all doubt, by the following article in Dr. Birch's manuscripts in the British Museum:—

"Elisæ Carteræ, S. P. D. Thomas Birch. Versionem tuam Examinis Crousaziani jam perlegi. Summam styli et elegantiam, et in re difficillima proprietatem, admiratus. Dabam Novemb. 27^o. 1738."⁶

Indeed, Mrs. Carter has lately acknowledged to Mr. Seward, that she was the translator of the "Examen."

It is remarkable, that Johnson's last quoted letter to Mr. Cave concludes with a fair confession that he had not a dinner; and it is no less remarkable that, though in this state of want himself, his benevolent heart was not insensible to the necessities of an humble labourer in literature, as appears from the very next letter:—

JOHNSON TO CAVE.

[No date.]

"DEAR SIR,—You may remember I have formerly talked with you about a military Dictionary. The eldest Mr. Macbean⁷, who was with Mr. Chambers, has very good materials for such a work, which I have seen, and will do it at a very low rate.⁸ I think the terms of war and navigation might be comprised, with good explanations, in one 8vo. pica, which he is willing to do for twelve shillings a sheet, to be made up a guinea at the

¹ They appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of Sept. 1738, with this title:—"Verses to Lady F——, at Bury Assizes."—BOSWELL.

It seems quite unintelligible how these six silly lines should be the production of Johnson; the last of them is—

"Thou seem'st at once, bright Nymph, a Muse and Grace!"

This "*Nymph, Muse, and Grace*" was a widow Evers, who, in the preceding November, had, at the age of 38, re-married Sir Cordell Firebrace. She subsequently married Mr. Campbell, uncle to the Duke of Argyll, and died in 1782. The Peerage, into which her alliance with Mr. Campbell has introduced her, quotes Dr. Johnson as evidence of her *beauty*. Johnson, I suppose, never saw her; the lines (if his at all) were made, we see, to order, and probably paid for.—CROKER.

² Du Halde's Description of China was then publishing by Mr. Cave, in weekly numbers, whence Johnson was to select pieces for the embellishment of the Magazine.—NICHOLS.

³ The premium of forty pounds proposed for the best poem on the Divine Attributes is here alluded to.—NICHOLS.

⁴ The compositors in the printing-office, who waited for copy.—NICHOLS.

⁵ As Johnson seems to ask for these *proposals*, as affording him a pecuniary resource, they must have been the proposals for the large paper of the translation of Father Paul, for which, as we have just seen, one guinea was payable at the time of subscribing.—CROKER.

⁶ Birch MSS. Brit. Mus. 4323.—BOSWELL. There is no doubt that Miss Carter was the translator of the *Examen*, but Johnson seems to have been busy with another work of the same author on the same subject—"a distinct thing," as he calls it—viz. Crousaz's *Commentary* on the Abbé Besset's translation of the *Essay on Man*; an anonymous translation of which was published in 1741, and quoted in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1743.—CROKER.

⁷ See post, April 1781, and 26. June, 1738.—C.

⁸ This book was published.—BOSWELL.

second impression. If you think on it, I will wait on you with him. I am, Sir, your humble servant,
SAM. JOHNSON.

"Pray lend me Topsel on Animals."

I must not omit to mention, that this Mr. Macbean was a native of Scotland.¹

In the "Gentleman's Magazine" of this year, Johnson gave a Life of Father Paul*; and he wrote the Preface to the volume†, which, though prefixed to it when bound, is always published with the appendix, and is therefore the last composition belonging to it. The ability and nice adaptation with which he could draw up a prefatory address was one of his peculiar excellencies.

It appears, too, that he paid a friendly attention to Mrs. Elizabeth Carter; for in a letter from Mr. Cave to Dr. Birch, November 28. this year, I find "Mr. Johnson advises Miss C. to undertake a translation of *Boethius de Cons.*, because there is prose and verse, and to put her name to it when published." This advice was not followed; probably from an apprehension that the work was not sufficiently popular for an extensive sale. How well Johnson himself could have executed a translation of this philosophical poet we may judge from the following specimen, which he has given in the "Rambler" (*Motto to No. 7.*):—

"O qui perpetuâ mundum ratione gubernas,
Terrarum cœlique sator! —
Disjice terrena; nebulas et pondera molis,
Atque tuo splendore mica! Tu namque serenum,
Tu requies tranquilla piis. Te cernere finis,
Principium, vector, dux, semita, terminus, idem."

"O Thou whose power o'er moving worlds presides,
Whose voice created, and whose wisdom guides,
On darkling man in pure effulgence shine,
And cheer the clouded mind with light divine.
'Tis thine alone to calm the pious breast,
With silent confidence and holy rest;
From thee, great God! we spring, to thee we tend,
Path, motive, guide, original, and end!"

¹ Mr. Boswell is glad to record that Johnson's national prejudices did not prevent his employing and recommending a Scotchman; but I suspect Johnson's prejudice against the Scotch was of a later date. See *post*, p. 52, n. 1. — CROKER.

² Mr. Boswell here confounds the years 1738 and 1739. The Greek and Latin epigram to *Eliza* (Miss Carter) were in the Magazine for April 1738; and another in July to the same lady, on gathering laurels in Pope's garden, is no doubt his.

"Elysios Popi dum ludit læta per hortos,
En avida lauros caprit Elisa manu,
Nil opus est furto. Lauros tibi, dulcis Elisa,
Si neget optatas Popus, Apollo dabit."

"In Pope's Elysian scenes Eliza roves,
And spoils with greedy hands his laurel groves;
A needless theft — a laurel wreath to thee
Should Pope deny, Apollo would decree. — C.

Johnson may have accompanied his young friend to Twickenham, and witnessed the incident. The same year's Magazine also contains the celebrated Latin epigram (see *post*, p. 611) "To a Lady (Miss Maria Ashton) who spoke in Defence of Liberty," the nearest of Johnson's couplets.

Liber ut esse velim suasisti pulcra Maria.
Ut maneam liber, pulcra Maria vale!

"You wish me, fair Maria, to be free;
Then, fair Maria, I must fly from thee. — C.
and a Greek epigram to "Dr. Birch." I can find in the

In 1739, beside the assistance which he gave to the Parliamentary Debates, his writings in the "Gentleman's Magazine" were "The Life of Boerhaave,"* in which it is to be observed, that he discovers that love of chemistry which never forsook him; "An Appeal to the Public in Behalf of the Editor;"† "An Address to the Reader;"‡ "An Epigram both in Greek and Latin to Eliza" (2)*, and also English Verses to her (3)*; and "A Greek Epigram to Dr. Birch."* It has been erroneously supposed that an essay published in that Magazine this year, entitled "The Apotheosis of Milton," was written by Johnson; and on that supposition it has been improperly inserted in the edition of his works by the booksellers, after his decease. Were there no positive testimony as to this point, the style of the performance, and the name of Shakspeare not being mentioned in an Essay professedly reviewing the principal English poets, would ascertain it not to be the production of Johnson. But there is here no occasion to resort to internal evidence; for my Lord Bishop of Salisbury (Dr. Douglas) has assured me, that it was written by Guthrie. His separate publications were, "A Complete Vindication of the Licensers of the Stage, from the malicious and scandalous Aspersions of Mr. Brooke‡, Author of *Gustavus Vasa*,"* being an ironical attack upon them for their suppression of that Tragedy; and "Marmor Norfolciense"; or, an Essay on an ancient prophetic Inscription, in monkish Rhyme, lately discovered near Lynne, in Norfolk, by Probus Britannicus.* In this performance, he, in a feigned inscription, supposed to have been found in Norfolk, the county of Sir Robert Walpole, then the obnoxious prime minister of this country, inveighs against the Brunswick succession, and the measures of government consequent upon it. To this supposed prophecy he added a Commentary, making each expression apply to the times, with warm anti-Hanoverian zeal.

This anonymous pamphlet, I believe, did not

Magazine for 1739 but one copy of English verses to *Eliza*. They are in December, and signed Amasius, a signature used by Dr. Swan, the translator of Sydenham, and by Collins upon one occasion in the same magazine. — CROKER.

³ And, probably, the following Latin epigram to Dr. Birch:—

"IN BIRCHUM.

"Arte novâ rarâque fide perscripserat ausus
Birchius egregios claraque gesta virum.
Hunc oculis veri Fantrix lustravit acutis,
Et placido tandem hæc editit ore, Dea:
'Perge modo, atque tuas olim post funera laudes
Qui scribat meritas Birchius alter erit.'"

This is a version of his Greek epigram in the preceding Magazine, and he had followed his Greek epigram on *Eliza* with a Latin paraphrase in the same style as this. — CROKER.

⁴ Henry Brooke, the author of the celebrated novel of *The Fool of Quality*, was a native of Ireland. In 1738, his tragedy of *Gustavus Vasa* was rehearsed at Drury Lane; but, it being supposed to satirize Sir Robert Walpole, an order came from the Lord Chamberlain to prohibit its appearance. This, however, did Brooke no injury, as he was encouraged to publish the play by a subscription, which amounted to 800*l.* He died in 1783. — CROKER.

⁵ The mention of this pasquinade in Pope's undated note (p. 41.) makes it worth while to notice that it seems to have been printed in May, 1739. — CROKER.

make so much noise as was expected, and, therefore, had not a very extensive circulation. Sir John Hawkins relates, that "warrants were issued, and messengers employed to apprehend the author; who, though he had forborne to subscribe his name to the pamphlet, the vigilance of those in pursuit of him had discovered;" and we are informed, that he lay concealed in Lambeth-marsh till the scent after him grew cold. This, however, is altogether without foundation; for Mr. Steele, one of the Secretaries of the Treasury, who, amidst a variety of important business, politely obliged me with his attention to my enquiry, informed me, that "he directed every possible search to be made in the records of the Treasury and Secretary of State's Office, but could find no trace whatever of any warrant having been issued to apprehend the author of this pamphlet."

"Marmor Norfolciense" became exceedingly scarce, so that I, for many years, endeavoured in vain to procure a copy of it.¹ At last I was indebted to the malice of one of Johnson's numerous petty adversaries, who, in 1775, published a new edition of it, "with Notes and a Dedication to Samuel Johnson, LL.D., by Tribunus;" in which some puny scribbler invidiously attempted to found upon it a charge of inconsistency against its author, because he had accepted of a pension from his present Majesty, and had written in support of the measures of government. As a mortification to such impotent malice, of which there are so many instances towards men of eminence, I am happy to relate, that this *telum imbelles* did not reach its exalted object, till about a year after it thus appeared, when I mentioned it to him, supposing that he knew of the republication. To my surprise, he had not yet heard of it. He requested me to go directly and get it for him, which I did. He looked at it and laughed, and seemed to be much diverted with the feeble efforts of his unknown adversary, who, I hope, is alive to read this account.

"Now," said he, "here is somebody who thinks he has vexed me sadly; yet, if it had not been for you, you rogue, I should probably never have seen it."²

As Mr. Pope's note concerning Johnson, alluded to in a former page, refers both to his "London," and his "Marmor Norfolciense," I have deferred inserting it till now. I am indebted for it to Dr. Percy, the bishop of Dromore, who permitted me to copy it from the original in his possession. It was presented to his lordship by Sir Joshua Reynolds, to whom it was given by the son of Mr. Richardson the painter, the person to whom it is addressed. I have transcribed it with minute exactness, that the peculiar mode of writing, and imperfect spelling of that celebrated poet, may be exhibited to the curious in literature. It justifies Swift's epithet of "paper-sparing Pope,"³ for it is written on a slip no larger than a common message-card, and was sent to Mr. Richardson, along with the imitation of Juvenal.

"This is imitated by one Johnson who put in for a Public-school in Shropshire, but was disappointed. He has an infirmity of the convulsive kind, that attacks him sometimes, so as to make Him a sad Spectacle.⁴ Mr. P. from the merit of This Work which was all the knowledge he had of Him⁵ endeavour'd to serve Him without his own application; & wrote to my L^d. gore, but he did not succeed. Mr. Johnson published afterwards, another Poem in Latin with Notes the whole very Humorous call'd the Norfolk Prophecy. P."

Johnson had been told of this note; and Sir Joshua Reynolds informed him of the compliment which it contained, but, from delicacy, avoided showing him the paper itself. When Sir Joshua observed to Johnson that he seemed very desirous to see Pope's note, he answered, "Who would not be proud to have such a man as Pope so solicitous in inquiring about him?"

The infirmity to which Mr. Pope alludes, appeared to me also, as will be hereafter observed,

¹ The inscription and the translation of it are preserved in the *London Magazine* for the year 1739, p. 244. — BOSWELL.

² Of these two satirical pamphlets, Hawkins observes that "they display neither learning nor wit, nor, indeed, any ray of their author's genius; and were prompted by the principle which Johnson frequently declared to be the only true genuine motive to writing, namely, pecuniary profit. He was never greedy of money, but without money could not be stimulated to write. Yet was he not so indifferent to the subjects that he was requested to write on, as at any time to abandon either his religious or political principles. He would no more have put his name to an Arian or Socinian tract than to a defence of Atheism. At the time when *Faction Detected* came out, a pamphlet of which the late Lord Egmont is now generally understood to have been the author, Osborne, the bookseller, held out to him a strong temptation to answer it, which he refused, being convinced, as he assured me, that the charge contained in it was made good, and that the argument grounded thereon was unanswerable. The truth is, that Johnson's political prejudices were a mist that the eye of his judgment could not penetrate: in all the measures of Walpole's government, he could see nothing right; nor could he be convinced, in his invectives against a standing army, as the Jacobites affected to call it, that the peasantry of a country was not an adequate defence against an invasion of it by an armed force. He almost asserted in terms, that the succession to the crown had been illegally interrupted, and that from whig politics none of the benefits of government could be expected. From hence it appears, and to his honour be it said, his

principles co-operated with his necessities, and prostitution of his talents could not, in justice, be imputed to him." — *Life*, 78. 84. — CROKER.

³ "Get all your verses printed fair,
Then let them well be dried;
And Curll must have a special care
To leave the margin wide.

Lend these to *paper-sparing* Pope;
And when he sits to write,
No letter with an envelope
Could give him more delight."

Advice to Grub-Street Writers.

The original MS. of Pope's *Homer* (preserved in the British Museum) is almost entirely written on the covers of letters, and sometimes between the lines of the letters themselves. — NICHOLS.

⁴ It is clear that, as Johnson advanced in life, these convulsive infirmities, part no doubt of his hereditary disease, though never entirely absent, were so far subdued, that he could not be called a *sad spectacle*. We have seen that he was rejected from two schools on account of these distortions, which in his latter years were certainly not violent enough to excite disgust. — CROKER.

⁵ This is hardly consistent with the story (*anté*, p. 13. n. 7.) of Pope's high approbation of Johnson's translation of his *Messiah*. — CROKER.

to be of the convulsive kind, and of the nature of that distemper called St. Vitus's dance; and in this opinion I am confirmed by the description which Sydenham gives of that disease. "This disorder is a kind of convulsion. It manifests itself by halting or unsteadiness of one of the legs, which the patient draws after him like an idiot. If the hand of the same side be applied to the breast, or any other part of the body, he cannot keep it a moment in the same posture, but it will be drawn into a different one by a convulsion, notwithstanding all his efforts to the contrary." Sir Joshua Reynolds, however, was of a different opinion, and favoured me with the following Paper.

"Those motions or tricks of Dr. Johnson are improperly called convulsions. He could sit motionless, when he was told so to do, as well as any other man. My opinion is, that it proceeded from a habit¹ which he had indulged himself in, of accompanying his thoughts with certain untoward actions; and those actions always appeared to me as if they were meant to reprobate some part of his past conduct. Whenever he was not engaged in conversation, such thoughts were sure to rush into his mind; and, for this reason, any company, any employment whatever, he preferred to being alone. The great business of his life (he said) was to escape from himself. This disposition he considered as the disease of his mind, which nothing cured but company.

"One instance of his absence and particularity, as it is characteristic of the man, may be worth relating. When he and I took a journey together into the West, we visited the late Mr. Bankes, of Dorsetshire²; the conversation turning upon pictures, which Johnson could not well see, he retired to a corner of the room, stretching out his right leg as far as he could reach before him, then bringing up his left leg, and stretching his right still further on. The old gentleman, observing him, went up to him, and in a very courteous manner assured him, though it was not a new house, the flooring was perfectly safe. The Doctor started

from his reverie, like a person waked out of his sleep, but spoke not a word."³

While we are on this subject, my readers may not be displeased with another anecdote, communicated to me by the same friend, from the relation of Mr. Hogarth.

Johnson used to be a pretty frequent visitor at the house of Mr. Richardson, author of *Clarissa*, and other novels of extensive reputation. Mr. Hogarth came one day to see Richardson, soon after the execution of Dr. Cameron for having taken arms for the house of Stuart in 1745-6; and being a warm partisan of George the Second, he observed to Richardson, that certainly there must have been some very unfavourable circumstances lately discovered in this particular case, which had induced the King to approve of an execution for rebellion so long after the time when it was committed, as this had the appearance of putting a man to death in cold blood⁴, and was very unlike his Majesty's usual clemency. While he was talking, he perceived a person standing at a window in the room, shaking his head, and rolling himself about in a strange ridiculous manner. He concluded that he was an idiot, whom his relations had put under the care of Mr. Richardson, as a very good man. To his great surprise, however, this figure stalked forwards to where he and Mr. Richardson were sitting, and all at once took up the argument, and burst out into an invective against George the Second, as one who, upon all occasions, was unrelenting and barbarous; mentioning many instances; particularly, that when an officer of high rank had been acquitted by a court martial, George the Second had, with his own hand, struck his name off the list.⁵ In short, he displayed such a power of eloquence, that Hogarth looked at him with astonishment, and actually imagined that this idiot had been at the moment inspired. Neither Hogarth nor Johnson were made known to each other at this interview.⁶

¹ Sir Joshua Reynolds's notion on this subject is confirmed by what Johnson himself said to a young lady, the niece of his friend Christopher Smart. See a note by Mr. Boswell on some particulars communicated by Reynolds, under March 30, 1783. — MALONE.

² Of Kingston Hall, near Corfe Castle. — CROKER.

³ See *post*, under April 22, 1764, and March 27, 1774, and in Miss Reynolds's Recollections, in the Appendix, notices of some strange antics which he used to perform on various occasions. — CROKER.

⁴ Impartial posterity may, perhaps, be as little inclined as Dr. Johnson was, to justify the uncommon rigour exercised in the case of Dr. Archibald Cameron. He was an amiable and truly honest man; and his offence was owing to a generous, though mistaken, principle of duty. Being obliged, after 1746, to give up his profession as a physician, and to go into foreign parts, he was honoured with the rank of Colonel, both in the French and Spanish service. He was a son of the ancient and respectable family of Cameron of Lochiel; and his brother, who was the chief of that brave clan, distinguished himself by moderation and humanity, while the Highland army marched victorious through Scotland. It is remarkable of this chief, that though he had earnestly remonstrated against the attempt as hopeless, he was of too heroic a spirit not too venture his life and fortune in the cause, when personally asked by him whom he thought his prince. — BOSWELL.

Sir Walter Scott states, in his Introduction to *Redgauntlet* (*Waverley Novels*, vol. xxxv. p. viii. &c.), that the govern-

ment of George II. were in possession of sufficient evidence that Dr. Cameron had returned to the Highlands, *not*, as he alleged on his trial, for family affairs merely, but as the secret agent of the Pretender in a new scheme of rebellion: the ministers, however, preferred trying this indefatigable partisan on the ground of his undeniable share in the insurrection of 1745, rather than rescuing themselves and their master from the charge of harshness, at the expense of making it universally known, that a fresh rebellion had been in agitation so late as 1752. — LOCKHART.

⁵ Dr. Cameron was executed on the 7th of June, 1753. No instance can be traced in the War or Admiralty Offices, of any officer of high rank being struck out of the list about that period, after acquittal by a court martial. It may be surmised that Mr. Hogarth's statement, or Sir Joshua's report of it, was not quite accurate in details, and that Johnson might have alluded to the case of his friend General Oglethorpe, who, *after acquittal by a court-martial*, was (to use a vulgar but expressive phrase) *put upon the shelf*. — See *ant.* p. 35. n. 6, and *post*, p. 105. n. 3. — CROKER.

⁶ Mrs. Piozzi says, "Mr. Hogarth, among the variety of kindnesses shown to me, was used to be very earnest that I should obtain the acquaintance, and, if possible, the friendship, of Dr. Johnson, whose conversation was (he said) to the talk of other men, like Titian's painting compared to Hudson's. Of Dr. Johnson, when my father and Hogarth were talking together about him one day, 'That man,' said the latter, 'is not contented with believing the Bible, but he fairly resolves, I think, to believe nothing *but* the Bible.

In 1740, Dr. Johnson wrote for the Gentleman's Magazine the "Preface,"¹ the "Life of Admiral Blake,"* and the first parts of those of "Sir Francis Drake,"* and "Philip Barretier,"* both which he finished the following year. He also wrote an "Essay on Epitaphs,"* and an "Epitaph on Philips, a Musician,"* which was afterwards published, with some other pieces of his, in Mrs. Williams's Miscellanies. This Epitaph is so exquisitely beautiful, that I remember even Lord Kames³, strangely prejudiced as he was against Dr. Johnson, was compelled to allow it very high praise. It has been ascribed to Mr. Garrick, from its appearing at first with the signature G.; but I have heard Mr. Garrick declare, that it was written by Dr. Johnson, and give the following account of the manner in which it was composed. Johnson and he were sitting together; when, amongst other things, Garrick repeated an Epitaph upon this Philips by a Dr. Wilkes, in these words:

"Exalted soul! whose harmony could please
The love-sick virgin, and the gouty ease;
Could jarring discord, like Amphion, move
To beauteous order and harmonious love;
Rest here in peace, till angels bid thee rise,
And meet thy blessed Saviour in the skies."

Johnson shook his head at these commonplace funeral lines, and said to Garrick, "I think, Davy, I can make a better." Then, stirring about his tea for a little while, in a state of meditation, he almost extempore produced the following verses:

"Philips, whose touch harmonious could remove
The pangs of guilty power or hapless love;
Rest here, distress'd by poverty no more,
Here find that calm thou gav'st so oft before;

Johnson (added he), though so wise a fellow, is more like King David than King Solomon; for he says, in his haste, that all men are liars.* Dr. Johnson made four lines on the death of poor Hogarth, which were equally true and pleasing:

"The hand of him here torpid lies,
That drew the essential form of grace;
Here closed in death the attentive eyes,
That saw the manners in the face."

"I know not," said Mrs. Piozzi, "why Garrick's were preferred to them." See this question answered, and the lines correctly given, *post*, sub December 12. 1771. — CROKER.

¹ This preface is nothing but a few lines, no doubt by Johnson, introducing a learned essay on the "Acta Diurna of the old Romans," by some other hand. — CROKER.

² His attention was probably drawn to Barretier by Miss Carter, with whom that young man, who is represented as having been from his infancy a prodigy of learning, corresponded. Johnson seems to have been somewhat, and yet not sufficiently, incredulous as to the almost miraculous extent of his acquirements, and confesses that he had few materials but those furnished by Barretier's father; and certainly what has been preserved of his correspondence in the Life of Mrs. Carter (70—94.), does not justify the extraordinary accounts which we read of his learning and genius. He died in 1740, æt. 19. — CROKER.

³ Henry Home, one of the Lords of Session in Scotland, author of the "Elements of Criticism," "Sketches of the History of Man," and other ingenious works. — CROKER.

⁴ The epitaph of Philips is in the porch of Wolverhampton church. The prose part of it is curious:—

"Near this place lies Charles Claudius Philips, whose absolute contempt of riches, and inimitable performances upon the violin, made him the admiration of all that knew him. He was born in Wales, made the tour of Europe, and, after the experience of both kinds of fortune, died in 1732."

Mr. Garrick appears not to have recited the verses correctly, the original being as follows. One of the various

Sleep, undisturb'd, within this peaceful shrine,
Till angels wake thee with a note like thine!"*

At the same time that Mr. Garrick favoured me with this anecdote, he repeated a very pointed Epigram by Johnson, on George the Second and Colley Cibber, which has never yet appeared, and of which I know not the exact date. Dr. Johnson afterwards gave it to me himself:—

"Augustus still survives in Maro's strain,
And Spenser's verse prolongs Eliza's reign;
Great George's acts let tuneful Cibber sing,
For Nature form'd the Poet for the King."

[JOHNSON TO MR. PAUL.*]

"St. John's Gate, January 31st, 1740-41.

"Sir, — Dr. James presses me with great warmth to remind you of your promise, that you would exert your interest with Mr. Warren to bring their affairs to a speedy conclusion; this you know, Sir, I have some right to insist upon, as Mr. Cave was, in some degree, diverted from attending to the arbitration by my assiduity in expediting the agreement between you; but I do not imagine many arguments necessary to prevail upon Mr. Warren to do what seems to be no less desired by him than the Doctor. If he entertains any suspicion that I shall endeavour to enforce the Doctor's arguments, I am willing, and more than barely willing, to forbear all mention of the question. He that desires only to do right, can oblige nobody by acting, and must offend every man that expects favours. It is perhaps for this reason that Mr. Cave seems very much inclined to resign the office of umpire; and since I know not whom to propose in his place equally qualified and disinterested, and am yet desired to propose somebody, I believe the most eligible method of determining this vexatious affair will be, that each

readings is remarkable, as it is the germ of Johnson's concluding line:—

"Exalted soul, thy various sounds could please
The love-sick virgin, and the gouty ease;
Could jarring crowds, like old Amphion, move
To beauteous order and harmonious love;
Rest here in peace, till angels bid thee rise,
And meet thy Saviour's consort in the skies."

BLAKEWAY.

By *consort*, in the above lines, I suppose *concert* is meant; but still I do not see the germ of Johnson's thought. — CROKER.

⁵ This is the first of a dozen letters or notes of Johnson (communicated to me by Mr. Peter Cunningham) addressed, two in 1741, and the rest in 1755-6, to a Mr. Lewis Paul, of Birmingham and subsequently of Brook Green, Hammer-smith. They relate to some question of business between Paul, Warren the Birmingham bookseller, Dr. James, and Cave, Johnson acting as a common friend of all the parties. The case seems to have been that Paul had invented what Cave calls "a machine for making the new spindles for spinning wool and cotton." Towards trying this, Warren and James appear to have advanced money; and on some difference between them, Cave, at Johnson's request, consented to be an umpire. Cave, however, who, as Johnson says in his Life, impaired his fortune by innumerable projects, of which none succeeded, — as landlord, it seems, of the mill in which the machine was worked; and in 1756, Johnson was again mediating between Paul and Cave's representatives. The whole affair is very obscure, and the letters, though marked with Johnson's usual good sense, are perhaps hardly worth inserting; yet I am willing to preserve them as additional proofs of his kindness to his friends, and as affording glimpses of his life at periods of which Boswell knew nothing. The originals are in the possession of Mr. Lewis Pocock. — CROKER, 1846.

party should draw up in a narrow compass his own state of the case, and his demand upon the other; and each abate somewhat, of which himself or his friends may think due to him by the laws of rigid justice. This will seem a tedious method, but will, I hope, be shortened by the desire, so often expressed on each side, of a speedy determination. If either party can make use of me in this transaction, in which there is no opportunity for malevolence or prejudice to exert themselves, I shall be well satisfied with the employment.

Mr. Cave, who knows to whom I am writing, desires me to mention his interest¹, of which I need not remind you that it is complicated with yours; and therefore cannot be neglected by you without opposition to motives, far stronger than the persuasions of, Sir, your humble servant,

— *Pocock, MSS.* "SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO PAUL,

In Birmingham.

"At the Black Boy, over against Durham Yard,
Strand, March 31st, 1741.

"SIR, — The hurry of removing and some other hindrances, have kept me from writing to you since you left us, nor should I have allowed myself the pleasure of doing it now, but that the Doctor [James] has pressed me to offer you a proposal, which I know not why he does not rather make himself; but his request, whatever be the reason of it, is too small to be denied. He proposes, — 1. To pay you immediately, or give you satisfactory security for the speedy payment of £100. 2. To exchange general releases with Mr. Warren. These proposals he makes upon the conditions formerly offered, that the bargain for spindles shall be vacated. The securities for Mr. Warren's debts released, and the debt of £65 remitted with the addition of this new article, that Mr. Warren shall give him the books bought for the carrying on of their joint undertaking. What difference this new demand may make, I cannot tell, nor do I intend to be understood in these proposals to express any of my own sentiments, but merely to write after a dictation. I believe I have expressed the Doctor's meaning, but being disappointed of an interview with him, cannot shew him this, and he generally hints his intentions somewhat obscurely.

He is very impatient for an answer, and desires me to importune you for one by the return of the post. I am not willing, in this affair, to request anything on my own account; for you know already, that an agreement can only be made by a communication of your thoughts, and a speedy agreement only by an expeditious communication.

I hope to write soon on some more agreeable subject; for though, perhaps, a man cannot easily

find more pleasing employment than of reconciling variances, he may certainly amuse himself better by any other business, than of interposing in controversies which grow every day more distant from accommodation, which has been hitherto my fate; but I hope my endeavours will be, hereafter, more successful. I am, Sir, yours, &c.,

— *Pocock, MSS.*

"SAM. JOHNSON."]

In 1741 he wrote for the Gentleman's Magazine the "Preface;"† "Conclusion of his Lives of Drake and Barretier;"* "A free Translation of the Jests of Hierocles, with an Introduction;"† and, I think, the following pieces: "Debate on the Proposal of Parliament to Cromwell, to assume the Title of King, abridged modified, and digested;"‡ "Translation of Abbé Guyon's Dissertation on the Amazons;"† "Translation of Fontenelle's Panegyric on Dr. Morin."† Two notes upon this appear to me undoubtedly his. He this year, and the two following, wrote the Parliamentary Debates. He told me himself, that he was the sole composer of them for those three years only. He was not, however, precisely exact in his statement, which he mentioned from hasty recollection; for it is sufficiently evident, that his composition of them began November 19. 1740, and ended February 23. 1742-3.³

It appears from some of Cave's letters to Dr. Birch, that Cave had better assistance for that branch of his Magazine, than has been generally supposed; and that he was indefatigable in getting it made as perfect as he could. Thus, 21st July, 1735,

"I trouble you with the inclosed, because you said you could easily correct what is here given for Lord Chesterfield's speech. I beg you will do so as soon as you can for me, because the month is far advanced."

And 15th July, 1737,

"As you remember the debates so far as to perceive the speeches already printed are not exact, I beg the favour that you will peruse the inclosed, and, in the best manner your memory will serve, correct the mistaken passages, or add any thing that is omitted. I should be very glad to have something of the Duke of Newcastle's speech, which would be particularly of service. A gentleman has Lord Bathurst's speech to add something to."

And July 3, 1744,

"You will see what stupid, low, abominable stuff is put 'upon your noble and learned friend's"

¹ "I have no encouragement to mention anything of my affairs to Mr. Paul, after such a letter as he sent to Mr. Johnson, who had made some mention or enquiry for me. Though I am to be kept in the dark, I suppose you who are on the spot must know what hopes you have of being reimbursed your money, and shall be glad of a line on that head." *Cave to Mr. Warren, in Birmingham, April 9. 1741.* — P. CUNNINGHAM.

² This is an arrangement of the report of a debate between Cromwell and a committee of the Parliament. It is to be regretted that Johnson did not rather reprint the original report, which the editors of the Parliamentary History do not appear to have seen. — CROKER.

³ Boswell must mean that the *sole and exclusive* composition by Johnson began at this date; because we have seen that he had been employed on these debates as early as

1738. I, however, see abundant reason to believe that he wrote them from the time (June 1738) that they assumed the *Lilliputian* title, and even the "Introduction" to this new form is evidently his; and when Mr. Boswell limits Johnson's share to the 25d of Feb. 1743, he refers to the date of the *debate* itself, and not to that of the *report*, for the debates on the Gin Act (certainly reported by Johnson), which took place in Feb. 1743, were not concluded in the Magazine till February, 1744: so that instead of two years and nine months, according to Mr. Boswell's reckoning, we have, I think, Johnson's own evidence that he was employed in this way for near six years — from 1738 to 1744. — CROKER.

⁴ I suppose, in another compilation of the same kind. — BOSWELL.

⁵ Doubtless, Lord Hardwicke. — BOSWELL.

character, such as I should quite reject, and endeavour to do something better towards doing justice to the character. But as I cannot expect to attain my desire in that respect, it would be a great satisfaction, as well as an honour to our work, to have the favour of the genuine speech. It is a method that several have been pleased to take, as I could show, but I think myself under a restraint. I shall say so far, that I have had some by a third hand, which I understood well enough to come from the first; others by penny-post, and others by the speakers themselves, who have been pleased to visit St. John's Gate, and show particular marks of their being pleased."—[Birch's MSS. in Brit. Mus. 4302.]

There is no reason, I believe, to doubt the veracity of Cave. It is, however, remarkable that none of these letters are in the years during which Johnson alone furnished the Debates, and one of them is in the very year after he ceased from that labour. Johnson told me, that as soon as he found that the speeches were thought genuine, he determined that he would write no more of them; "for he would not be accessory to the propagation of falsehood." And such was the tenderness of his conscience, that a short time before his death he expressed his regret for his having been the author of fictions, which had passed for realities.

He nevertheless agreed with me in thinking that the debates which he had framed were to be valued as orations upon questions of public importance. They have accordingly been collected in volumes, properly arranged, and recommended to the notice of parliamentary speakers by a preface, written by no inferior

hand.¹ I must, however, observe, that, although there is in those debates a wonderful store of political information, and very powerful eloquence, I cannot agree that they exhibit the manner of each particular speaker, as Sir John Hawkins seems to think. But, indeed, what opinion can we have of his judgment and taste in public speaking, who presumes to give, as the characteristics of two celebrated orators, "the deep-mouthed rancour of Pulteney, and the yelping pertinacity of Pitt?"²

CHAPTER VII.

1741—1744.

"Irene."—Review of the "Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough."—Lives of Burman and Sydenham.—"Proposals for Bibliotheca Harleiana."—Projects a History of Parliament.—Dispute between Crousaz and Warburton.—"Dedication to James's Dictionary."—"Friendship, an Ode."—Extreme Indigence.—Richard Savage.—Anecdotes.—"The Life of Savage."—Countess of Macclesfield.—"Preface to the Harleian Miscellany."

THIS year I find that his tragedy of IRENE had been for some time ready for the stage, and that his necessities made him desirous of getting as much as he could for it without delay; for there is the following letter from Mr. Cave to Dr. Birch, in the same volume of manuscripts

¹ I am assured that the editor is Mr. George Chalmers, whose commercial works are well known and esteemed.—BOSWELL. This collection is stated in the Preface to the Parliamentary History, vol. x., to be very incomplete: of thirty-two debates, twelve are given under wrong dates, and several of Johnson's best compositions are wholly omitted; amongst others the important debate of Feb. 13. 1741, on Mr. Sandys's motion for the removal of Sir Robert Walpole: other omissions, equally striking, are complained of.—CROKER.

² Sir J. Hawkins's account of the origin and progress of this system of reporting the debates and of Johnson's share in it is too long (pp. 94—132) to be introduced here, but is curious and worth consulting. Hawkins, however, seems (as well as the other biographers) to have overrated the value, to Cave and the public, of Johnson's Parliamentary Debates. It is shown in the preface to the Parliamentary History for 1738 (ed. 1812), that one of Cave's rivals, the *London Magazine*, often excelled the *Gentleman's Magazine*, in the priority and accuracy of its parliamentary reports, which were contributed by Gordon, the translator of Tacitus. Of the reports in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, Mr. Murphy says:—"That Johnson was the author of the debates was not generally known; but the secret transpired several years afterwards, and was avowed by himself on the following occasion:—Mr. Wedderburne (afterwards Lord Loughborough and Earl of Rosslyn), Dr. Johnson, Dr. Francis (the translator of Horace), Murphy himself, and others, dined with the late Mr. Foote. An important debate towards the end of Sir Robert Walpole's administration being mentioned, Dr. Francis observed, 'that Mr. Pitt's speech on that occasion was the best he had ever read.' He added, 'that he had employed eight years of his life in the study of Demosthenes, and finished a translation of that celebrated orator, with all the decorations of style and language within the reach of his capacity; but he had met with nothing equal to the speech above mentioned.' Many of the company remembered the debate; and some passages were cited with the approbation and applause of all present. During the ardour of conversation, Johnson remained silent. As soon as the warmth of praise subsided, he opened with these words:—'That speech I wrote in a garret in Exeter Street.'

The company was struck with astonishment. After staring at each other in silent amazement, Dr. Francis asked how that speech could be written by him? "Sir," said Johnson, "I wrote it in Exeter Street. I never have been in the gallery of the House of Commons but once. Cave had interest with the door-keepers. He, and the persons employed under him, gained admittance: they brought away the subject of discussion, the names of the speakers, the sides they took, and the order in which they rose, together with notes of the arguments advanced in the course of the debate. The whole was afterwards communicated to me, and I composed the speeches in the form which they now have in the Parliamentary Debates." To this discovery Dr. Francis made answer:—"Then, sir, you have exceeded Demosthenes himself, for to say that you have exceeded Francis's Demosthenes, would be saying nothing." The rest of the company bestowed lavish encomiums on Johnson: one, in particular, praised his impartiality; observing, that he dealt out reason and eloquence with an equal hand to both parties. "That is not quite true," said Johnson; "I saved appearances tolerably well, but I took care that the WHIG DOGS should not have the best of it."—MURPHY.

The speech of Mr. Pitt's referred to was, no doubt, the celebrated reply to old Horace Walpole, beginning "The atrocious crime of being a young man," March 10. 1741; but there is in the statement a slight inaccuracy, arising, perhaps, from a slip of Johnson's memory, who, by Mr. Boswell's list of Johnson's residences, appears not to have resided in Exeter Street after his return to London in 1737. But he may have resided there a second time, or, after the lapse of so many years, have forgotten the exact place. There can be no doubt that Murphy's report was accurate.

It is very remarkable that Dr. Maty, who wrote the Life and edited the Works of Lord Chesterfield, with the use of his Lordship's papers, under the eye of his surviving friends, and in the lifetime of Johnson, should have published, as "specimens of his Lordship's eloquence, in the strong nervous style of Demosthenes, as well as in the witty ironical manner of Tully," three speeches, which are certainly Johnson's composition. See Chesterfield's Works, vol. ii. p. 319. and post, May 13. 1778.—CROKER.

in the British Museum, from which I copied those above quoted. They were most obligingly pointed out to me by Sir William Musgrave, one of the curators [trustees] of that noble repository.

"Sept. 9, 1741.

"I have put Mr. Johnson's play into Mr. Gray's hands, in order to sell it to him, if he is inclined to buy it; but I doubt whether he will or not. He would dispose of the copy, and whatever advantage may be made by acting it. Would your society, or any gentleman, or body of men that you know, take such a bargain? He and I are very unfit to deal with theatrical persons. Fleetwood was to have acted it last season, but Johnson's diffidence or ³ prevented it."

I have already mentioned that "Irene" was not brought into public notice till Garrick was manager of Drury-lane Theatre.

In 1742⁴ he wrote for the Gentleman's Magazine, the "Preface,"† the "Parliamentary Debates,"* "Essay on the Account of the Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough,"* then the popular topic of conversation. This Essay is a short but masterly performance. We find him, in No. 13. of his Rambler, censuring a profligate sentiment in that "Account,"⁵ and again (10th Sept. 1773) insisting upon it strenuously in conversation. "An Account of the Life of Peter Burman,"* I believe chiefly taken from a foreign publication; and, indeed, he could not himself know much about Burman; "Additions to his Life of Barretier,"* "The Life of Sydenham,"* afterwards prefixed to Dr. Swan's edition of his works; "Proposals for printing Bibliotheca Harleiana, or a Catalogue of the Library of the Earl of Oxford,"* His account of that celebrated collection of books, in which he displays the importance to literature, of what the French call a *catalogue raisonné*, when the subjects of it are extensive and various, and it is executed with ability, cannot fail to impress all his readers with admiration of his philological attainments. It was afterwards prefixed to the first volume of the Catalogue, in which the Latin accounts of books were written by him. He was employed in this business by Mr. Thomas Osborne⁶ the bookseller, who purchased the library for

13,000*l.*, a sum which Mr. Oldys says, in one of his manuscripts, was not more than the binding of the books had cost⁷; yet, as Dr. Johnson assured me, the slowness of the sale was such, that there was not much gained by it. It has been confidently related, with many embellishments, that Johnson one day knocked Osborne down in his shop with a folio, and put his foot upon his neck. The simple truth I had from Johnson himself. "Sir, he was impertinent to me, and I beat him. But it was not in his shop: it was in my own chamber."

A very diligent observer may trace him where we could not easily suppose him to be found. I have no doubt that he wrote the little abridgment entitled "Foreign History," in the Magazine for December. To prove it, I shall quote the Introduction:—

"As this is that season of the year in which Nature may be said to command a suspension of hostilities, and which seems intended, by putting a short stop to violence and slaughter, to afford time for malice to relent, and animosity to subside; we can scarce expect any other account than of plans, negotiations, and treaties, of proposals for peace, and preparations for war."

As also this passage:—

"Let those who despise the capacity of the Swiss, tell us by what wonderful policy, or by what happy conciliation of interests, it is brought to pass, that in a body made up of different communities and different religions, there should be no civil commotions, though the people are so warlike, that to nominate and raise an army is the same."

I am obliged to Mr. Astle⁸ for his ready permission to copy the two following letters, of which the originals are in his possession. Their contents show that they were written about this time, and that Johnson was now engaged in preparing an historical account of the British Parliament.

JOHNSON TO CAVE.

[Aug. 1743.]

"SIR,—I believe I am going to write a long letter, and have therefore taken a whole sheet of paper. The first thing to be written about is our historical design.

"You mentioned the proposal of printing in

¹ John Gray was a bookseller, at the Cross Keys in the Poultry, the shop formerly kept by Dr. Samuel Chandler. Like his predecessor, he became a dissenting minister; but he afterwards took orders in the church, and held a living at Ripon in Yorkshire.—WRIGHT.

² Not the Royal Society [as Boswell in his two first editions had strangely stated]; but the "Society for the Encouragement of Learning," of which Dr. Birch was a leading member. Their object was, to assist authors in printing expensive works. It existed from about 1735 to 1746, when, having incurred a considerable debt, it was dissolved.—BOSWELL.

³ There is no erasure here, but a mere blank; to fill up which may be an exercise for ingenious conjecture.—BOSWELL. Probably something equivalent to the *reverse of diffidence*.—CROKER.

⁴ From one of his letters to a friend, written in June, 1742, it should seem that he then purposed to write a play on the subject of Charles the Twelfth of Sweden, and to have it ready for the ensuing winter. The passage alluded to, however, is somewhat ambiguous; and the work which he then

had in contemplation may have been a *history* of that monarch.—MALONE.

⁵ "A late female minister of state has been shameless enough to inform the world, that she used, when she wanted to extract any thing from her sovereign, to remind her of Montaigne's reasoning; who has determined, that to tell a secret to a friend is no breach of fidelity, because the number of persons trusted is not multiplied,—a man and his friend being virtually the same." *Rambler*, No. 13.—WRIGHT.

⁶ The same who is introduced into the *Dunciad* under disgusting circumstances, which disgrace Pope rather than Osborne, of whom Johnson says in his *Life* of the poet, that his "impassible dulness" would not feel the satire. He died in 1767.—CROKER.

⁷ See *Censura Literaria*, vol. i. p. 438.—WRIGHT.
⁸ Thomas Astle, Esq., many years Keeper of the Records in the Tower, one of the Keepers of the Paper Office, and Trustee of the British Museum. He contributed many articles to the *Archæologia*; but his principal work was the "Origin and Progress of Writing, as well Hieroglyphic as Elementary." He died Dec. 1. 1803.—WRIGHT.

numbers as an alteration in the scheme, but I believe you mistook, some way or other, my meaning; I had no other view than that you might rather print too many of five sheets, than of five and thirty.

"With regard to what I shall say on the manner of proceeding, I would have it understood as wholly indifferent to me, and my opinion only, not my resolution. *Emptoris sit eligere.*

"I think the insertion of the exact dates of the most important events in the margin, or of so many events as may enable the reader to regulate the order of facts with sufficient exactness, the proper medium between a journal, which has regard only to time, and a history, which ranges facts according to their dependence on each other, and postpones or anticipates according to the convenience of narration. I think the work ought to partake of the spirit of history, which is contrary to minute exactness, and of the regularity of a journal, which is inconsistent with spirit. For this reason, I neither admit numbers or dates, nor reject them.

"I am of your opinion with regard to placing most of the resolutions, &c. in the margin, and think we shall give the most complete account of parliamentary proceedings that can be contrived. The naked papers, without an historical treatise interwoven, require some other book to make them understood. I will date the succeeding facts with some exactness, but I think in the margin.

"You told me on Saturday that I had received money on this work, and found set down 13l. 2s. 6d. reckoning the half guinea of last Saturday. As you hinted to me that you had many calls for money, I would not press you too hard, and therefore shall desire only, as I send it in, two guineas for a sheet of copy; the rest you may pay me when it may be more convenient; and even by this sheet payment I shall, for some time, be very expensive.

"The Life of Savage I am ready to go upon; and in great primer and pica notes, I reckon on sending in half a sheet a day; but the money for that shall likewise lie by in your hands till it is done. With the debates, shall not I have business enough if I had but good pens?

"Towards Mr. Savage's Life what more have you got? I would willingly have his trial, &c.,

¹ "The Plain Dealer" was published in 1724, and contained some account of Savage. — BOSWELL.

² Perhaps the Runic Inscription, *Gent. Mag.* vol. xii. — MALONE.

Certainly not — that was published in March, 1742, at least seventeen months before this letter was written; nor does there appear in the Magazine any inscription to which this can refer. It seemed at first sight probable that it might allude to the translation of Pope's Inscription on his Grotto, which appeared (with an apology for haste) in the next Magazine; but the expression "I could think of nothing till to-day," negatives that supposition. The inscription, then, was I suppose one which Cave requested Johnson to devise, and for which, when Johnson after a long delay produced it, Cave surprised him by paying. — CROKER.

I have not discovered what this was. — BOSWELL.

³ Mr. Hector was present when this Epigram was made *impromptu*. The first line was proposed by Dr. James, and Johnson was called upon by the company to finish it, which he instantly did. — BOSWELL.

*Anglicas inter pulcherrima Laura puellas,
Mox uteri pondus depositura grave,
Adsit, Laura, tibi facilis Lucina dolenti,
Neve tibi noccat præviuisse Dæe.*

"Laura, of British girls the loveliest flower,
Soon to lay down the burden of thy womb;
O may Lucina help thy painful hour,
Nor harm thee, envious of thy brighter bloom.

and know whether his defence be at Bristol, and would have his collection of Poems, on account of the preface; — "The Plain Dealer";¹ — all the Magazines that have any thing of his or relating to him.

"I thought my letter would be long, but it is now ended; and I am, Sir, yours, &c.,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

"The boy found me writing this almost in the dark, when I could not quite easily read yours.

"I have read the Italian: — nothing in it is well.

"I had no notion of having any thing for the Inscription.² I hope you don't think I kept it to extort a price. I could think of nothing till to-day. If you could spare me another guinea for the history, I should take it very kindly, to-night; but if you do not I shall not think it an injury. I am almost well again."

JOHNSON TO CAVE.

"SIR, — You did not tell me your determination about the *Soldier's Letter*, which I am confident was never printed. I think it will not do by itself, or in any other place, so well as the *Mag. Extraordinary*. If you will have it all, I believe you do not think I set it high; and I will be glad if what you give you will give quickly.

"You need not be in care about something to print, for I have got the State Trials, and shall extract Loyer, Atterbury, and Macclesfield from them, and shall bring them to you in a fortnight; after which I will try to get the South Sea Report."

[No date, nor signature.]

I would also ascribe to him an "Essay on the Description of China, from the French of Du Halde."[†]

His writings in the Gentleman's Magazine in 1743, are, the Preface[†], the Parliamentary Debates[†], "Considerations on the Dispute between Crousaz and Warburton, on Pope's Essay on Man;"[†] in which, while he defends Crousaz, he shows an admirable metaphysical acuteness and temperance in controversy: "Ad Lauram paritum Epigramma:"^{3*} and, "A

This version is, I am conscious, awkward enough, but not more so. I hope, than the original, which indeed, seems hardly worth the distinction of being specially quoted. If the first line was proposed as a *thesis*, we cannot much admire the style in which it was followed up: the designation, surely, of the lady as *puella*, would lead us to expect any thing rather than the turn which the epigram takes. Is not the second line gross and awkward; the third pedantic; and the conceit of the fourth not even classical? for Lucina was never famed for her beauty; and does not the whole seem a very strange subject for poetical compliment? — CROKER, 1831.

An article in the Edinburgh Review, No. 107, p. 9., since republished in Mr. Macaulay's Essays, censures the foregoing note; and, somewhat superfluously, reminds us, that Horace talks of *laborantes utero puellas*. I never said or supposed that a person in that condition might not be still called "*puella*," but I thought and think that if, as Boswell states, the first line was given as a *thesis* for the poet to pursue *ad libitum* in praise of "the prettiest girl in England," one never would have expected the turn the compliment takes, of telling her, in very coarse terms, that she is *about to be brought to bed*, and of adding, by way of consolation, that she is *handsomer than the midwife*: for this learned critic has further discovered that "*Lucina*" was one of the names of *Diana*, and the *beauty* of *Diana* is extolled by all the most orthodox doctors of ancient mythology." By this style of metonymy *Heate* also might be made a partaker of *Diana's* beauty. See Blackwood's *Edinburgh Magazine* for Nov. 1831. — CROKER, 1846.

Mr. Malone states, that an elegant Latin Ode "Ad orna-

Latin Translation of Pope's Verses on his Grotto:"* and, as he could employ his pen with equal success upon a small matter as a great, I suppose him to be the author of an advertisement for Osborne, concerning the great Harleian Catalogue.

But I should think myself much wanting, both to my illustrious friend and my readers, did I not introduce here, with more than ordinary respect, an exquisitely beautiful Ode, which has not been inserted in any of the collections of Johnson's poetry, written by him at a very early period, as Mr. Hector informs me, and inserted in the Gentleman's Magazine of this year.

FRIENDSHIP, AN ODE.*

"Friendship, peculiar boon of Heaven,
The noble mind's delight and pride,
To men and angels only given,
To all the lower world denied.

"While love, unknown among the blest,
Parent of thousand wild desires,
The savage and the human breast
Torments alike with raging fires;

"With bright, but oft destructive, gleam,
Alike o'er all his lightnings fly;
Thy lambent glories only beam
Around the favourites of the sky.

"Thy gentle flows of guiltless joys
On fools and villains ne'er descend:
In vain for thee the tyrant sighs,
And hugs a flatterer for a friend.

"Directress of the brave and just,
O guide us through life's darksome way!
And let the tortures of mistrust
On selfish bosoms only prey.

"Nor shall thine ardour cease to glow,
When souls to blissful climes remove:
What rais'd our virtue here below,
Shall aid our happiness above."

Johnson had now an opportunity of obliging his schoolfellow Dr. James, of whom he once observed, "No man brings more mind to his profession." James published this year his "Medicinal Dictionary," in three volumes folio. Johnson, as I understood from him, had

tiissmam Puellam," which appeared in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1743 (vol. xiii. p. 548.), was, many years ago, pointed out to James Bindley, Esq., as written by Johnson, and may safely be attributed to him. I do not think so: it appears to me to be in a different and (may I venture to add?) better style than Johnson's; and I find, in the *New Foundling Hospital for Wit*, that it is attributed to Bishop Lowth. — CROKER.

1 "Sir, — That the Medicinal Dictionary is dedicated to you, is to be imputed only to your reputation for superior skill in those sciences which I have endeavoured to explain and facilitate: and you are, therefore, to consider this address, if it be agreeable to you, as one of the rewards of merit; and, if otherwise, as one of the inconveniences of eminence.

"However you shall receive it, my design cannot be disappointed; because this public appeal to your judgment will show that I do not found my hopes of approbation upon the ignorance of my readers, and that I fear his censure least whose knowledge is most extensive. I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant, R. JAMES." — BOSWELL.

written, or assisted in writing, the proposals for this work; and being very fond of the study of physic, in which James was his master, he furnished some of the articles. He, however, certainly wrote for it the Dedication to Dr. Mead †, which is conceived with great address, to conciliate the patronage of that very eminent man.¹

It has been circulated², I know not with what authenticity, that Johnson considered Dr. Birch as a dull writer, and said of him, "Tom Birch is as brisk as a bee in conversation; but no sooner does he take a pen in his hand, than it becomes a torpedo to him, and benumbs all his faculties." That the literature of this country is much indebted to Birch's activity and diligence, must certainly be acknowledged. We have seen that Johnson honoured³ him with a Greek Epigram; and his correspondence with him, during many years, proves that he had no mean opinion of him.

JOHNSON TO BIRCH.

"Thursday, Sept. 29. 1743.

"Sir, — I hope you will excuse me for troubling you on an occasion on which I know not whom else I can apply to: I am at a loss for the lives and characters of Earl Stanhope, the two Craggs, and the minister Sunderland; and beg that you will inform [me] where I may find them, and send any pamphlets, &c. relating to them to Mr. Cave, to be perused for a few days, by, Sir, your most humble servant, SAM. JOHNSON."

His circumstances were at this time embarrassed; yet his affection for his mother was so warm, and so liberal, that he took upon himself a debt of hers, which, though small in itself, was then considerable to him.⁴ This appears from the following letter which he wrote to Mr. Levett, of Lichfield, the original of which lies now before me.

JOHNSON TO MR. LEVETT,

In Lichfield.

December 1. 1743.

"Sir, — I am extremely sorry that we have encroached so much upon your forbearance with respect to the interest, which a great perplexity of affairs hindered me from thinking of with that attention that I ought, and which I am not immediately able to remit to you, but will pay it (I

² By Hawkins. *Life*, p. 209. There seems no reason to doubt that Dr. Birch's conversation exceeded his writings in vivacity, but the phrase itself is, as Mr. P. Cunningham observes, borrowed from Beau Nash, who said of himself that "his pen was a torpedo, which, when he grasped it, benumbed all his faculties." Goldsmith's *Life of Nash*. — CROKER.

³ No doubt, as the case has turned out, Birch is honoured by Johnson's compliment; but at the time when it was written, Birch was of eminence in the literary world, and (what affected Johnson more nearly) high in the estimation of Cave; and Johnson's learned batteries of him, Miss Carter, and Mr. Urban, were all probably prompted by a desire to propitiate Cave. — CROKER.

⁴ Dr. Johnson was no doubt an affectionate son, and even to indifferent persons the most charitable of men; but the praises which Boswell lavishes on this particular affair are unequalled for, as the debt was hardly so much Johnson's mother's as his own. It has already appeared that he had something of his father's property to expect after his mother's death (p. 19.); this was the house in Lichfield,

think twelve pounds) in two months. I look upon this, and on the future interest of that mortgage, as my own debt; and beg that you will be pleased to give me directions how to pay it, and not to mention it to my dear mother. If it be necessary to pay this in less time, I believe I can do it; but I take two months for certainty, and beg an answer whether you can allow me so much time. I think myself very much obliged to your forbearance, and shall esteem it a great happiness to be able to serve you. I have great opportunities of dispersing any thing that you may think it proper to make public. I will give a note for the money, payable at the time mentioned, to any one here that you shall appoint. I am, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

"At Mr. Osborne's, bookseller, in Gray's Inn."

It does not appear that he wrote any thing in 1744¹ for the Gentleman's Magazine, but the Preface.† His life of Barretier was now republished in a pamphlet by itself. But he produced one work this year, fully sufficient to maintain the high reputation which he had acquired. This was "The Life of Richard Savage;"* a man, of whom it is difficult to speak impartially, without wondering that he was for some time the intimate companion of Johnson; for his character² was marked by profligacy, insolence, and ingratitude: yet, as he undoubtedly had a warm and vigorous, though unregulated mind, had seen life in all

its varieties, and been much in the company of the statesmen and wits of his time, he could communicate to Johnson an abundant supply of such materials as his philosophical curiosity most eagerly desired; and as Savage's misfortunes and misconduct had reduced him to the lowest state of wretchedness as a writer for bread, his visits to St. John's Gate naturally brought Johnson and him together.³

It is melancholy to reflect, that Johnson and Savage were sometimes in such extreme indigence⁴, that they could not pay for a lodging; so that they have wandered together whole nights in the street. Yet in these almost incredible scenes of distress, we may suppose that Savage mentioned many of the anecdotes with which Johnson afterwards enriched the life of his unhappy companion, and those of other poets.

He told Sir Joshua Reynolds, that one night in particular, when Savage and he walked round St. James's Square for want of a lodging, they were not at all depressed by their situation; but, in high spirits and brimful of patriotism, traversed the square for several hours, inveighed against the minister, and "resolved they would stand by their country."

I am afraid, however, that by associating with Savage, who was habituated to the dissipation and licentiousness of the town, Johnson,

which was, it seems, mortgaged to Mr. Levett: by the non-payment of the interest Levett would have been entitled to get possession of the property; and in that case Johnson would have lost his reversion, so that he very justly says, that "he looks upon this and the future interest on the mortgage as his own debt." — CROKER.

¹ In this and the two next years, Mr. Boswell has not assigned to Johnson any contributions to the Gentleman's Magazine; yet there seems little doubt that from his connection with that work he derived, for some years, the chief and almost the only means of subsistence for himself and his wife: perhaps he may have acted as general editor with an annual allowance, and he no doubt employed himself on more literary works than have been acknowledged. In this point the public loss is, perhaps, not great. What he was unwilling to avow, we need not be very solicitous to discover. Indeed, his personal history is, about this period, a blank, hidden, it is to be feared, in the obscurity of indigence — if there was not also some political motive for concealment. (See post, p. 54. n. 2.) — CROKER.

² As a specimen of Savage's temper, I insert the following letter from him to a noble Lord [Tyrconnel], to whom he was under great obligations, but who, on account of his bad conduct, was obliged to discard him. The original was in the hands of the late Francis Cockayne Cust, Esq., one of his Majesty's counsel learned in the law: —

"Right Honourable BRUTE and BOOBY, — I find you want (as Mr. — is pleased to hint) to swear away my life, that is, the life of your creditor, because he asks you for a debt. The public shall soon be acquainted with this, to judge whether you are not fitter to be an Irish evidence, than to be an Irish peer. I defy and despise you. I am, your determined adversary, R. S." — BOSWELL.

³ Sir John Hawkins gives the world to understand, that Johnson, "being an admirer of genteel manners, was captivated by the address and demeanour of Savage, who, as to his exterior, was, to a remarkable degree, accomplished." — *Hawkins's Life*, p. 52. But Sir John's notions of gentility must appear somewhat ludicrous, from his stating the following circumstance as presumptive evidence that Savage was a good swordsman: — "That he understood the exercise of a gentleman's weapon, may be inferred from the use made of it in that rash encounter related in his Life." The dexterity here alluded to was, that Savage, in a nocturnal fit of drunkenness, stabbed a man at a coffee-house, and killed him: for which he was tried at the Old Bailey, and found guilty of murder.

Johnson, indeed, describes him as having "a grave and manly deportment, a solemn dignity of mien; but which,

upon a nearer acquaintance, softened into an engaging easiness of manners." How highly Johnson admired him for that knowledge which he himself so much cultivated, and what kindness he entertained for him, appears from the following lines in the Gentleman's Magazine for April, 1738, which I am assured were written by Johnson: —

"Ad Ricardum Savage.

*Humani studium generis cui pectore servet
O colat humanum le foveatque genus.*" — BOSWELL.

"Thou, whose warm heart for all mankind can beat,
In all mankind sought friends and favourers meet." — C.

Boswell should have stated his authority for attributing this poor and obscure couplet to Johnson; and he should not have suppressed the absurd original title —

"Ad Ricardum Savage, Arm.
Humani generis amatorem."

"To Richard Savage, Esq. — the lover of the Human race."

I am reluctant to believe that Johnson wrote this sad stuff, which was certainly written shortly before Johnson became personally acquainted with Savage; and if it be Johnson's, was probably intended to propitiate Cave, in whose favour Johnson supposed Savage to stand high. The exact date of the commencement of this acquaintance is no where given; but it was not earlier than April, 1738. This is of some importance; because Johnson has been reproached with an early intimacy with this profligate and unhappy man. In the *Gent. Mag.*, 1783, p. 476, he is said to have written Savage's defence at his trial, and is called "an apologist for murder;" and another writer (p. 679) takes some pains to extenuate that culpable fact. Now the trial was in 1727-8, ten years before Johnson ever saw Savage.

⁴ The following striking proof of Johnson's extreme indigence, when he published the Life of Savage, was communicated to Mr. Boswell, by Mr. Richard Stowe, of Apsley, in Bedfordshire, from the information of Mr. Walter Harte, author of the Life of Gustavus Adolphus: — "Soon after Savage's Life was published, Mr. Harte dined with Edward Cave, and occasionally praised it. Soon after, meeting him, Cave said, 'You made a man very happy to-day.' — 'How could that be?' says Harte; 'nobody was there but ourselves.' Cave answered, by reminding him that a plate of victuals was sent behind a screen, which was to Johnson, dressed so shabbily, that he did not choose to appear; but, on hearing the conversation, he was highly delighted with the encomiums on his book." — MALONE.

though his good principles remained steady, did not entirely preserve that conduct, for which, in days of greater simplicity, he was remarked by his friend Mr. Hector; but was imperceptibly led into some indulgences which occasioned much distress to his virtuous mind.¹ That Johnson was anxious that an authentic and favourable account of his extraordinary friend should first get possession of the public attention, is evident from a letter which he wrote in the Gentleman's Magazine for August of the year preceding its publication.

TO MR. URBAN.

"As your collections show how often you have owed the ornaments of your poetical pages to the correspondence of the unfortunate and ingenious Mr. Savage, I doubt not but you have so much regard to his memory as to encourage any design that may have a tendency to the preservation of it from insults or calumnies; and therefore, with some degree of assurance, intreat you to inform the public, that his Life will speedily be published by a person who was favoured with his confidence, and received from himself an account of most of the transactions which he proposes to mention, to the time of his retirement to Swansea in Wales.

"From that period, to his death in the prison of Bristol, the account will be continued from materials still less liable to objection; his own letters, and those of his friends, some of which will be inserted in the work, and abstracts of others subjoined in the margin.

"It may be reasonably imagined, that others may have the same design; but as it is not credible that they can obtain the same materials, it must be expected they will supply from invention the want of intelligence; and that, under the title of 'The Life of Savage,' they will publish only a novel, filled with romantic adventures and imaginary amours. You may, therefore, perhaps, gratify the lovers of truth and wit, by giving me leave to inform them in your Magazine, that my account will be published in 8vo. by Mr. Roberts, in Warwick Lane."

[No signature.]

In February, 1744, it accordingly came forth from the shop of Roberts, between whom and

Johnson I have not traced any connection, except the casual one of this publication.² In Johnson's "Life of Savage," although it must be allowed that its moral is the reverse of—"Respicere exemplar vite morumque jubebo," a very useful lesson is inculcated, to guard men of warm passions from a too free indulgence of them; and the various incidents are related in so clear and animated a manner, and illuminated throughout with so much philosophy, that it is one of the most interesting narratives in the English language.³ Sir Joshua Reynolds told me, that upon his return from Italy he met with it in Devonshire, knowing nothing of its author, and began to read it while he was standing with his arm leaning against a chimney-piece. It seized his attention so strongly, that, not being able to lay down the book till he had finished it, when he attempted to move, he found his arm totally benumbed. The rapidity with which this work was composed is a wonderful circumstance. Johnson has been heard to say [Aug. 11. 1773], "I wrote forty-eight of the printed octavo pages of the Life of Savage at a sitting; but then I sat up all night."

He exhibits the genius of Savage to the best advantage, in the specimens of his poetry which he has selected, some of which are of uncommon merit. We, indeed, occasionally find such vigour and such point, as might make us suppose that the generous aid of Johnson had been imparted to his friend. Mr. Thomas Warton made this remark to me; and, in support of it, quoted from the poem entitled "The Bastard," a line in which the fancied superiority of one "stamped in Nature's mint with extasy," is contrasted with a regular lawful descendant of some great and ancient family:

"No tenth transmitter of a foolish face."

But the fact is, that this poem was published some years before Johnson and Savage were acquainted.⁴

It is remarkable, that in this biographical disquisition there appears a very strong symp-

¹ I find no trace of any peculiar distress of mind connected with this period. There is none in his *Prayers and Meditations*; and I am convinced by many circumstances that this *night-walking*, and all the other supposed consequences of his *very short* acquaintance with Savage (little more than a year) have been much exaggerated even by Boswell. Hawkins very uncharitably attributes to the influence of Savage a separation which took place (*as he alone asserts*) between Johnson and his wife about this period. The whole course of Johnson's life and conduct warrants us in supposing that such temporary separation (if Hawkins be even so far correct) must have been produced by pecuniary distress, and not by an interruption of affection. He would be naturally solicitous that his wife should find in her own family a temporary refuge from the difficulties with which he was struggling; but on the other hand, we shall see presently (p. 75.) an accusation against Mrs. Johnson, that she indulged herself with country lodgings and good living, at Hampstead, while her husband was starving in London. All these stories contradict one another; and, indeed, even the sour Hawkins adds, that Johnson was too strict in his morals to have afforded his wife any reasonable cause for jealousies. *Life*, 316.—CROKER.

² I find that J. Roberts printed in April, 1744, "The Life of Barretier," probably a reprint from the "Gentleman's Magazine," but I have not seen it. Cave sometimes permitted the name of another printer to appear on the title-pages of books of which he was, in fact, the publisher, as

Miss Carter's "Examen" was printed under the name of Dodd. In this case the fact is certain; as it appears from the letter to Cave, August, 1743, that Johnson sold the work to him even before it was written.—CROKER.

Cave was the purchaser of the copyright, and the following is a copy of Johnson's receipt for the money:—"The 14th day of December, received of Mr. Ed. Cave the sum of fifteen guineas, in full, for compiling and writing 'The Life of Richard Savage, Esq.' deceased; and in full for all materials thereto applied, and not found by the said Edward Cave. I say, received by me, SAN. JOHNSON. Dec. 14. 1743."—WRIGHT.

³ It gives, like Raphael's Lazarus or Murillo's Beggar, pleasure as a work of art, while the original could only excite disgust. Johnson has spread over Savage's character the veil of stately diction and extenuating phrases, but cannot prevent the observant reader from seeing that the subject of this biographical essay was, as Boswell calls him, "an ungrateful and insolent prodigiate;" and so little do his works show of that poetical talent for which he had been celebrated, that, if it were not for Johnson's embalming partiality, his works would probably be now as unheard of as they are unread.—CROKER.

⁴ "The Bastard: A Poem, inscribed with all due reverence to Mrs. Bret, once Countess of Macclesfield. By Richard Savage, son of the late Earl Rivers. London, printed for T. Worrall, 1728," fol. first edition.—P. CUNNINGHAM.

tom of Johnson's prejudice against players; a prejudice which may be attributed to the following causes: first, the imperfection of his organs, which were so defective that he was not susceptible of the fine impressions which theatrical excellence produces upon the generality of mankind; secondly, the cold rejection of his tragedy; and, lastly, the brilliant success of Garrick, who had been his pupil, who had come to London at the same time with him, not in a much more prosperous state than himself, and whose talents he undoubtedly rated low, compared with his own. His being outstripped by his pupil in the race of immediate fame, as well as of fortune, probably made him feel some indignation, as thinking, that whatever might be Garrick's merits in his art, the reward was too great when compared with what the most successful efforts of literary labour could attain. At all periods of his life Johnson used to talk contemptuously of players; but in this work he speaks of them with peculiar acrimony; for which, perhaps, there was formerly too much reason, from the licentious and dissolute manners of those engaged in that profession. It is but justice to add, that in our own time such a change has taken place, that there is no longer room for such an unfavourable distinction.

His schoolfellow and friend, Dr. Taylor, told me a pleasant anecdote of Johnson's triumphing over his pupil, David Garrick. When that great actor had played some little time at Goodman's Fields, Johnson and Taylor went to see him perform, and afterwards passed the evening at a tavern with him and old Giffard.¹ Johnson, who was ever depreciating stage-players, after censuring some mistakes in emphasis, which Garrick had committed in the course of that night's acting, said, "The players, Sir, have got a kind of rant, with which they run on, without any regard either to accent or emphasis." Both Garrick and Giffard were offended at this sarcasm, and endeavoured to refute it; upon which Johnson rejoined, "Well now, I'll give you something to speak, with which you are little acquainted, and then we shall see how just my observation is. That shall be the criterion. Let me hear you repeat the ninth Commandment, 'Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.'" Both tried at it, said Dr. Taylor, and both mistook the emphasis, which should be upon *not* and

false witness.² Johnson put them right, and enjoyed his victory with great glee.

His "*Life of Savage*" was no sooner published, than the following liberal praise was given to it, in "*The Champion*," a periodical paper:—

"This pamphlet is, without flattery to its author, as just and well-written a piece of its kind as I ever saw; so that at the same time that it highly deserves, it certainly stands very little in need of this recommendation. As to the history of the unfortunate person, whose memoirs compose this work, it is certainly penned with equal accuracy and spirit, of which I am so much the better judge, as I know many of the facts mentioned to be strictly true, and very fairly related. Besides, it is not only the story of Mr. Savage, but innumerable incidents relating to other persons, and other affairs, which renders this a very amusing, and, withal, a very instructive and valuable performance. The author's observations are short, significant, and just, as his narrative is remarkably smooth and well disposed.* His reflections open to all the recesses of the human heart; and, in a word, a more just or pleasant, a more engaging or a more improving treatise, on all the excellencies and defects of human nature, is scarce to be found in our own, or, perhaps, any other language."³

Johnson's partiality for Savage made him entertain no doubt of his story, however extraordinary and improbable. It never occurred to him to question his being the son of the Countess of Macclesfield⁴, of whose unrelenting barbarity he so loudly complained, and the particulars of which are related in so strong and affecting a manner in Johnson's *Life* of him. Johnson was certainly well warranted in publishing his narrative, however offensive it might be to the lady and her relations; because her alleged unnatural and cruel conduct to her son, and shameful avowal of guilt, were stated in a *Life of Savage* now lying before me, which came out so early as 1727, and no attempt had been made to confute it, or to punish the author or printer as a libeller: but for the honour of human nature, we should be glad to find the shocking tale not true; and from a respectable gentleman⁵ connected with the lady's family, I have received such information and remarks, as, joined to my own inquiries, will, I think, render it at least somewhat doubtful, especially when we consider that it must have originated from the person himself who went by the name of Richard Savage.

¹ Giffard was the manager of Goodman's Fields playhouse, where Garrick made his first appearance, Oct. 19, 1741, in the character of Richard the Third.—WRIGHT.

² I suspect Dr. Taylor was inaccurate in this statement. The emphasis should be equally upon *shalt* and *not*, as both concur to form the negative injunction; and *false witness*, like the other acts prohibited in the Decalogue, should not be marked by any peculiar emphasis, but only be distinctly enunciated.—BOSWELL. A moderate emphasis should be placed on *false*.—KEARNEY. Sheridan, in his "*Lectures on the Art of Reading*," (p. 258.), places the emphasis wholly on *false*.—MARKLAND. Here, on those six words, *Thou shalt not bear false witness*, we have six authorities—Drs. Johnson, Taylor, and Kearney, and Messrs. Giffard, Sheridan, Boswell—with each a different emphasis. This diversity seems to arise from the fact, that in these awful and com-

prehensive commands of God himself, there is no room for any peculiar emphasis: in *steal not*—*murder not*—*bear not false witness*—all the words are of equal value towards expressing the Divine Command.—CROKER.

³ This character of the "*Life of Savage*" was not written by Fielding, as has been supposed, but most probably by Ralph, who, as appears from the minutes of the partners of "*The Champion*," in the possession of Mr. Reed, of Staple Inn, succeeded Fielding in his share of the paper, before the date of that eulogium.—BOSWELL.

⁴ Anne Mason, wife of Charles Gerrard, Earl of Macclesfield, of the first creation. He died in 1704, and was succeeded by his brother, who also dying without issue, the title became extinct.—CROKER.

⁵ The late Francis Cockeyne Cust, Esq., one of his Majesty's counsel.—BOSWELL. He died Nov. 30, 1791.—WRIGHT.

If the maxim, *falsum in uno, falsum in omnibus*, were to be received without qualification, the credit of Savage's narrative, as conveyed to us, would be annihilated; for it contains some assertions which, beyond a question, are not true.

1. In order to induce a belief that the Earl Rivers — on account of a criminal connection with whom, Lady Macclesfield is said to have been divorced from her husband, by act of parliament [1697] — had a peculiar anxiety about the child which she bore to him, it is alleged, that his Lordship gave him his own name, and had it duly recorded in the register of St. Andrew's, Holborn. I have carefully inspected that register, but no such entry is to be found.¹

2. It is stated, that "Lady Macclesfield, having lived for some time upon very uneasy terms with her husband, thought a public confession of adultery the most obvious and expeditious method of obtaining her liberty;" and Johnson, assuming this to be true, stigmatises her with indignation, as "the wretch who had, without scruple, proclaimed herself an adulteress."² But I have perused the Journals of both houses of Parliament at the period of her divorce, and there find it authentically ascertained, that so far from voluntarily submitting to the ignominious charge of adultery, she made a strenuous defence by her Counsel; the bill having been first moved the 15th of January, 1697-8, in the House of Lords, and proceeded on (with various applications for time to bring up witnesses at a distance, &c.) at intervals, till the 3d of March, when it passed. It was brought to the Commons, by a message from the Lords, the 5th of March, proceeded on the 7th, 10th, 11th, 14th, and 15th, on which day, after a full examination of witnesses on both sides, and hearing of Counsel,

it was reported without amendments, passed, and carried to the Lords.

That Lady Macclesfield was convicted of the crime of which she was accused, cannot be denied; but the question now is, whether the person calling himself Richard Savage was her son.

It has been said³, that when Earl Rivers was dying, and anxious to provide for all his natural children, he was informed by Lady Macclesfield, that her son by him was dead. Whether, then, shall we believe that this was a malignant lie, invented by a mother to prevent her own child from receiving the bounty of his father, which was accordingly the consequence, if the person whose life Johnson wrote was her son; or shall we not rather believe that the person who then assumed the name of Richard Savage was an impostor, being in reality the son of the shoemaker, under whose wife's care⁴ Lady Macclesfield's child was placed; that after the death of the real Richard Savage, he attempted to personate him; and that the fraud being known to Lady Macclesfield, he was therefore repulsed by her with just resentment?

There is a strong circumstance in support of the last supposition; though it has been mentioned as an aggravation of Lady Macclesfield's unnatural conduct, and that is, her having prevented him from obtaining the benefit of a legacy left to him by Mrs. Lloyd, his godmother. For if there was such a legacy left, his not being able to obtain payment of it must be imputed to his consciousness that he was not the real person. The just inference should be, that by the death of Lady Macclesfield's child before its godmother, the legacy became lapsed, and therefore that Johnson's Richard Savage was an impostor.

If he had a title to the legacy, he could not

¹ Mr. Cust's reasoning, with respect to the filiation of Richard Savage, always appeared to me extremely unsatisfactory; and is entirely overturned by the following decisive observations, for which the reader is indebted to the unwearied researches of Mr. Bindley. — The story on which Mr. Cust so much relies, that Savage was a supposititious child, not the son of Lord Rivers and Lady Macclesfield, but the offspring of a shoemaker, introduced in consequence of her real son's death, was, without doubt, grounded on the circumstance of Lady Macclesfield having, in 1696, previously to the birth of Savage, had a daughter by the Earl Rivers, who died in her infancy; a fact which, as the same gentleman observes to me, was proved in the course of the proceedings on Lord Macclesfield's Bill of Divorce. Most fictions of this kind have some admixture of truth in them. — MALONE.

From "*The Earl of Macclesfield's Case*," which, in 1697-8, was presented to the Lords, in order to procure an act of divorce, it appears that "Anne, Countess of Macclesfield, under the name of Madam Smith, was delivered of a male child in Fox Court, near Brook Street, Holborn, by Mrs. Wright, a midwife, on Saturday, the 16th of January, 1696-7, at six o'clock in the morning, who was baptized on the Monday following, and registered by the name of Richard, the son of John Smith, by Mr. Burbridge, assistant to Dr. Manningham's curate for St. Andrew's, Holborn: that the child was christened on Monday, the 18th of January, in Fox Court; and, from the privacy, was supposed by Mr. Burbridge to be 'a by-blow or bastard.'" It also appears, that during her delivery, the lady wore a mask; and that Mary Pegler on the next day after the baptism (Tuesday) took a male child, whose mother was called Madam Smith, from the house of Mrs. Pheasant, who went by the name of Mrs. Lee, in Fox Court [running from Brook Street into Gray's Inn Lane.]

Conformable to this statement is the entry in the register of St. Andrew's, Holborn, which is as follows, and which unquestionably records the baptism of Richard Savage, to whom Lord Rivers gave his own Christian name, prefixed to the assumed surname of his mother: — "Jan. 1696-7, Richard, son of John Smith and Mary, in Fox Court, in Gray's Inn Lane, baptized the 18th." — BINDLEY.

Mr. Cust and Mr. Boswell's share of the argument and assertions in the text not being distinguished, it is not possible to say which of them hazarded the erroneous statement relative to the parish register of St. Andrew's, which certainly does contain what the text asserts is not to be found in it. If the maxim, therefore, *falsum in uno, falsum in omnibus*, were to be applied to them, all their observations must be rejected. On the other hand, Mr. Bindley's researches seem only to prove what has been generally admitted, that Lady Macclesfield had a child, by Lord Rivers, baptized by the name of Richard; but it does not disprove the assertion, that this child died in its infancy, and that Savage, when between seventeen and eighteen, assumed its name. Savage, in a letter to Miss Carter, admits that he did pass under another name till he was seventeen years of age, but not the name of any person he lived with. — *Life of Mrs. Carter*, vol. i. p. 59. — CROKER.

² No divorce can be obtained in the courts on mere confession of the party. There must be proofs. — KEARNEY.

³ By Johnson, in his *Life of Savage*. — MALONE.

⁴ This, as an accurate friend remarks to me, is not correctly stated. The shoemaker under whose care Savage was placed, with a view to his becoming his apprentice, was not the husband of his nurse. See Johnson's *Life of Savage*. — J. BOSWELL, jun.

have found any difficulty in recovering it; for had the executors resisted his claim, the whole costs, as well as the legacy, must have been paid by them, if he had been the child to whom it was given.¹

The talents of Savage, and the mingled fire, rudeness, pride, meanness, and ferocity of his character², concur in making it credible that he was fit to plan and carry on an ambitious and daring scheme of imposture, similar instances of which have not been wanting in higher spheres, in the history of different countries, and have had a considerable degree of success.

Yet, on the other hand, to the companion of Johnson (who, through whatever medium he was conveyed into this world, be it ever so doubtful, "to whom related, or by whom begot," was, unquestionably, a man of no common endowments,) we must allow the weight of general repute as to his *status* or parentage, though illicit; and, supposing him to be an impostor, it seems strange that Lord Tyrconnel, the nephew of Lady Macclesfield, should patronise him, and even admit him as a guest in his family.³ Lastly, it must ever appear very suspicious, that three different accounts of the Life of Richard Savage,—one published in "The Plain Dealer," in 1724, another in 1727, and another by the powerful pen of Johnson, in 1744,—and all of them while Lady Macclesfield was alive⁴, should, notwithstanding the severe attacks upon her, have been suffered to pass without any public and effectual contradiction.⁵

I have thus endeavoured to sum up the evidence upon the case, as fairly as I can; and

the result seems to be, that the world must vibrate in a state of uncertainty as to what was the truth.

This digression, I trust, will not be censured, as it relates to a matter exceedingly curious, and very intimately connected with Johnson, both as a man and an author.

He this year wrote the "Preface to the Harleian Miscellany."* The selection of the pamphlets of which it was composed was made by Mr. Oldys, a man of eager curiosity, and indefatigable diligence, who first exerted that spirit of inquiry into the literature of the old English writers, by which the works of our great dramatic poet have of late been so significantly illustrated.⁶

CHAPTER VIII.

1745—1749.

"*Observations on Macbeth*," and "*Proposals for a new Edition of Shakspeare*."—"Prologue, on the opening of Drury Lane Theatre."—"Prospectus of the Dictionary."—"Progress of the Work."—"Ivy Lane Club."—"Tunbridge Wells."—"Life of Roscommon."—"Preface to Dodsley's Preceptor."—"Vision of Theodore."—"The Vanity of Human Wishes."—"Irene" acted at Drury Lane.

IN 1745, he published a pamphlet entitled "Miscellaneous Observations on the Tragedy

¹ This is decisive: if Savage was what he represented himself to be, nothing could have prevented his recovering his legacy.—CROKER.

² Johnson's companion appears to have persuaded that lofty minded man, that he resembled him in having a noble pride; for Johnson, after painting in strong colours the quarrel between Lord Tyrconnel and Savage, asserts that "the spirit of Mr. Savage, indeed, never suffered him to solicit a reconciliation: he returned reproach for reproach, and insult for insult." But the respectable gentleman to whom I have alluded, has in his possession a letter from Savage, after Lord Tyrconnel had discarded him, addressed to the Rev. Mr. Gilbert, his Lordship's chaplain, in which he requests him, in the humblest manner, to represent his case to the Viscount.—BOSWELL.

³ Trusting to Savage's information, Johnson represents this unhappy man's being received as a companion by Lord Tyrconnel, and pensioned by his Lordship, as posterior to Savage's conviction and pardon. But I am assured, that Savage had received the voluntary bounty of Lord Tyrconnel, and had been dismissed by him long before the murder was committed, and that his Lordship was very instrumental in procuring Savage's pardon, by his intercession with the Queen, through Lady Hertford. If, therefore, he had been desirous of preventing the publication by Savage, he would have left him to his fate. Indeed, I must observe, that although Johnson mentions that Lord Tyrconnel's patronage of Savage was "upon his promise to lay aside his design of exposing the cruelty of his mother," the great biographer has forgotten that he himself has mentioned, that Savage's story had been told several years before in "The Plain Dealer;" from which he quotes this strong saying of the generous Sir Richard Steele, that the "inhumanity of his mother had given him a right to find every good man his father." At the same time it must be acknowledged, that Lady Macclesfield and her relations might still wish that her story should not be brought into more conspicuous notice by the satirical pen of Savage.—BOSWELL.

⁴ Miss Mason, after having forfeited the title of Lady Mac-

clesfield by divorce, was married to Colonel Brett, and, it is said, was well known in all the polite circles. Colley Cibber, I am informed, had so high an opinion of her taste and judgment as to genteel life and manners, that he submitted every scene of his "Careless Husband" to Mrs. Brett's revision and correction. Colonel Brett was reported to be free in his gallantry with his lady's maid. Mrs. Brett came into a room one day in her own house, and found the Colonel and her maid both fast asleep in two chairs. She tied a white handkerchief round her husband's neck, which was a sufficient proof that she had discovered his intrigue; but she never at any time took notice of it to him. This incident, as I am told, gave occasion to the well-wrought scene of Sir Charles and Lady Easy, and Edging.—BOSWELL.

Lady Macclesfield died 1753, aged above 80. Her eldest daughter, by Col. Brett, was, for the few last months of his life, the mistress of George I. (See Walpole's *Reminiscences*.) Her marriage ten years after her royal lover's death is thus announced in the *Gent. Mag.* 1737:—"Sept. 17. Sir W. Leman, of Northall, Bart., to Miss Brett of Bond Street, an heiress;" and again next month—"Oct. 8. Sir William Leman, of Northall, Baronet, to Miss Brett, half sister to Mr. Savage, son to the late Earl Rivers;" for the difference of date I know not how to account; but the second insertion was, no doubt, made by Savage to countenance his own pretensions.—CROKER.

⁵ It should, however, as Boswell himself suggests, be recollected, before we draw any conclusion from Lady Macclesfield's forbearance to prosecute a libeller, that however innocent she might be as to Savage, she was undeniably and inexcusably guilty in other respects, and would have been naturally reluctant to drag her frailties again before the public.—CROKER.

⁶ William Oldys was born in 1696. In 1737 he published "The British Librarian; an Abstract of our most scarce, useful, and valuable Books;" and, in 1738, a *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*. He also contributed several articles to the *General Dictionary*, and the *Biographia Britannica*. He died in 1761.—WRIGHT.

of Macbeth, with Remarks on Sir T. H.'s (Sir Thomas Hanmer's) Edition of Shakspeare." ¹ * To which he affixed, Proposals for a new edition of that poet.

As we do not trace any thing else published by him during the course of this year, we may conjecture that he was occupied entirely with that work. But the little encouragement which was given by the public to his anonymous proposals for the execution of a task which Warburton was known to have undertaken, probably damped his ardour. His pamphlet, however, was highly esteemed, and was fortunate enough to obtain the approbation even of the supercilious Warburton himself, who, in the Preface to his Shakspeare, published two years afterwards, thus mentioned it: "As to all those things which have been published under the titles of *Essays, Remarks, Observations*, &c. on Shakspeare, if you except some Critical Notes on Macbeth, given as a specimen of a projected edition, and written, as appears, by a man of parts and genius, the rest are absolutely below a serious notice."

Of this flattering distinction shown to him by Warburton, a very grateful remembrance was ever entertained by Johnson, who said, "He praised me at a time when praise was of value to me."

In 1746, it is probable that he was still employed upon his Shakspeare, which perhaps he laid aside for a time, upon account of the high expectations which were formed of Warburton's edition of that great poet. It is somewhat curious, that his literary career appears to have been almost totally suspended in the years 1745 and 1746, those years which were marked by a civil war in Great Britain, when a rash attempt was made to restore the House of Stuart to the throne. That he had a tenderness for that unfortunate House, is well known; and some may fancifully imagine, that a sym-

pathetic anxiety impeded the exertion of his intellectual powers²: but I am inclined to think, that he was, during this time, sketching the outlines of his great philological work.

None of his letters during those years are extant, so far as I can discover. This is much to be regretted. It might afford some entertainment to see how he then expressed himself to his private friends concerning state affairs. Dr. Adams informs me, that "at this time a favourite object which he had in contemplation was 'The Life of Alfred;,' in which, from the warmth with which he spoke about it, he would, I believe, had he been master of his own will, have engaged himself, rather than on any other subject."

In 1747, it is supposed that the Gentleman's Magazine for May was enriched by him with five short poetical pieces distinguished by three asterisks. The first is a translation, or rather a paraphrase, of a Latin Epitaph on Sir Thomas Hanmer. Whether the Latin was his, or not, I have never heard, though I should think it probably was, if it be certain that he wrote the English; as to which my only cause of doubt is, that his slighting character of Hanmer as an editor, in his "Observations on Macbeth," is very different from that in the Epitaph. It may be said, that there is the same contrariety between the character in the Observations, and that in his own Preface to Shakspeare; but a considerable time elapsed between the one publication and the other, whereas, the Observations and the Epitaph came close together. The others are, "To Miss —, on her giving the Author a gold and silk net-work Purse of her own weaving;" "Stella in Mourning;" "The Winter's Walk;" "An Ode;" and, "To Lyce, an elderly Lady." I am not positive that all these were his productions³; but as "The Winter's Walk" has never been controverted to be his, and all of

¹ Sir Thomas Hanmer was born in 1676. He was Speaker of the House of Commons in Queen Anne's last parliament, and died May 5. 1746. His Shakspeare, in six volumes quarto, was published in 1744. — WRIGHT.

² In the Garrick Correspondence, there is a letter from Gilbert Walmesley, dated Nov. 3. 1746, containing this passage: — "When you see Mr. Johnson, pray give my compliments, and tell him I esteem him as a great genius — quite lost, both to himself and the world." Upon which the Editor observes, "Between the years 1743 and 1746, Johnson literally wrote nothing. The rebellion that was then raging perhaps inspired him with the hopes that attached to his political principles. He loved the House of Stuart, and in the success of the Pretender might anticipate his own independence." G. C. i. 45. It would be, I readily admit, too fanciful to believe that his literary powers were suspended by "sympathetic anxiety;" but it is little less so to imagine with Mr. Boswell, that he had employed these two years in contemplative preparation for his future Dictionary. He must have had some means, however small, of subsistence. In the absence then of any other explanation, I cannot reject as altogether fanciful the idea of the Garrick Editor, that he may have been diverted from his ordinary pursuits — not by "sympathetic anxiety," but by some more personal share in the proceedings of the Jacobite party. We shall see hereafter (Aug. 1766) that he was privy to the concealment of at least one of the Scotch Jacobites, who was hiding from justice for his share in the rebellion: may he not have been in some difficulties which might occasion his own absence or concealment? might this not have been the period of his temporary separation from his wife, if any such thing ever occurred? and finally, it is at least a curious coincidence, that Johnson's

disappearance from the Gentleman's Magazine, Feb. 1744, (*ante*, p. 49. n. 1.) is exactly contemporaneous with the arrest of Col. Cecil, the Pretender's agent and the general agitation into which the country was thrown by the king's message to Parliament announcing an invasion, and that he reappears in 1747, when the rebellion and all its fatal consequences were over. I have a strong suspicion that from this period dates what I may call his morbid antipathy to the Scotch; and I also faintly suspect that a strong wish to recover an old letter out of the hands of Francis Stuart, one of his amanuenses in compiling the Dictionary, may have reference to this period. See *post*, Dec. 1779, 27th Feb. and 18th March, 1784, and the notes about Francis Stuart in the Appendix. — CROKER, 1846.

³ In the "Universal Visiter," to which Johnson contributed, the mark which is affixed to some pieces unquestionably his, is also found subjoined to others, of which he certainly was not the author. The mark, therefore, will not ascertain the poems in question to have been written by him. Some of them were probably the productions of Hawkesworth, who, it is believed, was afflicted with the gout. The verses on a Purse were inserted afterwards in Mrs. Williams's Miscellanies, and are, unquestionably, Johnson's. — MALONE.

There is no evidence whatever that any of these were Johnson's, and every reason to suppose that they are all Hawkesworth's. The ode which Boswell doubts about on internal evidence, is the ode to *Spring*, which, as well as those on *Summer*, *Autumn*, and *Winter*, have been of late published as Johnson's, and are, no doubt, as Boswell says, all by the same hand. But we see that *Spring* bears internal marks of not being Johnson's, and of being Hawkesworth's. *Winter* and *Summer*, Mr. Chalmers asserts to be also Hawkes-

them have the same mark, it is reasonable to conclude that they are all written by the same hand. Yet to the Ode, in which we find a passage very characteristic of him, being a learned description of the gout,

"Unhappy, whom to beds of pain
Arthritic tyranny consigns ;

there is the following note, "The author being ill of the gout : " but Johnson was not attacked with that distemper till a very late period of his life. May not this, however, be a poetical fiction? Why may not a poet suppose himself to have the gout, as well as suppose himself to be in love, of which we have innumerable instances, and which has been admirably ridiculed by Johnson in his "Life of Cowley?" I have also some difficulty to believe that he could produce such a group of *conceits* as appear in the verses to Lyce, in which he claims for this ancient personage as good a right to be assimilated to *heaven*, as nymphs whom other poets have flattered; he therefore ironically ascribes to her the attributes of the sky, in such stanzas as this :—

"Her teeth the night with darkness dies,
She's starr'd with pimples o'er;
Her tongue like nimble lightning plies,
And can with thunder roar."

But as, at a very advanced age, he could condescend to trifle in *namby-pamby* rhymes, to please Mrs. Thrale and her daughter, he may have, in his earlier years, composed such a piece as this.

It is remarkable, that in this first edition of "The Winter's Walk," the concluding line is much more Johnsonian than it was afterwards printed; for in subsequent editions, after praying Stella to "snatch him to her arms," he says,

"And shield me from the ills of life."

Whereas in the first edition it is

"And hide me from the sight of life."

worth's; and the index to the Gent. Mag. for 1748 attributes *Summer* to Mr. Greville, a name known to have been assumed by Hawkesworth. The verses on the "Purse," and to "Stella in Mourning," are certainly by the same hand as the four odes. The whole therefore may be assigned to Hawkesworth, but at all events should be removed from Johnson's works.—CROKER.

¹ Johnson's habitual horror was not of life, but of death.—CROKER.

² Mr. Boswell and the critic, who I suppose was Doctor Blair, are unlucky in this objection, for Johnson has "*indifferently*" in the sense of "without concern" in his Dictionary, with this example from Shakespeare, "And I will look on death indifferently."—CROKER.

³ These verses are somewhat too severe on the extraordinary person who is the chief figure in them; for he was, undoubtedly, brave. His pleasantry during his solemn trial (in which, by the way, I have heard Mr. David Hume observe, that we have one of the very few speeches of Mr. Murray, now Earl of Mansfield, authentically given) was very remarkable. When asked if he had any questions to put to Sir Everard Fawkener, who was one of the strongest witnesses against him, he answered, "I only wish him joy of his young wife." And after sentence of death, in the horrible terms in such cases of treason, was pronounced upon him, as

A horror at life in general is more consonant with Johnson's habitual gloomy cast of thought.¹

I have heard him repeat with great energy the following verses, which appeared in the Gentleman's Magazine for April this year; but I have no authority to say they were his own. Indeed, one of the best critics of our age suggests to me, that "the word *indifferently* being used in the sense of *without concern*, and being also very unpoetical, renders it improbable that they should have been his composition."²

ON LORD LOVAT'S EXECUTION.

"Pitied by gentle minds KILMARNOCK died;
The brave, BALMERINO, were on thy side;
RADCLIFFE, unhappy in his crimes of youth,
Steady in what he still mistook for truth,
Beheld his death so decently unmoved,
The soft lamented, and the brave approved.
But LOVAT's fate indifferently we view,
True to no king, to no religion true:
No fair forgets the ruin he has done;
No child laments the tyrant of his son;
No Tory pities, thinking what he was;
No Whig compassions, for he left the cause;
The brave regret not, for he was not brave;
The honest mourn not, knowing him a knave!"³

This year his old pupil and friend, David Garrick, having become joint patentee and manager of Drury Lane theatre, Johnson honoured his opening of it with a Prologue*, which, for just and manly dramatic criticism on the whole range of the English stage, as well as for poetical excellence, is unrivalled. Like the celebrated Epilogue to the "Distressed Mother,"⁴ it was, during the season, often called for by the audience. The most striking and brilliant passages of it have been so often repeated, and are so well recollected by all the lovers of the drama and of poetry, that it would be superfluous to point them out. In the Gentleman's Magazine for December this year, he inserted an "Ode on Winter," which is, I think, an admirable specimen of his genius for lyric poetry.⁵

But the year 1747 is distinguished as the

he was retiring from the bar, he said, "Fare you well, my lords, we shall not all meet again in one place." He behaved with perfect composure at his execution, and called out, "*Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.*"—BOSWELL.

He was a profligate villain, and deserved death for his moral, at least, as much as for his political, offences. There is, in the Gentleman's Magazine for April, 1747, an account of the behaviour of Lord Lovat at his execution, the latter part of which, censuring pleasantry *in articulo mortis*, bears strong internal evidence, both in matter and manner, of having been written by Johnson. The interest which he took in this transaction may have fixed in his memory the lines on Lord Lovat, which certainly do not resemble his own style.—CROKER.

⁴ "In 1712, Ambrose Philips brought upon the stage, 'The Distressed Mother,' almost a translation of Racine's 'Andromaque.' It was concluded with the most successful epilogue that was ever yet spoken on the English theatre. The three first nights it was recited twice, and continued to be demanded through the run, as it is termed, of the play." Johnson, *Life of A. Philips*.—WAGGT. This celebrated prologue, though attributed to Budgell, was written by Addison. *Ib.* post. 26th April, 1776.—CROKER, 1846.

⁵ Certainly Hawkesworth's. See *antiq.* p. 54. n. 3.—CROKER.

epoch when Johnson's arduous and important work, his "DICTIONARY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE," was announced to the world, by the publication of its Plan or *Prospectus*.

How long this immense undertaking had been the object of his contemplation, I do not know. I once asked him by what means he had attained to that astonishing knowledge of our language, by which he was enabled to realise a design of such extent and accumulated difficulty. He told me, that "it was not the effect of particular study; but that it had grown up in his mind insensibly." I have been informed by Mr. James Dodsley, that several years before this period, when Johnson was one day sitting in his brother Robert's shop, he heard his brother suggest to him, that a Dictionary of the English Language would be a work that would be well received by the public; that Johnson seemed at first to catch at the proposition, but, after a pause, said, in his abrupt decisive manner, "I believe I shall not undertake it." That he, however, had bestowed much thought upon the subject, before he published his "Plan," is evident from the enlarged, clear, and accurate views which it exhibits; and we find him mentioning in that tract, that many of the writers whose testimonies were to be produced as authorities, were selected by Pope; which proves that he had been furnished, probably by Mr. Robert Dodsley, with whatever hints that eminent poet had contributed towards a great literary project, that had been the subject of important consideration in a former reign.

The booksellers who contracted with Johnson, single and unaided, for the execution of a work, which in other countries has not been effected but by the co-operating exertions of many, were Mr. Robert Dodsley, Mr. Charles Hitch, Mr. Andrew Millar, the two Messieurs Longman, and the two Messieurs Knapton. The price stipulated was fifteen hundred and seventy-five pounds.

The "Plan" was addressed to Philip Dormer, Earl of Chesterfield, then one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State; a nobleman who was very ambitious of literary distinction, and who, upon being informed of the design, had expressed himself in terms very favourable to its success. There is, perhaps, in every thing of any consequence, a secret history which it would be amusing to know, could we have it authentically communicated. Johnson told me (Sept. 22. 1777, going from Ashbourn to Islam), "Sir, the way in which the plan of my Dictionary came to be inscribed to Lord Chesterfield, was this. I had

neglected to write it by the time appointed. Dodsley suggested a desire to have it addressed to Lord Chesterfield. I laid hold of this as a pretext for delay, that it might be better done, and let Dodsley have his desire. I said to my friend, Dr. Bathurst, 'Now, if any good comes of my addressing to Lord Chesterfield, it will be ascribed to deep policy, when, in fact, it was only a casual excuse for laziness.'"¹

It is worthy of observation, that the "Plan" has not only the substantial merit of comprehension, perspicuity, and precision, but that the language of it is unexceptionably excellent; it being altogether free from that inflation of style, and those uncommon but apt and energetic words, which, in some of his writings, have been censured, with more petulance than justice; and never was there a more dignified strain of compliment than that in which he courts the attention of one who, he had been persuaded to believe, would be a respectable patron.

"With regard to questions of purity or propriety," says he, "I was once in doubt whether I should not attribute to myself too much in attempting to decide them, and whether my province was to extend beyond the proposition of the question, and the display of the suffrages on each side; but I have been since determined by your lordship's opinion, to interpose my own judgment, and shall therefore endeavour to support what appears to me most consonant to grammar and reason. Ausonius thought that modesty forbade him to plead inability for a task to which Cæsar had judged him equal:

'Cur me posse negem, posse quod ille putat?'

And I may hope, my lord, that since you, whose authority in our language is so generally acknowledged, have commissioned me to declare my own opinion, I shall be considered as exercising a kind of vicarious jurisdiction; and that the power which might have been denied to my own claim, will be readily allowed me as the delegate of your lordship."

This passage proves, that Johnson's addressing his "Plan" to Lord Chesterfield was not merely in consequence of the result of a report by means of Dodsley, that the earl favoured the design; but that there had been a particular communication with his lordship concerning it. Dr. Taylor told me, that Johnson sent his "Plan" to him in manuscript, for his perusal; and that when it was lying upon his table, Mr. William Whitehead² happened to pay him a visit, and being shown it, was highly pleased with such parts of it as he had time to read, and begged to take it home with him,

¹ The reader will see on the next pages, under Johnson's own hand, that this account of the affair was inaccurate; but if it were correct, would it not invalidate Johnson's subsequent complaint of Lord Chesterfield's inattention and ingratitude? for, even if his lordship had neglected that which had been dedicated to him only by laziness and accident, he could not justly be charged with ingratitude; a dedicatory who means no compliment, has no reason to com-

plain if he be not rewarded; but more of this hereafter. — CROKER.

² William Whitehead (see *antè*, p. 3.), born at Cambridge in 1715, was the fashionable poet of a day that forgot Horace's anathema against mediocrity. He succeeded Cibber as poet laureate in 1757, and died April 14. 1785. He must not be confounded with Paul Whitehead, no better poet, and a much less estimable man. — CROKER.

which he was allowed to do; that from him it got into the hands of a noble lord, who carried it to Lord Chesterfield.¹ When Taylor observed this might be an advantage, Johnson replied, "No, Sir, it would have come out with more bloom if it had not been seen before by anybody."

The opinion conceived of it by another noble author, appears from the following extract of a letter from the Earl of Orrery² to Dr. Birch:

"Caledon, Dec. 30. 1747.

"I have just now seen the specimen of Mr. Johnson's Dictionary, addressed to Lord Chesterfield. I am much pleased with the plan, and I think the specimen is one of the best that I have ever read. Most specimens disgust, rather than prejudice us in favour of the work to follow; but the language of Mr. Johnson's is good, and the arguments are properly and modestly expressed. However, some expressions may be cavilled at, but they are trifles. I'll mention one: the *barren laurel*. The laurel is not barren, in any sense whatever; it bears fruits and flowers. *Sed hæ sunt nugæ*, and I have great expectations from the performance."³

That he was fully aware of the arduous nature of the undertaking, he acknowledges; and shows himself perfectly sensible of it in the conclusion of his "Plan;" but he had a noble consciousness of his own abilities, which enabled him to go on with undaunted spirit.

Dr. Adams found him one day busy at his Dictionary, when the following dialogue ensued:—"ADAMS. This is a great work, sir. How are you to get all the etymologies? JOHNSON. Why, sir, here is a shelf with Junius, and Skinner, and others; and there is a Welsh gentleman who has published a collection of Welsh proverbs, who will help me with the Welsh. ADAMS. But, sir, how can you do this in three years? JOHNSON. Sir, I have no doubt that I can do it in three years. ADAMS. But the French Academy, which

consists of forty members, took forty years to compile their Dictionary. JOHNSON. Sir, thus it is. This is the proportion. Let me see; forty times forty is sixteen hundred. As three to sixteen hundred, so is the proportion of an Englishman to a Frenchman." With so much ease and pleasantry could he talk of that prodigious labour which he had undertaken to execute.

The public has had, from another pen⁴, a long detail of what had been done in this country by prior Lexicographers; and no doubt Johnson was wise to avail himself of them, so far as they went: but the learned yet judicious research of etymology, the various yet accurate display of definition, and the rich collection of authorities, were reserved for the superior mind of our great philologist. For the mechanical part he employed, as he told me, six amanuenses; and let it be remembered by the natives of North-Britain, to whom he is supposed to have been so hostile, that five of them were of that country. There were two Messieurs Macbean; Mr. Shiels, who, we shall hereafter see [April 10. 1776], partly wrote⁵ the Lives of the Poets to which the name of Cibber is affixed; Mr. [Francis] Stewart⁶, son of Mr. George Stewart, bookseller at Edinburgh; and a Mr. Maitland. The sixth of these humble assistants was Mr. Peyton, who, I believe, taught French, and published some elementary tracts.

To all these painful labourers, Johnson showed a never-ceasing kindness, so far as they stood in need of it. The elder Mr. Macbean had afterwards the honour of being Librarian to Archibald Duke of Argyle, for many years, but was left without a shilling. Johnson wrote for him a Preface to "A System of Ancient Geography;" and, by the favour of Lord Thurlow, got him admitted a poor brother of the Charter-house. For Shiels, who died of a consumption, he had much ten-

¹ This also must be inaccurate, for the plan contains numerous allusions and references to Lord Chesterfield's opinions; and there is the evidence both of Lord Chesterfield and Johnson, that Dodsley was the person who communicated with his lordship on the subject.—C. 1831. But I have positive evidence on this point. Mr. Anderdon purchased at Mr. James Boswell's sale many of his father's MSS., one of which he communicated to me, after my first edition, and which is very curious, and indeed important to the question between Lord Chesterfield and Johnson. It is a draft of the prospectus of the Dictionary carefully written by an amanuensis, but signed in great form by Johnson's own hand. It was evidently that which was laid before Lord Chesterfield. Some useful remarks are made in his lordship's hand, and some in another. Johnson adopted all these suggestions. Amongst them is to be found the opinion (see *post*, 27th March, 1772) that *grate* should be pronounced *grate*, given in a couplet of Rowe, —

"As if misfortune made the throne her seat,
And none could be unhappy but the great."

"Undoubtedly," remarked Lord Chesterfield, "a bad rhyme, tho' found in a good poet." This MS. now belongs to Mr. Lewis Pocock.—CROKER, 1846.

² John Boyle, born in 1707; educated first under the private tuition of Fenton the poet, and afterwards at Westminster School and Christchurch College, Oxford; succeeded his father as fifth Earl of Orrery in 1737; D.C.L. of Oxford in 1743; F.R.S. in 1750; and, on the death of his cousin, in 1753, fifth Earl of Cork. He published several works, but the only original one of any note is his "Life of Swift,"

written with great professions of friendship, but, in fact, with considerable severity towards the dean. Lord Orrery's influence may have tended to increase Johnson's dislike of Swift. Lord Orrery's estate was much encumbered, and his pecuniary circumstances much embarrassed. "If he had been rich," said Johnson, (*post*, 22d Sept., 1773) "he would have been a very liberal patron."—CROKER.

³ Birch MSS. Brit. Mus. 4303.—BOSWELL.
⁴ See Sir John Hawkins's Life of Johnson.—BOSWELL. Sir John's List of former English Dictionaries is, however, by no means complete.—MALONE.

⁵ Mr. Boswell's statement, that Shiels only partly wrote what are called "Cibber's Lives of the Poets," seems inconsistent with the solemn assertion of Johnson himself, in the *Life of Hammond*:—

"I take this opportunity to testify, that the book called *Cibber's Lives of the Poets* was not written, nor, I believe, ever seen by either of the Cibbers, but was the work of Robert Shiels, a native of Scotland, a man of a very acute understanding, though with little scholastic education, who, not long after the publication of his work, died in London of a consumption. His life was virtuous and his end was pious. Theophilus Cibber, then a prisoner for debt, imparted, as I was told, his name for ten guineas. The manuscript of Shiels is now in my possession." Johnson, we see, says the *whole work was Shiels's*, to the exclusion of himself as well as Cibber. See more on this subject, *post*, 10th April, 1776, where it will be shown that Johnson's assertion is much too broad.—CROKER.

⁶ See the note on Francis Stuart in the Appendix.—CROKER.

derness; and it has been thought that some choice sentences in the *Lives* of the Poets were supplied by him. Peyton, when reduced to penury, had frequent aid from the bounty of Johnson; who at last was at the expense of burying him and his wife.

While the Dictionary was going forward, Johnson lived part of the time in Holborn, part in Gough Square, Fleet Street; and he had an upper room fitted up like a counting-house for the purpose, in which he gave to the copyists their several tasks. The words partly taken from other dictionaries, and partly supplied by himself, having been first written down with spaces left between them, he delivered in writing their etymologies, definitions, and various significations.¹ The authorities were copied from the books themselves, in which he had marked the passages with a black-lead pencil², the traces of which could easily be effaced. I have seen several of them, in which that trouble had not been taken; so that they were just as when used by the copyists. It is remarkable, that he was so attentive in the choice of the passages in which words were authorised, that one may read page after page of his Dictionary with improvement and pleasure; and it should not pass unobserved, that he has quoted no author whose writings had a tendency to hurt sound religion and morality.

¹ Boswell's account of the manner in which Johnson compiled his Dictionary is confused and erroneous. He began his task (as he himself expressly described to me), by devoting his first care to a diligent perusal of all such English writers as were most correct in their language, and under every sentence which he meant to quote he drew a line, and noted in the margin the first letter of the word under which it was to occur. He then delivered these books to his clerks, who transcribed each sentence on a separate slip of paper, and arranged the same under the word referred to. By these means he collected the several words and their different significations; and when the whole arrangement was alphabetically formed, he gave the definitions of their meanings, and collected their etymologies from Skinner, Junius, and other writers on the subject. — PERCY.

² Johnson's copy of Hudibras, 1726, with the passages thus marked on every page, is now in Mr. Upcott's collection. It has Johnson's signature, dated Aug. 1747. — WRIGHT.

³ For the sake of relaxation from his literary labours, and probably also for Mrs. Johnson's health, he this summer visited Tunbridge Wells, then a place of much greater resort than it is at present. Here he met Mr. Cibber, Mr. Garrick, Mr. Samuel Richardson, Mr. Whiston, Mr. Ooslow (the Speaker), Mr. Pitt, Mr. Lytleton, and several other distinguished persons. In a print, representing some of the remarkable characters "who were at Tunbridge Wells in 1748 (see Richardson's Correspondence), Dr. Johnson stands the first figure." — MALONE. Mrs. Johnson is also represented, as are Garrick, Cibber, Speaker Onslow, Mr. Pitt (Lord Chatham), Mr. afterwards Lord Lytleton, Miss Chudleigh, and several other celebrated persons; and in this assemblage neither Johnson nor his wife exhibit an appearance of inferiority to the rest of the company. — CROKER.

⁴ He was afterwards, for several years, chairman of the Middlesex Justices, and upon occasion of presenting an address to the king, accepted the usual offer of knighthood. He is author of "A History of Music," in five volumes in quarto. By assiduous attendance upon Johnson in his last illness, he obtained the office of one of his executors; in consequence of which, the booksellers of London employed him to publish an edition of Dr. Johnson's Works, and to write his Life. — BOSWELL.

⁵ Sir John Hawkins says:—"The club met weekly at the King's Head, a famous beef-steak house, in Ivy Lane, every Tuesday evening. Thither Johnson constantly resorted, and, with a disposition to please and be pleased, would pass those hours in a free and unrestrained interchange of sentiments, which otherwise had been spent at home in painful reflection.

The necessary expense of preparing a work of such magnitude for the press, must have been a considerable deduction from the price stipulated to be paid for the copyright. I understand that nothing was allowed by the booksellers on that account; and I remember his telling me, that a large portion of it having, by mistake, been written upon both sides of the paper, so as to be inconvenient for the compositor, it cost him twenty pounds to have it transcribed upon one side only.

He is now to be considered as "tugging at his oar," as engaged in a steady continued course of occupation, sufficient to employ all his time for some years; and which was the best preventive of that constitutional melancholy which was ever lurking about him, ready to trouble his quiet. But his enlarged and lively mind could not be satisfied without more diversity of employment, and the pleasure of animated relaxation.³ He therefore not only exerted his talents in occasional composition, very different from Lexicography, but formed a club in Ivy Lane, Paternoster Row, with a view to enjoy literary discussion, and amuse his evening hours. The members associated with him in this little society were his beloved friend Dr. Richard Bathurst, Mr Hawkesworth, afterwards well known by his writings, Mr. John Hawkins, an attorney⁴, and a few others of different professions.⁵

The persons who composed this little society were—the Rev. Dr. Salter, father of the late Master of the Charter House; Dr. Hawkesworth; Mr. Ryland, a merchant; Mr. John Payne, then a bookseller; Mr. Samuel Dyer, a learned young man intended for the dissenting ministry; Dr. William McGhie, a Scots physician; Dr. Edmund Barker, a young physician; Dr. Richard Bathurst, also a young physician; and myself.—At these meetings I had opportunities of observing, not only that in conversation Johnson made it a rule to talk his best, but that on many subjects he was not uniform in his opinions, contending as often for victory as for truth. At one time *good*, at another *evil*, was predominant in the moral constitution of the world. Upon one occasion, he would deplore the non-observance of Good Friday, and on another deny that among us of the present age there is any decline of public worship. He would sometimes contradict self-evident propositions, such as, that the luxury of this country has increased with its riches; and that the practice of card-playing is more general than heretofore. At this versatility of temper none, however, took offence: as Alexander and Caesar were born for conquest, so was Johnson for the office of a symposiarch, to preside in all conversations; and I never yet saw the man who would venture to contest his right.—Let it not, however, be imagined, that the members of this our club met together with the temper of gladiators, or that there was wanting among them a disposition to yield to each other in all diversities of opinion: and, indeed, dissipation was not, as in many associations of this kind, the purpose of the meeting; nor were their conversations, like those of the Rota club, restrained to particular topics. On the contrary, it may be said, that with the gravest discourses was intermingled "mirth, that after no repenting draws" (Milton); for not only in Johnson's melancholy there were lucid intervals, but he was a great contributor to the mirth of conversation, by the many witty sayings he uttered, and the many excellent stories which his memory had treasured up, and he would on occasion relate; so that those are greatly mistaken who infer, either from the general tendency of his writings, or that appearance of hebetude which marked his countenance when living, and is discernible in the pictures and prints of him, that he could only reason and discuss, dictate and control. In the talent of *humour* there hardly ever was his equal, except, perhaps, among the old comedians, such as Tarleton, and a few others mentioned by Cibber. By means of this he was enabled to give to any relation that required it, the graces and aids of expression, and to discriminate, with the nicest exactness, the characters of those whom it concerned. In aping this faculty, I have seen Warburton disconcerted, and when he would fain have been

In the Gentleman's Magazine for May of this year he wrote a "Life of Roscommon,"* with Notes; which he afterwards much improved, (indenting the notes into text,) and inserted amongst his Lives of the English Poets.

Mr. Dodsley this year brought out his "Preceptor," one of the most valuable books for the improvement of young minds that has appeared in any language; and to this meritorious work Johnson furnished "The Preface,"* containing a general sketch of the book, with a short and perspicuous recommendation of each article; as also, "The Vision of Theodore, the Hermit, found in his Cell,"* a most beautiful allegory of human life, under the figure of ascending the mountain of Existence. The Bishop of Dromore heard Dr. Johnson say, that he thought this was the best thing he ever wrote.¹

In January, 1749, he published "THE VANITY OF HUMAN WISHES, being the Tenth Satire of Juvenal imitated."* He, I believe, composed it the preceding year.² Mrs. Johnson, for the sake of country air, had lodgings at Hampstead, to which he resorted occasionally, and there the greatest part, if not the whole, of this Imitation was written. The fervid rapidity with which it was produced, is scarcely credible. I have heard him say, that he composed seventy lines of it in one day, without putting one of them upon paper till they were finished.³ I remember when I once regretted to him that he had not given us more of Juvenal's Satires, he said he probably should give more, for he had them all in his head: by which I understood, that he had the originals and correspondent allusions floating in his mind, which he could, when he pleased, embody and render permanent without much

labour. Some of them, however, he observed, were too gross for imitation.

The profits of a single poem, however excellent, appear to have been very small in the last reign, compared with what a publication of the same size has since been known to yield. I have mentioned, upon Johnson's own authority, that for his "London" he had only ten guineas; and now, after his fame was established, he got for his "Vanity of Human Wishes" but five guineas more, as is proved by an authentic document in my possession.⁴

It will be observed, that he reserves to himself the right of printing one edition of this satire, which was his practice upon occasion of the sale of all his writings; it being his fixed intention to publish at some period, for his own profit, a complete collection of his works.

His "Vanity of Human Wishes" has less of common life, but more of a philosophic dignity, than his "London." More readers, therefore, will be delighted with the pointed spirit of "London," than with the profound reflection of "The Vanity of Human Wishes."⁵ Garrick, for instance, observed, in his sprightly manner, with more vivacity than regard to just discrimination, as is usual with wits, "When Johnson lived much with the Herveys, and saw a good deal of what was passing in life, he wrote his 'London,' which is lively and easy: when he became more retired he gave us his 'Vanity of Human Wishes,' which is as hard as Greek: had he gone on to imitate another satire, it would have been as hard as Hebrew."⁶

But "The Vanity of Human Wishes" is, in the opinion of the best judges, as high an effort of ethic poetry as any language can show. The instances of variety of disappointment are chosen so judiciously, and painted so

thought a man of pleasantry, not a little out of countenance." (*Life*, p. 257.)

Mr. Murphy, a better judge than Sir J. Hawkins, tells us, to the same effect, that "Johnson was surprised to be told, but it was certainly true, that with all his great powers of mind, wit and *humour* were his most shining talents;" and Mrs. Piozzi says, that "his vein of *humour* was rich and apparently inexhaustible—to such a degree, that Mr. Murphy used to say he was incomparable at buffoonery." This should be borne in mind in reading Johnson's conversations, because much of that peculiarity called *humour* cannot be adequately conveyed in words, and many things may appear trite, dull, or offensively rude in mere narration, which were enlivened or softened by the air and style of the delivery.—CROKER.

¹ The Bishop told Mr. Tyers, that Johnson composed it, in one night, after finishing an evening at Holborn.—CROKER.

² Sir John Hawkins, with solemn inaccuracy, represents this poem as a consequence of the indifferent reception of his tragedy. But the fact is, that the poem was published on the 9th of January, and the tragedy was not acted till the 6th of the February following.—BOSWELL.

³ This was Johnson's general habit of composing: his defect of sight rendered writing and written corrections somewhat troublesome, and he therefore often exercised his memory where others would have employed pen and paper.—CROKER.

⁴ Nov. 25, 1748, I received of Mr. Dodsley fifteen guineas, for which I assign to him the right of copy of an Imitation of the Tenth Satire of Juvenal, written by me, reserving to myself the right of printing one edition. SAM. JOHNSON.—BOSWELL.

⁵ Jan. 9, 1821. Read Johnson's "Vanity of Human Wishes,"—all the examples and mode of giving them sub-

lime, as well as the latter part, with the exception of an occasional couplet. I do not so much admire the opening. The first line, "Let observation," &c. is certainly heavy and useless. But 'tis a grand poem—and so true!—true as the Tenth of Juvenal himself. The lapse of ages *changes* all things—time—language—the earth—the bounds of the sea—the stars of the sky, and every thing "about, around, and underneath" mine, *except man himself*. The infinite variety of lives conduct but to death, and the infinity of wishes lead but to disappointment.—*Byron*, vol. v. p. 66.—WRIGHT.

⁶ From Mr. Langton.—BOSWELL. I doubt the accuracy of Mr. Langton's report. Garrick's criticism (if it deserves the name) and his facts are both unfounded. "The Vanity of Human Wishes" is in a graver and higher tone than the "London," but not *harder* to be understood. On the contrary, some classical allusions, inconsistent with modern manners, obscure passages of the *London*: while all the illustrations, sentiments, and expressions of the other, are, though wonderfully noble and dignified, yet perfectly intelligible, and almost familiar. Moreover, we have seen, that when Johnson wrote "London" he was *not* living the gay and fashionable life which Mr. Garrick is represented as mentioning. Alas! he was starving in obscure lodgings on eight-pence, or perhaps even four-pence a day (see *ante*, p. 27. n. 6.); and there is, in "London," nothing to show any intimacy with the great or fashionable world. As to the *Herveys*, it must again be stated,—contrary to Mr. Boswell's (as well as Mr. Garrick's) supposition "that he was intimate with that family previous to the publication of 'London,'"—that the suer in that poem at "Clodia's fest," stood, in the first edition, "H—y's fest," and was no doubt aimed at Lord Hervey, who was a favourite theme of satire with the opposition writers of the day.—CROKER.

strongly, that, the moment they are read, they bring conviction to every thinking mind. That of the scholar¹ must have depressed the too sanguine expectations of many an ambitious student.² That of the warrior, Charles of Sweden, is, I think, as highly finished a picture as can possibly be conceived.

Were all the other excellencies of this poem annihilated, it must ever have our grateful reverence from its noble conclusion; in which we are consoled with the assurance that happiness may be attained, if we "apply our hearts" to piety:—

"Where then shall hope and fear their objects find?
Shall dull suspense corrupt the stagnant mind?
Must helpless man, in ignorance sedate,
Roll darkling down the torrent of his fate?
Shall no dislike alarm, no wishes rise,
No cries attempt the mercy of the skies?
Inquirer, cease; petitions yet remain,
Which Heaven may hear, nor deem Religion
vain.
Still raise for good the supplicating voice,
But leave to Heaven the measure and the choice.
Safe in His hand, whose eye discerns afar
The secret ambush of a specious prayer;
Implore His aid, in His decisions rest,
Secure, whate'er He gives, He gives the best:
Yet when the sense of sacred presence fires,
And strong devotion to the skies aspires,
Pour forth thy fervours for a healthful mind,
Obedient passions, and a will resign'd;
For love, which scarce collective man can fill;
For patience, sovereign o'er transmuted ill;
For faith, which pining for a happier seat,
Counts death kind Nature's signal for retreat:

¹ When Dr. Johnson, one day, read his own satire, in which the life of a scholar is painted, with the various obstructions thrown in his way to fortune and to fame, he burst into a passion of tears: Mr. Thrale's family and Mr. Scott only were present, who, in a jocular way, clapped him on the back, and said, "What's all this, my dear sir? Why you, and I, and Hercules, you know, were all troubled with *melancholy*." He was a very large man, and made out the triumvirate with Johnson and Hercules comically enough!—Piozzi. This was in allusion to the madness of Hercules on Mount Oeta.—George Lewis Scott, F.R.S., an amiable and learned man, formerly sub-preceptor to George the Third, and afterwards a *Commissioner of Excise*, whom it seems Johnson did not now reckon as "one of the *lowest* of all human beings." See *ante*, p. 5. n. 3.—CROKER.

² In this poem one of the instances mentioned of unfortunate learned men is *Lydiat*:—

"Hear *Lydiat's* life, and Galileo's end."

The history of *Lydiat* being little known, the following account of him may be acceptable to many of my readers. It appeared as a note in the Supplement to the Gentleman's Magazine for 1748, in which some passages extracted from Johnson's poem were inserted, and it should have been added in the subsequent editions:

"A very learned divine and mathematician, Fellow of New College, Oxon, and Rector of Okerton, near Banbury. He wrote, among many others, a Latin treatise '*De natura cæli*, &c.,' in which he attacked the sentiments of Scaliger and Aristotle, not bearing to hear it urged, *that some things are true in philosophy, and false in divinity*. He made above 600 Sermons on the harmony of the Evangelists. Being unsuccessful in publishing his works, he lay in the prison of Bocardo, at Oxford, and in the King's Bench, till Bishop Usher, Dr. Laud, Sir William Boswell, and Dr. Pink, released him by paying his debts. He petitioned King Charles I. to be sent into Ethiopia, &c. to procure MSS. Having spoken in favour of monarchy and bishops, he was plundered by the parliament forces, and twice carried away prisoner from his rectory; and afterwards had not a shirt to shift

These goods for man the laws of Heaven ordain,
These goods He grants, who grants the power to gain;

With these celestial wisdom calms the mind,
And makes the happiness she does not find."³

Garrick being now vested with theatrical power by being manager of Drury Lane theatre, he kindly and generously made use of it to bring out Johnson's tragedy, which had been long kept back for want of encouragement. But in this benevolent purpose he met with no small difficulty from the temper of Johnson, which could not brook that a drama which he had formed with much study, and had been obliged to keep more than the nine years of Horace, should be revised and altered at the pleasure of an actor. Yet Garrick knew well, that without some alterations it would not be fit for the stage. A violent dispute having ensued between them, Garrick applied to the Reverend Dr. Taylor to interpose. Johnson was at first very obstinate. "Sir," said he, "the fellow wants me to make Mahomet run mad, that he may have an opportunity of tossing his hands and kicking his heels."⁴ He was, however, at last, with difficulty, prevailed on to comply with Garrick's wishes, so as to allow of some changes; but still there were not enough.

Dr. Adams was present the first night of the representation of *IRENE*, and gave me the following account:—"Before the curtain drew up, there were catcalls whistling, which alarmed Johnson's friends. The Prologue, which was written by himself in a manly strain, soothed the audience⁵, and the play went off tolerably,

him in three months, without he borrowed it, and died very poor in 1646."—BOSWELL.

In 1609 *Lydiat* accompanied Usher into Ireland, and obtained (probably by his interest) the office of chapel-reader in Trinity College, Dublin, at a salary of 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per quarter; he was resident there about two years: and in March, 1612, it appears that he had from the College, "5*l.* to furnish him for his journey to England." The remembrance of *Lydiat* was traditionally preserved in Dublin College; and I recollect to have heard, about 1796, that, in some ancient buildings, just then removed, *Lydiat* had resided—evidence, either that he had left a high reputation behind him, or, more probably, that Johnson's mention of him had revived the memory of his sojourn in that university.—CROKER.

³ In this poem, a line in which the danger attending on female beauty is mentioned, has very generally, I believe, been misunderstood:—

"Yet Vane could tell what ills from beauty spring,
And Sedley curs'd the form that pleas'd a king."

The lady mentioned in the first of these verses, was not the celebrated Lady Vane, whose Memoirs were given to the public by Dr. Smollett, but Ann Vane, who was mistress to Frederick, Prince of Wales, and died in 1736, not long before Johnson settled in London. Some account of this lady was published, under the title of "*The Secret History of Vanella*," 8vo. 1732. See also, "*Vanella in the Straw*," 4to. 1732.—BOSWELL.—See *post*, Aug. 17. 1773, some observations on these lines.—CROKER.

⁴ Mahomet was in fact played by Mr. Barry, and Demetrius by Mr. Garrick; but probably at this time the parts were not yet cast.—BOSWELL. Garrick originally intended to have played Mahomet, but yielded it to Barry to propitiate him in the author's favour. It was first acted on Monday the 6th of February, under the title of *Mahomet and Irene*.—CROKER.

⁵ The expression used by Dr. Adams was "soothed." I should rather think the audience was *awed* by the extraordinary spirit and dignity of the following lines:—

till it came to the conclusion, when Mrs. Pritchard, the heroine of the piece, was to be strangled upon the stage, and was to speak two lines with the bowstring round her neck. The audience cried out '*Murder! murder!*'¹ She several times attempted to speak; but in vain. At last she was obliged to go off the stage alive." This passage was afterwards struck out, and she was carried off to be put to death behind the scenes, as the play now has it. The Epilogue, as Johnson informed me, was written by Sir William Yonge.² I know not how his play came to be thus graced by the pen of a person then so eminent in the political world.³

Notwithstanding all the support of such performers as Garrick, Barry, Mrs. Cibber, Mrs. Pritchard, and every advantage of dress and decoration, the tragedy of Irene did not please the public.⁴ Mr. Garrick's zeal carried it through for nine nights, so that the author had his three nights' profit; and from a receipt signed by him, now in the hands of Mr. James Dodsley, it appears that his friend, Mr. Robert Dodsley, gave him one hundred pounds for the copy, with his usual reservation of the right of one edition.⁵

IRENE, considered as a poem, is entitled to the praise of superior excellence. Analysed into parts, it will furnish a rich store of noble sentiments, fine imagery, and beautiful language; but it is deficient in pathos, in that delicate power of touching the human feelings, which is the principal end of the drama.⁶ Indeed, Garrick has complained to me, that John-

son not only had not the faculty of producing the impressions of tragedy, but that he had not the sensibility to perceive them. His great friend Mr. Walmsley's prediction, that he would "turn out a fine tragedy writer," was, therefore, ill-founded. Johnson was wise enough to be convinced that he had not the talents necessary to write successfully for the stage, and never made another attempt in that species of composition.

When asked how he felt upon the ill success of his tragedy, he replied, "Like the Monument;" meaning that he continued firm and unmoved as that column.⁷ And let it be remembered, as an admonition to the *genus irritabile* of dramatic writers, that this great man, instead of previously complaining of the bad taste of the town, submitted to its decision without a murmur. He had, indeed, upon all occasions, a great deference for the general opinion: "A man," said he, "who writes a book, thinks himself wiser or wittier than the rest of mankind; he supposes that he can instruct or amuse them, and the public to whom he appeals must, after all, be the judges of his pretensions."

On occasion of this play being brought upon the stage, Johnson had a fancy that, as a dramatic author, his dress should be more gay than what he ordinarily wore: he therefore appeared behind the scenes, and even in one of the side boxes, in a scarlet waistcoat, with rich gold lace, and a gold-laced hat. He humorously observed to Mr. Langton, "that

"Be this at least his praise, be this his pride,
To force applause no modern arts are tried;
Should partial catcalls all his hopes confound,
He bids no trumpet quell the fatal sound;
Should welcome sleep relieve the weary wit,
He rolls no thunders o'er the drowsy pit:
No snares to captivate the judgment spreads,
Nor bribes your eyes, to prejudice your heads.
Unmov'd, though wittlings sneer and rivals rail,
Studious to please, yet not ashamed to fail,
He scorns the meek address, the suppliant strain,
With merit needless, and without it vain;
In Reason, Nature, Truth, he dares to trust;
Ye fops, be silent, and ye wits, be just!" — BOSWELL.

¹ This shows how ready modern audiences are to condemn in a new play what they have frequently endured very quietly in an old one. Rowe has made Moneses, in *Tamerlane*, die by the bowstring, without offence. — MALONE. Davies tells us, in his '*Life of Garrick*,' vol. i. p. 128., that the strangling Irene, contrary to Horace's rule, *coram populo*, was suggested by Garrick. — CROKER.

² Dr. Anderson says in his *Life*, that "Mr. Boswell ascribes this epilogue to Sir W. Yonge on no good foundation:" yet Mr. Boswell, who in his first edition had simply stated the fact, added in the second, "as Johnson informed me." Mr. Murphy too asserts (*Life*, p. 154.), that the epilogue was always supposed to be Johnson's, and that Mr. Boswell's account is a "new discovery, and by no means probable;" and he adds, that "it were to be wished that the epilogue could be transferred to any other writer, it being the worst *jeu d'esprit* which ever fell from Johnson's pen." Mr. John Taylor also informed me that Murphy subsequently repeated to him that Johnson was the author of the epilogue. The first fourteen lines certainly deserve Murphy's censure, and could hardly have been written by the pen of Johnson; but the last ten lines are much better, and it may be suspected that the epilogue added to or altered from the original copy. — CROKER.

³ The Right Honourable Sir William Yonge, Secretary at War, in Sir Robert Walpole's administration, and a distinguished parliamentary Speaker. He was the father of Sir George Yonge, who was Secretary at War under Mr. Pitt. Johnson must, before this, have had some communication with Sir W. Yonge, who told him that *great* should be pro-

nounced so as to rhyme with *scat*, while Lord Chesterfield thought it should rhyme to *state*. (See *anté*, p. 57. n. 1, and *post*, 27th March, 1772.) — CROKER.

⁴ I know not what Sir John Hawkins means by the *cold reception* of Irene. I was at the first representation, and most of the subsequent. It was much applauded the first night, particularly the speech on *to-morrow*. It ran nine nights at least. It did not, indeed, become a stock-play; but there was not the least opposition during the representation, except the first night, in the last act, where Irene was to be strangled on the stage, which John [Bull] could not bear, though a dramatic poet may stab or slay by hundreds. The bowstring was not a Christian nor an ancient Greek or Roman death. But this offence was removed after the first night, and Irene went off the stage to be strangled. Many stories were circulated at the time, of the author's being observed at the representation to be dissatisfied with some of the speeches and conduct of the play, himself; and, like La Fontaine, expressing his disapprobation aloud. — BURNBY. "That the reception was cold is generally admitted, but by Garrick's zeal it was played oftener than stated by Boswell or even Burney, who, however, says guardedly, "nine nights at least." It seems to have been performed on Monday, 6th February, to Monday, 20th February, inclusive. — *Gent. Mag.*, 1749, p. 76. *Account of English Stage*, vol. iv. p. 266. — CROKER.

⁵ Mr. Murphy supposed that the amount of the three benefit nights was not very considerable, as the profit, that stimulating motive, never invited the author to another dramatic attempt. But it appears, by a MS. note, in Mr. Isaac Reed's copy of Murphy's *Life*, that the receipts of the third, sixth, and ninth nights, after deducting sixty guineas a night for the expenses of the house, amounted to 195*l.*: Johnson cleared, therefore, with the copyright, very nearly 300*l.* — a large sum to him at that time. — CROKER.

⁶ Aaron Hill (vol. ii. p. 355.), in a letter to Mr. Mallet, gives the following account of "Irene": "I was at the anomalous Mr. Johnson's benefit, and found the play his proper representative; strong sense, ungraced by sweetness or decorum." — BOSWELL.

⁷ Or, if the anecdote be true, perhaps more modestly, that he felt no more than the Monument could feel; but it may be presumed, from the number of nights it ran and the sum it produced, that Johnson was far from thinking that his tragedy had *failed*; and in truth it had not. — CROKER.

when in that dress he could not treat people with the same ease as when in his usual plain clothes." Dress, indeed, we must allow, has more effect, even upon strong minds, than one should suppose, without having had the experience of it. His necessary attendance while his play was in rehearsal, and during its performance, brought him acquainted with many of the performers of both sexes, which produced a more favourable opinion of their profession, than he had harshly expressed in his *Life of Savage*.¹ With some of them he kept up an acquaintance as long as he and they lived, and was ever ready to show them acts of kindness. He, for a considerable time, used to frequent the *Green-Room*, and seemed to take delight in dissipating his gloom, by mixing in the sprightly chit-chat of the motley circle then to be found there. Mr. David Hume related to me from Mr. Garrick, that Johnson at last denied himself this amusement, from considerations of rigid virtue; saying, "I'll come no more behind your scenes, David; for the silk stockings and white bosoms of your actresses excite my amorous propensities."

[JOHNSON TO MISS PORTER.]

"Goff Square, July 12. 1749.

"DEAR MISS, — I am extremely obliged to you for your letter, which I would have answered last post, but that illness prevented me. I have been often out of order of late, and have very much neglected my affairs. You have acted very prudently with regard to Levett's affair², which will, I think, not at all embarrass me, for you may promise him, that the mortgage shall be taken up at Michaelmas, or, at least, some time between that and Christmas; and if he requires to have it done sooner, I will endeavour it. I make no doubt, by that time, of either doing it myself, or persuading some of my friends to do it for me.

"Please to acquaint him with it, and let me know if he be satisfied. When he once called on me, his name was mistaken, and therefore I did not see him; but, finding the mistake, wrote to him the same day, but never heard more of him, though I entreated him to let me know where to wait on him. You frightened me, you little gipsy, with your black wafer, for I had forgot you were in mourning, and was afraid your letter had brought me ill news of my mother, whose death is one of the few calamities on which I think with terror. I long to know how she does, and how you all do. Your poor mamma is come home, but very weak; yet I hope she will grow better, else she shall go into the country. She is now up stairs,

and knows not of my writing. I am, dear Miss, your most humble servant, SAM. JOHNSON."]
Pearson MSS.

CHAPTER IX.

1750—1751.

"*The Rambler*." — *His Prayer on commencing it*. — *Obligations to Correspondents*. — *Adversaria*. — *Success of the Rambler*. — *Collected into Volumes*. — "*Beauties*" of the *Rambler*. — *Prologue for the Benefit of Milton's Grand-daughter*. — "*Life of Cheynel*." — *Lauder's Forgery*. — *Mrs. Anna Williams*.

IN 1750 Johnson came forth in the character for which he was eminently qualified, a majestic teacher of moral and religious wisdom. The vehicle which he chose was that of a periodical paper, which he knew had been, upon former occasions, employed with great success. The *Tatler*, *Spectator*, and *Guardian*, were the last of the kind published in England, which had stood the test of a long trial; and such an interval had now elapsed since their publication, as made him justly think that, to many of his readers, this form of instruction would, in some degree, have the advantage of novelty. A few days before the first of his *Essays* came out, there started another competitor for fame in the same form, under the title of "*The Tatler Revived*," which, I believe, was "born but to die." Johnson was, I think, not very happy in the choice of his title, — "*The Rambler*;" which certainly is not suited to a series of grave and moral discourses; which the Italians have literally, but ludicrously, translated by *Il Vagabondo*; and which has been lately assumed as the denomination of a vehicle of licentious tales, "*The Rambler's Magazine*." He gave Sir Joshua Reynolds the following account of its getting this name: "What *must* be done, sir, *will* be done. When I was to begin publishing that paper, I was at a loss how to name it. I sat down at night upon my bedside, and resolved that I would not go to sleep till I had fixed its title. *The Rambler* seemed the best that occurred, and I took it."⁴

With what devout and conscientious sentiments this paper was undertaken, is evidenced by the following prayer, which he composed and offered up on the occasion: —

"Almighty God, the giver of all good things,

Robert Dodsley's with the late Mr. Moore, and several of his friends, considering what should be the name of the periodical paper which Moore had undertaken. Garrick proposed the *Salad*, which, by a curious coincidence, was afterwards applied to himself by Goldsmith: —

"Our Garrick's a salad, for in him we see Oil, vinegar, sugar, and saltness agree!"

At last, the company having separated, without any thing of which they approved having been offered, Dodsley himself thought of *The World*. — BOSWELL.

¹ This appears to have been by no means the case. His most acrimonious attacks on Garrick, and Sheridan, and players in general, were subsequent to this period. — CROKER.

² This letter, and some others of Johnson to his step-daughter, which will appear under their proper dates, I owed to the kindness of Dr. Harwood, the historian of Lichfield, who procured the copies with permission to publish them from Mr. Pearson of Lichfield, who inherited the originals from Miss Porter. — CROKER

³ See *anté*, p. 48. n. 4.

⁴ I have heard Dr. Warton mention, that he was at Mr.

without whose help all labour is ineffectual, and without whose grace all wisdom is folly: grant, I beseech Thee, that in this undertaking thy Holy Spirit may not be withheld from me, but that I may promote thy glory, and the salvation [both] of myself and others: grant this, O Lord, for the sake of thy Son, JESUS CHRIST. Amen." (*Pr. and Med.* p. 9.)

The first paper of the *Rambler* was published on Tuesday the 20th of March, 1749-50; and its author was enabled to continue it, without interruption, every Tuesday and Saturday, till Saturday the 17th¹ of March, 1752, on which day it closed. This is a strong confirmation of the truth of a remark of his, which I have had occasion to quote elsewhere [Aug. 16. 1773], that "a man may write at any time, if he will set himself doggedly to it;" for, notwithstanding his constitutional indolence, his depression of spirits, and his labour in carrying on his Dictionary, he answered the stated calls of the press twice a week from the stores of his mind during all that time; having received no assistance, except four billets in No. 10., by Miss Mulso, now Mrs. Chapone; No. 30., by Mrs. Catherine Talbot; No. 97., by Mr. Samuel Richardson, whom he describes in an introductory note, as "an author who has enlarged the knowledge of human nature, and taught the passions to move at the command of virtue;"² and Numbers 44. and 100., by Mrs. Elizabeth Carter.³

Posterity will be astonished when they are told, upon the authority of Johnson himself, that many of these discourses, which we should suppose had been laboured with all the slow attention of literary leisure, were written in haste as the moment pressed, without even being read over by him before they were printed. It can be accounted for only in this way; that, by reading and meditation, and a very close inspection of life, he had accumulated a great fund of miscellaneous knowledge, which, by a peculiar promptitude of mind, was ever ready at his call, and which he had constantly accus-

tomed himself to clothe in the most apt and energetic expression. Sir Joshua Reynolds once asked him, by what means he had attained his extraordinary accuracy and flow of language. He told him, that he had early laid it down as a fixed rule to do his best on every occasion, and in every company: to impart whatever he knew in the most forcible language he could put it in; and that by constant practice, and never suffering any careless expression to escape him, or attempting to deliver his thoughts without arranging them in the clearest manner, it became habitual to him.⁴

Yet, he was not altogether unprepared as a periodical writer: for I have in my possession a small duodecimo volume, in which he has written, in the form of Mr. Locke's Common-Place Book, a variety of hints for essays on different subjects. He has marked upon the first blank leaf of it, "To the 128th page, collections for the *RAMBLER*;" and in another place, "In fifty-two there were seventeen provided; in 97—21; in 190—25." At a subsequent period (probably after the work was finished) he added, "In all, taken of provided materials, 30."⁵

Sir John Hawkins, who is unlucky upon all occasions, tells us, that "this method of accumulating intelligence had been practised by Mr. Addison, and is humorously described in one of the *Spectators* [No. 46.], wherein he feigns to have dropped his paper of *notanda*, consisting of a diverting medley of broken sentences and loose hints, which he tells us he had collected, and meant to make use of. Much of the same kind is Johnson's *Adversaria*."⁶ But the truth is, that there is no resemblance at all between them. Addison's note was a fiction, in which unconnected fragments of his lucubrations were purposely jumbled together, in as odd a manner as he could, in order to produce a laughable effect: whereas, Johnson's abbreviations are all distinct, and applicable to each subject of which the head is mentioned.

¹ This was a misdate of the original paper. Saturday was the 14th March, the real date of the last *Rambler*. This circumstance, though at first sight of very little importance, is worth notice, for Mrs. Johnson died on the 17th, [*Old Style*, i. e. 28th, N. S.] — MALONE.

² Lady Bradshaigh, one of Mr. Richardson's female sycophants, thus addresses him on the subject of this letter:—"A few days ago I was pleased with hearing a very sensible lady greatly pleased with the *Rambler*, No. 97. She happened to be in town when it was published; and I asked if she knew who was the author? She said, it was supposed to be one who was concerned in the *Spectators*, it being much better written than any of the *Ramblers*. I wanted to say who was really the author, but durst not without your permission."—*Rich. Cor.*, vol. vi. p. 108. It was probably on some such authority that Mr. Payne told Mr. Chalmers (*Brit. Ess.* vol. xix. p. 14.), that No. 97. was "the only paper which had a prosperous sale, and was popular." The flatteries which Richardson's coterie lavished on him and all his works were quite extravagant: the paper is rather a poor one. — CROKER.

³ Mrs. Piozzi says, "the papers contributed by Mrs. Carter had much of Johnson's esteem, though he always blamed me for preferring the letter signed Charlessa (No. 100.) to the allegory (No. 45.) where religion and superstition are, indeed, most masterly delineated." She adds that, "the fine *Rambler* on Procrastination [No. 134.] was hastily composed in Sir Joshua Reynolds's parlour, while

the boy waited to carry it to the press, and numberless are the instances of his writing under the immediate pressure of importunity or distress." But this must be a mistake; Johnson and Reynolds were not acquainted till after the conclusion of the *Rambler*. (See post, p. 79. n. 2.) It may have been some paper in the *Idler*. — CROKER.

⁴ The rule which Dr. Johnson observed is sanctioned by the authority of two great writers of antiquity: "Ne id quidem tacendum est, quod eidem Ciceroni placet, nullum nostrum usquam negligentem esse sermonem: quicquid loquimur, ubicunque, sit pro sua scilicet portione perfectum." Quintil. x. 7. — MALONE. We know that Johnson most elaborately revised and extensively corrected the *Rambler* when he collected them into volumes; but this does not disprove Mr. Boswell's account of the celerity and ease with which they were originally written. — CROKER.

⁵ This, no doubt, means that, of the first 52 *Ramblers*, 17 had been prepared, and so on, till, at the completion of the whole 208 numbers, he found that only 30 had been formed of materials previously provided. — CROKER.

⁶ In this instance Mr. Boswell is more unlucky than Hawkins, whose account is by no means incorrect. He knew very well, and distinctly states, that Addison's published "*Notanda*" were a mere pleasantry, consisting of topics drolly selected and arranged; but he infers, rationally enough, that Addison had taken the idea from his own real practice of collecting *notanda*; and he is quite justified in adding, "much of the same kind are Johnson's *Adversaria*." — CROKER.

For instance, there is the following specimen :—

Youth's Entry, &c.

"Baxter's account of things in which he had changed his mind as he grew up. Voluminous.—No wonder.—If every man was to tell, or mark, on how many subjects he has changed, it would make vols. but the changes not always observed by man's self.—From pleasure to bus. [*business*] to quiet; from thoughtfulness to reflect. to piety; from dissipation to domestic. by impercept. gradat. but the change is certain. *Dial non progredi, progress. esse conspicimus.* Look back, consider what was thought at some dist. period.

"*Hope predom. in youth. Mind not willingly indulges unpleasant thoughts.* The world lies all enamelled before him, as a distant prospect sun-gilt¹;—inequalities only found by coming to it. *Love is to be all joy—children excellent*—Fame to be constant—caresses of the great—applauses of the learned—smiles of Beauty.

"*Fear of disgrace—Bashfulness*—Finds things of less importance. Miscarriages forgot like excellencies;—if remembered, of no import. Danger of sinking into negligence of reputation;—lest the fear of disgrace destroy activity.

"*Confidence in himself.* Long tract of life before him.—No thought of sickness.—Embarrassment of affairs.—Distraction of family. Public calamities.—No sense of the prevalence of bad habits. Negligent of time—ready to undertake—careless to pursue—all changed by time.

"*Confident of others*—unsuspecting as unexperienced—imagining himself secure against neglect, never imagines they will venture to treat him ill. Ready to trust; expecting to be trusted. Convinced by time of the selfishness, the meanness, the cowardice, the treachery of men.

"Youth ambitious, as thinking honours easy to be had.

"Different kinds of praise pursued at different periods. Of the gay in youth.—dang. hurt, &c. despised.

"Of the fancy in manhood. Ambit.—stocks—bargains.—Of the wise and sober in old age—seriousness—formality—maxims, but general—only of the rich, otherwise age is happy—but at last every thing referred to riches—no having fame, honour, influence, without subjection to caprice.

"Horace.

"Hard it would be if men entered life with the same views with which they leave it, or left as they enter it.—No hope—no undertaking—no regard to benevolence—no fear of disgrace, &c.

"Youth to be taught the piety of age—age to retain the honour of youth."

This, it will be observed, is the sketch of

Number 196. of the Rambler. I shall gratify my readers with another specimen :—

"Confederacies difficult; why.

"Seldom in war a match for single persons—nor in peace; therefore kings make themselves absolute. Confederacies in learning—every great work the work of one. *Brui.* Scholars' friendship like ladies'. *Scribepamus, &c. Mart.*² The apple of discord—the laurel of discord—the poverty of criticism. Swift's opinion of the power of six geniuses united. That union scarce possible. His remarks just;—man a social, not steady nature. Drawn to man by words, repelled by passions. Orb drawn by attraction, rep. [*repelled*] by centrifugal.

"Common danger unites by crushing other passions—but they return. Equality hinders compliance. Superiority produces insolence and envy. Too much regard in each to private interest;—too little.

"The mischiefs of private and exclusive societies—The fitness of social attraction diffused through the whole. The mischiefs of too partial love of our country. Contraction of moral duties.—Of φίλοι, οὐ φίλος.

"Every man moves upon his own centre, and therefore repels others from too near a contact, though he may comply with some general laws.

"Of confederacy with superiors every one knows the inconvenience. With equals, no authority;—every man his own opinion—his own interest.

"Man and wife hardly united;—scarce ever without children. Computation, if two to one against two, how many against five? If confederacies were easy—useless;—many oppresses many.—If possible only to some, dangerous. *Principum amicitias.*"

Here we see the embryo of Number 45. of the Adventurer; and it is a confirmation of what I shall presently have occasion to mention, that the papers in that collection marked T. were written by Johnson.

This scanty preparation of materials will not, however, much diminish our wonder at the extraordinary fertility of his mind; for the proportion which they bear to the number of essays which he wrote, is very small; and it is remarkable, that those for which he had made no preparation, are as rich and as highly finished, as those for which the hints were lying by him. It is also to be observed, that the papers formed from his hints are worked up with such strength and elegance, that we almost lose sight of the hints, which become like "drops in the bucket." Indeed, in several instances, he has made a very slender use of them, so that many of them remain still unapplied.³

¹ This most beautiful image of the enchanting delusion of youthful prospect has not been used in any of Johnson's essays.—BOSWELL.

² Lib. xii. 96. "In Tuccari æmulum omnium suorum studiorum."—MALONE.

³ Sir John Hawkins has selected from this little collection of materials, what he calls the "Rudiments of two of the papers of the Rambler." But he has not been able to read the manuscript distinctly. Thus he writes, p. 266, "Sailor's fate any mansion;" whereas the original is, "Sailor's life any

aversion." He has also transcribed the unappropriated hints on *Writers for bread*, in which he deciphers these notable passages, one in Latin, *fatu non famæ*, instead of *fatu non famæ*; Johnson having in his mind what Thucydides says of the learned German antiquary and linguist, Xylander, who, he tells us, lived in such poverty, that he was supposed *fatu non famæ scribere*; and another in French, *Dégouté de fame* (an old word for *renommée*), et *afamé d'argent*. The manuscript, being written in an exceedingly small hand, is, indeed, very hard

As the Rambler was entirely the work of one man, there was, of course, such a uniformity in its texture, as very much to exclude the charm of variety; and the grave and often solemn cast of thinking, which distinguished it from other periodical papers, made it, for some time, not generally liked. So slowly did this excellent work, of which twelve editions have now issued from the press, gain upon the world at large, that even in the closing number the author says, "I have never been much a favourite of the public."¹

Yet, very soon after its commencement, there were who felt and acknowledged its uncommon excellence. Verses in its praise appeared in the newspapers; and the editor of the Gentleman's Magazine mentions, in October, his having received several letters to the same purpose from the learned. "The Student, or Oxford and Cambridge Monthly Miscellany," in which Mr. Bonnel Thornton and Mr. Colman² were the principal writers, describes it as "a work that exceeds any thing of the kind ever published in this kingdom, some of the Spectators excepted, — if indeed they may be excepted." And afterwards, "May the public favours crown his merits, and may not the English, under the auspicious reign of George the Second, neglect a man, who, had he lived in the first century, would

have been one of the greatest favourites of Augustus." This flattery of the monarch had no effect. It is too well known, that the second George never was an Augustus to learning or genius.³

Johnson told me, with an amiable fondness, a little pleasing circumstance relative to this work. Mrs. Johnson, in whose judgment and taste he had great confidence, said to him, after a few numbers of the Rambler had come out, "I thought very well of you before; but I did not imagine you could have written any thing equal to this." Distant praise, from whatever quarter, is not so delightful as that of a wife whom a man loves and esteems. Her approbation may be said to "come home to his bosom;" and, being so near, its effect is most sensible and permanent.

Mr. James Elphinston⁴, who has since published various works, and who was ever esteemed by Johnson as a worthy man, happened to be in Scotland while the Rambler was coming out in single papers at London. With a laudable zeal at once for the improvement of his countrymen, and the reputation of his friend, he suggested and took the charge of an edition of those Essays at Edinburgh, which followed progressively the London publication.⁵

The following letter, written at this time,

to read; but it would have been better to have left blanks than to write nonsense. — BOSWELL.

¹ The Ramblers, certainly, were little noticed at first. Smart, the poet, first mentioned them to me as excellent papers, before I had heard any one else speak of them. When I went into Norfolk, in the autumn of 1751, I found but one person (the Rev. Mr. Squires, a man of learning, and a general purchaser of new books) who knew any thing of them. Before I left Norfolk, in the year 1760, the Ramblers were in high favour among persons of learning and good taste. Others there were, devoid of both, who said that the *hard words* in the Rambler were used by the author to render his Dictionary indispensably necessary. — BURNET.

² I doubt if Colman wrote in this work. Smart was the principal contributor, and T. Warton a very considerable one. — A. CHALMERS.

³ Richardson, the author of *Clarissa*, to whom Cave had sent the first five numbers of the Rambler, became, as they proceeded, "so inexpressibly pleased with them," that he wrote to Cave in strong commendation, and intimated his conviction (the name of the author being still a secret), that Johnson was the only man who could write them. Cave, in his answer, dated "St. John's Gate, August 23. 1750," says: —

"Excuse this ramble from the purpose of your letter. I return to answer, that Mr. Johnson is the *Great Rambler*, being, as you observe, the only man who can furnish two such papers in a week, besides his other great business, and has not been assisted with above three. I may discover to you, that the world is not so kind to itself as you wish it. The encouragement, as to sale, is not in proportion to the high character given to the work by the judicious, not to say the raptures expressed by the few that do read it; but its being thus relished in numbers gives hopes that the sets must go off, as it is a fine paper, and, considering the late hour of having the copy, tolerably printed.

"When the author was to be kept private (which was the first scheme), two gentlemen, belonging to the Prince's court, came to me to inquire his name, in order to do him service; and also brought a list of seven gentlemen to be served with the Rambler. As I was not at liberty, an inference was drawn, that I was desirous to keep to myself so excellent a writer. Soon after Mr. Doddington [afterwards Lord Melcombe] sent a letter directed to the *Rambler*, inviting him to his house, when he should be disposed to enlarge his acquaintance. In a subsequent number a kind of excuse was made, with a hint that a good writer might not appear to advantage in conversation. Since that time several circumstances, and Mr. Garrick and others, who knew the author's powers and style from the first, unadvisedly asserting their

(but) suspicions, overturned the scheme of secrecy. (About which there is also one paper.)

"I have had letters of approbation from Dr. Young, Dr. Hartley, Dr. Sharp, Miss Carter, &c. &c., most of them, like you, setting them in a rank equal, and some superior, to the Spectators (of which I have not read many for the reasons which you assign): but, notwithstanding such recommendation, whether the price of *twopence*, or the unfavourable season of their first publication, hinders the demand, no boast can be made of it. The author (who thinks highly of your writings) is obliged to you for contributing your endeavours; and so is, for several marks of your friendship, good Sir, your admirer, and very humble servant," &c. &c.

The two Ramblers alluded to are probably Nos. 14. and 13. Richardson had said, in his letter to Cave, "I remember not any thing in those Spectators that I read, for I never found time to read them all, that half so much struck me." It seems very strange that men of literary habits, like Richardson and Cave, should have read the Spectator so imperfectly. It is the stranger, with regard to Richardson, for his only paper in the Rambler (No. 97.) is written in the character of a professed admirer of the Spectator." — CROKER.

⁴ Mr. James Elphinston was born in Edinburgh, in 1721. He, when very young, was a private tutor in two or three eminent families: but about 1752 set up a boarding-school at Kensington, where Dr. Johnson sometimes resided. He died at Hammersmith in 1809. His works are forgotten, or remembered for their absurdity. He translated Martial, of which Dr. Beattie says, "It is truly an unique — the specimens formerly published did very well to laugh at; but a whole quarto of nonsense and gibberish is too much. It is strange that a man not wholly illiterate should have lived so long in England without learning the language." — And it was, no doubt, of this strange work that Mrs. Piozzi relates (p. 47.), that "of a modern Martial, when it came out, Dr. Johnson said there are in these verses too much folly for madness, I think, and too much madness for folly." — CROKER.

⁵ It was executed in the printing-office of Sands, Murray, and Cochran, with uncommon elegance, upon writing paper, of a duodecimo size, and with the greatest correctness: and Mr. Elphinston enriched it with translations of the mottoes. When completed, it made eight handsome volumes. It is, unquestionably, the most accurate and beautiful edition of this work; and there being but a small impression, it is now become scarce, and sells at a very high price. — BOSWELL. With respect to the correctness of this edition, my father probably derived his information from some other person, and appears to have been misinformed; for it was not accu-

though not dated¹, will show how much pleased Johnson was with this publication, and what kindness and regard he had for Mr. Elphinston.

TO MR. JAMES ELPHINSTON.

[No date.]

"DEAR SIR, — I cannot but confess the failures of my correspondence; but hope the same regard which you express for me on every other occasion, will incline you to forgive me. I am often, very often, ill; and, when I am well, am obliged to work: and, indeed, have never much used myself to punctuality. You are, however, not to make unkind inferences, when I forbear to reply to your kindness; for, be assured, I never receive a letter from you without great pleasure, and a very warm sense of your generosity and friendship, which I heartily blame myself for not cultivating with more care. In this, as in many other cases, I go wrong, in opposition to conviction; for I think scarce any temporal good equally to be desired with the regard and familiarity of worthy men. I hope we shall be some time nearer to each other, and have a more ready way of pouring out our hearts.

"I am glad that you still find encouragement to proceed in your publication; and shall beg the favour of six more volumes to add to my former six, when you can, with any convenience, send them me. Please to present a set, in my name, to Mr. Ruddiman², of whom, I hear, that his learning is not his highest excellence. I have transcribed the mottos, and returned them, I hope not too late, of which I think many very happily performed. Mr. Cave has put the last in the Magazine, in which I think he did well. I beg of you to write soon, and to write often, and to write long letters, which I hope in time to repay you; but you must be a patient creditor. I have, however, this of gratitude, that I think of you with regard, when I

do not, perhaps, give the proofs which I ought, of being, Sir, your most obliged and most humble servant,
SAM. JOHNSON."

This year he wrote to the same gentleman another letter upon a mournful occasion.

TO MR. JAMES ELPHINSTON.

"September 25. 1750.

"DEAR SIR, — You have, as I find by every kind of evidence, lost an excellent mother; and I hope you will not think me incapable of partaking of your grief. I have a mother, now eighty-two years of age, whom, therefore, I must soon lose, unless it please God that she should rather mourn for me. I read the letters in which you relate your mother's death to Mrs. Strahan³, and think I do myself honour, when I tell you that I read them with tears; but tears are neither to you nor to me of any further use, when once the tribute of nature has been paid. The business of life summons us away from useless grief, and calls us to the exercise of those virtues of which we are lamenting our deprivation. The greatest benefit which one friend can confer upon another is to guard, and excite, and elevate his virtues. This your mother will still perform, if you diligently preserve the memory of her life, and of her death: a life, so far as I can learn, useful, wise, and innocent; and a death resigned, peaceful, and holy. I cannot forbear to mention, that neither reason nor revelation denies you to hope, that you may increase her happiness by obeying her precepts; and that she may, in her present state, look with pleasure upon every act of virtue to which her instructions or example have contributed. Whether this be more than a pleasing dream, or a just opinion of separate spirits, is, indeed, of no great importance to us, when we consider ourselves as acting under the eye of God; yet, surely, there is something pleasing in the belief, that our separation from those whom we love is

rately printed, as we learn from Mr. A. Chalmers. — J. BOSWELL. Here is a slight misunderstanding. Elphinston's edition was correctly printed after the original folio numbers as they came out. Mr. Chalmers denies its accuracy, because it had not the various corrections subsequently made by Johnson when he republished the Rambler in volumes. — CROKER.

¹ This letter, written, at soonest, in Oct. 1750, should have followed that of the 25th September. Mr. Boswell may have copied them from the *Memoirs*, where they happen to be misplaced. I have added to these, from the same volume, two other letters to Mr. Elphinston, of which, the second, at least, deserves to be rescued from oblivion. — CROKER, 1846.

TO MR. ELPHINSTON.

"20th April, 1749.

"SIR, — I have, for a long time, intended to answer the letter which you were pleased to send me, and know not why I have delayed it so long, but that I had nothing particular either of enquiry or information to send you; and the same reason might still have the same consequence, but I find, in my recluse kind of life, that I am not likely to have much more to say at one time than at another, and that, therefore, I may endanger, by an appearance of neglect long continued, the loss of such an acquaintance as I know not where to supply. I, therefore, write now to assure you how sensible I am of the kindness you have always expressed to me, and how much I desire the cultivation of that benevolence which perhaps nothing but the distance between us has hindered from ripening before this time into friendship. Of myself I have very little to say, and of any body else less; let me, however, be allowed one thing, and that in my own favour, that I am, dear Sir, your most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

TO MR. ELPHINSTON.

"27th July, 1778.

"SIR, — Having myself suffered what you are now suffering, I well know the weight of your distress, how much need you have of comfort, and how little comfort can be given. A loss, such as yours, lacerates the mind, and breaks the whole system of purposes and hopes. It leaves a dismal vacuity in life, which affords nothing on which the affections can fix, or to which endeavour may be directed. All this I have known, and it is now, in the vicissitude of things, your turn to know it.

"But in the condition of mortal beings, one must lose another. What would be the wretchedness of life, if there was not something always in view, some Being immutable and unailing, to whose mercy man may have recourse. Τὸ πρῶτον ἀνέναντα βλῆναι."

"Here we must rest. The Greatest Being is the most benevolent. We must not grieve for the dead as men without hope, because we know that they are in his hands. We have indeed not leisure to grieve long, because we are hastening to follow them. Your race and mine have been interrupted by many obstacles, but we must humbly hope for an happy end. I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

² Mr. Thomas Ruddiman, the learned grammarian of Scotland, well known for his various excellent works, and for his accurate editions of several authors. He was also a man of the most worthy private character. His zeal for the Royal House of Stuart did not render him less estimable in Dr. Johnson's eye. — BOSWELL. Ruddiman was born in 1674, and died at Edinburgh in 1757. — CROKER.

³ Sister to Mr. Elphinston, and wife of Mr. Strahan, the king's printer. To this connexion, Johnson was indebted for many of the most respectable of his early acquaintance. — CROKER.

merely corporeal; and it may be a great incitement to virtuous friendship, if it can be made probable, that that union that has received the divine approbation shall continue to eternity.

"There is one expedient by which you may, in some degree, continue her presence. If you write down minutely what you remember of her from your earliest years, you will read it with great pleasure, and receive from it many hints of soothing recollection, when time shall remove her yet farther from you, and your grief shall be matured to veneration. To this, however painful for the present, I cannot but advise you, as to a source of comfort and satisfaction in the time to come; for all comfort and all satisfaction is sincerely wished you by, dear Sir, your most obliged, most obedient, and most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

The Rambler has increased in fame as in age. Soon after its first folio edition was concluded, it was published in six duodecimo volumes¹; and its author lived to see ten numerous editions of it in London, besides those of Ireland and Scotland.

I profess myself to have ever entertained a profound veneration for the astonishing force and vivacity of mind, which the Rambler exhibits. That Johnson had penetration enough to see, and seeing, would not disguise, the general misery of man in this state of being, may have given rise to the superficial notion of his being too stern a philosopher. But men of reflection will be sensible that he has given a true representation of human existence, and that he has, at the same time, with a generous benevolence, displayed every consolation which our state affords us; not only those arising from the hopes of futurity, but such as may be attained in the immediate progress through life. He has not depressed the soul to despondency and indifference. He has everywhere inculcated study, labour, and exertion. Nay, he has shown in a very odious light, a man, whose practice is to go about darkening the views of others, by perpetual complaints of evil, and awakening those considerations of danger and distress, which are, for the most part, lulled into a quiet oblivion. This he has done very strongly in his character of Suspicious (No. 55.), from which Goldsmith took that of Croaker, in his comedy of "The Good-natured Man," as Johnson told me he acknowledged to him, and which is, indeed, very obvious.

To point out the numerous subjects which the Rambler treats, with a dignity and perspicuity which are there united in a manner which

we shall in vain look for any where else, would take up too large a portion of my book, and would, I trust, be superfluous, considering how universally those volumes are now disseminated. Even the most condensed and brilliant sentences which they contain, and which have very properly been selected under the name of "BEAUTIES,"² are of considerable bulk. But I may shortly observe, that the Rambler furnishes such an assemblage of discourses on practical religion and moral duty, of critical investigations, and allegorical and oriental tales, that no mind can be thought very deficient that has, by constant study and meditation, assimilated to itself all that may be found there. No. 7., written in Passion-week, on abstraction and self-examination, and No. 110., on penitence and the placability of the Divine Nature, cannot be too often read. No. 54., on the effect which the death of a friend should have upon us, though rather too dispiriting, may be occasionally very medicinal to the mind. Every one must suppose the writer to have been deeply impressed by a real scene; but he told me that was not the case: which shows how well his fancy could conduct him to the "house of mourning." Some of these more solemn papers, I doubt not, particularly attracted the notice of Dr. Young, the author of "The Night Thoughts," of whom my estimation is such, as to reckon his applause an honour even to Johnson. I have seen volumes of Dr. Young's copy of the Rambler, in which he has marked the passages which he thought particularly excellent, by folding down the corner of the page: and such as he rated in a super-eminent degree, are marked by double folds. I am sorry that some of the volumes are lost. Johnson was pleased when told of the minute attention with which Young had signified his approbation of his essays.

I will venture to say, that in no writings whatever can be found more *bark and steel for the mind*, if I may use the expression; more that can brace and invigorate every manly and noble sentiment. No. 32., on patience, even under extreme misery, is wonderfully lofty, and as much above the rant of stoicism, as the sun of Revelation is brighter than the twilight of Pagan philosophy. I never read the following sentence without feeling my frame thrill:—"I think there is some reason for questioning whether the body and mind are not so proportioned, that the one can bear all which can be inflicted on the other; whether virtue cannot stand its ground as long as life,

¹ This is not quite accurate. In the Gent. Mag. for Nov. 1751, while the work was yet proceeding, is an advertisement, announcing that *four* volumes of the Rambler would speedily be published; and it is believed that they were published in the next month. The fifth and sixth volumes, with tables of contents and translations of the mottoes, were published in July, 1752, by Payne (the original publisher), three months after the close of the work. When the Rambler was collected into volumes, Johnson revised and corrected it throughout. The original octavo edition not having fallen into Mr. Boswell's hands, he was not aware of this circumstance, which

has lately been pointed out by Mr. Alexander Chalmers in his edition of the British Essayists.—MALONE.

² Dr. Johnson was gratified by seeing this selection, and wrote to Mr. Kearsley, bookseller in Fleet Street, the following note:—

"Mr. Johnson sends compliments to Mr. Kearsley, and begs the favour of seeing him as soon as he can. Mr. Kearsley is desired to bring with him the last edition of what he has honoured with the name of BEAUTIES. May 20. 1782."—BOSWELL.

and whether a soul well principled will not be sooner separated than subdued."

Though instruction be the predominant purpose of the Rambler, yet it is enlivened with a considerable portion of amusement. Nothing can be more erroneous than the notion which some persons have entertained, that Johnson was then a retired author, ignorant of the world; and, of consequence, that he wrote only from his imagination, when he described characters and manners. He said to me that, before he wrote that work, he had been "running about the world," as he expressed it, more than almost any body; and I have heard him relate, with much satisfaction, that several of the characters in the Rambler were drawn so naturally, that when it first circulated in numbers, a club in one of the towns in Essex¹ imagined themselves to be severally exhibited in it, and were much incensed against a person who, they suspected, had thus made them objects of public notice; nor were they quieted till authentic assurance was given them, that the Rambler was written by a person who had never heard of any one of them. Some of the characters are believed to have been actually drawn from the life², particularly that of Prospero [No. 200.], from Garrick³, who never entirely forgave its pointed satire.⁴

For instances of fertility of fancy, and accurate description of real life, I appeal to No. 19., a man who wanders from one profession to another, with most plausible reasons for every change: No. 34., female fastidiousness and timorous refinement: No. 82., a Virtuoso who has collected curiosities: No. 88., petty modes of entertaining a company, and conciliating kindness: No. 182., fortune-hunting: No. 194, 195., a tutor's account of the follies of his pupil: No. 197, 198., legacy-hunting. He has given a specimen of his nice observation of the

mere external appearances of life, in the following passage in No. 179., against affectation, that frequent and most disgusting quality:—"He that stands to contemplate the crowds that fill the streets of a populous city, will see many passengers, whose air and motions it will be difficult to behold without contempt and laughter; but if he examine what are the appearances that thus powerfully excite his risibility, he will find among them neither poverty nor disease, nor any involuntary or painful defect. The disposition to derision and insult is awakened by the softness of foppery, the swell of insolence, the liveliness of levity, or the solemnity of grandeur; by the sprightly trip, the stately stalk, the formal strut, and the lofty mien; by gestures intended to catch the eye, and by looks elaborately formed as evidences of importance."⁵

Every page of the Rambler shows a mind teeming with classical allusion and poetical imagery: illustrations from other writers are, upon all occasions, so ready, and mingled so easily in his periods, that the whole appears of one uniform vivid texture.

The style of this work has been censured by some shallow critics as involved and turgid, and abounding with antiquated and hard words. So ill-founded is the first part of this objection, that I will challenge all who may honour this book with a perusal, to point out any English writer whose language conveys his meaning with equal force and perspicuity.⁶ It must, indeed, be allowed, that the structure of his sentences is expanded, and often has somewhat of the inversion of Latin; and that he delighted to express familiar thoughts in philosophical language; being in this the reverse of Socrates, who, it is said, reduced philosophy to the simplicity of common life. But let us attend to what he himself says in his concluding paper:

¹ This anecdote was, according to Mrs. Piozzi, communicated to Johnson by Mr. Murphy, but (as the lady tells it), with details which savour more of a desire to make a good story than to tell a true one.—CROKER.

² That of Gelidus, in No. 24., from Professor Colson, and that of Euphues in the same paper, which, with many others, was doubtless drawn from the life. Euphues, I once thought, might have been intended to represent either Lord Chesterfield or Soame Jenyns; but Mr. Bindley, with more probability, thinks, that George Bubb Doddington, who was remarkable for the homeliness of his person, and the finery of his dress, was the person meant under that character.—MALONE. Gelidus was certainly not meant for Professor Colson. See *anté*, p. 27. n. 3. The folly of such guesses at characters is forcibly exemplified in Mr. Malone's producing three such different candidates for that of Euphues, as Lord Chesterfield, Soame Jenyns, and Bubb Doddington!—CROKER.

³ Having just seen Garrick's generous and successful endeavours to advance the fame and improve the fortunes of his friend, it were melancholy to be obliged, by the concurrent evidence of Boswell, Murphy, and Mrs. Piozzi, to believe that Johnson meant to satirize that amiable, inoffensive, and (to him) most friendly man, whose profession, as well as his personal feelings, rendered him peculiarly sensitive to such attacks. Hawkins, however, who seldom missed an opportunity of displaying Johnson's faults or frailties, does not, even when censuring his conduct towards Garrick, allude to this offence. (See *Life*, p. 421.) And in truth the picture has no distinctive resemblance to Garrick; I am therefore inclined to hope and believe that the biographers have been as much mistaken in their appropriation of the character of *Prospero*, as they certainly were as to those of *Euphues* and *Gelidus*.—C.

⁴ Mrs. Piozzi says, "Sophron was likewise a picture drawn from reality. The man immortalised for purring like a cat was, as he told me, one Busby, a proctor in the Commons. He who barked so ingeniously, and then called the drawer to drive away the dog, was father to Dr. Salter, of the Charterhouse. He who sung a song, and, by correspondent motions of his arm, chalked out a giant on the wall, was one Richardson, an attorney."—All these are characters alluded to in the conclusion of the 184th Rambler, but so slightly that it seems hardly worth while to inquire whether the hints were furnished by observation or invention. As to the anecdote told of the elder Dr. Salter, it could have only been, as Mr. Chalmers observed, the repetition of some story of his youthful days; for he was 70 years of age before he became a member of the Ivy Lane Club.—CROKER.

⁵ Mrs. Piozzi states that "of the allegorical papers in the Rambler, Labour and Rest (No. 33.) was Johnson's favourite; but Serotinus (No. 165.), the man who returns late in life to receive honours in his native country, and meets with mortification instead of respect, was considered by him as a masterpiece in the science of life and manners."—CROKER.

⁶ Yet his style did not escape the harmless shafts of pleasant humour; for the ingenious Bonnel Thornton published a mock Rambler in the Drury Lane Journal.—BOSWELL.

And Mr. Murphy, in commenting on this passage, quotes the witty observation of Dryden:—"If so many foreign words are poured in upon us, it looks as if they were designed not to assist the natives, but to conquer them." *Life*, p. 157.—CROKER.

—"When common words were less pleasing to the ear, or less distinct in their signification, I have familiarised the terms of philosophy, by applying them to popular ideas." And, as to the second part of this objection, upon a late careful revision of the work, I can with confidence say, that it is amazing how few of those words, for which it has been unjustly characterised, are actually to be found in it; I am sure, not the proportion of one to each paper.¹ This idle charge has been echoed from one babbler to another, who have confounded Johnson's Essays with Johnson's Dictionary; and because he thought it right in a lexicon of our language to collect many words which had fallen into disuse, but were supported by great authorities, it has been imagined that all of these have been interwoven into his own compositions. That some of them have been adopted by him unnecessarily, may, perhaps, be allowed: but, in general, they are evidently an advantage; for without them his stately ideas would be confined and cramped. "He that thinks with more extent than another, will want words of larger meaning." [Idler, No. 70.]² He once told me, that he had formed his style upon that of Sir William Temple, and upon Chambers's Proposal for his Dictionary.³ He certainly was

mistaken; or if he imagined at first that he was imitating Temple, he was very unsuccessful⁴; for nothing can be more unlike than the simplicity of Temple, and the richness of Johnson. Their styles differ as plain cloth and brocade. Temple, indeed, seems equally erroneous in supposing that he himself had formed his style upon Sandys's View of the State of Religion in the Western Parts of the World.

The style of Johnson was, undoubtedly, much formed upon that of the great writers in the last century, Hooker, Bacon, Sanderson, Ilakewill, and others; those "GIANTS," as they were well characterised by a GREAT PERSONAGE⁵ whose authority, were I to name him, would stamp a reverence on the opinion.⁶

We may, with the utmost propriety, apply to his learned style that passage of Horace, a part of which he has taken as the motto to his Dictionary:—

*"Cum tabulis animum censoris sumet honesti;
Audebit quæcumque parùm splendoris habebunt,
Et sine pondere erunt, et honore indigna fœrentur,
Verba movere loco, quamvis invita recedant,
Et versentur adhuc intra penetralia Vestæ.
Obscurata diu populo bonus eruat, atque
Proferet in lucem speciosa vocabula rerum,
Quar præcis memorata Catonibus atque Cethegis,*

¹ Mr. Boswell's zeal carries him too far: Johnson's style, especially in the Rambler, is frequently turgid, even to ridiculous; but he has been sometimes censured with a malicious flippancy, which Boswell may be excused for resenting; and even graver critics have treated him with inconsiderate injustice; for instance, The Rev. Dr. Burrowes (Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, and afterwards Dean of Cork), in an "Essay on the Style of Dr. Johnson, published in the first volume of the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy (1787), observes:—

"Johnson says, that he has rarely admitted any word not authorised by former writers; but where are we to seek authorities for '*resuscitation, orbit, volant, fatuity, divaricate, asinine, narcotic, vulnerary, empirumatic, papillose, naucous*,' and innumerable others of the same stamp, which abound in and disgrace his pages?—for '*obtund, disruption, sensory, or panoply*,' all occurring in the short compass of a single essay in the Rambler?—or for '*germination, horticulture, germination, and decussation*,' within a few pages in his Life of Browne? They may be found, perhaps, in the works of former writers, but they make no part of the English language. They are the illegitimate offspring of learning by vanity." It is wonderful, that, instead of asking where these words were to be found, Dr. Burrowes did not think of referring to Johnson's own Dictionary. He would have found good authorities for almost every one of them: for instance, for *resuscitation*, Milton and Bacon; for *volant*, Milton and Phillips; for *fatuity*, Arbuthnot; for *asinine*, Milton; for *narcotic* and *vulnerary*, Browne; for *germination*, Bacon, and so on. But although these authorities, which Dr. Burrowes might have found in the Dictionary, are a sufficient answer to his question, let it be also observed, that many of these words were in use in more familiar authors than Johnson chose to quote, and that the majority of them are now become familiar—which is a sufficient proof that the English language has not considered them as illegitimate.

"For Use will father what's begot by Sense."—Pope.

—CROKER.

² This is a truism in the disguise of a sophism. "He that thinks with more extent will," no doubt, "want words of a larger meaning," but the words themselves may be plain and simple; the number of syllables, and *oro-rundity* (if one may venture to use the expression) of the sound of a word can never add much, and may, in some cases, do injury to the meaning. What words were ever written of a larger meaning than the following, which, however, are the most simple and elementary that can be found:—"God said, Let there be light, and there was light!" If we were to convert the proposition in the Idler, and say, that "he who thinks feebly, needs bigger words to cover his inanity," we should be nearer the truth. But it must be admitted (as Mr. Boswell soon after observes) that Johnson (though he, in some of his

works, pushed his peculiarities to an absurd extent) has been, on the whole, a benefactor to our language; he has introduced more dignity into our style, more regularity into our grammatical construction, and given a fuller and more sonorous sound to the march of our sentences and the cadence of our periods. See his own claims on this point stated with a kind of modest pride, in the last Rambler.—CROKER.

³ Chambers's Proposal for a second edition of his Dictionary, was probably in circulation when Johnson first came to London.—MALONE.

⁴ See under April 9. 1778; where, in a conversation at Sir Joshua Reynolds's, Johnson himself mentions the particular improvements which Temple made in the English style.—MALONE.

⁵ Here is an instance of the difficulty of explaining, after a lapse of time, circumstances once of great notoriety. My learned and excellent friend Bishop Elrington desired me to "state that this Great Personage was his late majesty, George III. Every one knows it now, but who will know it fifty years hence?" There is no doubt of the fact, that when on some occasion the great divines of the eighteenth century were mentioned in the king's presence, his majesty said, "*Yes—there were Giants in those days*," in allusion to Genesis, vi. 4. But all my inquiries (and some of his majesty's illustrious family have condescended to permit these inquiries to extend even to them) have failed to ascertain to what person or on what occasion that happy expression was used. Boswell, in his first edition, attributed this anecdote to "one whose authority, &c." in his subsequent editions he changed "one" into "A GREAT PERSONAGE."—CROKER.

⁶ Hawkins says, "Hooker he admired for his logical precision, Sanderson for his acuteness, and Taylor for his amazing erudition; Sir Thomas Browne for his penetration, and Cowley for the ease and unaffected structure of his periods. The tinsel of Sprat disgusted him, and he could but just endure the smooth verbosity of Tillotson. Hammond and Barrow he thought involved; and of the latter, that he was unnecessarily prolix."

I have thought it right to repeat the foregoing, as the evidence of an eye-witness to Johnson's course of reading; though it may be well doubted whether Sir J. Hawkins has preserved exactly the characteristic qualities which he attributed to these illustrious men. It is not easy to conceive how the erudition of Taylor or the penetration of Browne could have improved Johnson's style; nor is it likely that Johnson would have celebrated the eloquent and subtle Taylor for erudition alone, or the pious and learned Browne for mere penetration. Johnson's friend, Mr. Fitzherbert, said (see post, April 8. 1775), that "it was not every man who could carry a bon mot;" certainly Hawkins was not a man likely to convey adequately Dr. Johnson's critical opinion of Jeremy Taylor.—CROKER.

*Nunc situs informis premit et deserta vetustas :
Adsciscet nova, quæ genitor produxerit usus :
Vehemens, et liquidus, puroque simillimus anni,
Fundet opes Latiumque beabit divite linguâ."*

Epist. lib. ii. ep. 2.¹

To so great a master of thinking, to one of such vast and various knowledge as Johnson, might have been allowed a liberal indulgence of that licence which Horace claims in another place :—

— " *Si fortè necesse est*

*Indiciis monstrare recentibus abdita rerum,
Fingere cinctutis non exaudita Cethegis
Continget ; dabiturque licentia sumpta pudenter :
Et nova fictaque nuper habebunt verba fidem, si
Græco fonte cadant, parçè detorta. Quid autem
Cæcilio Plautoque dabit Romanus, ademptum
Virgilio Varioque ? Ego cur, acquirere pauca
Si possum, invidior ; cum lingua Catonis et Enni
Sermonem patrium ditaverit, et nova rerum
Nomina protulerit ? Licuit, semperque licebit
Signatum præsentè notâ producere nomen."*

De Arte Poet.²

Yet Johnson assured me, that he had not taken upon him to add more than four or five words to the English language, of his own formation ; and he was very much offended at the general licence, by no means "modestly taken" in his time, not only to coin new words, but to use many words in senses quite different from their established meaning, and those frequently very fantastical.

Sir Thomas Browne, whose Life Johnson wrote, was remarkably fond of Anglo-Latin diction ; and to his example we are to ascribe Johnson's sometimes indulging himself in this kind of phraseology.³ Johnson's comprehension of mind was the mould for his language. Had his conceptions been narrower, his expression would have been easier. His sentences have a dignified march ; and it is certain that his example has given a general elevation to the language of his country, for many of our best writers have approached very near to him ;

¹ [" But how severely with themselves proceed
The men, who wrote such verse as we can read !
Their own strict judges, not a word they spare
That wants or force, or light, or weight, or care,
Howe'er unwillingly it quits its place —
Nay, though at court (perhaps) it may find grace —
Such they'll degrade ; and sometimes, in its stead,
In downright charity revive the dead ;
Mark where a bold expressive phrase appears,
Bright through the rubbish of some hundred years ;
Command old words that long have slept to wake,
Words that wise Bacon or brave Raleigh spake ;
Or bid the new be English, ages hence,
(For Use will father what's begot by Sense ;)
Pour the full tide of eloquence along,
Serenely pure, and yet divinely strong,
Rich with the treasures of each foreign tongue."]

POPE.]

² [" Words must be chosen and be placed with skill :
You gain your point, when, by the noble art
Of good connection, an unusual word
Is made at first familiar to the ear :
But if you write of things abstruse or new,
Some of your own inventing may be used,
So it be seldom and discreetly done ;
But he that hopes to have new words allow'd,
Must so derive them from the Grecian spring,
As they may seem to flow without constraint,
Can an impartial reader discommend]

and, from the influence which he has had upon our composition, scarcely any thing is written now that is not better expressed than was usual before he appeared to lead the national taste.

This circumstance, the truth of which must strike every critical reader, has been so happily enforced by Mr. Courtenay, in his "Moral and Literary Character of Dr. Johnson," that I cannot prevail on myself to withhold it, notwithstanding his, perhaps, too great partiality for one of his friends :—

" By nature's gifts ordain'd mankind to rule,
He, like a Titian, form'd his brilliant school ;
And taught congenial spirits to excel,
While from his lips impressive wisdom fell.
Our boasted GOLDSMITH felt the sovereign sway :
From him derived the sweet, yet nervous lay.
To Fame's proud cliff he bade our Raffaele rise :
Hence REYNOLDS' pen with REYNOLDS' pencil
vies.

With Johnson's flame melodious BURNEY glows,
While the grand strain in smoother cadence flows.
And you, MALONE, to critic learning dear,
Correct and elegant, refined though clear,
By studying him, acquired that classic taste,
Which high in Shakspeare's fane thy statue
placed.

Near Johnson STEEVENS stands on scenic ground,
Acute, laborious, fertile, and profound.
Ingenuous HAWKESWORTH to this school we owe,
And scarce the pupil from the tutor know.
Here early parts accomplish'd JONES sublines,
And science blends with Asia's lofty rhymes :
Harmonious JONES ! who in his splendid strains
Sings Camdeo's sports, on Agra's flowery plains,
In Hindu fictions while we fondly trace
Love and the Muses, deck'd with Attic grace.
Amid these names can BOSWELL be forgot,
Scarce by North Britons now esteem'd a Scot ?⁴
Who, to the sage devoted from his youth,
Imbued from him the sacred love of truth ;
The keen research, the exercise of mind,
And that best art, the art to know mankind. —
Nor was his energy confined alone
To friends around his philosophic throne ;

In Varius or in Virgil, what he likes
In Plautus or Cælius ? Why should I
Be envious for the little I invent,
When Ennius and Cato's copious style
Have so enrich'd and so adorn'd our tongue ?
Men ever had, and ever will have, leave
To coin new words well suited to the age."

ROSCOMMON.]

³ The observation of his having imitated Sir Thomas Browne has been made by many people ; and lately it has been insisted on, and illustrated by a variety of quotations from Browne, in one of the popular Essays [called "Winter's Evenings"] written by the Rev. Mr. Knox, master of Tunbridge-school, whom I have set down in my list as one of those who have sometimes not unsuccessfully imitated Dr. Johnson's style. — BOSWELL.

⁴ The following observation in Mr. Boswell's "Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides" may sufficiently account for that gentleman's being "now scarcely esteemed a Scot" by many of his countrymen :— "If he (Dr. Johnson) was particularly prejudiced against the Scots, it was because they were more in his way ; because he thought their success in England rather exceeded the due proportion of their real merit ; and because he could not but see in them that nationality which, I believe, no liberal-minded Scotchman will deny." Mr. Boswell, indeed, is so free from national prejudices, that he might with equal propriety have been described as—

Scarce by South Britons now esteem'd a Scot.

— COURTENAY

*Its influence wide improved our letter'd isle,
And lucid vigour mark'd the general style :
As Nile's proud waves, swoln from their oozy bed,
First o'er the neighbouring meads majestic
spread ;
Till, gathering force, they more and more expand,
And with new virtue fertilise the land."*

Johnson's language, however, must be allowed to be too masculine for the delicate gentleness of female writing. His ladies, therefore, seem strangely formal, even to ridicule; and are well denominated by the names which he has given them, as Misella, Zozima, Properantia, Rhodoclia.¹

It has of late been the fashion to compare the style of Addison and Johnson, and to depreciate², I think very unjustly, the style of Addison as nerveless and feeble, because it has not the strength and energy of that of Johnson. Their prose may be balanced like the poetry of Dryden and Pope. Both are excellent, though in different ways. Addison writes with the ease of a gentleman. His readers fancy that a wise and accomplished companion is talking to them; so that he insinuates his sentiments and tastes into their minds by an imperceptible influence. Johnson writes like a teacher. He dictates to his readers as if from an academical chair. They attend with awe and admiration; and his precepts are impressed upon them by his commanding eloquence. Addison's style, like a light wine, pleases every body from the first. Johnson's, like a liquor of more body, seems too strong at first, but, by degrees, is highly relished; and such is the melody of his periods, so much do they captivate the ear, and seize upon the attention, that there is scarcely any writer, however inconsiderable, who does not aim, in some degree, at the same species of excellence. But let us not ungratefully under-

value that beautiful style, which has pleasingly conveyed to us much instruction and entertainment.³ Though comparatively weak, opposed to Johnson's Herculean vigour, let us not call it positively feeble. Let us remember the character of his style, as given by Johnson himself: "What he attempted, he performed; he is *never feeble*, and he did not wish to be energetic; he is never rapid, and he never stagnates. His sentences have neither studied amplitude, nor affected brevity: his periods, though not diligently rounded, are voluble and easy."⁴ Whoever wishes to attain an English style, familiar, but not coarse, and elegant, but not ostentatious, must give his days and nights to the volumes of Addison."⁵

Though the Rambler was not concluded till the year 1752, I shall, under this year, say all that I have to observe upon it. Some of the translations of the mottos by himself, are admirably done. He acknowledges to have received "elegant translations" of many of them from Mr. James Elphinston; and some are very happily translated by a Mr. F. Lewis, of whom I never heard more, except that Johnson thus described him to Mr. Malone: "Sir, he lived in London, and hung loose upon society."⁶ The concluding paper of his Rambler is at once dignified and pathetic. I cannot, however, but wish, that he had not ended it with an unnecessary Greek verse, translated also⁷ into an English couplet.

[*Ἀντὼν ἐκ μακάρων ἀντράξιος εἶη ἀμοιβή.*

"Celestial powers! that piety regard,
From you my labours wait their last reward."]

It is too much like the conceit of those dramatic poets, who used to conclude each act with a rhyme; and the expression in the first

¹ Mr. Burke said pleasantly, that "his ladies were all Johnsons in petticoats." Mr. Murphy (*Life*, p. 159.) passes somewhat of the same censure on the letter in the 12th Rambler, from a young woman that wants a place: yet—such is the uncertainty of criticism—this is the paper quoted by Mr. Chalmers, as an example of such ease and familiarity of style, which made him almost doubt whether it was Johnson's. *Brit. Ess.* vol. xix. p. 41.—CROKER.

² Where did Mr. Boswell discover this, except in Sir J. Hawkins, who says (p. 270.), with more than usual absurdity and bad taste, "I find an opinion gaining ground, not much to the advantage of Mr. Addison's style, the characteristics of which are feebleness and inanity—I speak of *that alone*, for his sentiments are excellent and his humour exquisite." What the worthy knight meant by *inanity*, as applied to Addison's style, is not worth inquiring.—CROKER.

³ Gibbon says, "By the judicious advice of Mr. Mallet, I was directed to the writings of Swift and Addison: wit and simplicity are their common attributes, but the style of Swift is supported by manly original vigour; that of Addison is adorned by the female graces of elegance and mildness." Yet his own over-ornate and complicated style is the very reverse of what he praises in Swift and Addison.—CROKER.

⁴ When Johnson showed me a proof sheet of the character of Addison, in which he so highly extols his style, I could not help observing, that it had not been his own model, as no two styles could differ more from each other. "Sir, Addison had his style, and I have mine." When I ventured to ask him, whether the difference did not consist in this, that Addison's style was full of idioms, colloquial phrases, and proverbs; and his own more strictly grammatical, and free from such phraseology and modes of speech as can never be literally translated or understood by foreigners; he allowed the discrimination to be just. Let any one who doubts it, try to translate one of Addison's Spectators into Latin, French, or

Italian; and though so easy, familiar, and elegant, to an Englishman, as to give the intellect no trouble; yet he would find the transfusion into another language extremely difficult, if not impossible. But a Rambler, Adventurer, or Idler of Johnson, would fall into any classical or European language, as easily as if it had been originally conceived in it.—BURNES.

⁵ I shall probably, in another work, maintain the merit of Addison's poetry, which has been very unjustly depreciated.—BOSWELL. Mr. Boswell never, that I know of, executed this intention.—CROKER.

⁶ In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for October, 1752, p. 468., he is styled "the Rev. Francis Lewis, of Chiswick." The late Lord Macartney, while he resided at Chiswick, at my request, made some inquiry concerning him at that place, but no intelligence was obtained. The translations supplied by Mr. Elphinston to the first thirty numbers of the Rambler were published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for September, 1750.—MALONE. Those of the next twenty-seven numbers, marked with the initials of the translators, are to be found in the same magazine for October, 1752, with two admirable improvements by Johnson himself of the former translation of the mottos to Nos. 7. and 12., the first of which is already quoted, *ante*, p. 39. As to Mr. Francis Lewis, I am afraid that he did "hang very loose on society." A person of those names, and I have no doubt the same, was born in Hereford in 1715, graduated at Ch. Ch. Oxford in 1740, and was, soon after, admitted priest-vicar of the Cathedral and College of Hereford. Here his conduct was very irregular, and in 1751, being burser of the College, he absconded with a large balance; for this he was deprived and expelled; and then, no doubt, came to live by his wits in London.—CROKER, 1846.

⁷ Not in the original edition, in folio.—MALONE.

line of his couplet, "*Celestial powers*," though proper in Pagan poetry, is ill suited to Christianity, with "a conformity" to which he consoles himself. How much better would it have been to have ended with the prose sentence, "I shall never envy the honours which wit and learning obtain in any other cause if I can be numbered among the writers who have given ardour to virtue, and confidence to truth."

His friend, Dr. Birch, being now engaged in preparing an edition of Raleigh's smaller pieces, Dr. Johnson wrote the following letter to that gentleman:—

TO DR. BIRCH.

"Gough Square, May 12. 1750.

"SIR, — Knowing that you are now preparing to favour the public with a new edition of Raleigh's miscellaneous pieces, I have taken the liberty to send you a manuscript, which fell by chance within my notice. I perceive no proofs of forgery in my examination of it; and the owner tells me, that, as he has heard, the hand writing is Sir Walter's. If you should find reason to conclude it genuine, it will be a kindness to the owner, a blind person¹, to recommend it to the booksellers. I am, sir, your most humble servant, SAM. JOHNSON."

His just abhorrence of Milton's political notions was ever strong. But this did not prevent his warm admiration of Milton's great poetical merit, to which he has done illustrious justice, beyond all who have written upon the subject. And this year he not only wrote a Prologue, which was spoken by Mr. Garrick before the acting of *Comus* at Drury Lane Theatre, for the benefit of Milton's granddaughter, but took a very zealous interest in the success of the charity. On the day preceding the performance, he published the following letter in the "General Advertiser," addressed to the printer of that paper:—

"SIR, — That a certain degree of reputation is acquired merely by approving the works of genius, and testifying a regard to the memory of authors, is a truth too evident to be denied; and therefore to ensure a participation of fame with a celebrated

poet, many, who would, perhaps, have contributed to starve him when alive, have heaped expensive pageants upon his grave.²

"It must, indeed, be confessed, that this method of becoming known to posterity with honour, is peculiar to the great, or at least to the wealthy; but an opportunity now offers for almost every individual to secure the praise of paying a just regard to the illustrious dead, united with the pleasure of doing good to the living. To assist industrious indigence, struggling with distress and debilitated by age, is a display of virtue, and an acquisition of happiness and honour.

"Whoever, then, would be thought capable of pleasure in reading the works of our incomparable Milton, and not so destitute of gratitude as to refuse to lay out a trifle in rational and elegant entertainment, for the benefit of his living remains, for the exercise of their own virtue, the increase of their reputation, and the pleasing consciousness of doing good, should appear at Drury Lane theatre to-morrow, April 5, when *Comus* will be performed for the benefit of Mrs. Elizabeth Foster, grand-daughter to the author³, and the only surviving branch of his family.

"N.B. There will be a new prologue on the occasion, written by the author of *Irene*, and spoken by Mr. Garrick; and, by particular desire, there will be added to the *Masque* a dramatic satire, called *Lethe*, in which Mr. Garrick will perform."⁴

In 1751 we are to consider him as carrying on both his *Dictionary* and *Rambler*. But he also wrote "*The Life of Cheynel*,"* in the miscellany called "*The Student*;" and the Rev. Dr. Douglas having with uncommon acuteness clearly detected a gross forgery and imposition upon the public by William Lauder, a Scotch schoolmaster, who had, with equal impudence and ingenuity, represented Milton as a plagiarist from certain modern Latin poets, Johnson, who had been so far imposed upon as to furnish a Preface and Postscript to his work, now dictated a letter for Lauder, addressed to Dr. Douglas, acknowledging his fraud in terms of suitable contrition.⁵

¹ Mrs. Williams is probably the person meant. — BOSWELL.

² Mr. Auditor Benson, in 1737, erected a monument to Milton in Westminster Abbey, and did not omit to inscribe his own name on it, — an ostentation which Pope satirises. See *Dunciad*, b. iii. 325, and iv. 110. — CROKER.

³ She survived this benefit but three years, and died childless, 9th May, 1754. It is remarkable that none of our great, and few even of our second-rate poets, have left posterity — Shakespeare, Jonson, Otway, Milton, Dryden, Rowe, Addison, Pope, Swift, Gay, Johnson, Goldsmith, Cowper, have left no inheritors of their names. — CROKER.

⁴ For the honour of letters, the dignity of sacred poetry, the spirit of the English nation, and the glory of human nature, it is to be regretted that we do not find a more liberal assistance. Tonson, the bookseller, whose family had been enriched by the sale of the poet's writings, gave twenty pounds, and Bishop Newton, his biographer, brought a large contribution; but all their efforts, joined to the allurements of Johnson's pen and Garrick's performance, procured only 130*l*. — ANDERSON. — WRIGHT.

⁵ I lest there should be any person, at any future period, absurd enough to suspect that Johnson was a partaker in Lauder's fraud, or had any knowledge of it, when he assisted him with his masterly pen, it is proper here to quote the words of Dr. Douglas, now Bishop of Salisbury, at the time when he detected the imposition. "It is to be hoped, nay it is expected, that the elegant and nervous writer, whose judicious sentiments and inimitable style point out the author of Lauder's Preface and Postscript, will no longer allow one to plume himself with his feathers, who appeareth so little to deserve assistance: an assistance which I am persuaded would never have been communicated, had there been the least suspicion of those facts which I have been the instrument of conveying to the world in these sheets." *Milton no Plagiary*, 2d edit. p. 78. And his Lordship has been pleased now to authorise me to say, in the strongest manner, that there is no ground whatever for any unfavourable reflection against Dr. Johnson, who expressed the strongest indignation against Lauder. — BOSWELL. See *anti*, p. 35. I cannot find, however, that Johnson publicly responded to Dr. Douglas's call, — which surely he ought to have done. — CROKER, 1846.

Lauder afterwards went to Barbadoes, where he some time taught school. His behaviour there was mean and despicable, and he passed the remainder of his life in universal contempt. He died about the year 1771. — NICHOLS.

In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1754, is a short account of a renewed attack by Lauder on Milton's character, in a pamphlet entitled "The Grand Impostor detected, or Milton convicted of Forgery against King Charles I." Mr. Chalmers thinks that this review was probably written by Johnson; but it is, on every account, very unlikely. The article is trivial, and seems to be written neither in the style nor sentiments of Johnson. — CROKER.

This extraordinary attempt of Lauder was no sudden effort. He had brooded over it for many years : and to this hour it is uncertain what his principal motive was, unless it were a vain notion of his superiority, in being able, by whatever means, to deceive mankind. To effect this, he produced certain passages from Grotius, Masenius, and others, which had a faint resemblance to some parts of the "Paradise Lost." In these he interpolated some fragments of Hog's Latin translation of that poem, alleging that the mass thus fabricated was the archetype from which Milton copied. These fabrications he published from time to time in the Gentleman's Magazine; and, exulting in his fancied success, he in 1750 ventured to collect them into a pamphlet, entitled "An Essay on Milton's Use and Imitation of the Moderns in his Paradise Lost." To this pamphlet Johnson wrote a Preface, in full persuasion of Lauder's honesty, and a Postscript recommending in the most persuasive terms a subscription for the relief of a grand-daughter of Milton, of whom he thus speaks :—

"It is yet in the power of a great people to reward the poet whose name they boast, and from their alliance to whose genius they claim some kind of superiority to every other nation of the earth; that poet, whose works may possibly be read when every other monument of British greatness shall be obliterated; to reward him, not with pictures or with medals, which, if he sees, he sees with contempt, but with tokens of gratitude, which he, perhaps, may even now consider as not unworthy the regard of an immortal spirit."

Surely this is inconsistent with "ennuity towards Milton," which Sir John Hawkins imputes to Johnson upon this occasion, adding,

"I could all along observe that Johnson seemed to approve not only of the design, but of the argument; and seemed to exult in a persuasion, that the reputation of Milton was likely to suffer by this discovery. That he was not privy to the imposture, I am well persuaded; that he wished well to the argument, may be inferred from the Preface, which indubitably was written by Johnson."

Is it possible for any man of clear judgment to suppose that Johnson, who so nobly praised the poetical excellence of Milton in a Postscript to this very "discovery," as he then supposed it, could, at the same time, exult in a persuasion that the great poet's reputation was likely to suffer by it? This is an inconsistency of which

Johnson was incapable; nor can anything more be fairly inferred from the Preface, than that Johnson, who was alike distinguished for ardent curiosity and love of truth, was pleased with an investigation by which both were gratified.¹ That he was actuated by these motives, and certainly by no unworthy desire to depreciate our great epic poet, is evident from his own words; for, after mentioning the general zeal of men of genius and literature, "to advance the honour, and distinguish the beauties of Paradise Lost," he says,

"Among the inquiries to which this ardour of criticism has naturally given occasion, none is more obscure in itself, or more worthy of rational curiosity, than a retrospect of the progress of this mighty genius in the construction of his work; a view of the fabric, gradually rising, perhaps, from small beginnings, till its foundation rests in the centre, and its turrets sparkle in the skies; to trace back the structure through all its varieties to the simplicity of its first plan; to find what was first projected, whence the scheme was taken, how it was improved, by what assistance it was executed, and from what stores the materials were collected; whether its founder dug them from the quarries of Nature, or demolished other buildings to embellish his own."²

Is this the language of one who wished to blast the laurels of Milton?

JOHNSON TO RICHARDSON.

"March 9. 1750-1.

"DEAR SIR, — Though Clarissa wants no help from external splendour, I was glad to see her improved in her appearance, but more glad to find that she was now got above all fears of prolixity, and confident enough of success to supply whatever had been hitherto suppressed. I never indeed found a hint of any such defalcation, but I regretted it; for though the story is long, every letter is short.

"I wish you would add an *index rerum*³, that when the reader recollects any incident, he may easily find it, which at present he cannot do, unless he knows in which volume it is told; for Clarissa is not a performance to be read with eagerness, and laid aside for ever; but will be occasionally consulted by the busy, the aged, and the studious; and therefore I beg that this edition, by which I suppose posterity is to abide, may want nothing that can facilitate its use. I am, sir, yours, &c.

—Rich. Cor.

"SAM. JOHNSON."

Though Johnson's circumstances were at this

¹ "Proposals [evidently written by Johnson] for printing the *Adamus Exul* of Grotius, with a Translation and Notes by William Lauder, A. M." *Gent. Mag.* 1747, p. 404.—MALONE.

² But is it not extraordinary that Johnson, who had himself meditated a history of modern Latin poetry (see *anté*, p. 23.), should not have shown his *curiosity and love of truth*, by, at least, comparing Lauder's quotations with the original authors? It was, we might say, his *duty* to have done so, before he so far pronounced his judgment as to assist Lauder; and had he attempted but to verify a single quotation, he must have immediately discovered the fraud.—CROKER.

³ This proposition of an *index rerum* to a novel will

appear extraordinary, but Johnson was at this time very anxious to cultivate the favour of Richardson, who lived in an atmosphere of flattery, and Johnson found it necessary to fall into the fashion of the society. Mr. Northcote relates, that Johnson introduced Sir Joshua Reynolds and his sister to Richardson, but hinted to them, at the same time, that if they wished to see the latter in good humour, they must expatiate on the excellences of Clarissa; and Mrs. Piozzi tells us, that when talking of Richardson, he once said, "You think I love flattery—and so I do; but a little too much always disgusts me: that fellow Richardson, on the contrary, could not be contented to sail quietly down the stream of reputation without longing to taste the froth from every stroke of the oar."—CROKER.

time far from being easy¹, his humane and charitable disposition was constantly exerting itself. Mrs. Anna Williams, daughter of a very ingenious Welsh physician, and a woman of more than ordinary talents and literature, having come to London in hopes of being cured of a cataract in both her eyes, which afterwards ended in total blindness, was kindly received as a constant visitor at his house while Mrs. Johnson lived; and, after her death, having come under his roof in order to have an operation upon her eyes performed with more comfort to her than in lodgings, she had an apartment from him during the rest of her life, at all times when he had a house.²

¹ Mr. Prior, who, in preparing his *Life of Goldsmith*, had access to the papers of Newbery, the bookseller, found several notes of Johnson's, at this period, soliciting small loans, of *one and two guineas*. In 1759 and 1760 Johnson passed to Newbery two notes of hand for 42l. and 30l. I presume for advances on account of the "*Idler*." Mr. Prior found also the original statement of the account between him and Johnson for the *Idler*, when collected into volumes.

Dr.					Cr.
	£	s.	d.		£ s. d.
Paid for advertising	20	0	6	1500 sets at 16l. per	
Printing 2 vols. 1500	41	13	0	100	240 0 0
Paper - - -	52	3	0		
				Dr. Johnson's $\frac{2}{3}$	84 2 4
	113	16	6	Mr. Newbery $\frac{1}{3}$	42 1 2
Profit on edition	126	3	6		
					126 3 6

Prior's Life of Goldsmith, i. 341—347. — CROKER, 1846.

² Before the calamity of total deprivation of sight befell Mrs. Williams, she, with the assistance of her father, had acquired a knowledge of the French and Italian languages, and had made great improvements in literature, which, together with the exercise of her needle, at which she was very dexterous, as well after the loss of her sight as before, contributed to support her under her affliction, till a time when it was thought by her friends that relief might be obtained from the hand of an operating surgeon. At the request of Dr. Johnson, I went with her to a friend of mine, Mr. Samuel Sharp, senior surgeon of Guy's Hospital, who before had given me to understand that he would couch her gratis if the cataract was ripe; but upon making the experiment it was found otherwise, and that the crystalline humour was not sufficiently inspissated for the needle to take effect. She had been almost a constant companion of Mrs. Johnson for some time before her decease, but had never resided in the house; afterwards, for the convenience of performing the intended operation, Johnson took her home; and, upon the failure of that, kept her as the partner of his dwelling till he removed into chambers. Afterward, in 1766, upon his taking a house in Johnson's Court, in Fleet Street, he invited her thither, and in that, and his last house, in Bolt Court, she successively dwelt for the remainder of her life. The loss of her sight made but a small abatement of her cheerfulness, and was scarce any interruption of her studies. With the assistance of two female friends, she translated from the French of Père La Bletrie "*the Life of the Emperor Julian*," and, in 1766, she published, by subscription, a quarto volume of *Miscellanies*, in prose and verse, and thereby increased her little fund to three hundred pounds, which, being prudently invested, yielded an income that, under such protection as she experienced from Dr. Johnson, was sufficient for her support. She was a woman of an enlightened understanding; plain, as it is called, in her person, and easily provoked to anger, but possessing, nevertheless, some excellent moral qualities, among which no one was more conspicuous than her desire to promote the welfare and happiness of others, and of this she gave a signal proof, by her solicitude in favour of an institution for the maintenance and education of poor deserted females in the parish of St. Sepulchre, London, supported by the voluntary contributions of ladies; and, as the foundation-stone of a fund for its future subsistence, she bequeathed to it the whole of the little which she had been able to accumulate. To the endowments and qualities here ascribed to her, may be added a larger share of experimental prudence than is the lot of most of her sex. Johnson, in many exigences, found her an able counsellor, and seldom showed his wisdom more than when he hearkened to her advice. In return, she received from his conversation the advantages of religious and moral improvement, which she cultivated so, as

CHAPTER X.

1752—1753.

Progress of the Dictionary. — Conclusion of the Rambler. — Death of Mrs. Johnson. — Prayer on that Occasion. — Inscription. — Epitaph. — Francis Barber. — Robert Levett. — Sir Joshua Reynolds. — Bennet Langton. — Topham Beauclerk. — Johnson's Share in "The Adventurer."

IN 1752 Johnson was almost entirely occupied with his Dictionary. The last paper of his *Rambler* was published March 2.³ this year;

in a great measure to smoothe the constitutional asperity of her temper. When these particulars are known, this intimacy, which began with compassion, and terminated in a friendship that subsisted till death dissolved it, will be easily accounted for. — *Hawkins*, p. 322.

Mrs. Williams was a person extremely interesting. She had uncommon firmness of mind, a boundless curiosity, retentive memory, and strong judgment. She had various powers of pleasing. Her personal afflictions and slender fortune she seemed to forget, when she had the power of doing an act of kindness: she was social, cheerful, and active, in a state of body that was truly deplorable. Her regard to Dr. Johnson was formed with such strength of judgment and firm esteem, that her voice never hesitated when she repeated his maxims, or recited his good deeds; though upon many other occasions her want of sight led her to make so much use of her ear, as to affect her speech. Mrs. Williams was blind before she was acquainted with Dr. Johnson. She had many resources, though none very great. With the Miss Winklsons she generally passed a part of the year, and received from them presents, and from the first who died, a legacy of clothes and money. The last of them, Mrs. Jane, left her an annual rent; but from the blundering manner of the will, I fear she never reaped the benefit of it. The lady left money to erect a hospital for ancient maids; but the number she had allotted being too great for the donation, the Doctor (Johnson) said, it would be better to expunge the word *maintain*, and put in to *starve* such a number of old maids. They asked him what name should be given to it: he replied, 'Let it be called JENNY'S WHIM.' [The name of a well-known tavern near Chelsea in former days.] — Lady Phillips made her a small annual allowance, and some other Welsh ladies, to all of whom she was related. Mrs. Montague, on the death of Mr. Montague, settled upon her (by deed) ten pounds per annum. As near as I can calculate, Mrs. Williams had about thirty-five or forty pounds a year. The furniture she used [in her apartment in Dr. Johnson's house] was her own; her expenses were small, tea and bread and butter being at least half of her nourishment. Sometimes she had a servant or charwoman to do the ruder offices of the house; but she was herself active and industrious. I have frequently seen her at work. Upon remarking one day her facility in moving about the house, searching into drawers, and finding books, without the help of sight, 'Believe me (said she), persons who cannot do these common offices without sight, did but little while they enjoyed that blessing.' Scanty circumstances, bad health, and blindness, are surely a sufficient apology for her being sometimes impatient: her natural disposition was good, friendly, and humane. — *Lady Knight*. (*Ante*, p. 24.)

I see her now — a pale, shrunken old lady, dressed in scarlet, made in the handsome French fashion of the time (1775), with a lace cap, with two stiffened projecting wings on the temples, and a black lace hood over it. Her temper has been recorded as marked with Welsh fire, and this might be excited by some of the meaner inmates of the upper floors [of Dr. Johnson's house]; but her gentle kindness to me I never shall forget, or think consistent with a bad temper. I know nobody from whose discourse there was a better chance of deriving high ideas of moral rectitude. *Miss Hawkins's Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 152. See *post*, sub November, 1766. — CROKER.

³ Here the author's memory failed him, for, according to the account given in a former page (see p. 63.), we should here read March 17; but, in truth, as has been already observed, the *Rambler* closed on Saturday the *fourteenth* of March; at which time Mrs. Johnson was near her end, for she died on the following Tuesday, March 17. Had the concluding paper of that work been written on the day of her death, it would have been still more extraordinary than it is, considering the extreme grief into which the author was plunged by that event. The melancholy cast of that con-

after which, there was a cessation for some time of any exertion of his talents as an essayist. But, in the same year, Dr. Hawkesworth, who was his warm admirer, and a studious imitator of his style, and then lived in great intimacy with him, began a periodical paper, entitled, "THE ADVENTURER,"¹ in connection with other gentlemen, one of whom was Johnson's much-loved friend Dr. Bathurst; and, without doubt, they received many valuable hints from his conversation, most of his friends having been so assisted in the course of their works.

That there should be a suspension of his literary labours during a part of the year 1752, will not seem strange, when it is considered that soon after closing his *Rambler*, he suffered a loss which, there can be no doubt, affected him with the deepest distress. For on the 17th of March, O. S., his wife died. Why Sir John Hawkins should unwarrantably take upon him even to *suppose* that Johnson's fondness for her was *dissembled* (meaning simulated or assumed²), and to assert, that if it was not the case, "it was a lesson he had learned by rote," I cannot conceive; unless it proceeded from a want of similar feelings in his own breast. To argue from her being much older than Johnson, or any other circumstances, that he could not really love her, is absurd; for love is not a subject of reasoning, but of feeling, and therefore there are no common principles upon which one can persuade another concerning it. Every man feels for himself, and knows how he is affected by particular qualities in the person he admires, the impressions of which are too minute and delicate to be substantiated in language.

The following very solemn and affecting prayer was found after Dr. Johnson's decease, by his servant, Mr. Francis Barber, who delivered it to my worthy friend the Reverend Mr. Strahan³, Vicar of Islington, who at my

earnest request has obligingly favoured me with a copy of it, which he and I compared with the original. I present it to the world as an undoubted proof of a circumstance in the character of my illustrious friend, which, though some, whose hard minds I never shall envy, may attack as superstitions, will, I am sure, endear him more to numbers of good men. I have an additional, and that a personal motive for presenting it, because it sanctions what I myself have always maintained and am fond to indulge.

"April 26, 1752, being after 12 at Night of the 25th.

"O Lord! Governor of heaven and earth, in whose hands are embodied and departed spirits, if thou hast ordained the souls of the dead to minister to the living, and appointed my departed wife to have care of me, grant that I may enjoy the good effects of her attention and ministration, whether exercised by appearance, impulses, dreams, or in any other manner agreeable to thy government. Forgive my presumption, enlighten my ignorance, and however meaner agents are employed, grant me the blessed influences of thy holy Spirit, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

What actually followed upon this most interesting piece of devotion by Johnson, we are not informed; but I, whom it has pleased God to afflict in a similar manner to that which occasioned it, have certain experience of benignant communication by dreams.⁴

That his love for his wife was of the most ardent kind, and, during the long period of fifty years, was unimpaired by the lapse of time, is evident from various passages in the series of his *Prayers and Meditations*⁵, published by the Reverend Mr. Strahan, as well as from other memorials, two of which I select, as strongly marking the tenderness and sensibility of his mind.

"March 28, 1753. I kept this day as the anniversary of my Tetty's death, with prayer and tears

cluding essay is sufficiently accounted for by the situation of Mrs. Johnson at the time it was written; and her death three days afterwards put an end to the paper.—MALONE. Mr. Malone seems also to have fallen into some errors, from not adverting to the change of *style*. Johnson, at this period, used the *old style*; so that Mr. Boswell may have copied from some MS. note the date of the 2d of March as that on which the last *Rambler* was written, though it was published next day, viz. the 3d, O. S., or 14th, N. S.; and as Mrs. Johnson's death was on the 17th, O. S., or 28th, N. S., the *Rambler* was concluded a fortnight before that event; and was concluded because, as Dr. Johnson expressly says in the last number, "having supported it for two years, and multiplied his essays to six volumes, he determined to desist." It died therefore a natural death, though it is very likely that the loss of Mrs. Johnson would have stopped it, had it not been already terminated.—CROKER.

¹ The last paper of the *Adventurer* assigns to Dr. J. Warton such as have the signature Z, and leaves the rest to Hawkesworth himself. Hawkins adds that the papers marked A, which are said to have come from a source that soon failed, were supplied by Dr. Bathurst, and those distinguished by the letter T (the first of which is dated 3rd March, 1753), by Johnson, who received two guineas for every number that he wrote; a rate of payment which he had before adjusted in his stipulation for the *Rambler*, and was probably the measure of reward to his fellow-labourers.—HAWKINS. But see *post*, p. 80, n. 5, more on this subject.—CROKER.

² Johnson himself has in his Dictionary given to the word "*dissembled*" the same meaning in which it is here used by

Hawkins. He adds, however, very justly, that such a use of it is erroneous.—CROKER.

³ George, afterwards D.D., second son of Johnson's friend, Andrew Strahan, M.P. and King's Printer. He died May 1824, aged 80.

⁴ Mr. Boswell's wife died in June, 1790; his Life of Johnson was first published in April, 1791. See the letter to Mr. Elphinstone on a similar loss, *ante*, p. 66, n. 1.—CROKER.

⁵ The originals of this publication are now deposited in Pembroke College. It is to be observed, that they consist of a few little memorandum books, and a great number of separate scraps of paper, and bear no marks of having been arranged or intended for publication by Dr. Johnson. Each *prayer* is on a separate piece of paper, generally a sheet—but sometimes a fragment—of note paper. The *memoranda* and *observations* are generally in little books of a few leaves sewed together. This subject will be referred to hereafter; (*sub November and December*, 1784); but it is even now important that the reader should recollect that Mr. Strahan's publication was not foreseen nor prepared by Dr. Johnson himself, but patched up by the reverend gentleman out of the loose materials above mentioned, and published by him, as I conceive, most unwarrantably.—C., 1831. The publication has done no harm; on the contrary, though it has on a few points given rise to criticism, misrepresentation, and sneer, (see next note.) it, on the whole, raises Johnson's character for piety and charity; but it was in the first instance a breach of confidence towards Johnson, and it assumed towards the public a character of authority which it did not possess.—CROKER, 1846.

in the morning. In the evening I prayed for her conditionally, if it were lawful."

"April 23. 1753. I know not whether I do not too much indulge the vain longings of affection; but I hope they intenerate my heart, and that when I die like my Tetty, this affection will be acknowledged in a happy interview, and that in the mean time I am incited by it to piety. I will, however, not deviate too much from common and received methods of devotion."¹

Her wedding-ring, when she became his wife, was, after her death, preserved by him, as long as he lived, with an affectionate care, in a little round wooden box, in the inside of which he pasted a slip of paper, thus inscribed by him in fair characters, as follows:—

"Eheu!
"Eliz. Johnson,
"Nupta Jul. 9^o 1736,
"Mortua, eheu!
"Mart. 17^o 1752."²

After his death, Mr. Francis Barber, his faithful servant, and residuary legatee, offered this memorial of tenderness to Mrs. Lucy Porter, Mrs. Johnson's daughter; but she having declined³ to accept of it, he had it enamelled as a mourning ring for his old master, and presented it to his wife, Mrs. Barber, who now has it.

¹ Miss Seward, with equal truth and taste, thus expresses herself concerning these and similar passages:—"Those pharisaic meditations, with their popish prayers for old Tetty's soul; their contrite parade about lying in bed on a morning; drinking creamed tea on a fast day; snoring at sermons; and having omitted to ponder well Bel and the Dragon, and Tobit and his Dog." And in another letter she does not scruple to say, that Mr. Boswell confessed to her his idea that Johnson was "a Roman Catholic in his heart." Miss Seward's credit is by this time so low that it is hardly necessary to observe how improbable it is that Mr. Boswell could have made any such confession. Dr. Johnson thought charitably of the Roman Catholics, and defended their religion from the coarse language of our political tests, which call it impious and idolatrous (*post*, Oct. 26. 1759); but he strenuously disclaimed all participation in the doctrines of that church (*see post*, May 3. 1773; *April 5. 1776; October 10. 1779; June 3. 1784*). Lady Knight (*ante*, p. 24.) the mother of Miss Cornelia Knight, author of "*Marcus Flaminius*," wrote from Rome to Mr. Hoole;—"Dr. Johnson's political principles ran high, both in church and state: he wished power to the king and to the heads of the church, as the laws of England have established; but I know he disliked absolute power; and I am very sure of his disapprobation of the doctrines of the Church of Rome; because about three weeks before we came abroad, he said to my Cornelia, 'You are going where the ostentatious pomp of church ceremonies attracts the imagination; but if they want to persuade you to change, you must remember, that by increasing your faith, you may be persuaded to become Turk.' If these were not the words, I have kept up to the express meaning." Mrs. Piozzi says, "Though beloved by all his Roman Catholic acquaintance, yet was Mr. Johnson a most unshaken Church-of-England man: and I think, or at least I once did think, that a letter written by him to Mr. Barnard, the king's librarian, when he was in Italy collecting books, contained some very particular advice to his friend to be on his guard against the seductions of the Church of Rome." And finally—which may perhaps be thought more likely to express his real sentiments than even a more formal assertion—when it was proposed (*see post*, April 30. 1773), that monuments of eminent men should in future be erected in St. Paul's, and when some one in conversation suggested to begin with Pope, Johnson observed, "Why, sir, as Pope was a Roman Catholic, I would not have his to be first."—CROKER.

² It seems as if Dr. Johnson had been a little ashamed of the disproportion between his age and that of his wife, for neither in this inscription nor that over her grave, written

The state of mind in which a man must be upon the death of a woman whom he sincerely loves, had been in his contemplation many years before. In his *IRENE*, we find the following fervent and tender speech of Demetrius, addressed to his Aspasia:—

"From those bright regions of eternal day,
Where now thou shin'st amongst thy fellow saints,
Array'd in purer light, look down on me!
In pleasing visions and assuasive dreams,
O! soothe my soul, and teach me how to lose thee."

I have, indeed, been told by Mrs. Desmoulin, who, before her marriage, lived for some time with Mrs. Johnson at Hampstead, that she indulged herself in country air and nice living, at an unsuitable expense, while her husband was drudging in the smoke of London, and that she by no means treated him with that complacency which is the most engaging quality in a wife.⁴ But all this is perfectly compatible with his fondness for her, especially when it is remembered that he had a high opinion of her understanding, and that the impressions which her beauty, real or imaginary, had originally made upon his fancy, being continued by habit, had not been effaced, though she herself was doubtless much altered for the worse.⁵ The

thirty years later, does he mention her age, which was at her death *sixty-three*.—CROKER.

³ Offended perhaps, and not unreasonably, that she was not mentioned in Johnson's will.—C., 1831. It has been observed to me, that neither had *she* in her will, made before Johnson's death, remembered *him*—but she could hardly have thought of Johnson's outliving her.—CROKER, 1846.

⁴ "I asked him," says Mrs. Piozzi, "if he ever disputed with his wife (I had heard that he loved her passionately). 'Perpetually,' said he: 'my wife had a particular reverence for cleanliness, and desired the praise of neatness in her dress and furniture, as many ladies do, till they become troublesome to their best friends, slaves to their own besoms, and only sigh for the hour of sweeping their husbands out of the house as dirt and useless lumber; a clean floor is so comfortable, she would say sometimes, by way of twitting; till at last I told her, that I thought we had had talk enough about the floor, we would now have a touch at the ceiling.' On another occasion I have heard him blame her for a fault many people have, of setting the miseries of their neighbours, half unintentionally, half wantonly, before their eyes, showing them the bad side of their profession, situation, &c. He said, 'She would lament the dependence of pupillage to a young heir, &c., and once told a waterman who rowed her along the Thames in a wherry, that he was no happier than a galley-slave, one being chained to the oar by authority, the other by want. She read comedy better than any body he ever heard (he said); in tragedy she mouthed too much.' Garrick, however, told Mr. Thrale that she was a little painted puppet of no value at all, and quite disguised with affectation, full of odd airs of rural elegance; and he made out some comical scenes, by mimicking her in a dialogue he pretended to have overheard. Mr. Johnson has told me that her hair was eminently beautiful, quite *blonde* like that of a baby; but that she fretted about the colour, and was always desirous to dye it black, which he very judiciously hindered her from doing. The picture I found of her at Lichfield was very pretty. The picture I found of Mrs. Lucy Porter, said it was like. The intelligence I gained of her from Lord Leveitt, was only *perpetual itness and perpetual opium*."—Piozzi. But Leveitt only knew her in her last years, and in very bad health.—CROKER.

⁵ In the Gentleman's Magazine for February, 1794, p. 100., was printed a letter pretending to be that written by Johnson on the death of his wife: but it is merely a transcript of the 41st number of "The Idler," on the death of a friend. A fictitious date, March 17. 1751, O. S., was added to give a colour to this deception.—MALONE.

dreadful shock of separation took place in the night; and he immediately despatched a letter to his friend, the Reverend Dr. Taylor, which, as Taylor told me, expressed grief in the strongest manner he had ever read; so that it is much to be regretted it has not been preserved. The letter was brought to Dr. Taylor, at his house in the cloisters, Westminster, about three in the morning; and as it signified an earnest desire to see him, he got up, and went to Johnson as soon as he was dressed, and found him in tears and in extreme agitation. After being a little while together, Johnson requested him to join with him in prayer. He then prayed extempore, as did Dr. Taylor; and thus by means of that piety which was ever his primary object, his troubled mind was, in some degree, soothed and composed.

The next day he wrote as follows:—

JOHNSON TO TAYLOR.

"March 18. 1752.

"DEAR SIR, — Let me have your company and instruction. Do not live away from me. My distress is great.

"Pray desire Mrs. Taylor to inform me what mourning I should buy for my mother and Miss Porter, and bring a note in writing with you.

"Remember me in your prayers, for vain is the help of man. I am, dear sir, &c.

"SAM. JOHNSON."

That his sufferings upon the death of his wife were severe, beyond what are commonly endured, I have no doubt, from the information of many who were then about him, to none of whom I give more credit than to Mr. Francis Barber, his faithful negro servant¹, who came into his family about a fortnight after the dismal event. These sufferings were aggravated by the melancholy inherent in his constitution, and although he probably was not oftener in the wrong than she was, in the little disagreements which sometimes troubled his married

state, during which, he owned to me, that the gloomy irritability of his existence was more painful to him than ever, he might very naturally, after her death, be tenderly disposed to charge himself with slight omissions and offences, the sense of which would give him much uneasiness.² Accordingly we find, about a year after her decease, that he thus addressed the Supreme Being:—"O LORD, who givest the grace of repentance, and hearest the prayers of the penitent, grant that by true contrition I may obtain forgiveness of all the sins committed, and of all duties neglected, in my union with the wife whom thou hast taken from me; for the neglect of joint devotion, patient exhortation, and mild instruction." [Pr. and Med. p. 19.] The kindness of his heart, notwithstanding the impetuosity of his temper, is well known to his friends; and I cannot trace the smallest foundation for the following dark and uncharitable assertion by Sir John Hawkins:—"The apparition of his departed wife was altogether of the terrific kind, and hardly afforded him a hope that she was in a state of happiness." That he, in conformity with the opinion of many of the most able, learned, and pious Christians in all ages, supposed that there was a middle state after death, previous to the time at which departed souls are finally received to eternal felicity, appears, I think, unquestionably from his devotions:—"And, O LORD, so far as it may be lawful in me, I commend to thy fatherly goodness the soul of my departed wife; beseeching thee to grant her whatever is best in her present state, and finally to receive her to eternal happiness."³ [Pr. and Med. p. 20.] But this state has not been looked upon with horror, but only as less gracious.

He deposited the remains of Mrs. Johnson in the church of Bromley in Kent⁴, to which he was probably led by the residence of his friend Hawkesworth at that place. The funeral sermon which he composed for her, which was never preached, but, having been given to

¹ Francis Barber was born in Jamaica, and was brought to England in 1750, by Colonel Bathurst, father of Johnson's very intimate friend Dr. Bathurst. He was sent, for some time, to the Reverend Mr. Jackson's school, at Barton, in Yorkshire. The Colonel by his will left him his freedom, and Dr. Bathurst was willing that he should enter into Johnson's service, in which he continued from 1752 till Johnson's death, with the exception of two intervals; in one of which, upon some difference with his master, he went and served an apothecary in Cheapside, but still visited Dr. Johnson occasionally; in another, he took a fancy to go to sea. Part of the time, indeed, he was, by the kindness of his master, at a school in Northamptonshire, that he might have the advantage of some learning. So early and so lasting a connection was there between Dr. Johnson and this humble friend.—BOSWELL. Hawkins says that "the uses for which Francis was intended to serve Johnson were not very apparent, for Diogenes himself never wanted a servant less than he seemed to do. The great bushy wig which, throughout his life, he affected to wear, by that closeness of texture which it had contracted and been suffered to retain, was ever nearly as impenetrable by a comb as a quickset hedge; and little of the dust that had once settled on his outer garments was ever known to have been disturbed by the brush." But he adds, that "the produce of the Rambler, the pay he was receiving for the Adventurer, and the fruits of his other literary labours, had now exalted him to such a state of comparative affluence as in his judgment made a man-servant necessary." This is a mistake. Boswell states on evi-

dence which (however improbable the fact) it is hard to resist, that Johnson resigned to Dr. Bathurst all the profits of the Adventurer, two guineas a paper, for about thirty papers; and all other accounts lead to a belief, that about this period Johnson was in extreme distress. It is therefore more probable that he was induced to take the Negro by charity and his love of Dr. Bathurst.—C., 1831. The Anderson MSS. contain an importunate letter, dated July 3. 1751, from one Mitchell, a tradesman in Chandos Street, pressing Johnson to pay £2, due by his wife ever since August, 1749, and threatening legal proceedings to enforce payment. This letter Mr. Boswell had endorsed, "Proof of Dr. Johnson's wretched circumstances in 1751."—CROKER, 1846.

² See his beautiful and affecting Rambler, No. 54.—MALONE. This was written two years before Mrs. Johnson's death.—CROKER.

³ It does not appear that Johnson was fully persuaded that there was a middle state; his prayers being only *conditional*, i. e., if such a state existed.—MALONE. This is not a correct statement of the case: the condition was, that it should be lawful to him so to intercede; and in all his prayers of this nature he scrupulously introduces the humble limitation of "as far as it is lawful," or "as far as may be permitted, I recommend," &c.; but it is also to be observed, that he sometimes prays that "the Almighty may have had mercy" on the departed, as if he believed the sentence to have been already pronounced.—CROKER.

⁴ A few months before his death, Johnson honoured her

Dr. Taylor, has been published since his death, is a performance of uncommon excellence, and full of rational and pious comfort to such as are depressed by that severe affliction which Johnson felt when he wrote it. When it is considered that it was written in such an agitation of mind, and in the short interval between her death and burial, it cannot be read without wonder.

From Mr. Francis Barber I have had the following authentic and artless account of the situation in which he found him recently after his wife's death:—"He was in great affliction. Mrs. Williams was then living in his house, which was in Gough Square. He was busy with the Dictionary. Mr. Shiels, and some others of the gentlemen who had formerly written for him, used to come about him. He had then little for himself, but frequently sent money to Mr. Shiels when in distress. The friends who visited him at that time, were chiefly Dr. Bathurst¹, and Mr. Diamond, an apothecary in Cork Street, Burlington-gardens, with whom he and Mrs. Williams generally dined every Sunday. There was a talk of his going to Iceland with him, which would probably have happened, had he lived. There were also Mr. Cave, Dr. Hawkesworth, Mr. Ryland, merchant on Tower-hill, Mrs. Masters², the poetess, who lived with Mr. Cave, Mrs. Carter, and sometimes Mrs. Macaulay³; also, Mrs. Gardiner, wife of a tallow-chandler on Snow-hill, not in the learned way, but a worthy

good woman⁴: Mr. (now Sir Joshua) Reynolds; Mr. Millar, Mr. Dodsley, Mr. Bouquet, Mr. Payne, of Paternoster-row, booksellers; Mr. Strahan, the printer; the Earl of Orrery⁵, Lord Southwell⁶, Mr. Garrick."

Many are, no doubt, omitted in this catalogue of his friends, and in particular, his humble friend Mr. Robert Levett, an obscure practiser in physic amongst the lower people, his fees being sometimes very small sums, sometimes whatever provisions his patients could afford him; but of such extensive practice in that way, that Mrs. Williams has told me, his walk was from Houndsditch to Marylebone. It appears, from Johnson's diary, that their acquaintance commenced about the year 1746; and such was Johnson's predilection for him, and fanciful estimation of his moderate abilities, that I have heard him say he should not be satisfied, though attended by all the College of Physicians, unless he had Mr. Levett with him. Ever since I was acquainted with Dr. Johnson, and many years before, as I have been assured by those who knew him earlier, Mr. Levett had an apartment in his house, or his chambers, and waited upon him every morning, through the whole course of his late and tedious breakfast. He was of a strange grotesque appearance, stiff and formal in his manner, and seldom said a word while any company was present.⁷

The circle of his friends, indeed, at this time was extensive and various, far beyond what

memory by the following epitaph, which was inscribed on her tombstone, in the church of Brnley:—

Hic conduntur reliquie
ELIZABETHÆ
Antiquæ Jarvisiorum gente,
Peatlingæ, apud Leicestersienses, ortæ;
Formosæ, cultæ, ingeniosæ, piæ;
Uxoris, primis nuptiis, HENRICI PORTER,
Secundis, SAMUELIS JOHNSON;
Qui multum amatam, diuque defectam
Hoc lapide contexit.
Obiit Londini, Mense Mart.
A.D. MDCCLII. BOSWELL.

Here are buried the remains of ELIZABETH, of the ancient family of Jarvis, of Peatling in Leicestershire. Beautiful, accomplished, ingenious, pious, the wife in a first marriage of Henry Porter; in a second, of Samuel Johnson: who has covered with this stone her whom he much loved and long lamented. She died in London in March, 1752."—C., 1846.

¹ Dr. Bathurst, though a physician of no inconsiderable merit, had not the good fortune to get much practice in London. He was, therefore, willing to accept of employment abroad, and, to the regret of all who knew him, fell a sacrifice to the destructive climate, in the expedition against the Havannah. Mr. Langton recollects the following passage in a letter from Dr. Johnson to Mr. Beauchamp:—"The Havannah is taken: a conquest too dearly obtained; for, Bathurst died before it; "*Vix Priamus tanti totaque Troja fuit.*"—BOSWELL.

There are in Harwood's *History of Lichfield* two letters from Bathurst to Johnson, dated Barbadoes, January 13. and Jamaica, March 18. 1757; from which it would seem that Mr. Boswell's account is liable to some doubt, for Bathurst left London, and returned to the West Indies some years before the expedition against the Havannah (1762); nor is his name to be found in the list of medical officers who accompanied the army from England; he probably, therefore, joined the expedition in the West Indies. The first of these letters runs thus:—

"The many acts of friendship and affection you have conferred upon me, so fully convince me of your being interested in my welfare, that even my present stupidity will not prevent my taking a pen in my hand to acquaint you that I am this instant arrived safe at Barbadoes, and I hope I may add,

without having forgot all your lessons; and I am confident not without praying most fervently that the Supreme Being will enable me to deserve the approbation and friendship of so great and so good a man: alas! you little know how undeserving I am of the favours I have received from you. May health and happiness for ever attend you. Excuse my dropping my pen, for it is impossible that it should express the gratitude that is due to you, from your most affectionate friend, and most obliged servant, RICHARD BATHURST."

Dr. Johnson told Mrs. Piozzi that he loved "dear, dear Bathurst, better than he ever loved any human creature;" and it was on him that he bestowed the singular eulogy of being a *good hater*. "Dear Bathurst," said he, "was a man to my very heart's content; he hated a fool, and he hated a rogue, and he hated a Whig: he was a very good hater!"—CROKER.

² Mary Masters published a small volume of poems about 1738, and, in 1755, "Familiar Letters and Poems," in octavo. She is supposed to have died about 1759.—CROKER.

³ Catherine Sawbridge, sister of Mrs. Alderman Sawbridge, was born in 1733; but it was not till 1760 that she was married to Dr. Macaulay, a physician; so that Barber's account was, in respect to her, incorrect, either in date or name. She was married a second time, in 1778, to a Mr. Graham, with no increase of respectability. She died in 1791.—CROKER.

⁴ With this good woman, who was introduced to him by Mrs. Masters, he kept up a constant intercourse, and remembered her in his will, by the bequest of a book. See *post*, Nov. 1783.—CROKER.

⁵ See *anté*, p. 57, n. 2.—C.

⁶ Thomas, second Lord Southwell, F.R.S., born 1698, succeeded his father in 1720, and died in 1766.—CROKER.

⁷ Robert Levett, though an Englishman by birth, became early in life a waiter at a coffee-house in Paris; where the surgeons who frequented it, finding him of an inquisitive turn, and attentive to their conversation, made a purse for him, and gave him some instructions in their art. They afterwards furnished him with the means of other knowledge, by procuring him free admission to such lectures in pharmacy and anatomy as were read by the ablest professors of that period. Where the middle part of his life was spent is uncertain. He resided about twenty years under Johnson's hospitable roof, who never wished him to be regarded as an inferior, or treated him like a dependent.—STEEVENS.

has been generally imagined.¹ To trace his acquaintance with each particular person, if it could be done, would be a task, of which the labour would not be repaid by the advantage. But exceptions are to be made; one of which must be a friend so eminent as Sir Joshua Reynolds, who was truly his *dulce decus*, and with whom he maintained an uninterrupted intimacy to the last hour of his life. When Johnson lived in Castle Street, Cavendish Square, he used frequently to visit two ladies who lived opposite to him, Miss Cotterells, daughters of Admiral Cotterell.² Reynolds used also to visit there, and thus they met.³ Mr. Reynolds, as I have observed above, had from the first reading of his *Life of Savage*, conceived a very high admiration of Johnson's powers of writing. His conversation no less delighted him; and he cultivated his acquaintance with the laudable zeal of one who was ambitious of general improvement. Sir Joshua, indeed, was lucky enough, at their very first meeting, to make a remark, which was so much above the common-place style of conversation, that Johnson at once perceived that Reynolds had the habit of thinking for himself. The ladies were regretting the death of a friend, to whom they owed great obligations; upon which Reynolds observed, "You have, however, the comfort of being relieved from a burthen of gratitude." They were shocked a little at this alleviating suggestion, as too selfish; but Johnson defended it in his clear and forcible manner, and was much pleased with the *mind*, the fair view of human nature⁴, which it exhibited, like some of the reflections of Rochefaucault. The consequence was, that

he went home with Reynolds, and supped with him.

Sir Joshua told me a pleasant characteristic anecdote of Johnson about the time of their first acquaintance. When they were one evening together at the Miss Cotterells', the then Duchess of Argyle⁵ and another lady of high rank came in. Johnson, thinking that the Miss Cotterells were too much engrossed by them, and that he and his friend were neglected, as low company of whom they were somewhat ashamed, grew angry; and resolving to shock their supposed pride, by making their great visitors imagine that his friend and he were low indeed, he addressed himself in a loud tone to Mr. Reynolds, saying, "How much do you think you and I could get in a week, if we were to *work as hard* as we could?"—as if they had been common mechanics.

His acquaintance with Bennet Langton, Esq., of Langton, in Lincolnshire, another much valued friend, commenced soon after the conclusion of his *Rambler*; which that gentleman, then a youth, had read with so much admiration, that he came to London chiefly with a view of endeavouring to be introduced to its author.⁶ By a fortunate chance, he happened to take lodgings in a house where Mr. Levett frequently visited; and having mentioned his wish to his landlady, she introduced him to Mr. Levett, who readily obtained Johnson's permission to bring Mr. Langton to him; as, indeed, Johnson, during the whole course of his life, had no shyness, real or affected, but was easy of access to all who were properly recommended, and even wished to see numbers at his *levée*, as his morning circle of company

¹ Mr. Murphy, who is, as to this period, better authority than Mr. Boswell, says, "It was late in life before he had the habit of mixing, otherwise than occasionally, with polite company;" and Dr. Harwood favoured me with the following memorandum, in Johnson's writing, made about this time, of certain visits which he was to pay (perhaps on his return from Oxford in 1754); and which, as it contains the names of some of the highest and lowest of his acquaintance, is probably a list of nearly all his friends:—

"Visits to

Brodie	Reynolds	Henry	Craster
Fowke	Lenox	Tyers	Simpson
Taylor	Gully	Hawkins	Rose
Elphinstone	Hawkesworth	Ryland	Giffard
Osborne	Gardiner	Payne	Gregory
Garden	Drew	Newberry	Desmoulins
Richardson	Lawrence	Bathurst	Lloyd
Strahan	Garrick	Grainger	Sherrard."
Millar	Robinson, sen.	Baker	— CROKER.
Tonson	Boyle	Weston	
Dodsley	Wilson	Millar	

² Captain Charles Cotterell retired totally from the service in July, 1747, being put on the superannuated list, with the rank and pay of a rear-admiral. He died in August, 1754. — CROKER.

³ It would be naturally inferred from Mr. Boswell's account, that the acquaintance between Johnson and Sir Joshua took place so early as at the time when the former resided in Castle Street; but it was not so. Reynolds had not then come to town. The acquaintance must have commenced subsequently to Reynolds' fixing himself in London, towards the end of 1752. In 1753, he took a house in Great Newport Street, where, opposite to him, resided the Cotterells. (See *Northcote's Life of Reynolds*, vol. i. p. 69.) Barber also must have been in error when he described Reynolds as one of Johnson's intimates, at the period of his wife's death. — CROKER.

⁴ Johnson himself has a sentiment somewhat similar in his 87th *Rambler*:—"There are minds so impatient of inferiority, that their gratitude is a species of revenge, and they return benefits, not because recompence is a pleasure, but because obligation is a pain."—J. BOSWELL, jun. This is, no doubt, "a somewhat similar sentiment;" but in the *Rambler*, Johnson mentions it with the censure it deserves; whereas, in the text, he is represented as applauding it. Such an observation is very little like the usual good manners, good nature, and good sense of Sir Joshua; and we cannot but suspect the authority, whatever it was, on which Boswell admitted this anecdote. — CROKER.

⁵ Jane Warburton, second wife of John second Duke of Argyle. His Grace died in 1743. She survived till 1767. — CROKER.

⁶ Mr. Langton was only 15 when the *Rambler* was terminated, having been born about 1737, and he entered Trinity College, Oxford, July 7, 1757. So much of his history is told with that of Dr. Johnson's, that it is unnecessary to say more in this place, except that he was remarkable for his knowledge of Greek, and on Dr. Johnson's death, he succeeded him as professor of ancient literature in the Royal Academy. He died on the 10th of December, 1801, and was buried at Southampton. The following description of his person and appearance later in life is interesting, and its resemblance is confirmed by a beautiful portrait by Reynolds, in the possession of his family. "O! that we could sketch him with his mild countenance, his elegant features, and his sweet smile, sitting with one leg twisted round the other, as if fearing to occupy more space than was equitable; his person inclining forward, as if wanting strength to support his height, and his arms crossed over his bosom, or his hands locked together on his knee; his oblong gold-mounted snuff-box, taken from the waistcoat pocket opposite his hand, and either remaining between his fingers or set by him on the table, but which was never used but when his mind was occupied on conversation; so soon as conversation began, the box was produced." — *Miss Hawkins's Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 282. — CROKER.

might, with strict propriety, be called. Mr. Langton was exceedingly surprised when the sage first appeared. He had not received the smallest intimation of his figure, dress, or manner. From perusing his writings, he fancied he should see a decent, well-drest, in short, a remarkably decorous philosopher. Instead of which, down from his bedchamber about noon, came, as newly risen, a huge uncouth figure, with a little dark wig which scarcely covered his head, and his clothes hanging loose about him. But his conversation was so rich, so animated, and so forcible, and his religious and political notions so congenial with those in which Langton had been educated, that he conceived for him that veneration and attachment which he ever preserved. Johnson was no less ready to love Mr. Langton, for his being of a very ancient family; for I have heard him say, with pleasure, "Langton, Sir, has a grant of free-warren from Henry the Second; and Cardinal Stephen Langton, in King John's reign, was of this family."¹

Mr. Langton afterwards went to pursue his studies at Trinity College, Oxford, where he formed an acquaintance with his fellow-student, Mr. Topham Beauclerk²; who, though their opinions and modes of life were so different, that it seemed utterly improbable that they should at all agree, had so ardent a love of literature, so acute an understanding, such elegance of manners, and so well discerned the excellent qualities of Mr. Langton, a gentleman eminent not only for worth and learning, but for an inexhaustible fund of entertaining conversation, that they became intimate friends.

Johnson, soon after this acquaintance began, passed a considerable time at Oxford. He at first thought it strange that Langton should associate so much with one who had the character of being loose, both in his principles and practice; but, by degrees, he himself was fascinated. Mr. Beauclerk's being of the St. Alban's family, and having, in some particulars, a resemblance to Charles the Second, contributed, in Johnson's imagination, to throw a lustre upon his other qualities; and, in a short time, the moral, pious Johnson, and the gay, dissipated Beauclerk, were companions. "What a coalition! (said Garrick, when he heard of this :) I shall have my old friend to bail out of the Round-house." But I can bear testimony that it was a very agreeable association. Beauclerk was too polite, and valued learning and wit too much, to offend Johnson

by sallies of infidelity or licentiousness; and Johnson delighted in the good qualities of Beauclerk, and hoped to correct the evil. Innumerable were the scenes in which Johnson was amused by these young men. Beauclerk could take more liberty with him than any body with whom I ever saw him; but, on the other hand, Beauclerk was not spared by his respectable companion, when reproof was proper. Beauclerk had such a propensity to satire, that at one time Johnson said to him, "You never open your mouth but with intention to give pain; and you have often given me pain, not from the power of what you said, but from seeing your intention." At another time applying to him, with a slight alteration, a line of Pope, he said, —

"Thy love of folly, and thy scorn of fools;"³—

Every thing thou dost shows the one, and every thing thou say'st, the other." At another time he said to him, "Thy body is all vice, and thy mind all virtue." Beauclerk not seeming to relish the compliment, Johnson said, "Nay, Sir, Alexander the Great, marching in triumph into Babylon, could not have desired to have had more said to him."

Johnson was some time with Beauclerk at his house at Windsor, where he was entertained with experiments in natural philosophy⁴. One Sunday, when the weather was very fine, Beauclerk enticed him, insensibly, to saunter about all the morning. They went into a churchyard, in the time of divine service, and Johnson laid himself down at his ease upon one of the tomb-stones. "Now, Sir, (said Beauclerk) you are like Hogarth's Idle Apprentice." When Johnson got his pension, Beauclerk said to him, in the humorous phrase of Falstaff, "I hope you'll now purge, and live cleanly, like a gentleman."

One night when Beauclerk and Langton had supped at a tavern in London, and sat till about three in the morning, it came into their heads to go and knock up Johnson, and see if they could prevail on him to join them in a ramble. They rapped violently at the door of his chambers in the Temple, till at last he appeared in his shirt, with his little black wig on the top of his head, instead of a nightcap, and a poker in his hand, imagining, probably, that some ruffians were coming to attack him. When he discovered who they were, and was told their errand, he smiled, and with great good-humour agreed to their proposal: "What, is it you, you dogs! I'll have a frisk with you."⁵

¹ It is to be wondered that he did not also mention Bishop Langton, a distinguished benefactor to the cathedral of *Lichfield*, and who also had a grant of free-warren over his paternal inheritance, from Edward I.; the relationship might probably be as clearly traced in the one case as in the other. See *Harwood's History of Lichfield*, p. 139. — CROKER.

² Topham Beauclerk, only son of Lord Sidney Beauclerk, third son of the first Duke of St. Albans, was born in 1739, and entered Trinity College, Oxford, in November, 1757. — CROKER.

³ "Your taste of follies, and our scorn of fools."

11 *Mor. Ep.* 276.

⁴ Perhaps some experiments in electricity, which was, at this time, a fashionable curiosity: it cannot be supposed that the natural philosophy of Mr. Beauclerk's country-house went very deep. — CROKER.

⁵ Johnson, as Mr. Kemble observes to me, might here have had in his thoughts the words of Sir John Brute (a character which, doubtless, he had seen represented by Garrick), who uses nearly the same expression in "The Provoked Wife," Act iii. sc. 1. — MALONE.

He was soon drest, and they sallied forth together into Covent-Garden, where the green-grocers and fruiterers were beginning to arrange their hampers, just come in from the country. Johnson made some attempts to help them; but the honest gardeners stared so at his figure and manner, and odd interference, that he soon saw his services were not relished. They then repaired to one of the neighbouring taverns, and made a bowl of that liquor called *Bishop*, which Johnson had always liked¹: while, in joyous contempt of sleep, from which he had been roused, he repeated the festive lines,

"Short, O short then be thy reign,
And give us to the world again!"²

They did not stay long, but walked down to the Thames, took a boat, and rowed to Billingsgate. Beanclerk and Johnson were so well pleased with their amusement, that they resolved to persevere in dissipation for the rest of the day: but Langton deserted them, being engaged to breakfast with some young ladies. Johnson scolded him for "leaving his social friends, to go and sit with a set of wretched *un-idea'd* girls." Garrick, being told of this ramble, said to him smartly, "I heard of your frolic t'other night. You'll be in the *Chronicle*." Upon which Johnson afterwards observed, "*He* durst not do such a thing. His *wife* would not let him!"³

He entered upon this year, 1753, with his usual piety, as appears from the following prayer, which I transcribed from that part of his diary which he burnt a few days before his death:—

"Jan. 1. 1753, N. S. ; which I shall use for the future.

"Almighty God, who hast continued my life to this day, grant that, by the assistance of thy Holy Spirit, I may improve the time which thou shalt grant me, to my eternal salvation. Make me to remember, to thy glory, thy judgments and thy mercies. Make me so to consider the loss of my wife, whom thou hast taken from me, that it may dispose me, by thy grace, to lead the residue of my life in thy fear. Grant this, O LORD, for JESUS CHRIST's sake. Amen."

He now relieved the drudgery of his Dictionary, and the melancholy of his grief, by taking an active part in the composition of "*The Adventurer*," in which he began to write April 10, marking his essays with the signature T,

¹ And had the gratitude to immortalise in his Dictionary as "*a mixture of wine, oranges, and sugar*."—CROKER, 1846.

² Mr. Langton has recollected, or Dr. Johnson repeated, the passage wrong. The lines are in Lord Lansdowne's Drinking Song to Sleep, and run thus:—

"Short, very short, be then thy reign,
For I'm in haste to laugh and drink again."
BOSWELL.

³ As Johnson's companions in this frolic were both thirty years younger than he, it is no wonder that Garrick should be a little alarmed at such extravagances. Nor can we help smiling at the philosopher of fifty scolding a young man of twenty for having the *bad taste* to prefer the company of a set of *wretched un-idea'd* girls. The sarcastic allusion to Garrick's domestic habits seems a little inconsistent with that

by which most of his papers in that collection are distinguished: those, however, which have that signature, and also that of *Mysargyrus*, were not written by him, but, as I suppose, by Dr. Bathurst.⁴ Indeed, Johnson's energy of thought and richness of language are still more decisive marks than any signature. As a proof of this, my readers, I imagine, will not doubt that No. 39., on Sleep, is his; for it not only has the general texture and colour of his style, but the authors with whom he was peculiarly conversant are readily introduced in it in cursory allusion. The translation of a passage in Statius⁵ quoted in that paper, and marked C. B., has been erroneously ascribed to Dr. Bathurst, whose Christian name was Richard. How much this amiable man actually contributed to "*The Adventurer*," cannot be known. Let me add, that Hawkesworth's imitations of Johnson are sometimes so happy, that it is extremely difficult to distinguish them with certainty, from the composition of his great archetype. Hawkesworth was his closest imitator, a circumstance of which that writer would once have been proud to be told; though, when he had become elated by having risen into some degree of consequence, he, in a conversation with me, had the provoking effrontery⁶ to say that he was not sensible of it.

Johnson was truly zealous for the success of "*The Adventurer*;" and very soon after his engaging in it, he wrote the following letter:

JOHNSON TO JOSEPH WARTON.

"8th March, 1753.

"DEAR SIR,—I ought to have written to you before now, but I ought to do many things which I do not; nor can I, indeed, claim any merit from this letter; for being desired by the authors and proprietor of the *Adventurer* to look out for another hand, my thoughts necessarily fixed upon you, whose fund of literature will enable you to assist them, with very little interruption of your studies.

"They desire you to engage to furnish one paper a month, at two guineas a paper, which you may very readily perform. We have considered that a paper should consist of pieces of imagination, pictures of life, and disquisitions of literature. The part which depends on the imagination is very well supplied, as you will find when you read the paper; for descriptions of life, there is now a treaty almost made with an author and an authoress; and the province of criticism and litera-

almost morbid regret which Johnson felt so long for the loss of his own wife.—CROKER.

⁴ See the note on next page as to Johnson's and Bathurst's share in the "*Adventurer*."

⁵ This is a slight inaccuracy. The Latin Sapphics translated by C. B. in that paper were written by Cowley, and are in his fourth book on Plants.—MALONE.

⁶ Effrontery is too offensive a term for the occasion. The improved style of Dr. Johnson in the *Idler* might as well be said to be borrowed from the *Adventurer*, as that of the *Adventurer* from the *Rambler*. Johnson and Hawkesworth may have influenced each other, and yet either might say, without effrontery, that he was not conscious of it.—CROKER.

⁷ Mr. Malone here added a long note, surmising that this author and authoress were Henry Fielding and his sister; but he produces no proof, and seems to admit, that even if they were the persons meant, they never contributed.—CROKER.

ture they are very desirous to assign to the commentary on Virgil.

"I hope this proposal will not be rejected, and that the next post will bring us your compliance. I speak as one of the fraternity, though I have no part in the paper, beyond now and then a motto; but two of the writers are my particular friends, and I hope the pleasure of seeing a third united to them, will not be denied to, dear Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

The consequence of this letter was, Dr. Warton's enriching the collection with several admirable essays.¹

Johnson's saying, "I have no part in the paper, beyond now and then a motto," may seem inconsistent with his being the author of the papers marked T. But he had, at this time, written only one number²; and besides, even at any after period, he might have used the same expression, considering it as a point of honour not to own them; for Mrs. Williams told me that, "as he had given those Essays to Dr. Bathurst, who sold them at two guineas

each, he never would own them; nay, he used to say he did not *write* them: but the fact was, that he *dictated* them, while Bathurst wrote." I read to him Mrs. Williams's account: he smiled, and said nothing.

I am not quite satisfied with the casuistry³ by which the productions of one person are thus passed upon the world for the productions of another. I allow that not only knowledge, but powers and qualities of mind, may be communicated; but the actual effect of individual exertion never can be transferred, with truth, to any other than its own original cause. One person's child may be made the child of another person by adoption, as among the Romans, or by the ancient Jewish mode of a wife having children born to her upon her knees, by her handmaid. But these were children in a different sense from that of nature. It was clearly understood that they were not of the blood of their nominal parents. So in literary children, an author may give the profits and fame of his composition to another man, but cannot make that other the real author. A Highland gentle-

¹ In this place, though out of order of date, may be given (from Woolf's *Life of Warton*), Johnson's letter to him on the conclusion of the *Adventurer*:—

JOHNSON TO JOSEPH WARTON.

"8th March, 1754.

"DEAR SIR,—I cannot but congratulate you upon the conclusion of a work, in which you have borne so great a part with so much reputation. I immediately determined that your name should be mentioned, but the paper having been some time written, Mr. Hawkesworth, I suppose, did not care to disorder its text, and therefore put your eulogy in a note. He and every other man mentions your papers of criticism with great commendation, though not with greater than they deserve.

"But how little can we venture to exult in any intellectual powers or literary attainments, when we consider the condition of poor Collins! I knew him a few years ago full of hopes and full of projects, versed in many languages, high in fancy, and strong in retention. This busy and forcible mind is now under the government of those who lately would not have been able to comprehend the least and most narrow of its designs. What do you hear of him? are there hopes of his recovery? or is he to pass the remainder of his life in misery and degradation—perhaps with complete consciousness of his calamity?

"You have flattered us, dear Sir, for some time, with hopes of seeing you; when you come you will find your reputation increased, and with it the kindness of those friends who do not envy you; for success always produces either love or hatred. I enter my name among those that love, and love you more and more in proportion as by writing more you are more known; and believe, that as you continue to diffuse among us your integrity and learning, I shall be still with greater esteem and affection, dear Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant, SAM. JOHNSON."—CROKER.

² The Author, I conceive, is here in an error. He had before stated, that Johnson began to write in "The *Adventurer*" on April 10th (when No. 45. was published), above a month after the date of his letter to Dr. Warton. The two papers published previously with the signature T. and subscribed *Mysargyrus* (No. 34. and 41.), were written, I believe, by Bonnel Thornton, who contributed also the papers signed A. This information I received several years ago, but do not precisely remember from whom I derived it. I believe, however, my informer was Dr. Warton.

With respect to No. 39., on Sleep, which our author has ascribed to Johnson, even if it were written by him, it would not be inconsistent with his statement to Dr. Warton; for it appeared on March 20th, near a fortnight after the date of Johnson's letter to that gentleman. But on considering it attentively, though the style bears a strong resemblance to that of Johnson, I believe it was written by his friend Dr. Bathurst, and perhaps touched in a few places by Johnson. Mr. Boswell has observed, that "this paper not only has the general texture and colour of his style, but the authors with whom he was peculiarly conversant are readily introduced in it, in cursory allusion." Now the authors

mentioned in that paper are Fontenelle, Milton, Ramazzini, Madie, Scuderi, Swift, Homer, Barretrie, Statius, Cowley, and Sir Thomas Browne. With many of these, doubtless, Johnson was particularly conversant; but I doubt whether he would have characterised the expression quoted from Swift as *elegant*; and with the works of Ramazzini it is very improbable that he should have been acquainted. Ramazzini was a celebrated physician, who died at Padua in 1714, at the age of 81; with whose writings Dr. Bathurst may be supposed to have been conversant. So also with respect to Cowley: Johnson, without doubt, had read his Latin poem on sleep; but Bathurst's profession probably led him to read it with more attention than his friend had given to it; and Cowley's eulogy on the poem would more readily occur to the naturalist and the physician, than to a more general reader. I believe, however, that the last paragraph of the paper on Sleep, in which Sir Thomas Browne is quoted, to show the propriety of prayer, before we lie down to rest, was added by Johnson.—MALONE.

There is a great confusion, and, as it seems, several errors, in Mr. Boswell's and Mr. Malone's accounts of Johnson's share in the *Adventurer*, but it may be confidently asserted, on the evidence of Hawkins (*ante*, p. 75. n. 1.), of Dr. Warton, and on Johnson's own confession to Miss Boothby (*Letters*, p. 48.), that he wrote *all* those marked with the signature T., of which No. 39. on Sleep is one. The only difficulty is, that on the 8th March he tells Dr. Warton that he had "*no part* in the paper," one of the letters of *Mysargyrus*, marked T., having been published on the 3d: but Johnson, whether he gave some of these essays to Dr. Bathurst or not, probably did not consider himself as having, by the writing one letter, a *part*—that is, a *proprietary* or *responsible part*—in the paper; and even if the letters principally in question had not had the mark T., the pedantic signature *Mysargyrus* would have been enough to lead us to suspect that they were Johnson's. Almost all the names, whether of men or women, affixed to the letters in the Rambler and Idler are of the same class; and, after all, the letter to Warton may be misdated.—CROKER.

³ Mr. Boswell's reprehension of this casuistry seems just and candid. A man may undoubtedly sell the works of his mind as well as of his hands, but in neither case can *falsehood* (which might become *fraud*) be justified. Dollond would have had a perfect right to present a friend with one of his instruments to be sold to that friend's advantage, but he would not have been justifiable in allowing another maker to use his name. If a publisher had, on the strength of these papers in the *Adventurer*, offered Dr. Bathurst a large price for a literary work, could Johnson have possibly acquiesced in such a mistake? But after all, it may be doubted that Johnson did give up *all* his share of the profits of the *Adventurer* to Dr. Bathurst, who, himself, wrote the papers marked A., for Johnson was at this period in great pecuniary distress—greater, we may suppose, than Bathurst was likely to be in. Mr. Chalmers treats too lightly Dr. Johnson's seeming acquiescence in Mrs. Williams's statement: "Dr. Johnson," says he, "probably smiled to see his friend puzzling himself with a difficulty which a plain question could in a moment have removed." *Brit. Ess.* vol. xxiii. p. 32.—CROKER.

man, a younger branch of a family, once consulted me if he could not validly purchase the chieftainship of his family, from the chief who was willing to sell it. I told him it was impossible for him to acquire, by purchase, a right to be a different person from what he really was; for that the right of chieftainship attached to the blood of primogeniture, and; therefore, was incapable of being transferred. I added, that though Esau sold his birthright, or the advantages belonging to it, he still remained the first-born of his parents; and that whatever agreement a chief might make with any of the clan, the Heralds' Office could not admit of the metamorphosis, or with any decency attest that the younger was the elder: but I did not convince the worthy gentleman.

Johnson's papers in the *Adventurer* are very similar to those of the *Rambler*; but, being rather more varied in their subjects¹, and being mixed with essays by other writers, upon topics more generally attractive than even the most elegant ethical discourses, the sale of the work, at first, was more extensive. Without meaning, however, to depreciate the *Adventurer*, I must observe, that as the value of the *Rambler* came, in the progress of time, to be better known, it grew upon the public estimation, and that its sale has far exceeded that of any other periodical papers since the reign of Queen Anne.

In one of the books of his diary I find the following entry:

"Apr. 3. 1753. I began the second vol. of my Dictionary, room being left in the first for Preface, Grammar, and History, none of them yet begun.

"O God, who hast hitherto supported me, enable

¹ Dr. Johnson lowered and somewhat disguised his style, in writing the *Adventurers*, in order that his papers might pass for those of Dr. Bathurst, to whom he consigned the profits. This was Hawkesworth's opinion. — BUANEY.

This seems very improbable: it is much more likely that, observing and feeling that a lighter style was better suited to such essays, he, with his natural good sense, fell a little into the easier manner of his colleagues. — CROKER.

² "Sir Charles Grandison," which was originally published in successive volumes. This relates to the sixth and seventh volumes. — CROKER.

³ Richardson adopted Johnson's hint; for, in 1755, he published in octavo, "A Collection of the moral and instructive Sentiments, Maxims, Cautions, and Reflections, contained in the Histories of Pamela, Clarissa, and Sir Charles Grandison, digested under proper heads." It is remarkable, that both to this book, and to the first two volumes of *Clarissa*, is prefixed a Preface by a friend. The "friend," in this latter instance, was the celebrated Dr. Warburton. — MALONE.

⁴ Dr. Warton, in a letter to his brother, 7th June, 1753, says, "I want to see Charlotte Lennox's book;" upon which Mr. Woolf, in his *Life of Warton*, adds this silly note: "This eminently learned lady translated the *Enchiridion of Epicætetus*, and the Greek theatre of Le Père Brumoy." — *Life of W.* p. 217. Poor Mrs. Lennox had no claim to the title of "an eminently learned lady." She did not translate *Epicætetus*; and her translation from the *French* of Brumoy was not published till 1759. It was probably her above-mentioned book on Shakspeare that Dr. Warton was desirous of seeing in 1753.

Mrs. Charlotte Lennox was born in 1720. Her father, Colonel Ramsay, Lieutenant-Governor of New York, sent her over to England at the age of fifteen; but, unfortunately, the relative to whose care she was consigned was either dead or in a state of insanity on Miss Ramsay's arrival. A lady who heard of, and pitied so extraordinary a disappointment, interested Lady Rockingham in the fate of Miss Ramsay; and the result was, that she was received into her ladyship's family, where she remained till she fancied that a gentleman

me to proceed in this labour, and in the whole task of my present state; that when I shall render up, at the last day, an account of the talent committed to me, I may receive pardon, for the sake of Jesus CHRIST. Amen."

JOHNSON TO RICHARDSON.

"26th Sept. 1753.

"DEAR SIR, — I return you my sincerest thanks for the volumes of your new work²; but it is a kind of tyrannical kindness to give only so much at a time, as makes more longed for; but that will probably be thought, even of the whole, when you have given it.

"I have no objection but to the preface, in which you first mention the letters as fallen by some chance into your hands, and afterwards mention your health as such, that you almost despaired of going through your plan. If you were to require my opinion which part should be changed, I should be inclined to the suppression of that part which seems to disclaim the composition. What is modesty, if it deserts from truth? Of what use is the disguise by which nothing is concealed?

"You must forgive this, because it is meant well.

"I thank you once more, dear Sir, for your books; but cannot I prevail this time for an index? — such I wished, and shall wish, to *Clarissa*.³ Suppose that in one volume an accurate index was made to the three works — but while I am writing an objection arises — such an index to the three would look like the preclusion of a fourth, to which I will never contribute; for if I cannot benefit mankind, I hope never to injure them. I am, Sir, your most obliged and most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

He this year favoured Mrs. Lennox with a Dedication* to the Earl of Orrey, of her "*Shakspeare Illustrated*."⁴

who visited at the house had become enamoured of her; though she is said to have been very plain in her person. This fancied passion led her into some extravagancies of vanity and jealousy, which terminated her residence with Lady Rockingham. Her moral character, however, was never impeached, and she obtained some countenance and protection from the Duchess of Newcastle; but was chiefly dependent for a livelihood on her own literary exertions. In 1747, she published a volume of poems, and became, probably about that time, known to Mr. Strahan, the printer, in consequence of which she became acquainted with and married a Mr. Lenox, who was in Mr. Strahan's employ, but in what capacity is not known. She next published, in 1751, the novel of *Harriot Stuart*, in which it is supposed she gave her own history. The Duchess of Newcastle honoured her by standing god-mother to her first child, who was called Henrietta Holles, and did her the more substantial benefits of procuring for Mr. Lenox the place of tidewater in the Customs, and for herself an apartment in Somerset House. Nothing more is remembered of Mr. Lenox, except that he, at a later period of life, put forward some claim to a Scottish peerage. Mrs. Lenox lost her apartments by the pulling down of Somerset House; and, in the latter part of her life, was reduced to great distress. Besides her acquaintance with Dr. Johnson (who was always extremely kind to her), and other literary characters, she had the good fortune to become acquainted, at Mr. Strahan's, with the late Right Hon. George Rose, who liberally assisted her in the latter years of her life — particularly in her last illness, and was at the expense of her burial in the beginning of January, 1804. — For most of the foregoing details, I am indebted to my friend the Right Hon. Sir George Rose, whose venerable mother still (1831) remembers Mrs. Lenox. — Hawkins gives a graphic account of a Johnsonian orgy in honour of Mrs. Lenox. —

"Mrs. Lenox, a lady now well known to the literary world, had written a novel, entitled '*The Life of Harriot Stuart*,' which in the spring of 1751 was ready for publication. One evening at the [Ivy Lane] Club, Johnson proposed to us the celebrating the birth of Mrs. Lenox's first literary child, as

CHAPTER XI.

1754.

Johnson's "Life of Cave." — *The Dictionary.* — *Lord Chesterfield.* — *His alleged Neglect.* — *Letter to Lord Chesterfield.* — *Bolingbroke's Works.* — *Johnson visits Oxford.* — *Warton's Recollections.* — *Sir Robert Chambers.* — *Letters to Warton.* — *Collins.*

IN 1754 I can trace nothing published by him, except his numbers of the *Adventurer*, and "The Life of Edward Cave," in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for February. In biography there can be no question that he excelled, beyond all who have attempted that species of composition; upon which, indeed, he set the highest value. To the minute selection of characteristic circumstances¹, for which the ancients were remarkable, he added a philosophical research, and the most perspicuous and energetic language. Cave was certainly a man of estimable qualities, and was eminently diligent and successful in his own business, which, doubtless, entitled him to respect. But he was peculiarly fortunate in being recorded by Johnson; who, of the narrow life of a printer and publisher, without any digressions or adventitious circumstances, has made an interesting and agreeable narrative.²

The Dictionary, we may believe, afforded Johnson full occupation this year. As it approached to its conclusion, he probably worked with redoubled vigour, as seamen increase their exertion and alacrity when they have a near prospect of their haven.

Lord Chesterfield, to whom Johnson had paid the high compliment of addressing to his lordship the plan of his Dictionary, had behaved to

him in such a manner as to excite his contempt and indignation. The world has been for many years amused with a story confidently told, and as confidently repeated with additional circumstances, that a sudden disgust was taken by Johnson upon occasion of his having been one day kept long in waiting in his lordship's antechamber, for which the reason assigned was, that he had company with him; and that at last, when the door opened, out walked Colley Cibber; and that Johnson was so violently provoked when he found for whom he had been so long excluded, that he went away in a passion, and never would return. I remember having mentioned this story to George Lord Lyttelton, who told me he was very intimate with Lord Chesterfield; and, holding it as a well-known truth, defended Lord Chesterfield by saying, that "Cibber, who had been introduced familiarly by the back-stairs, had probably not been there above ten minutes." It may seem strange even to entertain a doubt concerning a story so long and so widely current, and thus implicitly adopted, if not sanctioned, by the authority which I have mentioned; but Johnson himself assured me, that there was not the least foundation for it.³ He told me, that there never was any particular incident which produced a quarrel between Lord Chesterfield and him; but that his lordship's continued neglect was the reason why he resolved to have no connection with him.

When the Dictionary was upon the eve of publication, Lord Chesterfield, who, it is said, had flattered himself with expectations that Johnson would dedicate the work to him, attempted, in a courtly manner, to soothe and insinuate himself with the sage, conscious, as it should seem, of the cold indifference with which he had treated its learned author; and further attempted to conciliate him, by writing two papers in "The World," in recommend-

he called her book, by a whole night spent in festivity. Upon his mentioning it to me, I told him I had never sat up a whole night in my life; but he continuing to press me, and saying, that I should find great delight in it, I, as did all the rest of our company, consented. The place appointed was the Devil Tavern, and there, about the hour of eight, Mrs. Lenox and her husband, and a lady of her acquaintance, still [1755] living, as also the club, and friends to the number of near twenty, assembled. The supper was elegant, and Johnson had directed that a magnificent hot apple-pie should make a part of it, and this he would have stuck with bay leaves, because, forsooth, Mrs. Lenox was an authoress, and had written verses; and further, he had prepared for her a crown of laurel, with which, but not till he had invoked the Muses by some ceremonies of his own invention, he encircled her brows. The night passed, as must be imagined, in pleasant conversation and harmless mirth, intermingled, at different periods, with the refreshments of coffee and tea. About five, Johnson's face shone with meridian splendour, though his drink had been only lemonade; but the far greater part of the company had deserted the colours of Bacchus, and were with difficulty rallied to partake of a second refreshment of coffee, which was scarcely ended when the day began to dawn. This phenomenon began to put us in mind of our reckoning; but the waiters were all so overcome with sleep, that it was two hours before a bill could be had, and it was not till near eight that the creaking of the street door gave the signal for our departure." — CROKER.

¹ This is not Johnson's appropriate praise; and, indeed, his want of attention to details is his greatest, if not his only,

fault, as a biographer. In the whole *Life of Savage* there is but one date — the birth of Savage — and that date is wrong; and no one, from his *Life of Cave*, would have imagined that Cave (as appears from the same letter, quoted *anté*, p. 65, n. 3.) had been invited to meet the Prince and Princess of Wales, at a country house. Several details and corrections of errors, with which he was furnished for his *Lives of the Poets*, were wholly neglected. But, in truth, "the minute selection of characteristic circumstances" was neither the style of Johnson, nor the fashion of his day, and Mr. Boswell himself has, more than any other writer, contributed to create the public taste for biographical details. — CROKER.

² The introductory passage to this *Life* is, I know not why, omitted in all editions of Johnson's Works. It ought to be restored. See *Gen. Mag.*, vol. 23, p. 55. — CROKER.

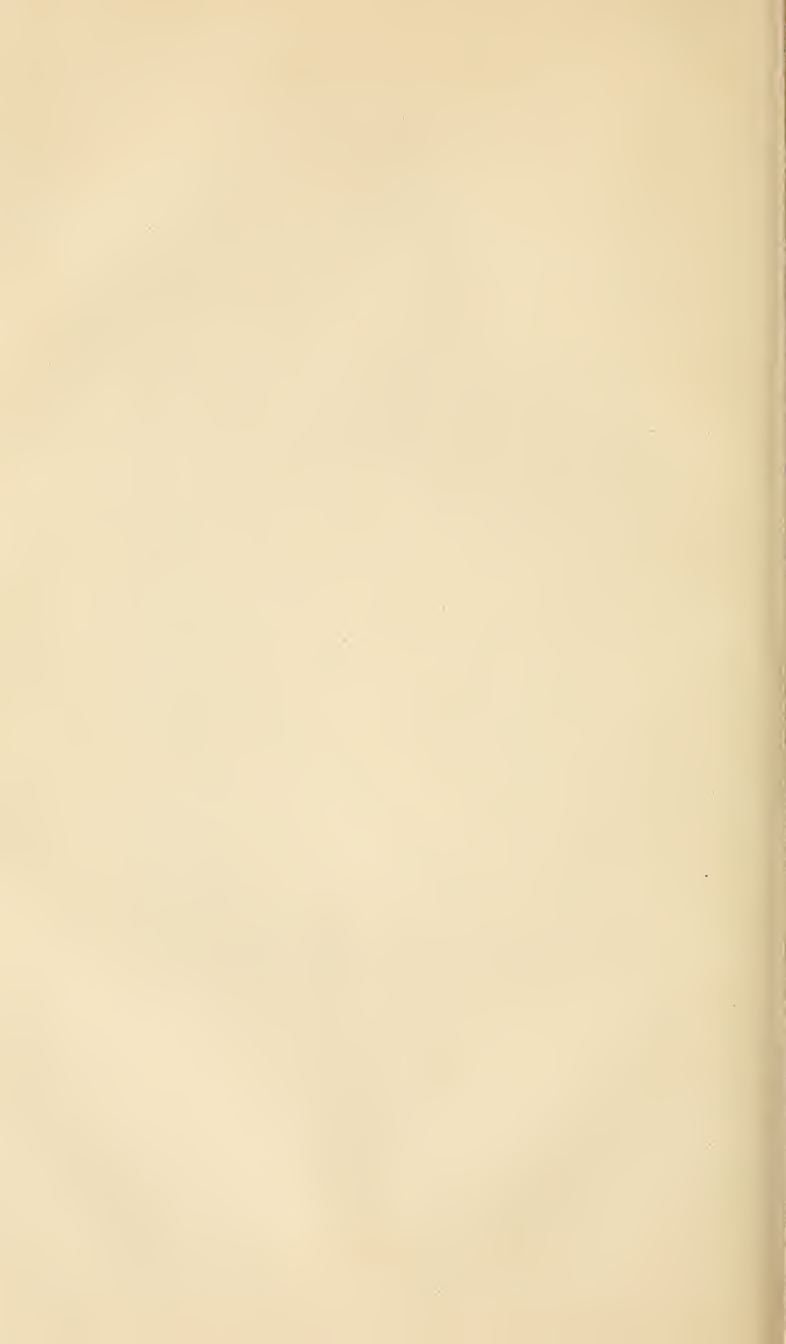
³ Hawkins, who lived much with Johnson about this period, attributes the breach between him and Lord Chesterfield to the offence taken by Johnson at being kept waiting during a visit of Cibber's; and Johnson himself, in his celebrated letter, seems to give colour to this latter opinion. He says: "It is seven years since I waited in your outer rooms, or was repulsed from your door." These expressions certainly give colour to "the long current and implicitly adopted story" as told by Hawkins, and sanctioned by Lord Lyttelton. In all this affair, Johnson's account, as given by Boswell, is involved in inconsistencies, which seem to prove that his pride, or his waywardness, had taken offence at what he afterwards felt, in his own heart, to be no adequate cause of animosity. — CROKER.



Portrait of Mrs. Elizabeth B. B. B.

Engraved by J. B. B.

— 130 —



ation of the work: and it must be confessed, that they contain some studied compliments, so finely turned, that if there had been no previous offence, it is probable that Johnson would have been highly delighted. Praise, in general, was pleasing to him; but by praise from a man of rank and elegant accomplishments, he was peculiarly gratified. His Lordship says,

"I think the public in general, and the republic of letters in particular, are greatly obliged to Mr. Johnson for having undertaken and executed so great and desirable a work. Perfection is not to be expected from man; but if we are to judge by the various works of Johnson already published, we have good reason to believe, that he will bring this as near to perfection as any man could do. The Plan of it, which he published some years ago, seems to me to be a proof of it. Nothing can be more rationally imagined, or more accurately and elegantly expressed. I therefore recommend the previous perusal of it to all those who intend to buy the Dictionary, and who, I suppose, are all those who can afford it."

"It must be owned, that our language is, at present, in a state of anarchy, and hitherto, perhaps, it may not have been the worse for it. During our free and open trade, many words and expressions have been imported, adopted, and naturalized from other languages, which have greatly enriched our own. Let it still preserve what real strength and beauty it may have borrowed from others; but let it not, like the Tarpeian maid, be overwhelmed and crushed by unnecessary ornaments. The time for discrimination seems to be now come. Toleration, adoption, and naturalisation have run their length. Good order and authority are now necessary. But where shall we find them, and, at the same time, the obedience due to them? We must have recourse to the old Roman expedient in times of confusion, and choose a dictator. Upon this principle, I give my vote for Mr. Johnson to fill that great and arduous post. And I hereby declare, that I make a total surrender of all my rights and privileges in the English language, as a free-born British subject, to the said Mr. Johnson, during the term of his dictatorship. Nay, more; I will not only obey him like an old Roman, as my dictator, but, like a modern Roman, I will implicitly believe in him as my Pope, and hold him to be infallible while in the chair, but no longer. More than this he cannot well require; for, I presume that obedience can never be expected, when there is neither terror to enforce, nor interest to invite it."

"But a Grammar, a Dictionary, and a History of our language through its several stages, were still wanting at home, and importunately called for from abroad. Mr. Johnson's labours will now, I

dare say, very fully supply that want, and greatly contribute to the farther spreading of our language in other countries. Learners were discouraged, by finding no standard to resort to; and, consequently, thought it incapable of any. They will now be undeceived and encouraged."

This courtly device¹ failed of its effect. Johnson, who thought that "all was false and hollow," despised the honied words, and was even indignant that Lord Chesterfield should, for a moment, imagine that he could be the dupe of such an artifice. His expression to me concerning Lord Chesterfield, upon this occasion, was, "Sir, after making great professions, he had, for many years, taken no notice of me; but when my Dictionary was coming out, he fell a scribbling in 'The World' about it. Upon which, I wrote him a letter, expressed in civil terms, but such as might show him that I did not mind what he said or wrote, and that I had done with him."

This is that celebrated letter of which so much has been said, and about which curiosity has been so long excited, without being gratified. I for many years solicited Johnson to favour me with a copy of it, that so excellent a composition might not be lost to posterity. He delayed from time to time to give it me²; till at last, in 1781, when we were on a visit at Mr. Dille's, at Southhill in Bedfordshire, he was pleased to dictate it to me from memory. He afterwards found among his papers a copy of it, which he had dictated to Mr. Baretti, with its title and corrections, in his own handwriting. This he gave to Mr. Langton; adding, that if it were to come into print, he wished it to be from that copy. By Mr. Langton's kindness, I am enabled to enrich my work with a perfect transcript of what the world has so eagerly desired to see.

TO THE EARL OF CHESTERFIELD.

"February 7. 1755.

"MR LORD, — I have been lately informed, by the proprietor of 'The World,' that two papers, in which my Dictionary is recommended to the public, were written by your lordship. To be so distinguished, is an honour, which, being very little accustomed to favours from the great, I know not well how to receive, or in what terms to acknowledge.

"When, upon some slight encouragement, I first visited your lordship, I was overpowered, like the rest of mankind, by the enchantment of your address, and could not forbear to wish that I might boast myself *Le vainqueur du vainqueur de la terre*³;

¹ It does not appear that there was any thing like "device" or "artifice" in the affair. — CROKER.

² Dr. Johnson appeared to have had a remarkable delicacy with respect to the circulation of this letter; for Dr. Douglas, bishop of Salisbury, informs me, that having many years ago pressed him to be allowed to read it to the second Lord Hardwicke, who was very desirous to hear it (promising, at the same time, that no copy of it should be taken), Johnson seemed much pleased that it had attracted the attention of a nobleman of such a respectable character; but after pausing some

time, declined to comply with the request, saying, with a smile, "No, Sir; I have hurt the dog too much already;" or words to that purpose. — BOSWELL. This admission favours my opinion that Johnson, when the first ebullition of temper had subsided, felt that he had been unreasonably violent. — CROKER.

³ No very moderate expectation for "a retired and uncourtly scholar." Johnson's personal manners and habits, even at a later and more polished period of his life, would probably not have been much to Lord Chesterfield's taste; but it must be

— that I might obtain that regard for which I saw the world contending; but I found my attendance so little encouraged, that neither pride nor modesty would suffer me to continue it. When I had once addressed your lordship in public, I had exhausted all the art of pleasing which a retired and uncourtly scholar can possess. I had done all that I could; and no man is well pleased to have his all neglected, be it ever so little.

"Seven years, my lord, have now past, since I waited in your outward rooms, or was repulsed from your door; during which time I have been pushing on my work through difficulties, of which it is useless to complain, and have brought it, at last, to the verge of publication, without one act of assistance¹, one word of encouragement, or one smile of favour. Such treatment I did not expect, for I never had a patron before.

"The shepherd in Virgil grew at last acquainted with Love, and found him a native of the rocks.²

"Is not a patron, my lord, one who looks with unconcern on a man struggling for life in the water, and when he has reached ground, encumbers him with help? The notice³ which you have been pleased to take of my labours, had it been early, had been kind; but it has been delayed till I am indifferent, and cannot enjoy it; till I am solitary, and cannot impart it⁴; till I am known, and do not want it. I hope it is no very cynical asperity not to confess obligations where no benefit has been received, or to be unwilling that the public should consider me as owing that to a patron, which Providence has enabled me to do for myself.

remembered, that Johnson's introduction to Lord Chesterfield did not take place till his lordship was past fifty, and he was just then attacked by a disease which gradually estranged him from all society. The neglect lasted, it is charged, from 1748 to 1755: now, his private letters to his most intimate friends will prove that during that period Lord Chesterfield may be excused for not cultivating Johnson's society: — *c. g.* 20th Jan. 1749. "My old disorder in my head hindered me from acknowledging your former letters." 30th June, 1752. "I am here in my hermitage, very deaf, and, consequently, alone; but I am less defected than most people in my situation would be." 10th Oct. 1753. "I belong no more to social life." 16th Nov. 1753. "I know my place, and form my plan accordingly, for I strike society out of it." 10th July, 1755. "My deafness is extremely increased, and daily increasing, and cuts me wholly off from the society of others, and my other complaints deny me the society of myself." &c. &c. Johnson, perhaps, knew nothing of all this, and imagined that Lord Chesterfield declined his acquaintance on some opinion derogatory to his personal pretensions. Mr. Tyers, however, suggests a more precise and probable ground for Johnson's animosity than Boswell gives, by hinting that Johnson expected some pecuniary assistance from Lord Chesterfield. He says, "It does not appear that Lord Chesterfield showed any substantial proofs of approbation to our philologist. A small present Johnson would have disdained, and he was not of a temper to put up with the affront of a disappointment. He revenged himself in a letter to his lordship written with great acrimony. Lord Chesterfield indeed commends and recommends Mr. Johnson's Dictionary in two or three numbers of 'The World'; but 'not words alone please him.'" *Biog. Sketch*, p. 7. — CROKER.

The following note is subjoined by Mr. Langton: — "Dr. Johnson, when he gave me this copy of his letter, desired that I would annex to it his information to me, that whereas it is said in the letter that 'no assistance has been received,' he did once receive from Lord Chesterfield the sum of ten pounds; but as that was so inconsiderable a sum, he thought the mention of it could not properly find a place in a letter of the kind that this was." — BOSWELL.

But this surely is an unsatisfactory excuse; for the sum, though so inconsiderable, was one which Johnson tells us, that Paul Whitehead, then a fashionable poet, received for a new work: it was as much as Johnson himself had received for the copyright of his best poetical production; and when Dr. Madden, some years after, gave him the same sum for

"Having carried on my work thus far with so little obligation to any favourer of learning, I shall not be disappointed though I should conclude it, if less be possible, with less; for I have been long awakened from that dream of hope, in which I once boasted myself with so much exultation. My Lord, your lordship's most humble, most obedient servant,
SAM. JOHNSON."⁵

"While this was the talk of the town (says Dr. Adams in a letter to me), I happened to visit Dr. Warburton, who, finding that I was acquainted with Johnson, desired me earnestly to carry his compliments to him, and to tell him, that he honoured him for his manly behaviour in rejecting these condescensions of Lord Chesterfield, and for resenting the treatment he had received from him with a proper spirit. Johnson was visibly pleased with this compliment, for he had always a high opinion of Warburton."⁶ Indeed, the force of mind which appeared in this letter, was congenial with that which Warburton himself amply possessed.

There is a curious minute circumstance which struck me, in comparing the various editions of Johnson's Imitations of Juvenal. In the tenth Satire one of the couplets upon the vanity of wishes even for literary distinction stood thus:—

"Yet think what ills the scholar's life assail,
Toil, envy, want, the garret, and the jail."

But after experiencing the uneasiness which

revising a work of his, Johnson said the Doctor "was very generous: for ten guineas was to me, at that time, a great sum," (see post, 1756); and, as I suppose it was given when the "Plan" was submitted to Lord Chesterfield, it really was a not illiberal return. At all events, when Johnson alleged against him such a trifle as the waiting in his ante-room, he ought not to have omitted the pecuniary obligat on, even if it had been more inconsiderable. — CROKER.

² I confess I do not see the object, nor indeed the meaning, of this allusion. — CROKER.

³ The notice could not, for any useful purpose, have been earlier. Johnson may have felt, as Mr. Tyers intimates, that some other kind of notice was not taken, but "the notice his lordship was pleased to take" was peculiarly well timed, and could not have come sooner. — CROKER.

⁴ In this passage Dr. Johnson evidently alludes to the loss of his wife. We find the same tender recollection recurring to his mind upon innumerable occasions; and, perhaps, no man ever more forcibly felt the truth of the sentiment so elegantly expressed by my friend Mr. Malone, in his prologue to Mr. Jephson's tragedy of "Julia":—

"Vain — wealth, and fame, and fortune's fostering care,
If no fond breast the splendid blessings share;
And, each day's bustling pageantry once past,
There, only there, our bliss is found at last." — BOSWELL.

⁵ Upon comparing this copy with that which Dr. Johnson dictated to me from recollection, the variations are found to be so slight, that this must be added to the many other proofs which he gave of the wonderful extent and accuracy of his memory. To gratify the curious in composition, I have deposited both the copies in the British Museum. — BOSWELL.

⁶ Soon after Edwards's "Canons of Criticism" came out, Johnson was dining at Tonson the bookseller's, with Hayman the painter and some more company. Hayman related to Sir Joshua Reynolds, that the conversation having turned upon Edwards's book, the gentlemen praised it much, and Johnson allowed its merit. But when they went farther, and appeared to put that author upon a level with Warburton, "Nay, (said Johnson) he has given him some smart hits to be sure; but there is no proportion between the two men; they must not be named together. A fly, Sir, may sting a stately horse and make him wince; but one is but an insect, and the other is a horse still." — BOSWELL. See the fine passage in his Preface to Shakspeare on Warburton and his antagonists. — P. CUNNINGHAM.

Lord Chesterfield's fallacious patronage made him feel, he dismissed the word *gullet* from the sad group, and in all the subsequent editions the line stands

"Toil, envy, want, the *Patron*, and the jail."

That Lord Chesterfield must have been mortified by the lofty contempt, and polite, yet keen, satire with which Johnson exhibited him to himself in this letter, it is impossible to doubt. He, however, with that glossy duplicity which was his constant study, affected to be quite unconcerned. Dr. Adams mentioned to Mr. Robert Dodsley that he was sorry Johnson had written his letter to Lord Chesterfield. Dodsley, with the true feelings of trade, said "he was very sorry too; for that he had a property in the Dictionary, to which his lordship's patronage might have been of consequence." He then told Dr. Adams, that Lord Chesterfield had shown him the letter. "I should have imagined (replied Dr. Adams) that Lord Chesterfield would have concealed it."—"Poh! (said Dodsley), do you think a letter from Johnson could hurt Lord Chesterfield? Not at all, sir. It lay upon his table, where any body might see it. He read it to me; said, 'This man has great powers,' pointed out the severest passages, and observed how well they were expressed." This air of indifference, which imposed upon the worthy Dodsley, was certainly nothing but a specimen of that dissimulation which Lord Chesterfield inculcated as one of the most essential lessons for the conduct of life.¹ His lordship endeavoured to justify himself to Dodsley from the charges brought against him by Johnson; but we may judge from the flimsiness of his defence, from his having excused his neglect of Johnson, by saying, that "he had heard he had changed his lodgings, and did not know where he lived;" as if there could have been the smallest difficulty to inform himself of that circumstance, by inquiring in the literary circle

with which his lordship was well acquainted, and was, indeed, himself, one of its ornaments.

Dr. Adams expostulated with Johnson, and suggested, that his not being admitted when he called on him, was probably not to be imputed to Lord Chesterfield; for his lordship had declared to Dodsley, that "he would have turned off the best servant he ever had, if he had known that he denied him to a man who would have been always more than welcome;" and in confirmation of this, he insisted on Lord Chesterfield's general affability and easiness of access, especially to literary men. "Sir, (said Johnson) that is not Lord Chesterfield; he is the proudest man this day existing."—"No, (said Dr. Adams) there is one person, at least, as proud; I think, by your own account, you are the prouder man of the two."—"But mine (replied Johnson instantly) was *defensive* pride." This, as Dr. Adams well observed, was one of those happy turns² for which he was so remarkably ready.

Johnson having now explicitly avowed his opinion of Lord Chesterfield, did not refrain from expressing himself concerning that nobleman with pointed freedom: "This man, (said he) I thought, had been a lord among wits; but, I find, he is only a wit among lords!" And when his Letters to his natural son were published, he observed, that "they teach the morals of a whore, and the manners of a dancing master."³

The character of a "respectable Hottentot," in Lord Chesterfield's Letters, has been generally understood to be meant for Johnson, and I have no doubt that it was. But I remember when the *Literary Property* of those letters was contested in the court of session in Scotland, and Mr. Henry Dundas⁴, one of the counsel for the proprietors, read this character as an exhibition of Johnson, Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes, one of the judges, maintained, with some warmth, that it was not intended as a portrait of Johnson, but of a

¹ Why? If, as may have been the case, Lord Chesterfield felt that Johnson was unjust towards him, he would not have been mortified—*Il n'a que la vérité qui blesse*. By Mr. Boswell's own confession, it appears that Johnson did not give copies of this letter; that for many years Boswell had in vain solicited him to do so, and that he, after the lapse of twenty years, did so reluctantly. With all these admissions, how can Mr. Boswell attribute to any thing but the magnanimity (if I may so say) of good taste and conscious rectitude, Lord Chesterfield's exposure of a letter which the relenting, if not repenting, author was so willing to bury in oblivion?—CROKER.

² This, like all the rest of the affair, seems discoloured by prejudice. Lord Chesterfield made no *attack* on Johnson, who certainly acted on the offensive, and not the defensive.—CROKER.

³ That collection of Letters cannot be vindicated from the serious charge of encouraging, in some passages, one of the vices most destructive to the good order and comfort of society, which his lordship represents as mere fashionable gallantry; and, in others, of inculcating the base practice of dissimulation, and recommending, with disproportionate anxiety, a perpetual attention to external elegance of manners. But it must, at the same time, be allowed, that they contain many good precepts of conduct, and much genuine information upon life and manners, very happily expressed; and that there was considerable merit in paying so much atten-

tion to the improvement of one who was dependent upon his lordship's protection; it has, probably, been exceeded in no instance by the most exemplary parent; and though I can by no means approve of confounding the distinction between lawful and illicit offspring, which is, in effect, insulting the civil establishment of our country, to look no higher; I cannot help thinking it laudable to be kindly attentive to those of whose existence we have, in any way, been the cause. Mr. Stanhope's character has been unjustly represented as diametrically opposite to what Lord Chesterfield wished him to be. He has been called dull, gross, and awkward; but I knew him at Dresden, when he was envoy to that court; and though he could not boast of the *graces*, he was, in truth, a sensible, civil, well-behaved man.—BOSWELL.

In judging of Lord Chesterfield's Letters, it should be recollected that they were never intended for publication, and were written only to meet a private, particular, and somewhat extraordinary case: and that it is hard that Lord Chesterfield should be held responsible for a *publication* which he never could have anticipated—but see (*post. May, 1776*) Johnson's more favourable and just opinion of these letters, which, bating their lax morality—not to be palliated even by the peculiar circumstances under which they were written—are, I will venture to say, masterpieces of good taste, good writing, and good sense.—CROKER, 1846.

⁴ Afterwards Viscount Melville. He died in 1811.—CROKER.

late noble lord¹ distinguished for abstruse science. I have heard Johnson himself talk of the character, and say that it was meant for George Lord Lyttelton, in which I could by no means agree; for his lordship had nothing of that violence which is a conspicuous feature in the composition. Finding that my illustrious friend could bear to have it supposed that it might be meant for him, I said, laughingly, that there was one trait which unquestionably did not belong to him; "he throws his meat anywhere but down his throat."—"Sir, (said he) Lord Chesterfield never saw me eat in his life."²

On the 6th of March came out Lord Bolingbroke's works, published by Mr. David Mallet. The wild and pernicious ravings under the name of "Philosophy," which were thus ushered into the world, gave great offence to all well-principled men. Johnson, hearing of their tendency³, which nobody disputed, was roused with a just indignation, and pronounced this memorable sentence⁴ upon the noble author and his editor:—"Sir, he was a scoundrel, and a coward: a scoundrel for charging a blunderbuss against religion and morality; a coward, because he had not resolution to fire it off himself, but left half-a-crown to a beggarly Scotchman, to draw the trigger after his death!"⁵ Garrick, who, I can attest from my own knowledge, had his mind seasoned with pious reverence, and sincerely disapproved of the infidel writings of several whom in the course of his almost universal gay intercourse with men of eminence he treated with external civility, distinguished himself upon this occasion. Mr. Pelham having died on the very day on which Lord Bolingbroke's works came out, he wrote an elegant Ode on his death, beginning

"Let others hail the rising sun,
I bow to that whose course is run;"

in which is the following stanza:—

"The same sad morn, to Church and State
(So for our sins 't was fix'd by Fate)
A double stroke was given;
Black as the whirlwinds of the North,
St. John's fell genius issued forth,
And Pelham's fled to heaven."

¹ Probably George, second Earl of Macclesfield, who published, in 1751, a learned pamphlet on the alteration of the style, and was, in 1752, elected President of the Royal Society. Lord Macclesfield's manner was, no doubt, awkward and embarrassed, but little else in his character resembles that of the "respectable Hotentot," which much more probably was, as the world supposed, intended for Johnson.—CROKER.

² Nor did we—and yet we know that Lord Chesterfield's picture, if meant for Johnson, was not overcharged; for what between his blindness, his nervousness, and his eagerness, all his friends describe his mode of eating to have been something worse than awkward. See *post*, August 5th, 1763.—CROKER.

³ See *post*, March, 1750, where Johnson admits that he had not read this book.—CROKER.

⁴ It was the first remarkable phrase which Mr. Murphy ever heard him utter.—CROKER.

⁵ Mallet's wife, a foolish and conceited woman, one evening introduced herself to David Hume, at an assembly,

Johnson this year found an interval of leisure to make an excursion to Oxford, for the purpose of consulting the libraries there. Of this, and of many interesting circumstances concerning him, during a part of his life when he conversed but little with the world, I am enabled to give a particular account, by the liberal communications of the Rev. Mr. Thomas Warton, who obligingly furnished me with several of our common friend's letters, which he illustrated with notes. These I shall insert in their proper places.

JOHNSON TO THOMAS WARTON.

"London, July 16. 1754.

"SIR, — It is but an ill return for the book with which you were pleased to favour me⁶, to have delayed my thanks for it till now. I am too apt to be negligent; but I can never deliberately show my disrespect to a man of your character; and I now pay you a very honest acknowledgment, for the advancement of the literature of our native country. You have shown to all, who shall hereafter attempt the study of our ancient authors, the way to success; by directing them to the perusal of the books which those authors had read. Of this method, Hughes⁷, and men much greater than Hughes, seem never to have thought. The reason why the authors, which are yet read, of the sixteenth century, are so little understood, is, that they are read alone; and no help is borrowed from those who lived with them, or before them. Some part of this ignorance I hope to remove by my book, [the Dictionary,] which now draws towards its end; but which I cannot finish to my mind, without visiting the libraries of Oxford, which I therefore hope to see in about a fortnight.⁸ I know not how long I shall stay, or where I shall lodge; but shall be sure to look for you at my arrival, and we shall easily settle the rest. I am, dear Sir, your most obedient, &c.

SAM. JOHNSON."

Of his conversation while at Oxford at this time, Mr. Warton preserved and communicated to me the following memorial, which, though not written with all the care and attention which that learned and elegant writer bestowed on those compositions which he intended for the public eye, is so happily expressed in an easy style, that I should injure it by any alteration.

saying, "We deists, Mr. Hume, should know one another." Hume was exceedingly displeased and disconcerted, and replied, "Madam, I am no deist; I do not so style myself, neither do I desire to be known by that appellation."—*Hardy's Life of Lord Charlemont*, vol. i. p. 235. Boswell himself tells the same story in his *Hypochondriac*. This imputation would, even on mere worldly grounds, be very disagreeable to Hume; for I have in my possession proof that when Lord Hertford (whose secretary, in his embassy to Paris, Hume had been) was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, his lordship declined continuing him in the same character, alleging as a reason the dissatisfaction that it would excite on account of Hume's anti-religious principles.—CROKER.

⁶ Observations on Spenser's Fairy Queen, the first edition of which was now published.—WARTON.

⁷ Hughes published an edition of Spenser.—WARTON.

⁸ He came to Oxford within a fortnight, and stayed about five weeks. He lodged at Kettel Hall.—WARTON. But during his visit, he collected nothing in the libraries for his Dictionary.—MALONE.

"When Johnson came to Oxford in 1754, the long vacation was beginning, and most people were leaving the place. This was the first time of his being there, after quitting the University. The next morning after his arrival, he wished to see his old college, *Pembroke*. I went with him. He was highly pleased to find all the college-servants which he had left there still remaining, particularly a very old butler; and expressed great satisfaction at being recognised by them, and conversed with them familiarly. He waited on the master, Dr. Radcliffe, who received him very coldly. Johnson at least expected that the master would order a copy of his Dictionary, now near publication; but the master did not choose to talk on the subject, never asked Johnson to dine, nor even to visit him, while he staid at Oxford. After we had left the lodgings, Johnson said to me, '*There lives a man, who lives by the revenues of literature, and will not move a finger to support it.*'¹ If I come to live at Oxford, I shall take up my abode at Trinity.² We then called on the Reverend Mr. Meeke, one of the fellows, and of Johnson's standing. Here was a most cordial greeting on both sides. On leaving him, Johnson said, 'I used to think Meeke had excellent parts, when we were boys together at the college: but, alas!

'Lost in a convent's solitary gloom!'

"I remember, at the classical lecture in the Hall, I could not bear Meeke's superiority, and I tried to sit as far from him as I could, that I might not hear him construe.'

"As we were leaving the college, he said, 'Here I translated Pope's Messiah. Which do you think is the best line in it? — My own favourite is,

'*Vallis aromaticus fundit Saronica nubes.*'

I told him, I thought it a very sonorous hexameter. I did not tell him, it was not in the Virgilian style. He much regretted that his first tutor was dead; for whom he seemed to retain the greatest regard. He said, 'I once had been a whole morning sliding in Christ-Church meadows, and missed his lecture in logic. After dinner he sent for me to his room. I expected a sharp rebuke for my idleness, and went with a beating heart.³ When we were seated, he told me he had sent for me to drink a glass of wine with him, and to tell me, he was not angry with me for missing his lecture. This was, in fact, a most severe reprimand. Some more of the boys were then sent for, and we spent a very

pleasant afternoon.' Besides Mr. Meeke, there was only one other fellow of Pembroke now resident: from both of whom Johnson received the greatest civilities during this visit, and they pressed him very much to have a room in the college.

"In the course of this visit Johnson and I walked three or four times to Ellesfield, a village beautifully situated about three miles from Oxford, to see Mr. [Francis] Wise, Radelvian librarian, with whom Johnson was much pleased. At this place, Mr. Wise had fitted up a house and gardens, in a singular manner, but with great taste. Here was an excellent library, particularly a valuable collection of books in Northern literature, with which Johnson was often very busy. One day Mr. Wise read to us a dissertation which he was preparing for the press, intitled '*A History and Chronology of the Fabulous Ages*.' Some old divinities of Thrace, related to the Titans, and called the Cabiri, made a very important part of the theory of this piece; and in conversation afterwards, Mr. Wise talked much of his Cabiri. As we returned to Oxford in the evening, I outwalked Johnson, and he cried out *Sufflaminā*, a Latin word which came from his mouth with peculiar grace, and was as much as to say, *Put on your drag chain*. Before we got home, I again walked too fast for him; and he now cried out, 'Why, you walk as if you were pursued by all the Cabiri in a body.' In an evening we frequently took long walks from Oxford into the country, returning to supper. Once, in our way home, we viewed the ruins of the abbey of Osney and Rewley, near Oxford. After at least half an hour's silence, Johnson said, 'I viewed them with indignation!' We had then a long conversation on Gothic buildings; and in talking of the form of old halls, he said, 'In these halls, the fire-place was anciently always in the middle of the room, till the Whigs removed it on one side.'⁵ About this time there had been an execution of two or three criminals at Oxford on a Monday. Soon afterwards, one day at dinner, I was saying that Mr. Swinton⁶, the chaplain of the gaol, and also a frequent preacher before the university, a learned man, but often thoughtless and absent, preached the condemnation sermon on repentance, before the convicts, on the preceding day, Sunday; and that in the close he told his audience, that he should give them the remainder of what he had to say on the subject the next Lord's Day. Upon which, one of our company, a doctor of divinity, and a plain matter-of-fact man, by way of offering an apology for Mr.

¹ There is some excuse for Dr. Ratcliff (so he spelt his name) not ordering a copy of the book, for this visit occurred seven or eight months before the Dictionary was published. His personal neglect of Johnson was less easily to be accounted for, unless it be by the fact, that he was a great invalid; but the imputation of his living by the revenues of literature, and doing nothing for it, cannot, as Dr. Hall informed me, be justly made against Dr. Ratcliff; for he bequeathed to his college 1000*l.* 4 per cents. for the establishment of an exhibition for the son of a Gloucestershire clergyman; 1000*l.* for the improvement of the college buildings; 100*l.* worth of books; and 100*l.* for contingent expenses. The residue of his property (except 600*l.* left for the repair of the prebendal house of Gloucester) he left to the old butler mentioned in the text, who had long been his servant: a bequest which Johnson himself imitated in favour of his own servant, Barber. — CROKER.

² Mr. Warton's own College. — CROKER.

³ This was Johnson's earliest account of this little event, and probably the most accurate; many years after this he told the story to Boswell and Mrs. Piozzi, and made a parade of

his having waited on his tutor, not with a "*beating heart*," but with "*nouchalance and even insolence*." See p. 13 n. 4. — C.

⁴ Lately Fellow of Trinity College, and at this time was Radelvian Librarian at Oxford; of considerable learning, and eminently skilled in Roman and Anglo-Saxon antiquities. — WARTON.

⁵ What can this mean? What had the Whigs to do with removing the smoky hearths from the centre of the great halls to a more commodious chimney at the side? And there are hundreds of very ancient halls with their chimneys in the sides. Johnson was either joking, or he alluded to some particular circumstances which Warton omitted to notice. — CROKER. I have since found that my conjecture was right, and that Johnson alluded to an alteration of the hall of University College, which made some noise at the time; and, I suppose, was effected by some college authorities, who happened to be Whigs.

⁶ The Rev. John Swinton, B. D., of Ch. Ch., one of the chief writers of the Universal History, (concerning which, see post, December 6. 1781,) died in 1777, aged 79. — CROKER.

Swinton, gravely remarked, that he had probably preached the same sermon before the university: 'Yes, Sir (says Johnson), but the university were not to be hanged the next morning.'

"I forgot to observe before, that when he left Mr. Mecke, (as I have told above,) he added, 'About the same time of life, Mecke was left behind at Oxford to feed on a fellowship, and I went to London to get my living: now, Sir, see the difference of our literary characters!'"¹

The following letter was written by Dr. Johnson to Mr. Chambers, of Lincoln College, afterwards Sir Robert Chambers, one of the judges in India²:

JOHNSON TO CHAMBERS.

"London, Nov. 21. 1754.

"DEAR SIR,—The commission which I delayed to trouble you with at your departure, I am now obliged to send you; and beg that you will be so kind as to carry it to Mr. Warton, of Trinity, to whom I should have written immediately, but that I know not if he be yet come back to Oxford.

"In the catalogue of MSS. of Gr. Brit., see vol. i. page 18. MSS. Bodl. MARTYRIUM xv. *martyrum sub Juliano, auctore Theophylacto.*

"It is desired that Mr. Warton will inquire, and send word, what will be the cost of transcribing this manuscript.

"Vol. ii. p. 32. Num. 1022. 58. COLL. Nov. — *Commentaria in Acta Apostol. — Comment. in Septem Epistolas Catholicas.*

"He is desired to tell what is the age of each of these manuscripts; and what it will cost to have a transcript of the two first pages each.

"If Mr. Warton be not in Oxford, you may try if you can get it done by any body else; or stay till he comes, according to your own convenience. It is for an Italian *literato*.

"The answer is to be directed to his Excellency. Mr. Zon, Venetian Resident, Soho Square.

"I hope, dear Sir, that you do not regret the change of London for Oxford. Mr. Baretti is well, and Miss Williams; and we shall all be glad to hear from you, whenever you shall be so kind as to write to, Sir, your most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

The degree of Master of Arts, which, it has been observed, could not be obtained for him at an early period of his life, was now con-

sidered as an honour of considerable importance, in order to grace the title-page of his Dictionary; and his character in the literary world being by this time deservedly high, his friends thought that, if proper exertions were made, the University of Oxford would pay him the compliment.

JOHNSON TO THOMAS WARTON.

"[London,] Nov. 28. 1754.

"DEAR SIR,—I am extremely obliged to you and to Mr. Wise, for the uncommon care which you have taken of my interest³; if you can accomplish your kind design, I shall certainly take me a little habitation among you.

"The books which I promised to Mr. Wise, I have not been yet able to procure: but I shall send him a Finnick Dictionary, the only copy, perhaps, in England, which was presented me by a learned Swede: but I keep it back, that it may make a set of my own books⁴ of the new edition, with which I shall accompany it, more welcome. You will assure him of my gratitude.

"Poor dear Collins⁵!—Would a letter give him any pleasure? I have a mind to write.

"I am glad of your hindrance in your Spenserian design⁶, yet I would not have it delayed. Three hours a day stolen from sleep and amusement will produce it. Let a Servitor⁷ transcribe the quotations, and interleave them with references, to save time. This will shorten the work, and lessen the fatigue.

"Can I do any thing to promoting the diploma? I would not be wanting to co-operate with your kindness; of which whatever be the effect, I shall be, dear Sir, your most obliged, &c.

"SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO THOMAS WARTON.

"[London,] Dec. 21. 1754.

"DEAR SIR,—I am extremely sensible of the favour done me, both by Mr. Wise and yourself. The book⁸ cannot, I think, be printed in less than six weeks, nor probably so soon; and I will keep back the title-page for such an insertion as you seem to promise me. Be pleased to let me know what money I shall send you, for bearing the expense of the affair [of the degree]; and I will take care that you may have it ready at your hand.

¹ *Curis acuens mortalita corda.* Poverty was the stimulus which made Johnson exert a genius naturally, it may be supposed, more vigorous than Mecke's, and he was now beginning to enjoy the fame, of which so many years of painful distress and penury had laid the foundation. Mecke had lived an easy life of decent competence; and on the whole, perhaps, as little envied Johnson, as Johnson him: the goodness and justice of Providence equalise, to a degree not always visible at first sight, the happiness of mankind — *neq vitit male qui natus moriensque fefellit.* — C., 1831. Mecke died about September, 1764. His death was followed by a curious incident. Horace Walpole, in one of his curiosity-hunts, intending to visit a Sir Thomas Reeves, was misdirected to poor Mecke's parsonage, where he arrived soon after his decease, and was surprised to find the house shut up, and to be told "the gentleman is dead suddenly." He drove away believing that Sir Thomas was no more. See letter to Montagu, 3 Oct. 1763. — CROKER, 1846.

² Sir Robert Chambers was born in 1737, at Newcastle-on-Tyne, and educated at the same school with Lord Stowell

and his brother the Earl of Eldon, and afterwards (like them) a member of University College. It was by visiting Chambers, when a fellow of University, that Johnson became acquainted with Lord Stowell; and when Chambers went to India, Lord Stowell, as he expressed it to me, "seemed to succeed to his place in Johnson's friendship." — CROKER.

³ In procuring him the degree of M. A., by diploma, at Oxford. — WARTON.

⁴ The Rambler. — CROKER.

⁵ Collins (the poet) was at this time at Oxford, on a visit to Mr. Warton; but labouring under the most deplorable languor of body, and dejection of mind. — WARTON. He was the son of a hatter in Chichester; born in 1720, and died there 1759. — CROKER.

⁶ Of publishing a volume of observations on Spenser. It was hindered by my taking pupils in this College. — WARTON.

⁷ Young students of the lowest rank are so called. — WARTON.

⁸ His Dictionary. — WARTON.

"I had lately the favour of a letter from your brother, with some account of poor Collins, for whom I am much concerned. I have a notion, that by very great temperance, or more properly abstinence, he may yet recover.

"There is an old English and Latin book of poems by Barclay, called *"The Ship of Fools;"* at the end of which are a number of *Eglogues*,—so he writes it, from *Egloga*,—which are probably the first in our language. If you cannot find the book, I will get Mr. Dodsley to send it you.

"I shall be extremely glad to hear from you soon, to know if the affair proceeds. I have mentioned it to none of my friends, for fear of being laughed at for my disappointment.

"You know poor Mr. Dodsley has lost his wife; I believe he is much affected. I hope he will not suffer so much as I yet suffer for the loss of mine.

Οἱμοι· τί δ' οἱμοι; θνήττα γάρ πεπνύσμεν.¹

I have ever since seemed to myself broken off from mankind; a kind of solitary wanderer in the wild of life, without any direction, or fixed point of view; a gloomy gazer on the world, to which I have little relation. Yet I would endeavour, by the help of you and your brother, to supply the want of closer union by friendship; and hope to have long the pleasure of being, dear Sir, most affectionately yours,

SAM. JOHNSON."

[JOHNSON TO JOSEPH WARTON.

"[London.] Dec. 24. 1754.

"DEAR SIR,—I am sat down to answer your kind letter, though I know not whether I shall direct it so as that it may reach you; the mis-carriage of it will be no great matter, as I have nothing to send but thanks, of which I owe you many; yet, if a few should be lost, I shall amply find them in my own mind; and professions of respect, of which the profession will easily be renewed while the respect continues: and the same causes which first produced can hardly fail to preserve it. Pray let me know, however, whether my letter finds its way to you.

"Poor dear Collins!²—Let me know whether you think it would give him pleasure if I should write to him. *I have often been near his state*, and therefore have it in great commiseration.

"I sincerely wish you the usual pleasures of this joyous season, and more than the usual pleasures, those of contemplation on the great event which this festival commemorates. I am, dear Sir, your most affectionate and most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

—*Woolf's Life.*

CHAPTER XII.

1755—1758.

Johnson M.A. by Diploma. — Correspondence with Warton and the Authorities of the University. — Publication of the Dictionary. — Remarkable Definitions. — Abridgment of the Dictionary. — The Universal Visiter. — The Literary Magazine. — Defence of Tea. — Pulpit Discourses. — Proposals for an Edition of Shakspeare. — Jonas Hanway. — Soame Jenyns. — Charles Burney.

IN 1755 we behold him to great advantage; his degree of Master of Arts conferred upon him, his Dictionary published, his correspondence animated, his benevolence exercised.

JOHNSON TO THOMAS WARTON.

"[London.] Feb. 1. 1755.

"DEAR SIR,—I wrote to you some weeks ago, but believe did not direct accurately, and therefore know not whether you had my letter. I would, likewise, write to your brother, but know not where to find him. I now begin to see land, after having wandered, according to Mr. Warburton's phrase, in this vast sea of words. What reception I shall meet with on the shore, I know not: whether the sound of bells, and acclamations of the people, which Ariosto talks of in his last Canto², or a general murmur of dislike, I know not: whether I shall find upon the coast a Calypso that will court, or a Polypheme that will eat me. But if Polypheme comes, have at his eye. I hope, however, the critics will let me be at peace; for though I do not much fear their skill and strength, I am a little afraid of myself, and would not willingly feel so much ill-will in my bosom as literary quarrels are apt to excite.

"Mr. Baretti is about a work for which he is in great want of Crescimbeni, which you may have again when you please.

"There is nothing considerable done or doing among us here. We are not, perhaps, as innocent as villagers, but most of us seem to be as idle. I hope, however, you are busy; and should be glad to know what you are doing. I am, dearest Sir, your humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO THOMAS WARTON.

"[London.] Feb. 4. 1755.

"DEAR SIR,—I received your letter this day, with great sense of the favour that has been done me³; for which I return my most sincere thanks: and entreat you to pay to Mr. Wise such returns as I ought to make for so much kindness so little deserved.

¹ This verse is from the long-lost *BELLEROPHON*, a tragedy by Euripides. It is preserved by Suidas. — CHARLES BURNLEY. The meaning is, "*Alas! but why should I say alas? we have only suffered the common lot of mortality!*" It was the habitual exclamation of the philosopher Crantor. — CROKER.

² *Ante*, p. 5. and *post*, p. 336.

³ "*Sento venir per allegrezza, un tuono Che fremar l'aria, e rimbombar far l'onde: Odo di squille,*" &c.

Orlando Furioso, c. xlv. s. 2. — WRIGHT.

³ His degree had now past the suffrages of the heads of colleges; but was not yet finally granted by the university: it was carried without a dissentient voice. — WARTON.

"I sent Mr. Wise the Lexicon, and afterwards wrote to him; but know not whether he had either the book or letter. Be so good as to contrive to inquire.

"But why does my dear Mr. Warton tell me nothing of himself? Where hangs the new volume¹? Can I help? Let not the past labour be lost, for want of a little more: but snatch what time you can from the Hall, and the pupils, and the coffee-house, and the Parks², and complete your design. I am, dear Sir, &c.,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO THOMAS WARTON.

"[London.] Feb. 13. 1755.

"DEAR SIR, — I had a letter last week from Mr. Wise, but have yet heard nothing from you, nor know in what state my little affair stands; of which I beg you to inform me, if you can, to-morrow, by the return of the post.

"Mr. Wise sends me word, that he has not had the Finnick Lexicon yet, which I sent some time ago; and if he has it not, you must inquire after it. However, do not let your letter stay for that.

"Your brother, who is a better correspondent than you, and not much better, sends me word, that your pupils keep you in College: but do they keep you from writing too? Let them at least give you time to write to, dear Sir, your most affectionate, &c.,

SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO THOMAS WARTON.

"[London.] Feb. 1755.

"DEAR SIR, — Dr. King³ was with me a few minutes before your letter; this, however, is the first instance in which your kind intentions to me have ever been frustrated.⁴ I have now the full effect of your care and benevolence; and am far from thinking it a slight honour or a small advantage; since it will put the enjoyment of your conversation more frequently in the power of, dear Sir, your most obliged and affectionate,

"SAM. JOHNSON.

"P.S. I have enclosed a letter to the Vice-Chancellor, which you will read; and, if you like it, seal and give him."

As the public will doubtless be pleased to see the whole progress of this well-earned academical honour, I shall insert the Chancellor of Oxford's letter to the University, the diploma, and Johnson's letter of thanks to the Vice-Chancellor.

TO THE REV. DR. HUDESFORD,

[President of Trinity College,] Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford; to be communicated to the Heads of Houses, and proposed in Convocation.

"Grosvenor Street, Feb. 4. 1755.

"MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, AND GENTLEMEN; —

"Mr. Samuel Johnson, who was formerly of Pembroke College, having very eminently distinguished himself by the publication of a series of essays, excellently calculated to form the manners of the people, and in which the cause of religion and morality is every where maintained by the strongest powers of argument and language; and who shortly intends to publish a Dictionary of the English tongue, formed on a new plan, and executed with the greatest labour and judgment; I persuade myself that I shall act agreeably to the sentiments of the whole university, in desiring that it may be proposed in convocation to confer on him the degree of Master of Arts by diploma, to which I readily give my consent; and am, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, and Gentlemen, your affectionate friend and servant,

ARRAN."

Term. Seti.
Hilarii.
1755.

"DIPLOMA MAGISTRI JOHNSON.

"*CANCELLARIUS, Magistri, et Scholares Universitatis Oxoniensis omnibus ad quos hoc presens scriptum pervenerit, salutem in Domino sempiternam.*

"*Cum enim in finem gradus academici à majoribus nostris instituti fuerint, ut viri ingenio et doctrinâ præstantes titulis quoque præter ceteros insignirentur; cumque vir doctissimus Samuel Johnson è Collegio Pembrochiensi, scriptis suis popularium mores informantibus dulcum literato orbi innotuerit; quin et lingue patrie tum ornandæ tum stabilienâ (Lexicon scilicet Anglicanum summo studio, summo à se judicio congestum propediem editurus) etiam nunc utilissimam impendat operam; Nos igitur Cancellarius, Mogistri, et Scholares antedicti, nè virum de literis humanioribus optimè meritum diutius inhonoratum prætereamus, in solenni Convocatione Doctorum, Magistrorum, Regentium, et non Regentium, decimo die Mensis Februarii Anno Domini Millesimo Septingentesimo Quinquagesimo quinto habitâ, præfatum virum Samuelem Johnson (conspirantibus omnium suffragiis) Magistrum in Artibus renunciavimus et constituimus; eumque, virtute presentis diplomatis, singulis juribus, privilegiis, et honoribus ad istum gradum quâquâ pertinentibus frui et gaudere jussimus.*

"*In cujus rei testimonium sigillum Universitatis Oxoniensis presentibus apponi fecimus.*

"*Datum in Domo nostre Convocationis die 20^a Mensis Feb. Anno Dom. prædicto.*

"*Diploma supra scriptum per Registrarium lectum erat, et ex decreto venerabilis Domûs communi Universitatis sigillo munitum.*"⁵

¹ On Spenser. — WARTON.

² The walks near Oxford so called. — CROKER.

³ Principal of Saint Mary Hall, at Oxford. He brought with him the diploma from Oxford. — WARTON. Dr. William King was born in 1685; entered of Balliol 1701; D. C. L., 1715; and Principal of Saint Mary Hall in 1718. In 1722, he was a candidate for the representation of the university in parliament, on the Tory interest; but was defeated. He was a wit and a scholar, and, in particular, celebrated for his latinity; highly obnoxious to the Hanoverian party, and the idol of the Jacobites. It appears from his Anecdotes of his own Times, published in 1819, that he was one of those intrusted with the knowledge of the Pre-

tender's being in London in the latter end of the reign of George the Second, where Dr. King was introduced to him. His Memoirs say, in 1750; but this is supposed to be an error of the press or transcriber for 1753. He died in 1763. — CROKER.

⁴ I suppose Johnson means, that my *kind intention* of being the first to give him the good news of the degree being granted was *frustrated* because Dr. King brought it before my intelligence arrived. — WARTON. Dr. King was secretary to Lord Arran, as Chancellor of Oxford. — CROKER.

⁵ The original is in my possession. — BOSWELL. It now belongs to Mr. Pocock. — CROKER.

"London, 4to Cal. Mart. 1755.

"VIRO REVERENDO [GEORGIO] HUDDSFORD, S.T.P. Universitatis Oxoniensis Vice-Cancellario Dignissimo, S. P. D.

"SAM. JOHNSON.

"*INGRATUS planè et tibi et mihi videar, nisi quanto me gaudio offererint, quos nuper mihi honores (te, credo, auctore), decrevit Senatus Academicus, literarum, quo tamen nihil levius, officio, significem: ingratus etiam, nisi comitatem, quâ vir eximius¹ mihi vestri testimonium amoris in manus tradidit, agnoscam et laudem. Si quid est, undè rei tam grâte accedat gratia, hoc ipso magis mihi placet, quod eo tempore in ordines Academicos denuò cooptatus sim, quo tuam imminuere auctoritatem, famamque Oxonii lacerare, omnibus modis conantur homines vofri, nec tamen acuti: quibus ego, prout viro umbratlico licuit, semper restiti, semper restitutus. Qui enim, inter has rerum procellas, vel tibi vel Academiæ defuerit, illum virtuti et literis, sibi que et posteris, defuturum existimo. Vale."*

JOHNSON TO THOMAS WARTON.

"[London,] March 20. 1755.

"DEAR SIR, — After I received my diploma, I wrote you a letter of thanks, with a letter to the Vice-Chancellor, and sent another to Mr. Wise; but have heard from nobody since, and begin to think myself forgotten. It is true, I sent you a double letter, and you may fear an expensive correspondent; but I would have taken it kindly, if you had returned it treble; and what is a double letter to a *petty king*, that having *fellowship and fines*, can sleep without a *Modus in his head*?²

"Dear Mr. Warton, let me hear from you, and tell me something, I care not what, so I hear it but from you. Something, I will tell you: — I hope to see my Dictionary bound and lettered, next week; — *vastâ mole superbus*. And I have a great mind to come to Oxford at Easter; but you will not invite me. Shall I come uninvited, or stay here where nobody perhaps would miss me if I went? A hard choice! But such is the world to, dear Sir, yours, &c. SAM. JOHNSON."³

JOHNSON TO THOMAS WARTON.

"[London,] March 25. 1755.

"DEAR SIR, — Though not to write, when a man can write so well, is an offence sufficiently

leinous, yet I shall pass it by. I am very glad that the Vice-Chancellor was pleased with my note. I shall impatiently expect you at London, that we may consider what to do next. I intend in the winter to open a *Bibliothèque*, and remember, that you are to subscribe a sheet a year: let us try, likewise, if we cannot persuade your brother to subscribe another. My book is now coming in *humis oras*. What will be its fate I know not, nor think much, because thinking is to no purpose. It must stand the censure of the *great vulgar*, and the *small*; of those that understand it, and that understand it not. But in all this, I suffer not alone; every writer has the same difficulties, and, perhaps, every writer talks of them more than he thinks.

"You will be pleased to make my compliments to all my friends; and be so kind, at every idle hour, as to remember, dear Sir, yours, &c.,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

Dr. Adams told me, that this scheme of a "Bibliothèque" was a serious one: for upon his visiting him one day, he found his parlour floor covered with parcels of foreign and English literary journals, and he told Dr. Adams he meant to undertake a Review. "How, Sir, (said Dr. Adams,) can you think of doing it alone? All branches of knowledge must be considered in it. Do you know Mathematics? Do you know Natural History?" Johnson answered, "Why, Sir, I must do as well as I can. My chief purpose is to give my countrymen a view of what is doing in literature upon the continent; and I shall have, in a good measure, the choice of my subject, for I shall select such books as I best understand." Dr. Adams suggested, that as Dr. Maty had just then finished his "Bibliothèque Britannique," which was a well-executed work, giving foreigners an account of British publications, he might, with great advantage, assume him as an assistant. "He, (said Johnson) the little black dog! I'd throw him into the Thames!"⁴ The scheme, however, was dropped.

In one of his little memorandum books I find the following hints for his intended Review or Literary Journal; "*The Annals of Literature, foreign as well as domestic. Imitate*

¹ We may conceive what a high gratification it must have been to Johnson to receive his diploma from the hands of the great Dr. King, whose principles were so congenial with his own. — BOSWELL.

² "These fellowships are pretty things; We live indeed like *petty kings*, And every night I went to bed, Without a *Modus in my head*."

WARTON'S Progress of Discontent.

³ The following extract of a letter from Thomas Warton to his brother will show his first sentiments on this great work: — "19th April, 1755. The Dictionary is arrived; the preface is noble. There is a grammar prefixed, and the history of the language is pretty full; but you may plainly perceive strokes of laxity and indolence. They are two most unwieldy volumes. I have written him an invitation. I fear his preface will disgust, by the expressions of his consciousness of superiority, and of his contempt of patronage. The Rawlinson benefaction won't do for Johnson, which is this — a professorship of 80*l.* per annum, which is not to take place these forty years; a fellowship to Hertford College, which is too ample for them to receive agreeably to Newton's statutes;

and a fellowship to St. John's College. Neither of the last are to take place these forty years." By the Rawlinson benefaction, Dr. Hall understood the Anglo-Saxon professorship which was founded in 1750, but did not take effect before 1795. — CROKER.

⁴ Matthew Maty, M.D. and F.R.S., was born in Holland in 1718, and educated at Leyden, but he came in 1740 to settle in England. He became secretary to the Royal Society in 1765, and in 1772, principal librarian of the British Museum. Maty being the friend and admirer of Lord Chesterfield, whose works he afterwards published, would, as Dr. Hall observes, particularly at this period, have little recommendation to the good opinion of the lexicographer; but his *Journal Britannique* is mentioned by Mr. Gibbon in a tone very different from Dr. Johnson's. "This humble though useful labour, from Dr. Johnson's." "This humble genius of Bayle and the learning of Le Clerc, was not disgraced by the taste, the knowledge, and the judgment of Maty. His style is pure and eloquent, and in his virtues or even in his defects he may be reckoned as one of the last disciples of the school of Fontenelle." *Gibbon's Miscellaneous Works*. Dr. Maty died in 1776. — CROKER.

Le Clerc — Bayle — Barbeyrac. Infelicity of Journals in England. Works of the learned. We cannot take in all. Sometimes copy from foreign Journalists. Always tell."

JOHNSON TO BIRCH.

"March 29. 1755.

"SIR, — I have sent some parts of my Dictionary, such as were at hand, for your inspection. The favour which I beg is, that if you do not like them, you will say nothing. I am, Sir, your most affectionate humble servant, SAM. JOHNSON."

BIRCH TO JOHNSON.

"Norfolk Street, April 3. 1755.

"SIR, — The part of your Dictionary which you have favoured me with the sight of has given me such an idea of the whole, that I must sincerely congratulate the public upon the acquisition of a work long wanted, and now executed with an industry, accuracy, and judgment, equal to the importance of the subject. You might, perhaps, have chosen one in which your genius would have appeared to more advantage, but you could not have fixed upon any other in which your labours would have done such substantial service to the present age and to posterity. I am glad that your health has supported the application necessary to the performance of so vast a task; and can undertake to promise you as one (though perhaps the only) reward of it, the approbation and thanks of every well-wisher to the honour of the English language. I am, with the greatest regard, Sir, your most faithful and most affectionate humble servant,

"THO. BIRCH."

Mr. Charles Burney, who has since distinguished himself so much in the science of music, and obtained a Doctor's degree from the University of Oxford, had been driven from the capital by bad health, and was now residing at Lynne Regis in Norfolk. He had been so much delighted with Johnson's "Rambler," and the plan of his Dictionary, that when the great work was announced in the newspapers as nearly finished, he wrote to Dr. Johnson, begging to be informed when and in what manner his Dictionary would be published; intreating, if it should be by subscription, or he should have any books at his own disposal, to be favoured with six copies for himself and friends.

In answer to this application, Dr. Johnson wrote the following letter, of which (to use Dr. Burney's own words) "if it be remembered that it was written to an obscure young man, who at this time had not much distinguished himself even in his own profession, but whose name could never have reached the author of 'The Rambler,' the politeness and urbanity may be opposed to some of the stories which

have been lately circulated of Dr. Johnson's natural rudeness and ferocity."

JOHNSON TO BURNNEY,

Lynne Regis, Norfolk.

"Gough Square, Fleet Street, April 8. 1755.

"SIR, — If you imagine that by delaying my answer I intended to shew any neglect of the notice with which you have favoured me, you will neither think justly of yourself nor of me. Your civilities were offered with too much elegance not to engage attention; and I have too much pleasure in pleasing men like you, not to feel very sensibly the distinction which you have bestowed upon me.

"Few consequences of my endeavours to please or to benefit mankind have delighted me more than your friendship thus voluntarily offered, which now I have it I hope to keep, because I hope to continue to deserve it.

"I have no Dictionaries to dispose of for myself, but shall be glad to have you direct your friends to Mr. Dodsley, because it was by his recommendation that I was employed in the work.

"When you have leisure to think again upon me let me be favoured with another letter; and another yet, when you have looked into my Dictionary. If you find faults, I shall endeavour to mend them; if you find none, I shall think you blinded by kind partiality: but to have made you partial in his favour, will very much gratify the ambition of, Sir, your most obliged and most humble servant, SAM. JOHNSON."

Mr. Andrew Millar, bookseller in the Strand, took the principal charge of conducting the publication of Johnson's Dictionary; and as the patience of the proprietors was repeatedly tried and almost exhausted, by their expecting that the work would be completed within the time which Johnson had sanguinely supposed, the learned author was often goaded to dispatch, more especially as he had received all the copy-money, by different drafts, a considerable time before he had finished his task. When the messenger who carried the last sheet to Millar returned, Johnson asked him, "Well, what did he say?" — Sir, (answered the messenger) he said, 'Thank God, I have done with him.' "I am glad (replied Johnson, with a smile,) that he thanks God for any thing."¹ It is remarkable, that those with whom Johnson chiefly contracted for his literary labours were Scotchmen, Mr. Millar and Mr. Strahan. Millar, though himself no great judge of literature, had good sense enough to have for his friends very able men to give him their opinion and advice in the purchase of copyright; the consequence of which was his acquiring a very large fortune, with great liberality. Johnson said of him, "I respect Millar, Sir; he has raised the price of literature." The same praise may be justly given to Panckoucke, the eminent bookseller of Paris.² Mr. Strahan's

¹ Sir John Hawkins, p. 341., inserts two notes as having passed formerly between Andrew Millar and Johnson, to the above effect. I am assured this was not the case. In the way of incidental remark it was a pleasant play of raillery.

To have deliberately written notes in such terms would have been morose. — BOSWELL.

² "Panckoucke," says the Biographie Universelle, "se conduisait généreusement envers les auteurs qu'il employ-

liberality, judgment and success, are well known.

JOHNSON TO MR. LANGTON,

At Langton, Lincolnshire.

"May 6. 1755.

"SIR, — It has been long observed, that men do not suspect faults which they do not commit; your own elegance of manners, and punctuality of complaisance, did not suffer you to impute to me that negligence of which I was guilty, and [for] which I have not since atoned. I received both your letters, and received them with pleasure proportionate to the esteem which so short an acquaintance strongly impressed, and which I hope to confirm by nearer knowledge, though I am afraid that gratification will be for a time withheld.

"I have, indeed, published my book¹, of which I beg to know your father's judgment, and yours; and I have now staid long enough to watch its progress in the world. It has, you see, no patrons, and, I think, has yet had no opponents, except the critics of the coffee-house, whose outcries are soon dispersed into the air, and are thought on no more: from this, therefore, I am at liberty, and think of taking the opportunity of this interval to make an excursion, and why not then into Lincolnshire? or, to mention a stronger attraction, why not to dear Mr. Langton? I will give the true reason, which I know you will approve: — I have a mother more than eighty years old, who has counted the days to the publication of my book, in hopes of seeing me; and to her, if I can disengage myself here, I resolve to go.²

"As I know, dear Sir, that to delay my visit for a reason like this, will not deprive me of your esteem, I beg it may not lessen your kindness. I have very seldom received an offer of friendship which I so earnestly desire to cultivate and mature. I shall rejoice to hear from you, till I can see you, and will see you as soon as I can; for when the duty that calls me to Lichfield is discharged, my inclination will carry me to Langton. I shall delight to hear the ocean roar³, or see the stars twinkle, in the company of men to whom Nature does not spread her volumes or utter her voice in vain.

"Do not, dear Sir, make the slowness of this letter a precedent for delay, or imagine that I approve the incivility that I have committed; for I have known you enough to love you, and sincerely to wish a further knowledge; and I assure you, once more, that to live in a house that contains such a father and such a son, will be accounted a very uncommon degree of pleasure, by, dear Sir, your most obliged and most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

alt dans ses entreprises, et il n'en fit pas plus mal ses affaires. Sa maison devint le rendez-vous des écrivains les plus distingués. Ce fut lui qui imagina *le Moniteur*, journal qu'on a toujours vu ami du pouvoir existant." — CROKER, 1846.

¹ His Dictionary. — BOSWELL.

² It is to be feared that this duty was not performed: see *post*, January 1759, and July 20. 1762. — CROKER.

³ Langton, however, is ten or twelve miles from the coast. — CROKER.

JOHNSON TO THOMAS WARTON.

"[London,] May 13. 1755.

"DEAR SIR, — I am grieved that you should think me capable of neglecting your letters; and beg you will never admit any such suspicion again. I purpose to come down next week, if you shall be there; or any other week, that shall be more agreeable to you. Therefore let me know. I can stay this visit but a week, but intend to make preparations for a longer stay next time; being resolved not to lose sight of the University. How goes Apollonius?⁴ Don't let him be forgotten. Some things of this kind must be done, to keep us up. Pay my compliments to Mr. Wise, and all my other friends. I think to come to Kettel-Hall.⁵ I am, Sir, your most affectionate, &c.,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

[JOHNSON TO RICHARDSON.

"May 17. 1755.

"DEAR SIR, — As you were the first that gave me notice of this paragraph, I send it to you, with a few little notes, which I wish you would read. It is well, when men of learning and penetration busy themselves in these inquiries, but what is their idleness is my business. Help, indeed, now comes too late for me, when a large part of my book has passed the press.

"I shall be glad if these strictures appear to you not unwarrantable; for whom should he, who toils in settling a language, desire to please but him who is adorning it? I hope your new book is printing. *Macte novâ virtute*. I am, dear Sir, most respectfully and most affectionately, your humble servant, — Harwood MSS.

"SAM. JOHNSON."]

JOHNSON TO THOMAS WARTON.

"[London,] June 10. 1755.

"DEAR SIR, — It is strange how many things will happen to intercept every pleasure, though it [be] only that of two friends meeting together. I have promised myself every day to inform you when you might expect me at Oxford, and have not been able to fix a time. The time, however, is, I think, at last come; and I promise myself to repose in Kettel-Hall, one of the first nights of the next week. I am afraid my stay with you cannot be long; but what is the inference? We must endeavour to make it cheerful. I wish your brother could meet us, that we might go and drink tea with Mr. Wise in a body. I hope he will be at Oxford, or at his nest of British and Saxon antiquities.⁶ I shall expect to see Spenser finished, and many other things begun. Dodsley is gone to visit the Dutch. The Dictionary sells well. The rest of the world goes on as it did. Dear Sir, your most affectionate, &c.,

SAM. JOHNSON."

⁴ A translation of Apollonius Rhodius was now intended by Mr. Warton. — WARTON.

⁵ Kettel-Hall is an ancient tenement built about the year 1615, by Dr. Ralph Kettel, President of Trinity College, for the accommodation of commoners of that society. It adjoins the college; and was a few years ago converted into a private house. — MALONE.

⁶ At Ellsfield, three miles from Oxford. — WARTON.

JOHNSON TO THOMAS WARTON.

"[London,] June 24. 1755.

"DEAR SIR, — To talk of coming to you, and not yet to come, has an air of trifling which I would not willingly have among you; and which, I believe, you will not willingly impute to me, when I have told you, that since my promise, two of our partners¹ are dead, and that I was solicited to suspend my excursion till we could recover from our confusion.

"I have not laid aside my purpose; for every day makes me more impatient of staying from you. But death, you know, hears not supplications, nor pays any regard to the convenience of mortals. I hope now to see you next week; but next week is but another name for to-morrow, which has been noted for promising and deceiving. I am, &c.,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO THOMAS WARTON.

"[London,] Aug. 7. 1755.

"DEAR SIR, — I told you that among the manuscripts are some things of Sir Thomas More. I beg you to pass an hour in looking on them, and procure a transcript of the ten or twenty first lines of each, to be compared with what I have; that I may know whether they are yet published. The manuscripts are these:

"Catalogue of Bodl. MS. p. 122. f. 3. Sir Thomas More. 1. Fall of angels. 2. Creation and fall of mankind. 3. Determination of the Trinity for the rescue of mankind. 4. Five lectures of our Saviour's passion. 5. Of the institution of the sacrament, three lectures. 6. How to receive the blessed body of our Lord sacramentally. 7. Neomenia, the new moon. 8. *De tristitia, tædio, pavore, et oratione Christi ante captionem ejus.*

"Catalogue, p. 154. Life of Sir Thomas More. Qu. Whether Roper's? P. 363. *De resignatione Magni Sigilli in manus Regis per D. Thomam Morum.* Pag. 364. *Mori Defensio Morie.*

"If you procure the young gentleman in the library to write out what you think fit to be written, I will send to Mr. Prince the bookseller to pay him what you shall think proper. Be pleased to make my compliments to Mr. Wise, and all my friends. I am, Sir, your affectionate, &c.,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

The Dictionary, with a Grammar and History of the English Language, being now at length published, in two volumes folio², the world contemplated with wonder so stupendous a work achieved by one man, while other countries had thought such undertakings fit only for whole academies. Vast as his powers were, I cannot but think that his imagination deceived him, when he supposed that by constant application he might have performed the

task in three years. Let the Preface be attentively perused, in which is given, in a clear, strong, and glowing style, a comprehensive, yet particular view of what he had done; and it will be evident that the time he employed upon it was comparatively short. I am unwilling to swell my book with long quotations from what is in everybody's hands, and I believe there are few prose compositions in the English language that are read with more delight, or are more impressed upon the memory, than that preliminary discourse. One of its excellencies has always struck me with peculiar admiration; I mean the perspicuity with which he has expressed abstract scientific notions. As an instance of this, I shall quote the following sentence: "When the radical idea branches out into parallel ramifications, how can a consecutive series be formed of senses in their own nature collateral?"³ We have here an example of what has been often said, and I believe with justice, that there is for every thought a certain nice adaptation of words which none other could equal, and which when a man has been so fortunate as to hit, he has attained, in that particular case, the perfection of language.

The extensive reading which was absolutely necessary for the accumulation of authorities, and which alone may account for Johnson's retentive mind being enriched with a very large and various store of knowledge and imagery, must have occupied several years. The Preface furnishes an eminent instance of a double talent, of which Johnson was fully conscious. Sir Joshua Reynolds heard him say, "There are two things which I am confident I can do very well: one is an introduction to any literary work, stating what it is to contain, and how it should be executed in the most perfect manner; the other is a conclusion, showing from various causes why the execution has not been equal to what the author promised to himself and to the public."

How should puny scribblers be abashed and disappointed, when they find him displaying a perfect theory of lexicographical excellence, yet at the same time candidly and modestly allowing that he "had not satisfied his own expectations." Here was a fair occasion for the exercise of Johnson's modesty, when he was called upon to compare his own arduous performance, not with those of other individuals, (in which case his inflexible regard to truth would have been violated had he affected diffidence,) but with speculative perfection; as he, who can outstrip all his competitors in the race, may yet be sensible of his deficiency

¹ Booksellers concerned in his Dictionary. — WARTON. Mr. Paul Knapton died on the 12th, and Mr. Thomas Longman on the 18th June, 1755. — CROKER.

² It came out on the 15th April, 1755 — price £4 10s. bound. There have been several editions in two vols. folio and quarto, and in 1818, a largely augmented, but not proportionally improved, edition was published by Mr. Todd in four volumes quarto. It is to be hoped that, in any future edition, on

Mr. Todd's plan, the additions, and what are called corrections of Johnson's original work, may be more clearly and accurately distinguished than they were by Mr. Todd. — CROKER, 1846.

³ I confess that I cannot join in Mr. Boswell's opinion of the perspicuity of this passage. I do not understand it: and is there not something like a contradiction in terms? Can parallels be accurately said to branch out? — CROKER.

when he runs against time. Well might he say, that "the English Dictionary was written with little assistance of the learned;" for he told me, that the only aid which he received was a paper containing twenty etymologies, sent to him by a person then unknown, who he was afterwards informed was Dr. Pearce¹, Bishop of Rochester. The etymologies, though they exhibit learning and judgment, are not, I think, entitled to the first praise amongst the various parts of this immense work. The definitions have always appeared to me such astonishing proofs of acuteness of intellect and precision of language, as indicate a genius of the highest rank. This it is which marks the superior excellence of Johnson's Dictionary over others equally or even more voluminous, and must have made it a work of much greater mental labour than mere Lexicons, or *Word-Books*, as the Dutch call them. They, who will make the experiment of trying how they can define a few words of whatever nature, will soon be satisfied of the unquestionable justice of this observation, which I can assure my readers is founded upon much study, and upon communication with more minds than my own.

A few of his definitions must be admitted to be erroneous. Thus, *Windward* and *Leeward*, though directly of opposite meaning, are defined identically the same way ["*toward the wind*"]; as to which inconsiderable specks it is enough to observe, that his Preface announces that he was aware that there might be many such in so immense a work; nor was he at all disconcerted when an instance was pointed out to him.² A lady once asked him how he came to define *Pastern* the *knee* of a horse: instead of making an elaborate defence, as she expected, he at once answered, "Ignorance, Madam, pure ignorance." His definition of *Network* [*any thing reticulated or decussated*

at equal distances, with interstices between the intersections"]³ has been often quoted with sportive malignity, as obscuring a thing in itself very plain. But to these frivolous censures no other answer is necessary than that with which we are furnished by his own Preface:—

"To explain, requires the use of terms less abstruse than that which is to be explained, and such terms cannot always be found. For, as nothing can be proved but by supposing something intuitively known, and evident without proof, so nothing can be defined but by the use of words too plain to admit of definition. Sometimes easy words are changed into harder, as, *burial*, into *sepulchre* or *interment*; *dry*, into *desiccative*; *dryness*, into *siccity*; or *aridity*; *fit*, into *paroxysm*; for the *easiest* word, whatever it be, can never be translated into one more easy."

His introducing his own opinions, and even prejudices, under general definitions of words, while at the same time the original meaning of the words is not explained, as his

"*TORY* [*a cant term, derived, I suppose, from an Irish word signifying a savage. One who adheres to the ancient constitution of the state and the apostolic hierarchy of the church of England: opposed to a Whig*].

"*WHIG* [*the name of a faction*].

"*PENSION* [*an allowance made to any one without an equivalent. In England it is generally understood to mean pay given to a state hireling for treason to his country*].

"*PENSIONER* [*a slave of state hired by a stipend to obey his master*].

"*OATS* [*a grain which in England is generally given to horses, but in Scotland supports the people*].

"*EXCISE* [*a hateful tax levied upon commodities, and adjudged not by the common judges of property, but by wretches hired by those to whom excise is paid*]."⁴

¹ Zachary Pearce, born in 1690, was the son of a distiller in High Holborn: he was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, and became Bishop of Rochester in 1756. He died June 29, 1774. See *post*, under 19th May, 1777.—CROKER.

² He owns in his Preface the deficiency of the technical part of his work; and he said, he should be much obliged to me for definitions of musical terms for his next edition, which he did not live to superintend.—BURNBY.

³ Boswell, probably out of tenderness to Johnson, did not give the obnoxious definitions; which I have afforded as a necessary explanation, and to save my readers the trouble of hunting for them in the old editions;—for Mr. Todd has, unjustifiably as I think, obliterated some and altered others.—CROKER, 1846.

⁴ The Commissioners of Excise, being offended by this severe reflection, consulted Mr. Murray, then Attorney-General, to know whether redress could be legally obtained. I wished to have procured for my readers a copy of the opinion which he gave, and which may now be justly considered as history: but the mysterious secrecy of office, it seems, would not permit it. I am, however, informed, by very good authority, that its import was, that the passage might be considered as actionable; but that it would be more prudent in the board not to prosecute. Johnson never made the smallest alteration in this passage. We find he still retained his early prejudice against excise; for in "The Idler," No. 65., there is the following very extraordinary paragraph: "The authenticity of Clarendon's History, though printed with the sanction of one of the first universities of the world, had not an unexpected manuscript been happily discovered, would, with the help of factious credulity, have been brought into question, by the two lowest of all human beings, a scribbler

for a party, and a commissioner of excise." The persons to whom he alludes were Mr. John Oldmixon, and George Duckett, Esq.—BOSWELL.

I am more fortunate than Mr. Boswell, in being able (through the favour of Sir F. Doyle, deputy chairman of the Excise Board) to present the reader with the case submitted to Lord Mansfield, and his opinion.

"Case for the opinion of Mr. Attorney-General.

"Mr. Samuel Johnson has lately published 'A Dictionary of the English Language,' in which are the following words:—

"*EXCISE, n. s.* A hateful tax levied upon commodities, and adjudged not by the common judges of property, but by wretches hired by those to whom excise is paid."

"The author's definition being observed by the Commissioners of Excise, they desire the favour of your opinion.

"Qu. Whether it will not be considered as a libel, and if so, whether it is not proper to proceed against the author, printers, and publishers thereof, or any and which of them, by information, or how otherwise?"

"I am of opinion that it is a libel. But under all the circumstances, I should think it better to give him an opportunity of altering his definition; and, in case he do not, to threaten him with an information."

"29th Nov. 1755.

"W. Murray."

Whether any such step was taken, Sir Francis Doyle was not able to discover: probably not; but Johnson, in his own octavo abridgment of the Dictionary, had the good sense to omit the more offensive parts of the definitions of both EXCISE and PENSION. We have already seen (*ante*, p. 5. n. 3.) the probable motive of the attack on the Excise.—CROKER.

And a few more, cannot be fully defended, and must be placed to the account of capricious and humorous indulgence.

Talking to me upon this subject when we were at Ashbourne in 1777, he mentioned a still stronger instance of the predominance of his private feelings in the composition of this work, than any now to be found in it. "You know, sir, Lord Gower forsook the old Jacobite interest. When I came to the word *Renegado*, after telling that it meant 'one who deserts to the enemy, a revolter,' I added, *Sometimes we say a GOWER*." Thus it went to the press: but the printer had more wit than I, and struck it out.¹

Let it, however, be remembered, that this indulgence does not display itself only in sarcasm towards others, but sometimes in playful allusion to the notions commonly entertained of his own laborious task. Thus: "*Grub Street*, the name of a street in London, much inhabited by writers of small histories, *dictionaries*, and temporary poems; whence any mean production is called *Grub Street*."—"Lexicographer, a writer of dictionaries, a harmless drudge."²

At the time when he was concluding his very eloquent Preface, Johnson's mind appears to have been in such a state of depression, that we cannot contemplate without wonder the vigorous and splendid thoughts which so highly distinguish that performance.

"I (says he) may surely be contented without the praise of perfection, which if I could obtain in this gloom of solitude, what would it avail me? I have protracted my work till most of those whom I wished to please have sunk into the grave; and success and miscarriage are empty sounds. I therefore dismiss it with frigid tranquillity, having little to fear or hope from censure or from praise."

That this indifference was rather a temporary than an habitual feeling, appears, I think, from his letters to Mr. Warton; and however he may have been affected for the moment, certain it is that the honours which his great work procured him, both at home and abroad, were very grateful to him. His friend the Earl of Cork and Orrery, being at Florence, presented it to the *Accademia della Crusca*. That Academy sent Johnson their *Vocabulario*, and the French Academy sent him their *Dictionnaire*, which Mr. Langton had the pleasure to convey to him.

It must undoubtedly seem strange, that the conclusion of his Preface should be expressed in terms so desponding, when it is considered that the author was then only in his forty-sixth

year. But we must ascribe its gloom to that miserable dejection of spirits to which he was constitutionally subject, and which was aggravated by the death of his wife two years before. I have heard it ingeniously observed by a lady of rank and elegance, that "his melancholy was then at its meridian." It pleased God to grant him almost thirty years of life after this time; and once, when he was in a placid frame of mind, he was obliged to own to me that he had enjoyed happier days, and had many more friends, since that gloomy hour, than before.

It is a sad saying, that "most of those whom he wished to please had sunk into the grave;" and his case at forty-five was singularly unhappy, unless the circle of his friends was very narrow. I have often thought, that as longevity is generally desired, and I believe, generally expected, it would be wise to be continually adding to the number of our friends, that the loss of some may be supplied by others. Friendship, "the wine of life," should, like a well-stocked cellar, be thus continually renewed; and it is consolatory to think, that although we can seldom add what will equal the generous *first-growths* of our youth, yet friendship becomes insensibly old in much less time than is commonly imagined, and not many years are required to make it very mellow and pleasant. Warmth will, no doubt, make a considerable difference. Men of affectionate temper and bright fancy will coalesce a great deal sooner than those who are cold and dull.

The proposition which I have now endeavoured to illustrate was, at a subsequent period of his life, the opinion of Johnson himself. He said to Sir Joshua Reynolds, "If a man does not make new acquaintance as he advances through life, he will soon find himself left alone. A man, Sir, should keep his friendship in *constant repair*."

The celebrated Mr. Wilkes, whose notions and habits of life were very opposite to his, but who was ever eminent for literature and vivacity, sallied forth with a little *Jeu d'Esprit* upon the following passage in his Grammar of the English Tongue, prefixed to the Dictionary: "*H* seldom, perhaps never, begins any but the first syllable." In an essay printed in "The Public Advertiser," this lively writer enumerated many instances in opposition to this remark: for example, "The author of this observation must be a man of a quick *apprehension*, and of a most *compre-hensive* genius." The position is undoubtedly expressed with too much latitude.

This light sally, we may suppose, made no great impression on our Lexicographer; for

¹ I suppose when Johnson attempted the pun he wrote the name (as pronounced) *Go'er*. He has *Gor* in his Dictionary in its obvious meaning, and also "in an ill sense," as "a go-between." Lord Gower, after a long opposition to the Whig ministry (which was looked upon as equivalent to Jacobitism) accepted, in 1742, the office of Privy Seal, and was the object of much censure both with Whigs and Tories. Sir C. H. Williams ironically calls him "Hanoverian Gower."

But it is probable that Johnson's antipathy arose out of something more personal, perhaps the disappointment about the school, *anté*, p. 37, n. 3. — CROKER.

² For which he gives no authority, and surely a writer of a Dictionary who should admit such reflections as those on 'Excise,' 'Pension,' &c., could hardly hope to pass for a harmless drudge. — CROKER.

we find that he did not alter the passage till many years afterwards.¹

He had the pleasure of being treated in a very different manner by his old pupil Mr. Garrick, in the following complimentary Epigram :

"ON JOHNSON'S DICTIONARY.

"Talk of war with a Briton, he'll boldly advance,
That one English soldier will beat ten of France;
Would we alter the boast from the sword to the pen,
Our odds are still greater, still greater our men:
In the deep mines of science though Frenchmen
may toil,
Can their strength be compar'd to Locke, Newton,
and Boyle?
Let them rally their heroes, send forth all their
powers,
Their verse-men and prose-men, then match them
with ours!
First Shakspeare and Milton, like Gods in the
fight,
Have put their whole drama and epic to flight;
In satires, epistles, and odes would they cope,
Their numbers retreat before Dryden and Pope;
And Johnson, well arm'd like a hero of yore,
Has beat forty French², and will beat forty
more!"³

Johnson this year gave at once a proof of his benevolence, quickness of apprehension, and admirable art of composition, in the assistance which he gave to Mr. Zachariah Williams, father of the blind lady whom he had humanely received under his roof. Mr. Williams had followed the profession of physic in Wales; but, having a very strong propensity to the study of natural philosophy, had made many ingenious advances towards a discovery of the longitude, and repaired to London in hopes of obtaining the great parliamentary reward.⁴ He failed of success: but Johnson, having made himself master of his principles and experiments, wrote for him a pamphlet⁵, published in quarto, with the following title: "An Account of an Attempt to ascertain the Longitude at Sea, by an exact Theory of the Variation of the Magnetical Needle; with a Table of the Variations at the most remarkable Cities in Europe, from the

year 1660 to 1680."† To diffuse it more extensively, it was accompanied with an Italian translation on the opposite page, which it is supposed was the work of Signor Baretti⁶, an Italian of considerable literature, who having come to England a few years before, had been employed in the capacity both of a language master and an author, and formed an intimacy with Dr. Johnson. This pamphlet Johnson presented to the Bodleian Library. On a blank leaf of it is pasted a paragraph cut out of a newspaper, containing an account of the death and character of Williams, plainly written by Johnson.⁷

In July this year he had formed some scheme of mental improvement, the particular purpose of which does not appear. But we find in his *Prayers and Meditations*, p. 25., a prayer entitled, "On the Study of Philosophy, as an instrument of living;" and after it follows a note, "This study was not pursued."

On the 13th of the same month he wrote in his Journal the following scheme of life, for Sunday: "Having lived" (as he with tenderness of conscience expresses himself) "not without an habitual reverence for the Sabbath, yet without that attention to its religious duties which Christianity requires;"

"1. To rise early, and in order to it, to go to sleep early on Saturday.

"2. To use some extraordinary devotion in the morning.

"3. To examine the tenor of my life, and particularly the last week; and to mark my advances in religion, or recession from it.

"4. To read the Scripture methodically with such helps as are at hand.

"5. To go to church twice.

"6. To read books of divinity, either speculative or practical.

"7. To instruct my family.

"8. To wear off by meditation any worldly soil contracted in the week."⁸

In 1756 Johnson found that the great fame of his Dictionary had not set him above the necessity of "making provision for the day that was passing over him."⁹ No royal or noble patron extended a munificent hand to give in-

¹ In the third edition, published in 1773, he left out the words *perhaps never*, and added the following paragraph:—"It sometimes begins middle or final syllables in words compounded, as *block-head* or derived from the Latin, as *comprehended*."—BOSWELL.

² The number of the French Academy employed in settling their language, and editing the celebrated dictionary.—BOSWELL.

³ This is creditable to Garrick's placability, if we are to believe that he took to himself the character of *Prospero* in the Rambler (*anti*, p. 68. n. 3); but it surely is not a very happy effort of his wit. "Well armed like a hero of yore," and "will beat forty more," are awkward epithets, added, it would seem, because they rhymed.—CROKER.

⁴ Mr. Williams, as early as 1721, persuaded himself that he had discovered the means of ascertaining the longitude, and he seems to have passed a long life in that delusion.—CROKER.

⁵ This pamphlet bore the name of Zachariah Williams, and Johnson, on presenting a copy of it in 1755 to the Bodleian, was careful to insert the title in his own handwriting in the great catalogue.—WARTON.

⁶ This ingenious foreigner, who was a native of Piedmont, came to England about the year 1753, and died in London, May 5. 1789. A very candid and judicious account of him and his works, written, it is believed, by a distinguished dignitary in the church, [Dr. Vincent, Dean of Westminster,] may be found in the Gentleman's Magazine for that year.—MALONE.

⁷ "On Saturday the 12th, [July, 1755] about twelve at night, died Mr. Zachariah Williams, in his eighty-third year, after an illness of eight months, in full possession of his mental faculties. He has been long known to philosophers and seamen for his skill in magnetism, and his proposal to ascertain the longitude by a peculiar system of the variation of the compass. He was a man of industry indefatigable, of conversation inoffensive, patient of adversity and disease, eminently sober, temperate, and pious; and worthy to have ended life with better fortune."—BOSWELL.

⁸ In 1755, Johnson seems to have written for Mrs. Lenox the dedication to the Duke of Newcastle of her *Translation of Sully's Memoirs*.—CROKER.

⁹ He was so far from being "set above the necessity of making provision for the day that was passing over him," that he appears to have been in this year in great pecuniary

dependence to the man who had conferred stability on the language of his country. We may feel indignant that there should have been such unworthy neglect; but we must, at the same time, congratulate ourselves, when we consider, that to this very neglect, operating to rouse the natural indolence of his constitution, we owe many valuable productions, which otherwise, perhaps, might never have appeared.

He had spent, during the progress of the work, the money for which he had contracted to write his Dictionary. We have seen that the reward of his labour was only fifteen hundred and seventy-five pounds; and when the expense of amanuenses, and paper and other articles, are deducted, his clear profit was very inconsiderable. I once said to him, "I am sorry, Sir, you did not get more for your Dictionary." His answer was, "I am sorry too. But it was very well. The booksellers are generous, liberal-minded men." He, upon all occasions, did ample justice to their character in this respect. He considered them as the patrons of literature: and, indeed, although they have eventually¹ been considerable gainers by his Dictionary, it is to them that we owe its having been undertaken and carried through at the risk of great expense, for they were not absolutely sure of being indemnified.

JOHNSON TO RICHARDSON.

"Tuesday, 19th Feb. 1756.

"DEAR SIR, — I return you my sincerest thanks for the favour² which you were pleased to do me two nights ago. Be pleased to accept of this little book³, [probably the Account of the Longitude], which is all that I have published this winter. The inflammation is come again into my eye, so that I can write very little. I am, Sir, your most obliged and most humble servant,
— Rich. Corresp. "SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO RICHARDSON.

"Gough Square, 16th March, 1756.

"SIR, — I am obliged to entreat your assistance; I am now under an arrest for five pounds eighteen shillings. Mr. Strahan, from whom I should have received the necessary help in this case, is not at home, and I am afraid of not finding Mr. Millar.

distress, having been arrested for debt; on which occasion his friend Samuel Richardson became his surety. — MALONE. I have placed in the text two letters to Richardson of this period. Upon the second letter Mr. Murphy regrets, "for the honour of an admired writer, not to find a more liberal entry — to his friend in distress he sent eight shillings more than was wanted! Had an incident of this kind occurred in one of his romances, Richardson would have known how to grace his hero; but in fictitious scenes generosity costs the writer nothing." — *Life*, p. 87. This is very unjust. We have seen that Richardson had, just the month before, been called upon to do Johnson a similar service; and it has been stated that about this period Richardson was his constant resource in difficulties of this kind. Richardson, moreover, had numerous calls of the same nature from other quarters, which he answered with a ready and well-regulated charity. Instead, therefore, of censuring him for not giving more, Mr. Murphy might have praised him for having done all that was required on the particular occasion. — CROKER.

If you will be so good as to send me this sum, I will very gratefully repay you, and add it to all former obligations. I am, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,
SAM. JOHNSON."

"Sent six guineas.

"Witness, WILLIAM RICHARDSON."]

— *Gent. Mag.*

On the first day of this year we find, from his private devotions, that he had then recovered from sickness, and in February that his eye was restored to its use. The pious gratitude with which he acknowledges mercies upon every occasion is very edifying; as is the humble submission which he breathes, when it is the will of his heavenly Father to try him with afflictions. As such dispositions become the state of man here, and are the true effects of religious discipline, we cannot but venerate in Johnson one of the most exercised minds that our holy religion hath ever formed. If there be any thoughtless enough to suppose such exercise the weakness of a great understanding, let them look up to Johnson, and be convinced that what he so earnestly practised must have a rational foundation.

[JOHNSON TO PAUL⁴,

Brook Green, Hammersmith.

"Monday, Dec. 23. 1755.

DEAR SIR, — I would not have you think that I forgot or neglect you. I have never been out of doors since you saw me. On the day after I had been with you, I was seized with a hoarseness, which still continues. I had then a cough so violent, that I once fainted under its convulsions. I was afraid of my lungs; my physician bled me yesterday and the day before, first almost against his will, but the next day without my [*word wanting*]. I had been bled once before, so that I have lost in all 54 ounces. I live on broths, and my cough, I thank God, is much abated, so that I can sleep. I find it impossible to fix a time for coming to you, but as soon as the physician gives me leave, if you can spare a bed, I will pass a week at your house. Change of air is often of use, and I know you will let me live my own way. I have been pretty much dejected. I am, Sir, your most humble servant,
— Pocock MSS. "SAM. JOHNSON."

¹ They seem to have been gainers immediately, for a second folio edition was, if we may believe the title-page, published within a year: an extraordinary sale for so large and expensive a work. — CROKER.

² "This letter was written in consequence of Mr. Richardson's having given bail for Dr. Johnson." The foregoing note is from Richardson's Correspondence; but there must be some mistake in the date of the letter itself. The 19th Feb. 1756, fell on a Thursday. As Johnson's handwriting is not easily read, perhaps the transcriber mistook Thursday for Tuesday. — CROKER.

³ No work of Johnson's appears to have been published separately about this time, except Williams's Account of the Longitude. — CROKER.

⁴ This is a continuation of the correspondence referred to, *anté*, p. 42. Some of it is trifling, and all obscure; but it may be hereafter cleared up, and it affords us, as I before said, a glimpse into Johnson's private life at this dark period. — CROKER.

JOHNSON TO DR. BIRCH.¹

"Jan. 9. 1756.

"SIR, — Having obtained from Mr. Garrick a benefit for a gentlewoman of [word illegible], distressed by blindness, almost the only casualty that could have distressed her, I beg leave to trouble you, among my other friends, with some of her tickets. Your benevolence is well known, and was, I believe, never exerted on a more laudable occasion. I am, Sir, your most humble servant,
— Birch MSS.

"SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO PAUL.

"Tuesday, 13th Jan. 1755. [1756.]

"SIR, — I am much confused with an accident that has happened. When your papers were brought me, I broke open the first without reading the superscription, and when I had opened it, found it not to belong to me. I did not read it when I found my mistake. I see it is a very full paper, and will give you much trouble to copy again, but perhaps it will not be necessary, and you may mend the seal. I am sorry for the mischance. You will easily believe it was nothing more. If you send it me again, the child shall carry it.

For bringing Mrs. Swynfen, I know not well how to attempt it. I am not sure that her husband will be pleased, and I think it would look too much like making myself a party, instead of acting the part of a common friend, which I shall be very ready to discharge. I should imagine that the best way would be to send her word when you will call on her, and perhaps the questions on which she is to resuscitate her remembrance, and come to her at her own house. I really know not how to ask her husband to send her, and I certainly will not take her without asking him. I am, Sir, your most humble servant,
SAM. JOHNSON."

— Pocock MSS.

JOHNSON TO MISS CARTER.

"Gough Square, 14th Jan. 1756.

"MADAM, — From the liberty of writing to you, if I have hitherto been deterred from the fear of your understanding, I am now encouraged to it from the confidence of your goodness.

"I am soliciting a benefit for Miss Williams, and beg that if you can by letters influence any in her favour (and who is there whom you cannot influence?) you will be pleased to patronise her on this occasion. Yet, for the time is short, and as you were not in town, I did not till this day remember that you might help us, and recollect how widely and how rapidly light is diffused.

"To every joy is appended a sorrow. The name of Miss Carter introduces the memory of Cave. Poor dear Cave! I owed him much; for to him I owe that I have known you. He died, I am afraid, unexpectedly to himself, yet surely unburthened with any great crime, and for the positive duties of religion I have yet no right to condemn him for neglect.

"I am, with respect, which I neither owe nor pay to any other, madam, your most obedient and most humble servant,
SAM. JOHNSON."

— Harwood MSS.

JOHNSON TO PAUL.

"Wednesday, [1756.]

"SIR, — I this morning found a letter, which as you sent when my eye was out of order, I had never read to this hour, and therefore, now I have read, I make haste to tell you that if I understand it right, that is, if Mr. Cave² be your landlord, I believe I can favour you, and, if the difficulty still continues, will endeavour it. They do not, I fancy, want the money, and then they may as well seize, if they must seize, for more or less, the property, I suppose, being equivalent to much more, and in no danger of being removed. I am very sorry I did not read the letter among the first things that, upon recovery, I was able to read; but having put it aside, it had the fate of other things for which the proper time has been neglected. Let me know what I shall do, or whether any thing at all is to be done.

"I am now thinking about Hitch.³ I am yet inclined to believe that he will rather lend money upon spindles, a security which he has found valid, than upon a property to be wrung by the law from Dr. James, who will not pay [Miss Williams] for three box tickets which he took. It is a strange fellow. Hitch has a dislike of James; perhaps another might think better of him, but where to find that other I know not. I can, I believe, by a third hand have Hitch sounded; but if it had not the appearance of declining the office, I should tell you, that your own negotiation would effect more than mine. However, in both these affairs, I am ready to do what you would have me. I am, Sir, your most humble servant,
SAM. JOHNSON."

— Pocock MSS.

JOHNSON TO PAUL.

"March 12. 1756.

"SIR, — I am still of opinion that they will hear me at the Gate, and I have no difficulty to speak to them; but though I hope I can obtain a forbearance, I am confident that I shall get nothing more; nor would any attempt to borrow of them or sell to them have any other effect than that of disabling me from succeeding in my first request. You may easily believe that spindles are there in very little credit.

"I will propose to a friend to speak to Mr. Hitch. You well know it is impossible to guess what may be the answer when money is to be sought. If my friend refuses the errand, what shall we do? That must be considered. Will you then write to him by me, as a preparative, and then see him, if he gives any countenance to the affair? You are much more skilful in these transactions than I, and might much sooner find out a proper person to deal with, for my friends have not much money.

"Would it be wrong if you wrote a short letter

¹ In 1756, Mr. Garrick, ever disposed to help the afflicted, indulged Miss Williams with a benefit-play, that produced her £200. — *Hawkins*. The night was the 22d January, 1756, and the play Aaron Hill's *Merope*, but Garrick did not play himself. — *Croker*.

² This must have been Joseph Cave, the brother and successor of Edward, who had died in 1754. — *Croker*.

³ Hitch was a bookseller and publisher of considerable note. — *Croker*.

for me, to show at Cave's as a kind of credential, containing only a few lines, to mention the value of the stock, the certainty of the security, and your desire of my interposition, that I may not seem to thrust myself needlessly between Cave and payment. Let the letter be without dejection, as if the delay was a thing rather convenient than necessary to you. Cave cannot, I think, want forty pounds, nor perhaps has he twice forty to spare.

"I will do my best for you in both negotiations; with Hitch my best can be very little, with Cave I expect to succeed, at least for so short a delay as to Midsummer, and think it would be as well in your letter to refer payment to Michaelmas or Christmas. If they will grant the whole of our request (for I shall make it mine too), they may more easily grant part. But, once more, you know all these things better than I. I am, Sir, your most humble servant,
SAM. JOHNSON."

— *Pocock MSS.*

JOHNSON TO JOSEPH WARTON.

"15th April, 1756.

"DEAR SIR, — Though, when you and your brother were in town, you did not think my humble habitation worth a visit, yet I will not so far give way to sullenness as not to tell you that I have lately seen an octavo book¹ which I suspect to be yours, though I have not yet read above ten pages. That way of publishing, without acquainting your friends, is a wicked trick. However, I will not so far depend upon a mere conjecture as to charge you with a fraud which I cannot prove you to have committed.

"I should be glad to hear that you are pleased with your new situation.² You have now a kind of royalty, and are to be answerable for your conduct to posterity. I suppose you care not now to answer a letter, except there be a lucky concurrence of a post-day with a holiday. These restraints are troublesome for a time, but custom makes them easy, with the help of some honour, and a great deal of profit, and I doubt not but your abilities will obtain both.

"For my part, I have not lately done much. I have been ill in the winter, and my eye has been inflamed; but I please myself with the hopes of doing many things, with which I have long pleased and deceived myself.

"What becomes of poor dear Collins? I wrote him a letter which he never answered. I suppose writing is very troublesome to him. That man is no common loss. The moralists all talk of the uncertainty of fortune, and the transitoriness of beauty; but it is yet more dreadful to consider that the powers of the mind are equally liable to change; that understanding may make its appearance and depart, that it may blaze and expire.

"Let me not be long without a letter, and I will forgive you the omission of the visit; and if you can tell me that you are now more happy than before, you will give great pleasure to, dear Sir, your most affectionate and most humble servant,
— *Wool's Life.* SAM. JOHNSON."

¹ The first volume of the *Essay on the Writings and Genius of Pope* appeared anonymously in 1756. — CROKER.

² His appointment of second master of Winchester School took place in 1755. — CROKER.

JOHNSON TO PAUL.

"Sept. 25. 1756.

"SIR, — I would not have it thought that if I sometimes transgressed the rules of civility, I would violate the laws of friendship. If I had heard any thing from the Gate I would have informed you, and I will send to them lest they should neglect to transmit any accounts that they receive. I have been many times hindered from coming to you, but if by coming I could have been of any considerable use, I would not have been hindered. They are so cold at the Gate, both to the landlord and to you, that if I could think of any body else to apply to, I would trouble them no more. I am thinking of Dicey. I am, Sir, your humble servant,
SAM. JOHNSON."

— *Pocock MSS.*

JOHNSON TO PAUL.

"Wednesday.

"SIR, — You will think I forgot you, but my boy is run away³, and I know not whom to send. Besides, nothing seemed to require much expedition, for Mr. Cave has left London almost a fortnight. They intimate at the Gate some desire to know your determination. I will be with you in a day or two. I am, Sir, your humble servant,
— *Pocock MSS.* SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO PAUL.

"Saturday.

"DEAR SIR, — I have been really much disordered, — when your last message came I was on the bed, and had not resolution to rise, having had no sleep all night. I indeed had for two days no audible voice, but am now much better, though I cannot hope to go out very quickly. I am, Sir, your humble servant,
SAM. JOHNSON."

— *Pocock MSS.*

JOHNSON TO PAUL.

(No date.)

"SIR, — I am astonished at what you tell me. I cannot well come out to-night, but will wait on you on Monday evening. I have been very busy, but have now some leisure. I repeat again that I am astonished. Henry is just gone out of town, but I could send to him, if there was any likelihood of advantage from it. I am certain it is not done with his privacy, for he has no interest in it, — and he is too wise to do ill without interest! I am, Sir, your humble servant,
SAM. JOHNSON."

"I am ready to do on this occasion any thing that can be done."

— *Pocock MSS.*

JOHNSON TO PAUL.

"8th Oct. 1756.

"SIR, — You think it hard by this time you cannot have a letter.

"I engaged Mr. Newberry, who sent me on Monday night the note enclosed, and appeared to think the matter well settled. On Tuesday I wrote to Mr. Henry, but soon heard he was out of town.

³ The boy, in one of the former notes called the child, was, I suppose, Francis Barber: *anté*, p. 77. n. 1: in 1759 (*post*, 16th March) he is still called boy and lad. — CROKER.

I knew not what to do. — I then had recourse to young Mr. Cave, who very civilly went about the business, and came to me yesterday in the evening with this account.

"Mr. Cave seized, and has a man in possession.

"He made a sale, and sold only a fire-shovel for four shillings.

"The goods were appraised at about eighty pounds.

"Mr. Cave will stay three weeks without any further motion in the business, but will still keep his possession.

"He expects that you should pay the expence of the seizure; how much it is I could not be informed.

"He will stay to Christmas upon security. He is willing to continue you tenant, or will sell the mill to any that shall work or buy the machine. He values his mill at a thousand pounds.

"He did not come up about this business, but another.

"Mr. Barker, as young Mr. Cave thinks, is at Northampton.

"These, Sir, are the particulars that I have gathered. I am, Sir, your very humble servant,
— Pocock MSS. "SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO PAUL.

(No date.)

"SIR, — I am no less surprised than yourself at the treatment which you have met with, and agree with you that Mr. Cave must impute to himself part of the discontent that he shall suffer till the spindles are produced.

"If I have any opportunity of dispelling the gloom that overcasts him at present, I shall endeavour it both for his sake and yours; but it is to little purpose that remonstrances are offered to voluntary inattention or to obstinate prejudice. Cuxon in one place and Garlick in the other, leave no room for the unpleasing reasonings of your humble servant,
SAM. JOHNSON."¹
— Pocock MSS.

His works this year were, an abstract or epitome, in octavo, of his folio Dictionary, and a few essays in a monthly publication, entitled "THE UNIVERSAL VISITER." Christopher Smart, with whose unhappy vacillation of mind he sincerely sympathised, was one of the stated undertakers of this miscellany; and it was to assist him that Johnson sometimes employed his pen. All the essays marked with two *asterisks* have been ascribed to him; but I am confident, from internal evidence, that of these neither "The Life of Chaucer," "Reflections on the State of Portugal," nor "An Essay on Architecture," were written by him. I am equally confident, upon the same evidence, that he wrote "Further Thoughts on Agriculture;"[†] being the sequel of a very inferior essay on the same subject, and which, though carried on as if by the same hand, is both in thinking and expression so far above it, and so strikingly peculiar, as to leave no doubt of its true parent;

and that he also wrote "A Dissertation on the State of Literature and Authors,"[†] and "A Dissertation on the Epitaphs written by Pope."* The last of these, indeed, he afterwards added to his "Idler." Why the essays truly written by him are marked in the same manner with some which he did not write, I cannot explain; but, with deference to those who have ascribed to him the three essays which I have rejected, they want all the characteristical marks of Johnsonian composition.

He engaged also to superintend and contribute largely to another monthly publication, entitled "THE LITERARY MAGAZINE, OR UNIVERSAL REVIEW,"^{**} the first number of which came out in May this year. What were his emoluments from this undertaking, and what other writers were employed in it, I have not discovered. He continued to write in it, with intermissions, till the fifteenth number; and I think that he never gave better proofs of the force, acuteness, and vivacity of his mind, than in this miscellany, whether we consider his original essays, or his reviews of the works of others. The "Preliminary Address"[†] to the public, is a proof how this great man could embellish with the graces of superior composition, even so trite a thing as the plan of a magazine.

His original essays are, "An Introduction to the Political State of Great Britain;"[†] "Remarks on the Militia Bill;"[†] "Observations on his Britannic Majesty's Treaties with the Empress of Russia and the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel;"[†] "Observations on the Present State of Affairs;"[†] and, "Memoirs of Frederick II. King of Prussia."[†] In all these he displays extensive political knowledge and sagacity, expressed with uncommon energy and perspicuity, without any of those words which he sometimes took a pleasure in adopting, in imitation of Sir Thomas Browne; of whose "Christian Morals" he this year gave an edition, with his "Life"* prefixed to it, which is one of Johnson's best biographical performances. In one instance only in these essays has he indulged his *Brownism*. Dr. Robertson, the historian, mentioned it to me, as having at once convinced him that Johnson was the author of the "Memoirs of the King of Prussia." Speaking of the pride which the old King, the father of his hero, took in being master of the tallest regiment in Europe, he says, "To review this towering regiment was his daily pleasure; and to perpetuate it was so much his care, that when he met a tall woman, he immediately commanded one of his *Titanian* retinue to marry her, that they might propagate procerity." For this Anglo-Latian word *procerity*, Johnson had, however, the authority of Addison.

His reviews are of the following books:—

¹ This concludes the correspondence with Paul, of which I can give no further explanation. — CROKER.

² Probably the design mentioned to Dr. Adams, *anti*, p. 93. — CROKER.

"Birch's History of the Royal Society;"† "Murphy's Gray's-Inn Journal;"† "Warton's Essay on the Writings and Genius of Pope, vol. i.;"† "Hampton's Translation of Polybius;"† "Blackwell's Memoirs of the Court of Augustus;"† "Russell's Natural History of Aleppo;"† "Sir Isaac Newton's Arguments in Proof of a Deity;"† "Borlase's History of the Isles of Scilly;"† "Holme's Experiments on Bleaching;"† "Brown's Christian Morals;"† "Hales on distilling Sea-Water, Ventilators in Ships, and curing an ill Taste in Milk;"† "Lucas's Essay on Waters;"† "Keith's Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops;"† "Browne's History of Jamaica;"† "Philosophical Transactions, vol. xlix.;"† "Mrs. Lenox's Translation of Sully's Memoirs;"* "Miscellanies, by Elizabeth Harrison;"† "Evans's Map and Account of the Middle Colonies in America;"† "Letter on the Case of Admiral Byng;"* "Appeal to the People concerning Admiral Byng;"* "Hanway's Eight Days' Journey, and Essay on Tea;"* "The Cadet, a Military Treatise;"† "Some further Particulars in relation to the Case of Admiral Byng, by a Gentleman of Oxford;"* "The Conduct of the Ministry relating to the present War impartially examined;"† "A Free Inquiry into the Nature and Origin of Evil."* All these, from internal evidence, were written by Johnson: some of them I know he avowed, and have marked them with an *asterisk* accordingly. Mr. Thomas Davies, indeed, ascribed to him the Review of Mr. Burke's "Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful;" and Sir John Hawkins, with equal discernment, has inserted it in his collection of Johnson's works: whereas it has no resemblance to Johnson's composition, and is well known to have been written by Mr. Murphy, who has acknowledged it to me and many others.

It is worthy of remark, in justice to Johnson's political character, which has been misrepresented as abjectly submissive to power¹, that his "Observations on the present State of Affairs," glow with as animated a spirit of constitutional liberty as can be found any where. Thus he begins:—

"The time is now come, in which every Englishman expects to be informed of the national affairs; and in which he has a right to have that expectation gratified. For, whatever may be urged by ministers, or those whom vanity or interest make the followers of ministers, concerning the necessity of confidence in our governors, and the presumption

of prying with profane eyes into the recesses of policy, it is evident that this reverence can be claimed only by counsels yet unexecuted, and projects suspended in deliberation. But when a design has ended in miscarriage or success, when every eye and every ear is witness to general discontent, or general satisfaction, it is then a proper time to disentangle confusion and illustrate obscurity; to shew by what causes every event was produced, and in what effects it is likely to terminate; to lay down with distinct particularity what rumour always huddles in general exclamation, or perplexes by indigested narratives; to shew whence happiness or calamity is derived, and whence it may be expected; and honestly to lay before the people what inquiry can gather of the past, and conjecture can estimate of the future."

Here we have it assumed as an incontrovertible principle, that in this country the people are the superintendents of the conduct and measures of those by whom government is administered; of the beneficial effect of which the present reign afforded an illustrious example, when addresses from all parts of the kingdom controlled an audacious attempt to introduce a new power subversive of the crown.²

A still stronger proof of his patriotic spirit appears in his review of an "Essay on Waters, by Dr. Lucas,"³ of whom, after describing him as a man well known to the world for his daring defiance of power, when he thought it exerted on the side of wrong, he thus speaks:—

"The Irish ministers drove him from his native country by a proclamation, in which they charge him with crimes of which they never intended to be called to the proof, and oppressed him by methods equally irresistible by guilt and innocence. Let the man thus driven into exile, for having been the friend of his country, be received in every other place as a confessor of liberty; and let the tools of power be taught in time, that they may rob, but cannot impoverish."

Some of his reviews in this Magazine are very short accounts of the pieces noticed, and I mention them only that Dr. Johnson's opinion of the works may be known; but many of them are examples of elaborate criticism, in the most masterly style. In his review of the "Memoirs of the Court of Augustus," he has the resolution to think and speak from his own mind, regardless of the cant transmitted from age to age, in praise of the ancient Romans. Thus: "I know not why any one but a schoolboy in his declamation should whine over the Commonwealth of Rome, which grew great only by

¹ Dr. Johnson's political bias is no where, that I know, represented as having been, *at this date*, "abjectly submissive to power." On the contrary, he was supposed, and with some justice, to be adverse to the reigning house and its successive ministers. The charge (which Mr. Boswell thus ingeniously evades) was, that *after the grant of his pension* he became too "submissive to power;" but the truth is, that in spite of his party bias, Johnson was always a friend to discipline in the political, as in the social world; and although he joined in the clamour against Walpole, and hated George the Second, his general disposition was always to support the monarchical part of the constitution. — CROKER.

² Mr. Boswell means Mr. Fox's celebrated India Bill, as an adversary of which he distinguished himself as much as a man in a private station could do. — CROKER.

³ Dr. Lucas was an apothecary in Dublin, (afterwards M.D.), who brought himself into public notice and a high degree of popularity by his writings and speeches against the government. He was elected representative of Dublin in 1761; and a marble statue to his honour is erected in the Royal Exchange of that city. He died in Nov. 1771. — CROKER.

the misery of the rest of mankind. The Romans, like others, as soon as they grew rich, grew corrupt; and in their corruption sold the lives and freedoms of themselves, and of one another." Again: "A people, who while they were poor robbed mankind; and as soon as they became rich robbed one another."—In his review of the *Miscellanies* in prose and verse, published by Elizabeth Harrison, but written by many hands, he gives an eminent proof at once of his orthodoxy and candour.

"The authors of the essays in prose seem generally to have imitated, or tried to imitate, the copiousness and luxuriance of Mrs. Rowe. This, however, is not all their praise; they have laboured to add to her brightness of imagery, her purity of sentiments. The poets have had Dr. Watts before their eyes; a writer, who, if he stood not in the first class of genius, compensated that defect by a ready application of his powers to the promotion of piety. The attempt to employ the ornaments of romance in the decoration of religion, was, I think, first made by Mr. Boyle's '*Martyrdom of Theodora*;' but Boyle's philosophical studies did not allow him time for the cultivation of style: and the completion of the great design was reserved for Mrs. Rowe. Dr. Watts was one of the first who taught the Dissenters to write and speak like other men, by shewing them that elegance might consist with piety. They would have both done honour to a better society, for they had that charity which might well make their failings be forgotten, and with which the whole Christian world wish for communion. They were pure from all the heresies of an age, to which every opinion is become a favourite that the universal church has hitherto detested! This praise the general interest of mankind requires to be given to writers who please and do not corrupt, who instruct and do not weary. But to them all human eulogies are vain, whom I believe applauded by angels, and numbered with the just."

His defence of Tea against Mr. Jonas Hanway's violent attack upon that elegant and popular beverage, shows how very well a man of genius can write upon the slightest subject, when he writes, as the Italians say, *con amore*: I suppose no person ever enjoyed with more

relish the infusion of that fragrant leaf than Johnson. The quantities which he drank of it at all hours were so great, that his nerves must have been uncommonly strong, not to have been extremely relaxed by such an intemperate use of it.¹ He assured me, that he never felt the least inconvenience from it; which is a proof that the fault of his constitution was rather a too great tension of fibres, than the contrary. Mr. Hanway wrote an angry answer to Johnson's review of his *Essay on Tea*, and Johnson, after a full and deliberate pause, made a reply to it; the only instance, I believe, in the whole course of his life, when he condescended to oppose any thing that was written against him. I suppose, when he thought of any of his little antagonists, he was ever justly aware of the high sentiment of Ajax in Ovid:

"*Iste tulit pretium jam nunc certaminis hujus,
Qui, cum victus erit, mecum certasse feretur.*"²

But, indeed, the good Mr. Hanway laid himself so open to ridicule, that Johnson's animadversions upon his attack were chiefly to make sport.

The generosity with which he pleads the cause of Admiral Byng is highly to the honour of his heart and spirit. Though Voltaire affects to be witty upon the fate of that unfortunate officer, observing that he was shot "*pour encourager les autres*," the nation has long been satisfied that his life was sacrificed to the political fervour of the times. In the vault belonging to the Torrington family, in the church of Southill, in Bedfordshire, there is the following epitaph upon his monument, which I have transcribed:—

"TO THE PERPETUAL DISGRACE
OF PUBLIC JUSTICE,
THE HONOURABLE JOHN BYNG, ESQ.
ADMIRAL OF THE BLUE,
FELL A MARTYR TO POLITICAL
PERSECUTION;
MARCH 14. IN THE YEAR 1757;
WHEN BRAVERY AND LOYALTY
WERE INSUFFICIENT SECURITIES
FOR THE LIFE AND HONOUR OF
A NAVAL OFFICER."

¹ In this review, Johnson candidly describes himself as "a hardened and shameless tea-drinker, who has for many years diluted his meals with only the infusion of this fascinating plant; whose kettle has scarcely time to cool; who with tea amuses the evening, with tea solaces the midnight, and with tea welcomes the morning." This last phrase his friend, Tom Tyers, happily parodied, "*te veniente die — te decedente.*" Hawkins calls his addiction to it *unmanly*, and almost gives it the colour of a crime. The Rev. Mr. Parker, of Henley, is in possession of a tea-pot which belonged to Dr. Johnson, and which contains *above two quarts*. — CROKER.

² "Losing, he wins, because his name will be
Ennobled by defeat, who durst contend with me."

DRYDEN.

³ Nothing can be more unfounded than the assertion that Byng fell a martyr to "*political persecution*." It is impossible to read the trial without being convinced that he had misconducted himself; and the extraordinary proceedings in both Houses of Parliament subsequent to his trial, prove, at once, the zeal of his friends to invalidate the finding of the court-martial, and the absence of any reason for doing so. By a strange coincidence of circumstances, it happened that there was a total change of ministry between the accusation and the sentence, so that one party prepared the trial and the

other directed the execution: there can be no stronger proof that he was not a *political* martyr. See this subject treated at large in the Quarterly Review for April, 1822—1831. But though legally, and, I believe, justly convicted, it is likely that he would have been pardoned had not popular fury run so high. The *public* had from the first condemned the unhappy admiral, and anticipated his fate. Thus Lloyd writes on the 30th September, 1756, three months before the change of ministry, and six months before Byng's execution:—

"So *ministers* of basest tricks,
I love a fling at politics;
Amuse the nation's court and king,
By breaking Frowke and hanging Byng."

And in the London Magazine for the same month, in a long vituperative poem, addressed to Byng, are these lines:—

"An injured nation must be satisfied;
To public execution thou must go,
A public spectacle of shame and woe."

I now believe that the general officer alluded to, *ante*, p. 42., may have been General Fowke, whom, after a kind of acquittal by a court-martial, George II. struck out of the army lists, and that the narrators of the anecdote mistook the date. — CROKER.

Johnson's most exquisite critical essay in the *Literary Magazine*, and indeed any where, is his review of Soame Jenyns's "Inquiry into the Origin of Evil." Jenyns was possessed of lively talents, and a style eminently pure and easy, and could very happily play with a light subject, either in prose or verse: but when he speculated on that most difficult and excruciating question, the Origin of Evil, he "ventured far beyond his depth," and, accordingly, was exposed by Johnson, both with acute argument and brilliant wit. I remember when the late Mr. Bicknell's humorous performance, entitled "The Musical Travels of Joel Collyer," in which a slight attempt is made to ridicule Johnson, was ascribed to Soame Jenyns, "Ha! (said Johnson) I thought I had given *him* enough of it."

His triumph over Jenyns is thus described by my friend Mr. Courtenay, in his "Poetical Review of the literary and moral character of Dr. Johnson;" a performance of such merit, that had I not been honoured with a very kind and partial notice in it, I should echo the sentiments of men of the first taste loudly in its praise:—

"When specious sophists with presumption scan
The source of evil, hidden still from man;
Revive Arabian tales, and vainly hope
To rival St. John and his scholar Pope:
Though metaphysics spread the gloom of night,
By reason's star he guides our aching sight;
The bounds of knowledge marks, and points the way
To pathless wastes where wilder'd sages stray;
Where, like a farthing link-boy, Jenyns stands,
And the dim torch drops from his feeble hands."¹

This year Mr. William Payne, brother of the respectable bookseller of that name, published "An Introduction to the Game of Draughts," to which Johnson contributed a

¹ Some time after Dr. Johnson's death, there appeared in the newspapers and magazines [the following] illiberal and petulant attack upon him, in the form of an Epitaph, under the name of Mr. Soame Jenyns, very unworthy of that gentleman, who had quietly submitted to the critical lash while Johnson lived. It assumed, as characteristics of him, all the vulgar circumstances of abuse which had circulated amongst the ignorant:—

"Here lies poor JOHNSON. Reader, have a care,
Tread lightly, lest you rouse a sleeping bear;
Religious, moral, generous, and humane
He was — but self-sufficient, rude, and vain;
Ill-bred and overbearing in dispute,
A scholar and a Christian — yet a brute.
Would you know all his wisdom and his folly,
His actions, sayings, mirth, and melancholy,
Boswell and *Thrale*, retailers of his wit,
Will tell you how he wrote, and talk'd, and cough'd, and spit." *Gent. Mag.* 1786.

This was an unbecoming indulgence of puny resentment, at a time when he himself was at a very advanced age, and had a near prospect of descending to the grave. I was truly sorry for it; for he was then become an avowed and (as my Lord Bishop of London, who had a serious conversation with him on the subject, assures me) a sincere Christian. He could not expect that Johnson's numerous friends would patiently bear to have the memory of their master stigmatized by no mean pen, but that, at least, one would be found to retort. Accordingly, this unjust and sarcastic epitaph was met in the same public field by an answer, in terms by no means soft, and such as wanton provocation only could justify:—

Dedication to the Earl of Rochford,* and a Preface,* both of which are admirably adapted to the treatise to which they are prefixed. Johnson, I believe, did not play at draughts after leaving College; by which he suffered; for it would have afforded him an innocent soothing relief from the melancholy which distressed him so often. I have heard him regret that he had not learnt to play at cards; and the game of draughts we know is peculiarly calculated to fix the attention without straining it. There is a composure and gravity in draughts which insensibly tranquillises the mind; and, accordingly, the Dutch are fond of it, as they are of smoking, of the sedative influence of which, though he himself never smoked, he had a high opinion.² Besides, there is in draughts some exercise of the faculties; and accordingly, Johnson, wishing to dignify the subject in his Dedication with what is most estimable in it, observes, "Triflers may find or make any thing a trifle: but since it is the great characteristic of a wise man to see events in their causes, to obviate consequences, and ascertain contingencies, your lordship will think nothing a trifle by which the mind is inured to caution, foresight, and circumspection."

As one of the little occasional advantages which he did not disdain to take by his pen, as a man whose profession was literature, he this year accepted of a guinea from Mr. Robert Dodsley, for writing the Introduction to "The London Chronicle," an evening newspaper; and even in so slight a performance exhibited peculiar talents. This Chronicle still subsists³, and from what I observed, when I was abroad, has a more extensive circulation upon the continent than any of the English newspapers. It was constantly read by Johnson himself; and it is but just to observe, that it has all along

"EPITAPH

"Prepared for a creature not quite dead yet.

"Here lies a little ugly nauseous elf,
Who, judging only from his wretched self,
Feebly attempted, petulant and vain,
The 'Origin of Evil' to explain.
A mighty Genius at this elf displeased,
With a strong critic grasp the urchin squeezed.
For thirty years its coward spleen it kept,
'Till in the dust the mighty Genius slept;
Then stunk and fretted in expiring snuff,
And blink'd at JOHNSON with its last poor puff." —
BOSWELL.

The answer was no doubt by Mr. Boswell himself, and does more credit to his zeal than his poetical talents. This Review was so successful that Johnson re-published it in a separate pamphlet. Jenyns was born in 1705, and died in 1787. He was for near forty years in Parliament, and published some poetry; but his best known work is his *Source of the Nile*; also, *Evidences of the Christian Religion*, published in 1774. Of this work, the seriousness and sincerity was much questioned, which is the occasion of Mr. Boswell's observation as to his being "a sincere Christian." — CROKER.

² See *post*, August 19. 1773. Hawkins heard Johnson say, that insanity had grown more frequent since smoking had gone out of fashion. — CROKER.

³ The *London Chronicle*, or Universal Evening Post, was published three times a week. The first number, containing Johnson's Introduction, appeared Jan. 1. 1787. Mr. Boswell often wrote in this journal. — CROKER.

been distinguished for good sense, accuracy, moderation, and delicacy.

Another instance of the same nature has been communicated¹ to me by the Reverend Dr. Thomas Campbell, who has done himself considerable credit by his own writings. "Sitting with Dr. Johnson one morning alone, he asked me if I had known Dr. Madden, who was author of the premium-scheme² in Ireland. On my answering in the affirmative, and also that I had for some years lived in his neighbourhood, &c., he begged of me that when I returned to Ireland, I would endeavour to procure for him a poem of Dr. Madden's called 'Boulter's Monument.'³ The reason (said he) why I wish for it, is this: when Dr. Madden came to London, he submitted that work to my castigation; and I remember I blotted a great many lines, and might have blotted many more without making the poem worse.⁴ However, the Doctor was very thankful, and very generous, for he gave me ten guineas, *which was to me at that time a great sum.*"⁵

He this year resumed his scheme of giving an edition of Shakspeare with notes. He issued Proposals of considerable length⁶, in which he shewed that he perfectly well knew what a variety of research such an undertaking required; but his indolence prevented him from pursuing it with that diligence which alone can collect those scattered facts, that genius, however acute, penetrating, and luminous, cannot discover by its own force. It is remarkable, that at this time his fancied activity was for the moment so vigorous, that he promised his work should be published before Christmas, 1757. Yet nine years elapsed before it saw the light. His throes in bringing it forth had been severe and remittent; and at last we may almost conclude that the Cæsarian operation was performed by the knife of Churchill, whose

upbraiding satire, I dare say, made Johnson's friends urge him to dispatch.

"He for subscribers baits his hook,
And takes your cash; but where's the book?
No matter where; wise fear, you know,
Forbids the robbing of a foe;
But what, to serve our private ends,
Forbids the cheating of our friends?"

About this period he was offered a living of considerable value in Lincolnshire⁷, if he were inclined to enter into holy orders. It was a rectory in the gift of Mr. Langton, the father of his much valued friend. But he did not accept of it; partly, I believe, from a conscientious motive, being persuaded that his temper and habits rendered him unfit for that assiduous and familiar instruction of the vulgar and ignorant, which he held to be an essential duty in a clergyman; and partly because his love of a London life was so strong, that he would have thought himself an exile in any other place, particularly if residing in the country.⁸ Whoever would wish to see his thoughts upon that subject displayed in their full force, may peruse the *Adventurer*, Number 126.

In 1757 it does not appear that he published any thing, except some of those articles in the *Literary Magazine*, which have been mentioned. That magazine, after Johnson ceased to write in it, gradually declined, though the popular epithet of *Antigallican* was added to it; and in July, 1758, it expired. He probably prepared a part of his Shakspeare this year, and he dictated a speech on the subject of an address to the Throne, after the expedition to Rochfort, which was delivered by one of his friends, I know not in what public meeting. It is printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for October, 1785, as his, and bears sufficient marks of authenticity.

By the favour of Mr. Joseph Cooper

¹ See *post*, April 6. 1775. — C.

² In the College of Dublin, four quarterly examinations of the students are held in each year, in various prescribed branches of literature and science; and premiums, consisting of books impressed with the College Arms, are adjudged by examiners (composed generally of the Junior Fellows), to those who have most distinguished themselves in the several classes, after a very rigid trial, which lasts two days. This regulation, which has subsisted about seventy years, has been attended with the most beneficial effects. Dr. Samuel Madden was the first proposer of those premiums. They were instituted about the year 1734. He was also one of the founders of the Dublin Society for the Encouragement of Arts and Agriculture. In addition to the premiums which were and are still annually given by that society for this purpose, Dr. Madden gave others from his own fund. Hence he was usually called "*Premium Madden*." — MALONE.

³ Dr. Hugh Boulter, Archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of Ireland. He died Sept. 27. 1742, at which time he was, for the thirteenth time, one of the Lords Justices of that kingdom. Johnson speaks of him in high terms of commendation, in his *Life of Ambrose Philips*. — BOSWELL.

⁴ Dr. Madden wrote very bad verses. The few lines in 'Boulter's Monument' that rise above mediocrity, may be attributed to Johnson. — CROKER.

⁵ "Such casual emoluments as these," says Hawkins, "Johnson frequently derived from his profession of an author." About this time, as it is supposed, for sundry benefited clergymen that requested him, he composed pulpit discourses, and for these, he made no scruple of confessing, he was paid; and this price, I am informed, was a moderate one, — a guinea; and such was his notion of justice, that having

been paid, he considered them so absolutely the property of the purchaser, as to renounce all claim to them. He reckoned that he had written about forty sermons; but, except as to some, knew not in what hands they were. "I have," said he, "been paid for them, and have no right to inquire about them." This practice is of very doubtful propriety. In the case of an *elective* chapel, it might, as the Bishop of Elington observed to me, amount to an absolute fraud, as a person might be chosen for the merits of a sermon not written by himself. See *ante*, p. 82. — CROKER.

⁶ They have been reprinted by Mr. Malone, in the Preface to his edition of Shakspeare. — BOSWELL.

⁷ Langton, near Partney. — CROKER.

⁸ Hawkins, who first told this fact on Johnson's own authority, does not mention this latter and lower motive for Johnson's refusal. "It was," he says, "in a pleasant country, and of such yearly value, as might have tempted one in better circumstances, but he had scruples about the duties of the ministerial functions." "I have not," Johnson said, "the requisites for the office, and I cannot in conscience shear the flock which I am unable to feed." And Hawkins further informs us that about this period he was in circumstances more straitened than usual, and even his ordinary relaxation of his club failed him. "About the year 1756, time had produced a change in the situation of many of Johnson's friends, who were used to meet him in Ivy-lane. Death had taken from them Mr. Ghie; Barker went to settle as a practising physician at Trowbridge; Dyer went abroad; Hawkesworth was busied in forming new connections; and I had lately made one that removed from me all temptations to pass my evenings from home. The consequence was, that our symposium at the King's Head broke up." — CROKER.

Walker¹, of the Treasury, Dublin, I have obtained a copy of the following letter from Johnson to the venerable author of "Dissertations on the History of Ireland."

JOHNSON TO CH³. O'CONNOR, ESQ.²

"London, April 9. 1757.

"SIR,—I have lately, by the favour of Mr. Faulkner, seen your account of Ireland, and cannot forbear to solicit a prosecution of your design. Sir William Temple complains that Ireland is less known than any other country, as to its ancient state. The natives have had little leisure, and little encouragement for inquiry; and strangers, not knowing the language, have had no ability.

"I have long wished that the Irish literature were cultivated.³ Ireland is known by tradition to have been once the seat of piety and learning; and surely it would be very acceptable to all those who are curious either in the original of nations, or the affinities of languages, to be further informed of the revolution of a people so ancient, and once so illustrious.

"What relation there is between the Welsh and Irish language, or between the language of Ireland and that of Biscay, deserves inquiry. Of these provincial and unextended tongues, it seldom happens that more than one are understood by any one man; and, therefore, it seldom happens that a fair comparison can be made. I hope you will continue to cultivate this kind of learning, which has too long lain neglected, and which, if it be suffered to remain in oblivion for another century, may, perhaps, never be retrieved. As I wish well to all useful undertakings, I would not forbear to let you know how much you deserve, in my opinion, from all lovers of study, and how much pleasure your work has given to, Sir, your most obliged and most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO THOMAS WARTON.

"[London,] June 21. 1757.

"DEAR SIR,—Dr. Marsili, of Padua, a learned gentleman, and good Latin poet, has a mind to see

Oxford. I have given him a letter to Dr. Huddesford, and shall be glad if you will introduce him, and shew him any thing in Oxford.

"I am printing my new edition of Shakspeare.

"I long to see you all, but cannot conveniently come yet. You might write to me now and then, if you were good for any thing. But ⁴ *honores mutant mores*. Professors forget their friends. I shall certainly complain to Miss Jones⁵ I am, your, &c.,

SAM. JOHNSON."

"Please to make my compliments to Mr. Wise."

JOHNSON TO [THOMAS WARTON.]⁶

"Oct. 27. 1757.

"DEAR SIR,—I have been thinking and talking with Mr. Allen about some literary business for an inhabitant of Oxford. Many schemes might be plausibly proposed, but at present these may be sufficient. 1. An Ecclesiastical History of England. In this there are a great many materials which must be compressed into a narrow compass. This book must not exceed 4 vols. 8vo. 2. A History of the Reformation, (not of England only, but of Europe;) this must not exceed the same bulk, and will be full of and very entertaining. 3. The Life of Richard the First. 4. The Life of Edward the Confessor.

"All these are works for which the requisite materials may be found at Oxford, and any of them well executed would be well received. I impart these designs to you in confidence, that what you do not make use of yourself shall revert to me uncommunicated to any other. The schemes of a writer are his property and his revenue, and therefore they must not be made common. I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO BENNET LANGTON,

Of Trinity College, Oxford.

"Jan. 28. 1758.⁷

"DEAR SIR,—Though I might have expected to hear from you, upon your entrance into a new state of life at a new place, yet recollecting (not without some degree of shame) that I owe you a letter

¹ Mr. Walker was a member of the Royal Irish Academy, author of the "Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards," an "Historical Memoir on Italian Tragedy," &c. He died in 1810. — CROKER.

² Mr. Walker writes to me as follows:—"Perhaps it would gratify you to have some account of Mr. O'Connor. He is an amiable, learned, venerable old gentleman, of an independent fortune, who lives at Ballynegar, in the county of Roscommon: he is an admired writer, and member of the Irish Academy. The above letter is alluded to in the preface to the second edition of his 'Dissert.' p. 3." Mr. O'Connor afterwards died at the age of eighty-two, July 1. 1791. See a well-drawn character of him in the "Gentleman's Magazine" for August, 1791. — BOSWELL.

Of this gentleman, who died at his seat at Ballynegar, in the county of Roscommon, July, 1791, in his eighty-second year, some account may be found in the Gentleman's Magazine of that date. Of the "Dissertations on the History of Ireland" a second and much improved edition was published in 1776. — MALONE. See another letter from him, *post*, May 19. 1777. — CROKER.

³ The celebrated orator, Mr. Flood, [who died, December, 1791] has shown himself to be of Dr. Johnson's opinion; having by his will bequeathed his estate, after the death of his wife, Lady Frances, to the University of Dublin; "desiring that immediately after the said estate shall come into their possession, they shall appoint two professors, one for the study of the native Erse or Irish Language, and the other for the study of Irish antiquities and Irish history, and for the study of any other European language illustrative of, or auxiliary to, the study of Irish antiquities or Irish history;

and that they shall give yearly two liberal premiums for two compositions, one in verse, and the other in prose, in the Irish language." — BOSWELL. Since the above was written (May, 1793), Mr. Flood's will has been set aside, after a trial at bar, in the Court of Exchequer in Ireland. — MALONE.

⁴ Mr. Warton was elected Professor of Poetry at Oxford in the preceding year. — WARTON.

⁵ Miss Jones lived at Oxford, and was often of our parties. She was a very ingenious poetess, and published a volume of poems; and, on the whole, was a most sensible, agreeable, and amiable woman. She was sister to the Rev. River Jones, Chantor of Christ Church Cathedral at Oxford, and Johnson used to call her the *Chantress*. I have heard him often address her in this passage from "Il Penseroso:—

"Thee, Chantress, oft the woods among
I woo," &c.

She died unmarried. — WARTON.

⁶ This letter was found by Mr. Peter Cunningham, in the papers of Allen, the printer, and was intended, no doubt, for Thomas Warton, though, perhaps, from some change of opinion, not forwarded to him. — CROKER.

⁷ This letter is dated June 28. 1758, and so placed by Mr. Boswell; but this must be a mistake; for it is evidently written on Mr. Langton's entrance into college life; now Langton entered Trinity College, Oxford, 7th July, 1757, and no doubt began to reside in the following autumn, and we shall see in a subsequent letter dated June 1. 1758, that Langton had been already some time the pupil of Warton. The true date, therefore, of this letter, was, probably, *January* and not *June*. — CROKER.

upon an old account, I think it my part to write first. This, indeed, I do not only from complaisance but from interest; for living on in the old way, I am very glad of a correspondent so capable as yourself to diversify the hours. You have, at present, too many novelties about you to need any help from me to drive along your time.

"I know not any thing more pleasant, or more instructive, than to compare experience with expectation, or to register from time to time the difference between idea and reality. It is by this kind of observation that we grow daily less liable to be disappointed. You, who are very capable of anticipating futurity, and raising phantoms before your own eyes, must often have imagined to yourself an academical life, and have conceived what would be the manners, the views, and the conversation of men devoted to letters; how they would choose their companions, how they would direct their studies, and how they would regulate their lives. Let me know what you expected, and what you have found. At least record it to yourself, before custom has reconciled you to the scenes before you, and the disparity of your discoveries to your hopes has vanished from your mind. It is a rule never to be forgotten, that whatever strikes strongly, should be described while the first impression remains fresh upon the mind.

"I love, dear Sir, to think on you, and therefore should willingly write more to you, but that the post will not now give me leave to do more than send my compliments to Mr. Warton, and tell you that I am, dear Sir, most affectionately, your very humble servant,
SAM. JOHNSON."

Mr. Burney having enclosed to him an extract from the review of his Dictionary in the *Bibliothèque des Savans* [t. iii. p. 482.] and a list of subscribers to his Shakspeare, which Mr. Burney had procured in Norfolk, he wrote the following answer:—

JOHNSON TO BURNEY,

At Lynne, Norfolk.

"Gough Square, Dec. 24. 1757.

"SIR,—That I may shew myself sensible of your favours, and not commit the same fault a second time, I make haste to answer the letter which I received this morning. The truth is, the other likewise was received, and I wrote an answer; but being desirous to transmit you some proposals and receipts, I waited till I could find a convenient conveyance, and day was passed after day, till other things drove it from my thoughts; yet not so, but that I remember with great pleasure your commendation of my Dictionary. Your praise was welcome, not only because I believe it was sincere, but because praise has been very scarce. A man of your candour will be surprised when I tell you, that among all my acquaintance there were only two, who upon the publication of my book did not endeavour to depress me with threats of

censure from the public, or with objections learned from those who had learned them from my own preface. Yours is the only letter of good-will that I have received; though, indeed, I am promised something of that sort from Sweden.

"How my new edition [of Shakspeare] will be received I know not; the subscription has not been very successful. I shall publish about March.

"If you can direct me how to send proposals, I should wish they were in such hands.

"I remember, Sir, in some of the first letters with which you favoured me, you mentioned your lady. May I inquire after her? In return for the favours which you have shewn me, it is not much to tell you, that I wish you and her all that can conduce to your happiness. I am, Sir, your most obliged and most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

In 1758 we find him, it should seem, in as easy and pleasant a state of existence, as constitutional unhappiness ever permitted him to enjoy.¹

JOHNSON TO BURNEY,

At Lynne, Norfolk.

"London, March 1. 1758.

"SIR,—Your kindness is so great, and my claim to any particular regard from you so little, that I am at a loss how to express my sense of your favours; but I am, indeed, much pleased to be thus distinguished by you.

"I am ashamed to tell you that my Shakspeare will not be out so soon as I promised my subscribers; but I did not promise them more than I promised myself. It will, however, be published before summer.

"I have sent you a bundle of proposals, which, I think, do not profess more than I have hitherto performed. I have printed many of the plays, and have hitherto left very few passages unexplained; where I am quite at loss, I confess my ignorance, which is seldom done by commentators.

"I have likewise enclosed twelve receipts; not that I mean to impose upon you the trouble of pushing them with more importunity than may seem proper, but that you may rather have more than fewer than you shall want. The proposals you will disseminate as there shall be an opportunity. I once printed them at length in the *Chronicle*, and some of my friends (I believe Mr. Murphy, who formerly wrote the *Gray's-Inn Journal*) introduced them with a splendid encomium.

"Since the *Life of Brown*, I have been a little engaged, from time to time, in the *Literary Magazine*, but not very lately. I have not the collection by me, and therefore cannot draw out a catalogue of my own parts, but will do it, and send it. Do not buy them, for I will gather all those that have anything of mine in them, and send them to Mrs. Burney, as a small token of gratitude for the regard which she is pleased to bestow upon me.

"I am, Sir, your most obliged and most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON."

¹ Here Mr. Boswell had inserted a letter to Mr. Langton, dated, by mistake, June 9. 1758, which, from its internal evidence, clearly belongs to 1759, where it will be found.—CROKER.

² This letter was an answer to one, in which was enclosed a draft for the payment of some subscriptions to his Shakspeare.—BOSWELL.

Dr. Burney has kindly favoured me with the following memorandum, which I take the liberty to insert in his own genuine easy style. I love to exhibit sketches of my illustrious friend by various eminent hands.

"Soon after this, Mr. Burney, during a visit to the capital, had an interview with him in Gough Square, where he dined and drank tea with him, and was introduced to the acquaintance of Mrs. Williams. After dinner, Mr. Johnson proposed to Mr. Burney to go up with him into his garret, which being accepted, he there found about five or six Greek folios, a deal writing-desk, and a chair and a half. Johnson, giving to his guest the entire seat, tottered himself on one with only three legs and one arm. Here he gave Mr. Burney Mrs. Williams's history, and showed him some volumes of Shakspeare already printed, to prove that he was in earnest. Upon Mr. Burney's opening the first volume, at the Merchant of Venice, he observed to him that he seemed to be more severe on Warburton than Theobald. 'O poor Tib! (said Johnson) he was ready knocked down to my hands; Warburton stands between me and him.'—'But, Sir, (said Mr. Burney) you'll have Warburton upon your bones, won't you?' 'No, Sir; he'll not come out: he'll only growl in his den.'—'But you think, Sir, that Warburton is a superior critic to Theobald?'—'O, Sir, he'd make two-and-fifty Theobalds, cut into slices! The worst of Warburton is, that he has a rage for saying something, when there's nothing to be said.'—Mr. Burney then asked him whether he had seen the letter which Warburton had written in answer to a pamphlet, addressed 'To the most impudent man alive.' He answered in the negative. Mr. Burney told him it was supposed to be written by Mallet. The controversy now raged between the friends of Pope and Bolingbroke; and Warburton and Mallet were the leaders of the several parties. Mr. Burney asked him then if he had seen Warburton's book against Bolingbroke's Philosophy?—'No, Sir; I have never read Bolingbroke's impiety, and therefore am not interested about its confutation.'"

CHAPTER XIII.

1758—1759.

"*The Idler*." — *Letters to Warton and Langton.* — *Johnson's Mother.* — *Letters to her, and to Miss Porter.* — *Her Death.* — "*Rasselas*," — *Miscellanies.* — *Excursion to Oxford.* — *Francis Barber.* — *Wilkes.* — *Smollett.* — *Mrs. Montagu.* — *Mrs. Ogle.* — *Myne the Architect.*

ON the fifteenth of April he began a new periodical paper, entitled "*THE IDLER*,"¹ which came out every Saturday in a weekly newspaper, called "*The Universal Chronicle, or Weekly Gazette*," published by Newbery.² These essays were continued till April 5, 1760. Of one hundred and three, their total number, twelve were contributed by his friends; of which, Nos. 33. 93. and 96. were written by Mr. Thomas Warton; No. 67. by Mr. Langton; and Nos. 76. 79. and 82. by Sir Joshua Reynolds; the concluding words of No. 82.—"and pollute his canvas with deformity,"—being added by Johnson, as Sir Joshua informed me."

The *Idler* is evidently the work of the same mind which produced the *Rambler*, but has less body and more spirit. It has more variety of real life, and greater facility of language. He describes the miseries of idleness, with the lively sensations of one who has felt them; and in his private memorandums while engaged in it, we find, "This year I hope to learn diligence." [*Pr. and Med.*, p. 30.] Many of these excellent essays were written as hastily as an ordinary letter. Mr. Langton remembers Johnson, when on a visit to Oxford, asking him one evening how long it was till the post went out; and on being told about half an hour, he exclaimed, "then we shall do very well." He upon this instantly sat down and finished an *Idler*, which it was necessary should be in London the next day. Mr. Langton having signified a wish to read it, "Sir, (said he) you shall not do more than I have done myself." He then folded it up and sent it off.

Yet there are in the *Idler* several papers which show as much profundity of thought, and labour of language, as any of this great man's writings. No. 14. "Robbery of time;" No. 24. "Thinking;" No. 41. "Death of a friend;" No. 43. "Flight of time;" No. 51. "Domestic greatness unattainable;" No. 52. "Self-denial;" No. 58. "Actual, how short of

¹ Of this period of his life, Hawkins says, "The profits accruing from the sale of this paper, and the subscriptions which, from the year 1756, he was receiving for the edition of Shakspeare by him proposed, were the only known means of his subsistence for a period of near four years, and we may suppose them hardly adequate to his wants, for, upon finding the balance of the account for the Dictionary against him, he quitted his house in Gough Square, and took chambers in Gray's Inn; and Mrs. Williams, upon this removal, fixed herself in lodgings at a boarding-school, in the neighbourhood of their former dwelling." And Mr. Murphy tells us, that "he retired to Gray's Inn, and soon removed to chambers in the Inner Temple Lane, where he lived in poverty, total idleness, and the pride of literature. Mr. Fitzherbert (the father of Lord St. Helen's), a man distinguished through life for his

benevolence and other amiable qualities, used to say, that he paid a morning visit to Johnson, intending from his chambers to send a letter into the city; but, to his great surprise, he found an author by profession without pen, ink, or paper. The present Bishop of Salisbury [Douglas] was also among those who endeavoured, by constant attention, to soothe the cares of a mind which he knew to be afflicted with gloomy apprehensions."—CROKER.

² This is a slight mistake. The first number of "*The Idler*" appeared on the 15th of April, 1758, in No. 2. of the *Universal Chronicle*, &c., which was published by J. Payne, for whom also the *Rambler* had been printed. On the 29th of April this newspaper assumed the title of "*Payne's Universal Chronicle*," &c.—MALONE.

fancied, excellence;" No. 89. "Physical evil moral good;" and his concluding paper on "The horror of the last," will prove this assertion. I know not why a motto, the usual trapping of periodical papers, is prefixed to very few of the *Idlers*, as I have heard Johnson commend the custom: and he never could be at a loss for one, his memory being stored with innumerable passages of the classics. In this series of essays he exhibits admirable instances of grave humour, of which he had an uncommon share. Nor on some occasions has he repressed that power of sophistry which he possessed in so eminent a degree. In No. 11. he treats with the utmost contempt the opinion that our mental faculties depend, in some degree, upon the weather; an opinion, which they who have never experienced its truth are not to be envied, and of which he himself could not but be sensible, as the effects of weather upon him were very visible. Yet thus he declares:—

"Surely, nothing is more reproachful to a being endowed with reason, than to resign its powers to the influence of the air, and live in dependence on the weather and the wind for the only blessings which nature has put into our power, tranquillity and benevolence. This distinction of seasons is produced only by imagination operating on luxury. To temperance, every day is bright; and every hour is propitious to diligence. He that shall resolutely excite his faculties, or exert his virtues, will soon make himself superior to the seasons; and may set at defiance the morning mist and the evening damp, the blasts of the east, and the clouds of the south."

Alas! it is too certain, that where the frame has delicate fibres, and there is a fine sensibility, such influences of the air are irresistible. He might as well have bid defiance to the ague, the palsy, and all other bodily disorders. Such boasting of the mind is false elevation.

"I think the Romans call it Stoicism."

But in this number of his *Idler* his spirits seem to run riot¹; for in the wantonness of his disquisition he forgets, for a moment, even the reverence for that which he held in high respect; and describes "the attendant on a Court," as one "whose business is to watch the looks of a being, weak and foolish as himself."²

His unqualified ridicule of rhetorical gesture or action is not, surely, a test of truth; yet we cannot help admiring how well it is adapted to produce the effect which he wished:—

"Neither the judges of our laws, nor the representatives of our people, would be much affected

by laboured gesticulations, or believe any man the more because he rolled his eyes, or puffed his cheeks, or spread abroad his arms, or stamped the ground, or thumped his breast; or turned his eyes sometimes to the ceiling, and sometimes to the floor."

A casual coincidence with other writers, or an adoption of a sentiment or image which has been found in the writings of another, and afterwards appears in the mind as one's own, is not unfrequent. The richness of Johnson's fancy, which could supply his page abundantly on all occasions, and the strength of his memory, which at once detected the real owner of any thought, made him less liable to the imputation of plagiarism than, perhaps, any of our writers. In the *Idler*, however, there is a paper, in which conversation is assimilated to a bowl of punch, where there is the same train of comparison as in a poem by Blacklock, in his collection published in 1756; in which a parallel is ingeniously drawn between human life and that liquor. It ends,—

"Say, then, physicians of each kind,
Who cure the body or the mind,
What harm in drinking can there be,
Since punch and life so well agree?"

To the *Idler*³, when collected in volumes, he added, beside the *Essay on Epitaphs*, and the *Dissertation on those of Pope*, an *Essay on the Bravery of the English common Soldiers*. He, however, omitted one of the original papers, which in the folio copy is No. 22.⁴

JOHNSON TO THOMAS WARTON.

"[London,] April 14. 1758.

"DEAR SIR, — Your notes upon my poet were very acceptable. I beg that you will be so kind as to continue your searches. It will be reputable to my work, and suitable to your professorship, to have something of yours in the notes. As you have given no directions about your name, I shall therefore put it. I wish your brother would take the same trouble. A commentary must arise from the fortuitous discoveries of many men in devious walks of literature. Some of your remarks are on plays already printed: but I purpose to add an Appendix of Notes, so that nothing comes too late.

"You give yourself too much uneasiness, dear Sir, about the loss of the papers.⁵ The loss is nothing, if nobody has found them; nor even then, perhaps, if the numbers be known. You are not the only friend that has had the same mischance. You may repair your want out of a stock, which is deposited with Mr. Allen, of Magdalen Hall; or out of a parcel which I have just sent to Mr. Chambers, for the use of any body that will be so kind as to want them. Mr. Langtons are well; and Miss Roberts, whom I have at last brought to

¹ This doctrine of the little influence of the weather, however, seems to have been his fixed opinion: he often repeated it in conversation. See *post*, p. 146. — CROKER.

² Mr. Boswell seems resolved to forget that Johnson's reverence for the court had not yet commenced. George II. was still alive, whom Johnson always abused, and sometimes very indecently. See *anté*, p. 42, and *post*, April 6. 1775. — CROKER.

³ Prior (*Life of Goldsmith*, i. 349.) denies that this paper was added to the early editions of the *Idler*, and supposes it to have been Goldsmith's; but it is evidently Johnson's style. — CROKER, 1846.

⁴ This paper may be found in Stockdale's supplemental volume of Johnson's Miscellaneous Pieces. — BOSWELL.

⁵ Receipts for Shakspeare. — WARTON.

speak, upon the information which you gave me, that she had something to say. I am, &c.

"SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO THOMAS WARTON.

"London, June 1. 1758.

"DEAR SIR,— You will receive this by Mr. Baretti, a gentleman particularly entitled to the notice and kindness of the professor of poesy. He has time but for a short stay, and will be glad to have it filled up with as much as he can hear and see.

"In recommending another to your favour, I ought not to omit thanks for the kindness which you have shown to myself. Have you any more notes on Shakspeare? I shall be glad of them.

"I see your pupil sometimes¹; his mind is as exalted as his stature. I am half afraid of him; but he is no less amiable than formidable. He will, if the forwardness of his spring be not blasted, be a credit to you, and to the University. He brings some of my plays² with him, which he has my permission to show you, on condition you will hide them from every body else. I am, dear Sir, &c.,

SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO LANGTON,

At Langton.

"Sep. 21. 1758.

"DEAR SIR,— I should be sorry to think that what engrosses the attention of my friend, should have no part of mine. Your mind is now full of the fate of Dury³; but his fate is past, and nothing remains but to try what reflection will suggest to mitigate the terrors of a violent death, which is more formidable at the first glance, than on a nearer and more steady view. A violent death is never very painful; the only danger is, lest it should be unprovided. But if a man can be supposed to make no provision for death in war, what can be the state that would have awakened him to the care of futurity? When would that man have prepared himself to die, who went to seek death without preparation? What then can be the reason why we lament more him that dies of a wound, than him that dies of a fever? A man that languishes with disease, ends his life with more pain, but with less virtue: he leaves no example to his friends, nor bequeaths any honour to his descendants. The only reason why we lament a soldier's death, is, that we think he might have lived longer; yet this cause of grief is common to many other kinds of death, which are not so passionately bewailed. The truth is, that every death is violent which is the effect of accident; every death which is not gradually brought on by the miseries of age, or when life is extinguished for any other reason than that it is burnt out. He that

dies before sixty, of a cold or consumption, dies, in reality, by a violent death; yet his death is borne with patience, only because the cause of his untimely end is silent and invisible. Let us endeavour to see things as they are, and then inquire whether we ought to complain. Whether to see life as it is, will give us much consolation, I know not; but the consolation which is drawn from truth, if any there be, is solid and durable: that which may be derived from error, must be, like its original, fallacious and fugitive. I am, dear, dear Sir, your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO LANGTON,

At Langton.

"Jan. 9. 1758 (1759).

"DEAREST SIR,— I must have indeed slept very fast, not to have been awakened by your letter. None of your suspicions are true; I am not much richer than when you left me; and what is worse, my omission of an answer to your first letter will prove that I am not much wiser. But I go on as I formerly did, designing to be some time or other both rich and wise; and yet cultivate neither mind nor fortune. Do you take notice of my example, and learn the danger of delay. When I was you are now, towering in [the] confidence of twenty-one, little did I suspect that I should be, at forty-nine, what I now am.

"But you do not seem to need my admonition. You are busy in acquiring and in communicating knowledge, and while you are studying, enjoy the end of study, by making others wiser and happier. I was much pleased with the tale that you told me of being tutor to your sisters. I, who have no sisters nor brothers, look with some degree of innocent envy on those who may be said to be born to friends⁴; and cannot see, without wonder, how rarely that native union is afterwards regarded. It sometimes, indeed, happens, that some supervenient cause of discord may overpower this original amity; but it seems to me more frequently thrown away with levity, or lost by negligence, than destroyed by injury or violence. We tell the ladies that good wives make good husbands; I believe it is a more certain position that good brothers make good sisters.

"I am satisfied with your stay at home, as Juvenal with his friend's retirement to Cumæ: I know that your absence is best, though it be not best for me.

⁴ *Quamvis digressu veteris confusus amici,
Laudo tamen vacuis quod sedem figere Cumis
Destinet, atque unum civem donare Sibyllæ.*⁵

"Langton is a good Cumæ, but who must be Sibylla? Mrs. Langton is as wise as Sibyl, and as good; and will live, if my wishes can prolong life, till she shall in time be as old. But she differs

¹ Mr. Langton. — WARTON.

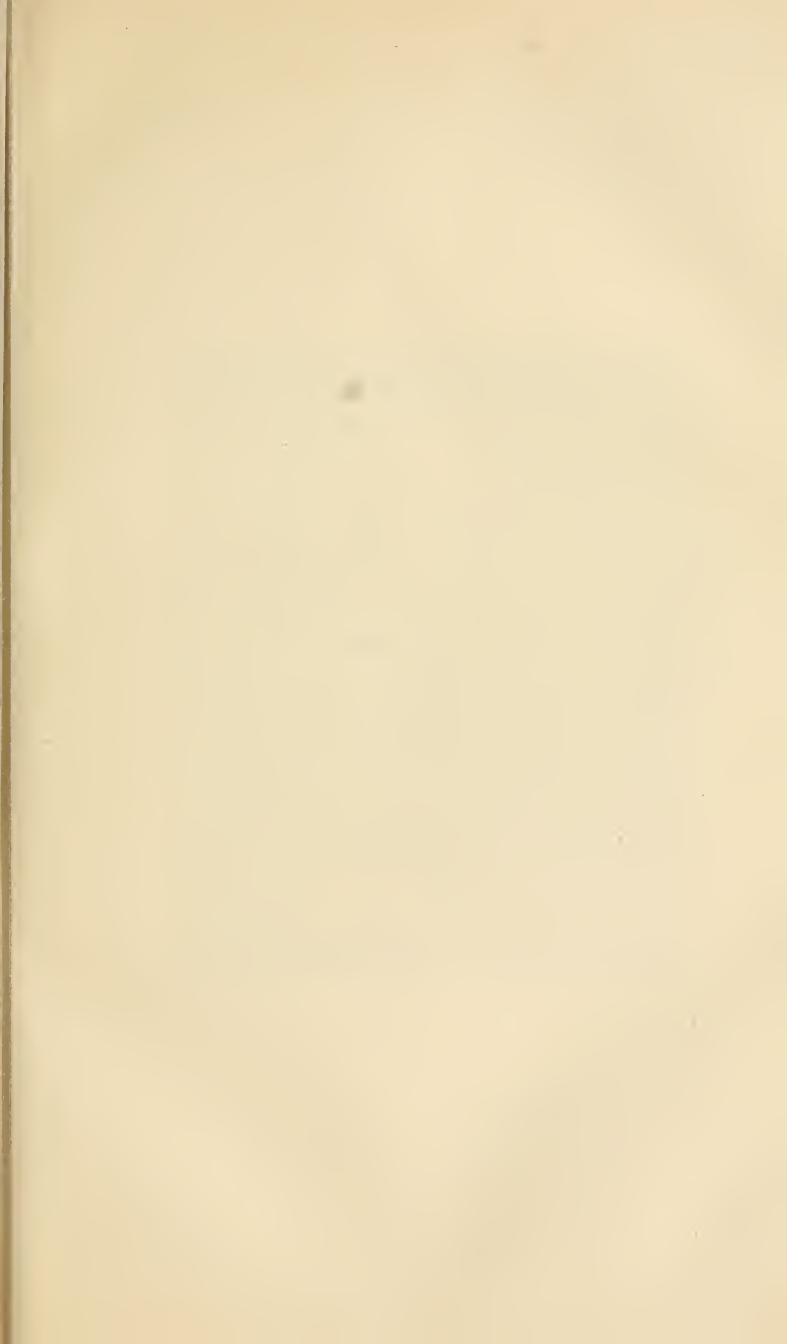
² Part of the impression of the Shakspeare, which Dr. Johnson conducted alone, and published by subscription. This edition came out in 1765. — WARTON.

³ Major-General Alexander Dury, of the First Regiment of Foot Guards, who fell in the gallant discharge of his duty, near St. Cas, in the well-known unfortunate expedition against France, in 1758. His lady and Mr. Langton's mother were sisters. He left an only son, Lieutenant-Colonel Dury, who has a company in the same regiment. — BOSWELL.

⁴ Gibbon, in his Memoirs, alludes to this subject with good taste and feeling: — "From my childhood to the present hour, I have deeply and sincerely regretted my sister, whose life was somewhat prolonged, and whom I remember to have

seen an amiable infant. The relation of a brother and a sister, particularly if they do not marry, appears to me of a very singular nature. It is a familiar and tender friendship with a female much about our own age; an affection perhaps softened by the secret influence of the sex, but pure from any mixture of sensual desire — the sole species of Platonic love that can be indulged with truth, and without danger." *Mem.*, p. 25. — CROKER.

⁵ "Grieved though I am to see the man depart,
Who long has shared, and still must share my heart,
Yet (when I call my better judgment home)
I praise his purpose; to retire from Rome,
And give on Cumæ's solitary coast,
The Sibyl — one inhabitant to boast!" — GIFFORD.





SAMUEL JOHNSON, LL.D.

(From the Painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds in the Collection of Sir Robert Peel)

in this, that she has not scattered her precepts in the wind, at least not those which she bestowed upon you.

"The two Wartons just looked into the town, and were taken to see Cleone, where, David [Garrick] says, they were starved for want of company to keep them warm. David and Doddy¹ have had a new quarrel, and, I think, cannot conveniently quarrel any more. 'Cleone' was well acted by all the characters, but Bellamy² left nothing to be desired. I went the first night, and supported it as well as I might; for Doddy, you know, is my patron, and I would not desert him. The play was very well received. Doddy, after the danger was over, went every night to the stage-side, and cried at the distress of poor Cleone.

"I have left off housekeeping, and therefore made presents of the game which you were pleased to send me. The pheasant I gave to Mr. Richardson³, the bustard to Dr. Lawrence, and the pot I placed with Miss Williams, to be eaten by myself. She desires that her compliments and good wishes may be accepted by the family; and I make the same request for myself.

"Mr. Reynolds has within these few days raised his price to twenty guineas a head⁴, and Miss⁵ is much employed in miniatures. I know not any body [else] whose prosperity has increased since you left them.

"Murphy is to have his 'Orphan of China' acted next month; and is therefore, I suppose, happy. I wish I could tell you of any great good to which I was approaching, but at present my prospects do not much delight me; however, I am always pleased when I find that you, dear Sir, remember your affectionate, humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

In 1759, in the month of January, his mother died, at the great age of ninety, an event which deeply affected him; not that "his mind had acquired no firmness by the contemplation of mortality;"⁶ but that his reverential affection for her was not abated by years, as indeed he retained all his tender feelings even to the latest period of his life. I have been told, that he regretted much his not having gone to visit

his mother, for several years previous to her death. But he was constantly engaged in literary labours which confined him to London; and though he had not the comfort of seeing his aged parent, he contributed liberally to her support.

[JOHNSON TO MRS. JOHNSON,

*In Lichfield.*⁷

"13th Jan. 1758.⁸

"HONOURED MADAM, — The account which Miss [Porter] gives me of your health pierces my heart. God comfort and preserve you and save you, for the sake of Jesus Christ.

"I would have Miss read to you from time to time the Passion of our Saviour, and sometimes the sentences in the Communion Service, beginning *Come unto me, all ye that travail and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.*

"I have just now read a physical book, which inclines me to think that a strong infusion of the bark would do you good. Do, dear mother, try it.

"Pray, send me your blessing, and forgive all that I have done amiss to you. And whatever you would have done, and what debts you would have paid first, or any thing else that you would direct, let Miss [Porter] put it down; I shall endeavour to obey you.

"I have got twelve guineas⁹ to send you, but unhappily am at a loss how to send it to-night. If I cannot send it to-night, it will come by the next post.

"Pray, do not omit any thing mentioned in this letter. God bless you for ever and ever. — I am your dutiful son, SAM. JOHNSON."
— *Malone.*

JOHNSON TO MISS PORTER,

At Mrs. Johnson's, in Lichfield.

"16th Jan. 1759.

"MY DEAR MISS, — I think myself obliged to you beyond all expression of gratitude for your care of my dear mother. God grant it may not be without success. Tell Kitty¹⁰ that I shall never forget

¹ Mr. Dodsley, the author of *Cleone*, first played 2nd Dec., 1758. — BOSWELL.

² The well-known Miss George Ann Bellamy, who played the heroine. — CROKER.

³ The author of *Clarissa*. — BOSWELL.

⁴ Sir Joshua afterwards greatly advanced his price. I have been informed by Sir Thomas Lawrence, his admirer and rival, that in 1787 his prices were two hundred guineas for the *whole length*, one hundred for the *half-length*, seventy for the *kit-cat*, and fifty for (what is called) the *three-quarters*. But even on these prices some increase must have been made, as Horace Walpole said, "Sir Joshua, in his old age, becomes avaricious. He had one thousand guineas for my picture of the three ladies Waldegrave." — *Walpoliana*. This picture are *half-lengths* of the three ladies on one canvas. — CROKER.

⁵ Miss Reynolds, the sister of Sir Joshua. — CROKER.

⁶ Hawkins, p. 395. Mr. Boswell contradicts Hawkins, for the mere pleasure, as it would seem, of doing so. The reader must observe that Mr. Boswell's work is full of anecdotes of Johnson's want of firmness in contemplating mortality; (see a striking instance sub Oct. 26. 1763:) and though Johnson may have been in *theory* an affectionate son, there is reason to fear that he had never visited Lichfield, and, consequently, not seen his mother, since 1737. Mr. Boswell alleges as an excuse, that he was engaged in literary labours, which confined him to London. Such an excuse for an absence of *twenty years* is idle; besides, it is stated that Johnson visited Ashbourne about 1740 (*antiq.* p. 20.), Tun-

bridge Wells in 1748 (*antiq.* p. 58.), Oxford in 1754 (*antiq.* p. 88.). We shall see presently, that Johnson felt remorse for this neglect. — CROKER.

⁷ Since the publication of the third edition of this work, the following letters of Dr. Johnson, occasioned by the last illness of his mother, were obligingly communicated to Mr. Malone, by the Rev. Dr. Vyse. They are placed here agreeably to the chronological order almost uniformly observed by the author; and so strongly evince Dr. Johnson's piety and tenderness of heart, that every reader must be gratified by their insertion. — MALONE. I have added some others. — CROKER.

⁸ Written by mistake for 1759, as the subsequent letters show. On the *outside* of the letter of the 13th was written by another hand — "Pray acknowledge the receipt of this by return of post, without fail." — MALONE.

⁹ Six of these twelve guineas Johnson appears to have borrowed from Mr. Allen, the printer. See Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, p. 366. n. — MALONE.

¹⁰ Catherine Chambers, Mrs. Johnson's maid-servant. She died in October, 1767. See Dr. Johnson's *Prayers and Meditations*, p. 71.: "Sunday, Oct. 18. 1767. Yesterday, Oct. 17, I took my leave for ever of my dear old friend, Catherine Chambers, who came to live with my mother about 1724, and has been but little parted from us since. She buried my father, my brother, and my mother. She is now fifty-eight years old." — MALONE.

her tenderness for her mistress. Whatever you can do, continue to do. My heart is very full.

"I hope you received twelve guineas on Monday. I found a way of sending them by means of the postmaster, after I had written my letter, and hope they came safe. I will send you more in a few days. God bless you all. I am, my dear, your most obliged and most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

"Over the leaf is a letter to my mother."

"16th Jan. 1759.

"DEAR HONOURED MOTHER,—Your weakness afflicts me beyond what I am willing to communicate to you. I do not think you unfit to face death, but I know not how to bear the thought of losing you. Endeavour to do all you [can] for yourself. Eat as much as you can.

"I pray often for you; do you pray for me. I have nothing to add to my last letter. I am, dear, dear mother, your dutiful son,

—Malone. "SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO MRS. JOHNSON.

"18th Jan. 1759.

"DEAR HONOURED MOTHER,—I fear you are too ill for long letters; therefore I will only tell you, you have from me all the regard that can possibly subsist in the heart. I pray God to bless you for evermore, for Jesus Christ's sake. Amen.

"Let Miss write to me every post, however short.

"I am, dear mother, your dutiful son,

—Malone. "SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO MISS PORTER.

"20th Jan. 1759.

"DEAR MISS,—I will, if it be possible, come down to you. God grant I may yet [find] my dear mother breathing and sensible. Do not tell her lest I disappoint her. If I miss to write next post, I am on the road. I am, my dearest Miss, your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON."

On the other side.

"20th Jan. 1759.

"DEAR HONOURED MOTHER¹,—Neither your condition nor your character make it fit for me to say much. You have been the best mother, and I believe the best woman in the world. I thank you for your indulgence to me, and beg forgiveness of all that I have done ill, and all that I have omitted to do well.² God grant you his Holy Spirit, and receive you to everlasting happiness, for Jesus

Christ's sake. Amen. Lord Jesus receive your spirit. Amen.—I am, dear, dear mother, your dutiful son,

SAM. JOHNSON."

—Malone.

JOHNSON TO MISS PORTER.

"23d Jan. 1759.³

"You will conceive my sorrow for the loss of my mother, of the best mother. If she were to live again, surely I should behave better to her. But she is happy, and what is past is nothing to her; and for me, since I cannot repair my faults to her, I hope repentance will efface them. I return you and all those that have been good to her my sincerest thanks, and pray God to repay you all with infinite advantage. Write to me, and comfort me, dear child. I shall be glad likewise, if Kitty will write to me. I shall send a bill of twenty pounds in a few days, which I thought to have brought to my mother; but God suffered it not. I have not power or composure to say much more. God bless you, and bless us all. I am, dear Miss, your affectionate humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON."

—Malone.

[JOHNSON TO MISS PORTER.

"25th Jan. 1759.

(The beginning is torn and lost.)

"You will forgive me if I am not yet so composed as to give any directions about any thing. But you are wiser and better than I, and I shall be pleased with all that you shall do. It is not of any use for me now to come down⁴; nor can I bear the place. If you want any directions, Mr. Howard⁵ will advise you. The twenty pounds I could not get a bill for to-night, but will send it on Saturday. I am, my dear, your affectionate servant,

—Pearson MSS. "SAM. JOHNSON."⁶

JOHNSON TO MISS PORTER.

"6th Feb. 1759.

"DEAR MISS,—I have no reason to forbear writing, but that it makes my heart heavy, and I had nothing particular to say which might not be delayed to the next post; but had no thoughts of ceasing to correspond with my dear Lucy, the only person now left in the world with whom I think myself connected. There needed not my dear mother's desire, for every heart must lean to somebody, and I have nobody but you; in whom I put all my little affairs with too much confidence to desire you to keep receipts, as you prudently proposed.

randums, was on the 23d of January, 1759." It is clear, from all these letters, that he did not personally attend on that occasion, and the memorandum mentioned must have referred to the date or expenses of the funeral, and not to his own presence. Rasselas was not written, nor of course, it may be presumed, sold, till two months later.—CROKER.

² Mr. Howard was a proctor in the Ecclesiastical Court, and resided in the Close.—CROKER.

⁶ "No. 41. of the Idler," says Hawkins, "though it takes the character of a letter to the author, was written by Johnson himself on his mother's death, and may be supposed to describe as truly as pathetically his sentiments on the separation of friends and relations. But it is observable that the Idlers, which now bear the dates of the 13th and 20th January, are on trivial subjects, and are even written in a vein of pleasantry.—CROKER.

¹ This letter was written on the second leaf of the preceding, addressed to Miss Porter.—MALONE.

² So, in the prayer which he composed on this occasion: "Almighty God, merciful Father, in whose hands are life and death, sanctify unto me the sorrow which I now feel. *Forgive me whatever I have done unkindly to my mother, and whatever I have omitted to do kindly.* Make me to remember her good precepts and good example, and to reform my life according to thy holy word," &c.—*Prayers and Meditations*, p. 31.—MALONE.

³ Mrs. Johnson probably died on the 20th or 21st January, and was buried on the day this letter was written.—MALONE.

⁴ Mr. Murphy states: "With this supply (the price of Rasselas) Johnson set out for Lichfield; but did not arrive in time to close the eyes of a parent whom he loved. He attended the funeral, which, as appears among his memo-

"If you and Kitty will keep the house, I think I shall like it best. Kitty may carry on the trade for herself, keeping her own stock apart, and laying aside any money that she receives for any of the goods which her good mistress has left behind her. I do not see, if this scheme be followed, any need of appraising the books. My mother's debts, dear mother, I suppose I may pay with little difficulty; and the little trade may go silently forward. I fancy Kitty can do nothing better; and I shall not want to put her out of a house, where she has lived so long, and with so much virtue. I am very sorry that she is ill, and earnestly hope that she will soon recover; let her know that I have the highest value for her, and would do any thing for her advantage. Let her think of this proposal. I do not see any likelier method by which she may pass the remaining part of her life in quietness and competence.

"You must have what part of the house you please, while you are inclined to stay in it; but I flatter myself with the hope that you and I shall some time pass our days together. I am very solitary and comfortless, but will not invite you to come hither till I can have hope of making you live here so as not to dislike your situation. Pray, my dearest, write to me as often as you can. I am, dear Madam, your affectionate humble servant,
— Pearson MSS. "SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO MISS PORTER.

"1st March, 1758[9].

"DEAR MADAM,—I thought your last letter long in coming; and did not require or expect such an inventory of little things as you have sent me. I could have taken your word for a matter of much greater value. I am glad that Kitty is better; let her be paid first, as my dear, dear mother ordered, and then let me know at once the sum necessary to discharge her other debts, and I will find it you very soon.

"I beg, my dear, that you would act for me without the least scruple, for I can repose myself very confidently upon your prudence, and hope we shall never have reason to love each other less. I shall take it very kindly if you make it a rule to write to me once at least every week, for I am now very desolate, and am loth to be universally forgotten. I am, dear sweet, your affectionate servant,
SAM. JOHNSON."]
— Pearson MSS.

Soon after his mother's death, he wrote his "RASSELAS, PRINCE OF ABYSSINIA:"* concerning the publication of which Sir John Hawkins guesses vaguely and idly¹, instead of having taken the trouble to inform himself with authentic precision. Not to trouble my readers with a repetition of the knight's reveries, I have to mention, that the late Mr. Strahan the printer told me, that Johnson wrote

it, that with the profits he might defray the expense of his mother's funeral, and pay some little debts which she had left. He told Sir Joshua Reynolds, that he composed it in the evenings of one week², sent it to the press in portions as it was written, and had never since read it over.³ Mr. Strahan, Mr. Johnston, and Mr. Dodsley purchased it for a hundred pounds, but afterwards paid him twenty-five pounds more, when it came to a second edition.

Considering the large sums which have been received for compilations, and works requiring not much more genius than compilations, we cannot but wonder at the very low price which he was content to receive for this admirable performance; which, though he had written nothing else, would have rendered his name immortal in the world of literature. None of his writings has been so extensively diffused over Europe; for it has been translated into most, if not all, of the modern languages. This tale, with all the charms of oriental imagery, and all the force and beauty of which the English language is capable, leads us through the most important scenes of human life, and shows us that this stage of our being is full of "vanity and vexation of spirit." To those who look no further than the present life, or who maintain that human nature has not fallen from the state in which it was created, the instruction of this sublime story will be of no avail. But they who think justly, and feel with strong sensibility, will listen with eagerness and admiration to its truth and wisdom. Voltaire's *CANDIDE*, written to refute the system of Optimism, which it has accomplished with brilliant success, is wonderfully similar in its plan and conduct to Johnson's *RASSELAS*; inasmuch, that I have heard Johnson say, that if they had not been published so closely one after the other that there was not time for imitation⁴, it would have been in vain to deny that the scheme of that which came latest was taken from the other. Though the proposition illustrated by both these works was the same, namely, that in our present state there is more evil than good, the intention of the writers was very different. Voltaire, I am afraid, meant only by wanton profaneness to obtain a sportive victory over religion, and to discredit the belief of a superintending Providence: Johnson meant, by showing the unsatisfactory nature of things temporal, to direct the hopes of man to things eternal. *Rasselas*, as was observed to me by a very accomplished lady, may be considered as a more enlarged and more deeply philosophical discourse in prose, upon the interesting truth, which in his "Vanity of

¹ Hawkins's account is substantially the same as Mr. Boswell's. — CROKER.

² *Rasselas* was published in March or April, 1759. — BOSWELL.

In chapter 24. Johnson, in the character of Imilac, pathetically describes his own feelings: "I have neither mother to be delighted with the reputation of her son, nor wife to partake the honours of her husband." — MALONE.

³ See under June 2. 1751. Finding it then accidentally in

a chaise with Mr. Boswell, he read it eagerly. This was doubtless long after his declaration to Sir Joshua Reynolds. — MALONE.

⁴ This is not quite exact. The appearance of the two works was very near, but it seems that Johnson might have seen *Candide*, which was published at latest in February 1759, (Grimm, li. 388.) and *Rasselas* was written, it appears, towards the middle of March. — CROKER.

Human Wishes" he had so successfully enforced in verse.

The fund of thinking which this work contains is such, that almost every sentence of it may furnish a subject of long meditation. I am not satisfied if a year passes without my having read it through; and at every perusal, my admiration of the mind which produced it is so highly raised, that I can scarcely believe that I had the honour of enjoying the intimacy of such a man.

I restrain myself from quoting passages from this excellent work, or even referring to them, because I should not know what to select, or, rather, what to omit. I shall, however, transcribe one, as it shows how well he could state the arguments of those who believe in the appearance of departed spirits: a doctrine which it is a mistake to suppose that he himself ever positively held:

"If all your fear be of apparitions (said the prince), I will promise you safety: there is no danger from the dead; he that is once buried will be seen no more.

"That the dead are seen no more (said Imlac), I will not undertake to maintain, against the concurrent and unvaried testimony of all ages, and of all nations. There is no people, rude or learned, among whom apparitions of the dead are not related and believed. This opinion, which prevails as far as human nature is diffused, could become universal only by its truth¹; those that never heard of one another, would not have agreed in a tale which nothing but experience can make credible. That it is doubted by single cavillers, can very little weaken the general evidence; and some who deny it with their tongues, confess it by their fears."

Notwithstanding my high admiration of *Rasselas*, I will not maintain that the "morbid melancholy" in Johnson's constitution may not, perhaps, have made life appear to him more insipid and unhappy than it generally is: for I am sure that he had less enjoyment from it than I have. Yet, whatever additional shade his own particular sensations may have thrown on his representation of life, attentive observation and close enquiry have convinced me, that there is too much reality in the gloomy

picture. The truth, however, is, that we judge of the happiness and misery of life differently at different times, according to the state of our changeable frame. I always remember a remark made to me by a Turkish lady, educated in France: "*Ma foi, monsieur, notre bonheur dépend de la façon que notre sang circule.*"² This have I learnt from a pretty hard course of experience, and would, from sincere benevolence, impress upon all who honour this book with a perusal, that until a steady conviction is obtained, that the present life is an imperfect state, and only a passage to a better, if we comply with the divine scheme of progressive improvement; and also that it is a part of the mysterious plan of Providence, that intellectual beings must "be made perfect through suffering;" there will be a continual recurrence of disappointment and uneasiness. But if we walk with hope in "the mid-day sun" of revelation, our temper and disposition will be such, that the comforts and enjoyments in our way will be relished, while we patiently support the inconveniences and pains. After much speculation and various reasonings, I acknowledge myself convinced of the truth of Voltaire's conclusion, "*Après tout, c'est un monde passable.*" But we must not think too deeply:

"——— where ignorance is bliss,
'Tis folly to be wise,"

is, in many respects, more than poetically just. Let us cultivate, under the command of good principles, "*la théorie des sensations agréables*;" and, as Mr. Burke once admirably counselled a grave and anxious gentleman, "live pleasant."

The effect of *Rasselas*, and of Johnson's other moral tales, is thus beautifully illustrated by Mr. Courtenay:

"Impressive truth, in splendid fiction drest,
Checks the vain wish, and calms the troubled breast:
O'er the dark mind a light celestial throws,
And soothes the angry passions to repose;
As oil effus'd illumines and smooths the deep,
When round the bark the foaming surges sweep."

It will be recollected, that during all this year he carried on his *Idler*³; and no doubt

¹ This is a mere sophism; all ages and all nations are not agreed on this point, though such a belief may have existed in particular persons, in all ages and all nations. He might as well have said that *insanity* was the natural and true state of the human mind, because it has existed in all nations and all ages.—CROKER.

² Mr. Boswell, no doubt, saw some meaning in these words; but what that meaning might be, I cannot guess.—CROKER.

³ This paper was in such high estimation before it was collected into volumes, that it was seized on with avidity by various publishers of newspapers and magazines, to enrich their publications. Johnson, to put a stop to this unfair proceeding, wrote for the *Universal Chronicle* the following advertisement; in which there is, perhaps, more pomp of words than the occasion demanded:

"London, Jan. 5. 1759. ADVERTISEMENT. The proprietors of the paper entitled 'The Idler,' having found that those essays are inserted in the newspapers and magazines with so little regard to justice or decency, that the *Universal Chronicle*, in which they first appear, is not always men-

tioned, think it necessary to declare to the publishers of those collections, that however patiently they have hitherto endured these injuries, made yet more injurious by contempt, they have now determined to endure them no longer. They have already seen essays, for which a very large price is paid, transferred, with the most shameless rapacity, into the weekly or monthly compilations, and their right, at least for the present, alienated from them, before they could themselves be said to enjoy it. But they would not willingly be thought to want tenderness, even for men by whom no tenderness hath been shown. The past is without remedy, and shall be without resentment. But those who have been thus busy with their sickles in the fields of their neighbours are henceforward to take notice, that the time of impunity is at an end. Whoever shall, without our leave, lay the hand of rapine upon our papers, is to expect that we shall vindicate our due, by the means which justice prescribes, and which are warranted by the immemorial prescriptions of honourable trade. We shall lay hold, in our turn, on their copies, degrade them from the pomp of wide margin and diffuse typography, contract them into a narrow space, and sell them

he was also proceeding, though slowly, in his edition of Shakspeare. He, however, from that liberality which never failed, when called upon to assist other labourers in literature, found time to translate, for Mrs. Lenox's English version of Brumoy, "A Dissertation on the Greek Comedy,"† and "The General Conclusion of the Book."†¹

An inquiry into the state of foreign countries was an object that seems at all times to have interested Johnson. Hence Mr. Newbery found no great difficulty in persuading him to write the Introduction* to a collection of voyages and travels published by him under the title of "The World Displayed:" the first volume of which appeared this year, and the remaining volumes in subsequent years.

I would ascribe to this year the following letter to a son of one of his early friends at Lichfield, Mr. Joseph Simpson, barrister, and author of a tract entitled "Reflections on the Study of the Law."

JOHNSON TO SIMPSON.

"DEAR SIR, — Your father's inexorability not only grieves but amazes me: he is your father; he was always accounted a wise man; nor do I remember any thing to the disadvantage of his good nature; but in his refusal to assist you there is neither good nature, fatherhood, nor wisdom. It is the practice of good nature to overlook faults which have already, by the consequences, punished the delinquent. It is natural for a father to think more favourably than others of his children; and it is always wise to give assistance, while a little help will prevent the necessity of greater.

"If you married imprudently, you miscarried at your own hazard, at an age when you had a right of choice. It would be hard if the man might not choose his own wife, who has a right to plead before the judges of this country.

"If your imprudence has ended in difficulties and inconveniences, you are yourself to support them; and, with the help of a little better health, you would support them and conquer them. Surely, that want which accident and sickness produce is to be supported in every region of humanity, though there were neither friends nor fathers in the world. You have certainly from your father the highest claim of charity, though none of right: and therefore I would counsel you to omit no

decent nor manly degree of importunity. Your debts in the whole are not large, and of the whole but a small part is troublesome. Small debts are like small shot; they are rattling on every side, and can scarcely be escaped without a wound: great debts are like cannon; of loud noise, but little danger. You must, therefore, be enabled to discharge petty debts, that you may have leisure, with security, to struggle with the rest. Neither the great nor little debts disgrace you. I am sure you have my esteem for the courage with which you contracted them, and the spirit with which you endure them. I wish my esteem could be of more use. I have been invited, or have invited myself, to several parts of the kingdom; and will not incommode my dear Lucy by coming to Lichfield, while her present lodging is of any use to her.² I hope, in a few days, to be at leisure, and to make visits. Whether I shall fly is matter of no importance. A man unconnected is at home every where; unless he may be said to be at home nowhere. I am sorry, dear Sir, that where you have parents, a man of your merits should not have a home. I wish I could give it you. I am, my dear Sir, affectionately yours, SAM. JOHNSON."

He now refreshed himself by an excursion to Oxford, of which the following short characteristic notice, in his own words, is preserved:

"——— is now making tea for me. I have been in my gown ever since I came here.³ It was, at my first coming, quite new and handsome. I have swum thrice, which I had disused for many years. I have proposed to Vansittart⁴ climbing over the wall, but he has refused me. And I have clapped my hands till they are sore, at Dr. King's speech."⁵

His negro servant, Francis Barber, having left him, and been some time at sea, not pressed as has been supposed, but with his own consent, it appears from a letter to John Wilkes, Esq., from Dr. Smollett, that his master kindly interested himself in procuring his release from a state of life of which Johnson always expressed the utmost abhorrence. He once said, "No man will be a sailor who has contrivance enough to get himself into a jail; for being in a ship is being in a jail, with the chance of being drowned." [August 31. 1773.] And at another time, "A man in a jail has

at a humble price; yet not with a view of growing rich by confiscations, for we think not much better of money got by punishment than by crimes. We shall therefore, when our losses are repaid, give what profit shall remain to the *Magdalens*; for we know not who can be more properly taxed for the support of penitent prostitutes, than prostitutes in whom there yet appears neither penitence nor shame." — BOSWELL.

¹ It is stated in Kippis's Biog. Brit. ii. 525., and repeated in Park's edition of the *Noble Authors* (vol. iv. p. 259.), that Mrs. Lenox's Translation of Brumoy's Greek Theatre had a "Preface," written by Lord Orrery; who also translated "The Discourse upon the Theatre of the Greeks, the Original of Tragedy, and the Parallel of the Theatres." — CROKER.

² She resided in the house which, by his mother's death, was now become the property of Johnson. — CROKER.

³ Lord Stowell informs me that he prided himself in being, during his visits to Oxford, accurately academic in all points; and he wore his gown almost *ostentatiously*. — CROKER.

⁴ Dr. Robert Vansittart, of the ancient and respectable family of that name in Berkshire. He was eminent for learning and worth, and much esteemed by Dr. Johnson. — BOSWELL. Dr. Robert Vansittart, I.L.D., professor of civil law at Oxford, and recorder of Windsor. He was a senior fellow of All Souls, where, after he had given up the profession in London, he chiefly resided in a set of rooms, formerly the old library, which he had fitted up in the Gothic style, and where he died about 1794. He was remarkable for his good humour and inoffensive wit, and a great favourite on the Oxford circuit. He was tall and very thin; and the bar gave the name of *Counsellor Fan* to a sharp-pointed rock on the Wye, which still retains the name. He was the elder brother of Mr. Henry Vansittart, governor of Bengal, father of the present Lord Bexley, to whom I am indebted for the above particulars relative to his uncle. — CROKER.

⁵ At the installation of the Earl of Westmoreland as chancellor of the university, July 7. 1759. This extract was therefore misplaced by Mr. Boswell. — CROKER.

more room, better food, and commonly better company." [September 23. 1773.] The letter was as follows :

"Chelsea, 16th March, 1759.

"DEAR SIR, — I am again your petitioner, in behalf of that great CHAM¹ of literature, Samuel Johnson. His black servant, whose name is Francis Barber, has been pressed on board the Stag frigate, Captain Angel, and our lexicographer is in great distress. He says the boy is a sickly lad, of a delicate frame, and particularly subject to a malady in his throat, which renders him very unfit for his Majesty's service. You know what matter of animosity the said Johnson has against you : and I dare say you desire no other opportunity of resenting it, than that of laying him under an obligation. He was humble enough to desire my assistance on this occasion, though he and I were never cater-cousins ; and I gave him to understand that I would make application to my friend Mr. Wilkes, who, perhaps, by his interest with Dr. Hay and Mr. Elliot, might be able to procure the discharge of his laquey. It would be superfluous to say more on this subject, which I leave to your own consideration ; but I cannot let slip this opportunity of declaring that I am, with the most inviolable esteem and attachment, dear Sir, your affectionate, obliged, humble servant, T. SMOLLETT."

Mr. Wilkes, who upon all occasions has acted, as a private gentleman, with most polite liberality, applied to his friend Sir George Hay, then one of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty ; and Francis Barber was discharged, as he has told me, without any wish of his own.² He found his old master in Chambers in the Inner Temple, and returned to his service.³

What particular new scheme of life Johnson had in view this year, I have not discovered ; but that he meditated one of some sort, is clear from his private devotions, in which we find [24th March] "the change of outward things which I am now to make ;" and, "Grant me the grace of thy Holy Spirit, that the course which I am now beginning may proceed according to thy laws, and end in the enjoyment of thy favour." But he did not, in fact, make any external or visible change.⁴

¹ In my first edition this word was printed *Chum*, as it appears in one of Mr. Wilkes's Miscellanies, and I animadverted on Dr. Smollett's ignorance ; for which let me propitiate the *manes* of that ingenious and benevolent gentleman. CHUM was certainly a mistaken reading for CHAM, the title of the Sovereign of Tartary, which is well applied to Johnson, the Monarch of Literature ; and was an epithet familiar to Smollett. See "Roderick Random," chap. lvi. For this correction I am indebted to Lord Palmerston, whose talents and literary acquirements accord well with his respectable pedigree of Temple. — BOSWELL.

After the publication of the second edition of this work, the author was furnished by Mr. Abercrombie, of Philadelphia, with the copy of a letter written by Dr. John Armstrong, the poet, to Dr. Smollett, at Leghorn, containing the following paragraph : —

"As to the King's Bench patriot [Wilkes], it is hard to say from what motive he published a letter of yours asking some trifling favour of him in behalf of somebody for whom the great CHAM of literature, Mr. Johnson, had interested himself." — MALONE.

² He was not discharged till June 1760.

³ Dr. Johnson's acquaintance with Mrs. Montagu probably began about this period. We find, in this year, the first of

JOHNSON TO MISS PORTER.

"March 23. 1759.

"DEAR MADAM, — I beg your pardon for having so long omitted to write. One thing or other has put me off. I have this day moved my things, and you are now to direct to me at Staple Inn, London. I hope, my dear, you are well, and Kitty mends. I wish her success in her trade. I am going to publish a little story book [Rasselas], which I will send you when it is out. Write to me, my dearest girl, for I am always glad to hear from you. I am, my dear, your humble servant, — Pearson MSS. "SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO MISS PORTER.

"May 10. 1759.

"DEAR MADAM, — I am almost ashamed to tell you that all your letters came safe, and that I have been always very well, but hindered, I hardly know how, from writing. I sent, last week, some of my works, one for you, one for your aunt Hunter, who was with my poor dear mother when she died, one for Mr. Howard, and one for Kitty.

"I beg you, my dear, to write often to me, and tell me how you like my little book. I am, dear love, your affectionate humble servant, — Pearson MSS. "SAM. JOHNSON."

TO MRS. MONTAGU.

"Gray's Inn, Dec. 17. 1759.

"MADAM, — Goodness so conspicuous as yours will be often solicited, and perhaps sometimes solicited by those who have little pretension to your favour. It is now my turn to introduce a petitioner, but such as I have reason to believe you will think worthy of your notice. Mrs. Ogle, who kept the music-room in Soho Square, a woman who struggles with great industry for the support of eight children, hopes by a benefit concert to set herself free from a few debts, which she cannot otherwise discharge. She has, I know not why, so high an opinion of me as to believe that you will pay less regard to her application than to mine. You know, Madam, I am sure you know, how hard it is to deny, and therefore would not wonder at my compliance, though I were to suppress a motive which you know not, the vanity of being supposed to be of any importance to Mrs. Montagu. But

the many applications which he made to the extensive and unwearied charity of that excellent woman.

Johnson to Mrs. Montagu.

"June 9. 1759.

"MADAM, — I am desired by Mrs. Williams to sign receipts with her name for the subscribers which you have been pleased to procure, and to return her humble thanks for your favour, which was conferred with all the grace that elegance can add to beneficence. I am, Madam, your most obedient and most humble servant, SAM. JOHNSON."

This and several other letters, which will be found in their proper places, I owe to the liberality of [the second] Lord Rokeby, the nephew and heir of Mrs. Montagu.

It is necessary to request the attention of the reader to the warm terms in which Johnson so frequently expresses his admiration and esteem for Mrs. Montagu, as we shall see that he afterwards took another tone. — CROKER.

⁴ This change of life was no doubt the breaking up his establishment in Gough Square, where he had resided for ten years, and retiring to chambers in Staple Inn ; while Mrs. Williams went into lodgings. — CROKER.

though I may be willing to see the world deceived for my advantage, I am not deceived myself, for I know that Mrs. Ogle will owe whatever favours she shall receive from the patronage which we humbly entreat on this occasion, much more to your compassion for honesty in distress, than to the request of, Madam, your most obedient and most humble servant,
SAM. JOHNSON.”]

—*Montagu MSS*

At this time, there being a competition among the architects of London to be employed in the building of Blackfriars Bridge, a question was very warmly agitated whether semicircular or elliptical arches were preferable. In the design offered by Mr. Mylne the elliptical form was adopted, and therefore it was the great object of his rivals to attack it. Johnson's regard for his friend Mr. Gwyn induced him to engage in this controversy against Mr. Mylne¹; and after being at considerable pains to study the subject, he wrote three several letters in the *Gazetteer*, in opposition to his plan.

If it should be remarked that this was a controversy which lay quite out of Johnson's way, let it be remembered, that, after all, his employing his powers of reasoning and eloquence upon a subject which he had studied on the moment, is not more strange than what we often observe in lawyers, who, as *Quicquid agunt homines* is the matter of lawsuits, are sometimes obliged to pick up a temporary knowledge of an art or science, of which they understood nothing till their brief was delivered, and appear to be much masters of it. In like manner, members of the legislature frequently introduce and expatiate upon subjects of which they have informed themselves for the occasion.

¹ Sir John Hawkins has given a long detail of it, in that manner vulgarly, but significantly, called *rigmarole*; in which, amidst an ostentatious exhibition of arts and artists, he talks of “proportions of a column being taken from that of the human figure, and *adjusted by nature*—masculine and feminine—in a man, *sesquicentave* of the head, and in a woman *sesquimonal*; nor has he failed to introduce a jargon of musical terms, which do not seem much to correspond with the subject, but serve to make up the heterogeneous mass. To follow the knight through all this, would be an useless fatigue to myself, and not a little disgusting to my readers. I shall, therefore, only make a few remarks upon his statement.

He seems to exult in having detected Johnson in procuring, “from a person eminently skilled in mathematics and the principles of architecture, answers to a string of questions drawn up by himself, touching the comparative strength of semicircular and elliptical arches.” Now I cannot conceive how Johnson could have acted more wisely. Sir John complains that the opinion of that excellent mathematician, Mr. Thomas Simpson, did not preponderate in favour of the semicircular arch. But he should have known, that however eminent Mr. Simpson was in the higher parts of abstract mathematical science, he was little versed in mixed and practical mechanics. Mr. Muller, of Woolwich Academy, the scholastic father of all the great engineers which this country has employed for forty years, decided the question by declaring clearly in favour of the elliptical arch. It is ungraciously suggested, that Johnson's motive for opposing Mr. Mylne's scheme may have been his prejudice against him as a native of North Britain; when, in truth, as has been stated, he gave the aid of his able pen to a friend, who was one of the candidates; and so far was he from having any illiberal antipathy to Mr. Mylne, that he afterwards lived with that gentleman upon very agreeable terms of acquaintance, and dined with him at his house. Sir John Hawkins, indeed, gives full vent to his own prejudice in abusing Black-

CHAPTER XIV.

1760—1763.

Miscellaneous Essays.—*Acquaintance with Murphy.*
—*Akenside and Rolt.*—*Mackenzie and Eccles.*
—*Letters to Baretti.*—*Painting and Music.*—*Sir George Staunton.*—*Letter to a Lady soliciting Church Preferment for her Son.*—*Johnson's Pension.*—*Letters to Lord Bute.*—*Visit to Devonshire with Sir Joshua Reynolds.*—*Collins.*

IN 1760 he wrote “An Address of the Painters to George III. on his Accession to the Throne of these Kingdoms,”† which no monarch ever ascended with more sincere congratulations from his people. Two generations of foreign princes had prepared their minds to rejoice in having again a king who gloried in being “born a Briton.”* He also wrote for Mr. Baretti the Dedication† of his Italian and English Dictionary, to the Marquis of Abreu, then Envoy-Extraordinary from Spain at the Court of Great Britain.

Johnson was now either very idle, or very busy with his Shakspeare; for I can find no other public composition by him except an Introduction to the Proceedings of the Committee for Clothing the French Prisoners;* one of the many proofs that he was ever awake to the calls of humanity; and an account which he gave in the Gentleman's Magazine of Mr. Tytler's acute and able vindication of Mary Queen of Scots.* The generosity of Johnson's feelings shines forth in the following sentence³:—

“It has now been fashionable, for near half a century, to defame and vilify the house of Stuart,

friars Bridge, calling it “an edifice, in which beauty and symmetry are in vain sought for; by which the citizens of London have perpetuated their own disgrace, and subjected a whole nation to the reproach of foreigners.” Whoever has contemplated, *placido lumine*, this stately, elegant, and airy structure, which has so fine an effect, especially on approaching the capital on that quarter, must wonder at such unjust and ill-tempered censure; and I appeal to all foreigners of good taste, whether this bridge be not one of the most distinguished ornaments of London. As to the stability of the fabric, it is certain that the city of London took every precaution to have the best Portland stone for it; but as this is to be found in the quarries belonging to the public, under the direction of the Lords of the Treasury, it so happened that parliamentary interest, which is often the bane of fair pursuits, thwarted their endeavours. Notwithstanding this disadvantage, it is well known that not only has Blackfriars Bridge never sunk either in its foundation or in its arches, which were so much the subject of contest, but any injuries which it has suffered from the effects of severe frosts have been already, in some measure, repaired with sounder stone, and every necessary renewal can be completed at a moderate expense.—BOSWELL. Johnson's essay is an excellent piece of reasoning, and does not betray any personal or national prejudice against Mr. Mylne, though Boswell certainly shows some in his favour. In the result, the Bridge does no great credit to the artist. Its inconvenient steepness—the columns with the proportion “not of columns but of candles,” and the perishable nature of the stone, are essential defects.—CROKER.

² “Born and educated in this country, I glory in the name of Briton.”—GEORGE III.'s first Speech to his Parliament.—CROKER.

³ This sentence may be generous, but it is not very logical. Elizabeth was surely as dead as the Stuarts, and would no more pay for praise than they could.—CROKER.

and to exalt and magnify the reign of Elizabeth. The Stuarts have found few apologists, for the dead cannot pay for praise; and who will, without reward, oppose the tide of popularity? Yet there remains still among us, not wholly extinguished, a zeal for truth, a desire of establishing right in opposition to fashion."

In this year I have not discovered a single private letter written by him to any of his friends. It should seem, however, that he had at this period a floating intention of writing a history of the recent and wonderful successes of the British arms in all quarters of the globe; for among his resolutions or memorandums, September 18., there is, "Send for books for Hist. of War."¹ How much is it to be regretted that this intention was not fulfilled! His majestic expression would have carried down to the latest posterity the glorious achievements of his country, with the same fervent glow which they produced on the mind at the time. He would have been under no temptation to deviate in any degree from truth, which he held very sacred, or to take a licence, which a learned divine told me he once seemed, in a conversation, jocularly to allow to historians. "There are (said he) inexcusable lies, and consecrated lies. For instance, we are told that on the arrival of the news of the unfortunate battle of Fontenoy, every heart beat and every eye was in tears. Now we know that no man ate his dinner the worse, but there *should* have been all this concern; and to say there *was* (smiling), may be reckoned a consecrated lie."

This year Mr. Murphy, having thought himself ill-treated by the Rev. Dr. Francklin, who was one of the writers of "The Critical Review," published an indignant vindication in "A Poetical Epistle to Samuel Johnson, A. M." in which he compliments Johnson in a just and elegant manner:—

"Transcendent Genius! whose prolific vein
Ne'er knew the frigid poet's toil and pain;

¹ The following memorandum, made on his birthday in this year, may be quoted as an example of the rules and resolutions which he was in the habit of making, for the guidance of his moral conduct and literary studies:

"Sept. 18. Resolved, D (eo) j (*uwante*),
To combat notions of obligation:
To apply to study:
To reclaim imaginations:
To consult the resolves on Tetty's coffin:
To rise early:
To study religion:
To go to church:
To drink less strong liquors:
To keep a journal:
To oppose laziness, by doing what is to be done to-morrow:
To rise as early as I can:
To send for Books for Hist. of War:
To put books in order:
To scheme of life." *Pr. and Med.*—CROKER.

The fourth item refers probably to some resolutions he had committed to writing after contemplating his wife's coffin, and which, perhaps, he had not lately looked at. This is confirmed by one of his prayers on her death, (25th April 1752.) "Enable me to persevere in the purposes which I recorded in thy sight, when she lay dead before me."—MARKLAND, 1846.

² It seems strange and very uncandid that Mr. Murphy did

To whom AROLLO opens all his store,
And every Muse presents her sacred lore;
Say, powerful JOHNSON, whence thy verse is
 fraught
With so much grace, such energy of thought;
Whether thy JUVENAL instructs the age
In chaster numbers, and new-points his rage;
Or fair IRENE sees, alas! too late,
Her innocence exchanged for guilty state;
Whate'er you write, in every golden line
Sublimity and elegance combine;
Thy nervous phrase impresses every soul,
While harmony gives rapture to the whole."

Again, towards the conclusion:—

"Thou then, my friend, who see'st the dang'rous
 strife

In which some demon bids me plunge my life,
To the Aonian fount direct my feet,
Say, where the Nine thy lonely musings meet;
Where warbles to thy ear the sacred throng,
Thy moral sense, thy dignity of song;
Tell, for you can, by what unerring art
You wake to finer feelings every heart;
In each bright page some truth important give,
And bid to future times thy RAMBLER live."²

I take this opportunity to relate the manner in which an acquaintance first commenced between Dr. Johnson and Mr. Murphy. During the publication of "The Gray's Inn Journal," a periodical paper which was successfully carried on by Mr. Murphy alone, when a very young man, he happened to be in the country with Mr. Foote; and having mentioned that he was obliged to go to London in order to get ready for the press one of the numbers of that journal, Foote said to him, "You need not go on that account. Here is a French magazine, in which you will find a very pretty oriental tale; translate that and send it to your printer." Mr. Murphy having read the tale, was highly pleased with it, and followed Foote's advice. When he returned to town, this tale was pointed out to him in "The Rambler," from whence it had been translated into the French magazine.³ Mr. Murphy then waited upon

not acknowledge that this poetical epistle was an imitation of Boileau's *Épître à Molière*. I subjoin a few couplets from both Boileau and Murphy, which will show how little the epistle of the latter is entitled to the character of originality.—In fact, such an *unacknowledged* use of an author is almost plagiarism.

*Rare et fameux esprit, dont la fertile veine
Ignore, en écrivant, le travail et la peine.
Transcendent genius! whose prolific vein
Ne'er knew the frigid poet's toil and pain.
Souvent j'ai beau rêver du matin jusqu'au soir;
Quand je veux dire blanc, la quinteuse dit noir.
In feverish toil I pass the weary night,
And when I would say black, rhyme answers white.
Ou puisque, enfin, tes soins y seroient superflus,
Molière, enseigne moi l'art de ne rimer plus.
And since I ne'er can learn thy classic lore,
Instruct me, Johnson, how to write no more!*

CROKER.

³ When Mr. Murphy first became acquainted with Dr. Johnson he was about thirty-one years old. He died at Knightsbridge, June 18. 1805, in his eighty-second year. The extraordinary paper mentioned in the text (*The History of Abouzaid, the Son of Morad*) is No. 38. of the second series [of the *Gray's Inn Journal*], published on June 15. 1754; which is a re-translation from the French version of the *Rambler*, No. 190.—MALONE.

Johnson, to explain this curious incident. His talents, literature, and gentleman-like manners were soon perceived by Johnson, and a friendship was formed which was never broken.

JOHNSON TO LANGTON,

At Langton.

"October 18. 1760.

"DEAR SIR, — You that travel about the world, have more materials for letters, than I who stay at home; and should, therefore, write with frequency equal to your opportunities. I should be glad to have all England surveyed by you, if you would impart your observations in narratives as agreeable as your last. Knowledge is always to be wished to those who can communicate it well. While you have been riding and running, and seeing the tombs of the learned, and the camps of the valiant, I have only staid at home, and intended to do great things, which I have not done. Beau¹ went away to Cheshire, and has not yet found his way back. Chambers passed the vacation at Oxford.

"I am very sincerely solicitous for the preservation or curing of Mr. Langton's sight, and am glad that the chirurgéon, at Coventry gives him so much hope. Mr. Sharp is of opinion that the tedious maturation of the cataract is a vulgar error², and that it may be removed as soon as it is formed. This notion deserves to be considered; I doubt whether it be universally true; but if it be true in some cases, and those cases can be distinguished, it may save a long and uncomfortable delay.

"Of dear Mrs. Langton you give me no account; which is the less friendly, as you know how highly I think of her, and how much I interest myself in her health. I suppose you told her of my opinion, and likewise suppose it was not followed; however I still believe it to be right.

"Let me hear from you again, wherever you are, or whatever you are doing; whether you wander or sit still, plant trees or make *Rustics*³, play with your sisters or muse alone; and in return I will tell you the success of Sheridan⁴, who at this instant is playing Cato, and has already played Richard twice. He had more company the second than the first night, and will make I believe a good figure in the whole, though his faults seem to be very many; some of natural deficiency, and some of laborious affectation. He has, I think, no power

of assuming either that dignity or elegance which some men, who have little of either in common life, can exhibit on the stage. His voice when strained is unpleasant, and when low is not always heard. He seems to think too much on the audience, and turns his face too often to the galleries.

"However, I wish him well; and among other reasons, because I like his wife.⁵ Make haste to write to, dear Sir, your most affectionate servant,
"SAM. JOHNSON."⁶

In 1761 Johnson appears to have done little. He was still, no doubt, proceeding in his edition of Shakspeare; but what advances he made in it cannot be ascertained. He certainly was at this time not active; for in his scrupulous examination of himself on Easter eve, he laments, in his too rigorous mode of censuring his own conduct, that his life, since the communion of the preceding Easter, had been "dissipated and useless." (*Pr. and Med.*) p. 44.) He, however, contributed this year the Preface* to "Rolt's Dictionary of Trade and Commerce," in which he displays such a clear and comprehensive knowledge of the subject, as might lead the reader to think that its author had devoted all his life to it. I asked him whether he knew much of Rolt, and of his work. "Sir, (said he) I never saw the man, and never read the book. The booksellers wanted a Preface to a Dictionary of Trade and Commerce. I knew very well what such a Dictionary should be, and I wrote a Preface accordingly." Rolt, who wrote a great deal for the booksellers, was, as Johnson told me, a singular character. Though not in the least acquainted with him, he used to say, "I am just come from Sam. Johnson." This was a sufficient specimen of his vanity and impudence. But he gave a more eminent proof of it in our sister kingdom, as Dr. Johnson informed me. When Akenside's "Pleasures of the Imagination" first came out, he did not put his name to the poem. Rolt went over to Dublin, published an edition of it, and put his own name to it. Upon the fame of this he lived for several months, being entertained at the best tables as "the ingenious Mr. Rolt."⁷

¹ Mr. Beauclerk. — BOSWELL.

² Mr. Sharp seems to have once been of a different opinion on this point. See *anté*, p. 74. n. 2. — CROKER.

³ Essays with that title, written about this time by Mr. Langton, but not published. — BOSWELL.

⁴ Thomas Sheridan, son of the friend of Swift, and father of Richard Brinsley Sheridan, was born at Quilca, in Ireland, in 1721, and died in 1788. This was his first appearance at Drury Lane for sixteen years. — CROKER.

⁵ Mrs. Sheridan [Frances Chamberlaine] was author of "Memoirs of Miss Sydney Biddulph," a novel of great merit, and of some other pieces. — BOSWELL. Her last work is, perhaps, her best — *Nourjahad*, an eastern tale: in which a pure morality is inculcated, with a great deal of fancy and considerable force. No wonder that Dr. Johnson should have liked her! Dr. Parr, in a letter to Mr. Moore, published in his Life of R. B. Sheridan (vol. i. p. 11.), thus mentions her:—"I once or twice met his mother,—she was quite celestial! both her virtues and her genius were highly esteemed." This amiable and accomplished woman died at Blois, in September, 1766; though the Biographical Dictionary, and other authorities, place her death in 1767. See *post*, sub May 1763. — CROKER.

⁶ Extract from a letter of Birch to Lord Royston, dated London, October 25. 1760:—"Sam. Johnson is in treaty with certain booksellers to supply three papers a week, in the nature of Essays, like the Rambler, at the unusual rate (if the fact be true), it is said, of three guineas a paper. But I question whether the temptation of even so liberal a reward will awaken him from his natural indolence; for while his Rambler was publishing, which came out but twice a week, the proprietor of it, Cave, told me that copy was seldom sent to the press till late in the night before the day of publication." — MARKLAND.

⁷ I have had inquiry made in Ireland as to this story, but do not find it recollected there. I give it on the authority of Dr. Johnson, to which may be added, that of the "Biographical Dictionary," and "Biographia Dramatica;" in both of which it has stood many years. Mr. Malone observes, that the truth probably is, not that an edition was published with Rolt's name in the title-page, but that, the poem being then anonymous, Rolt acquiesced in its being attributed to him in conversation. — BOSWELL. In the late edition of Chalmers's Biographical Dictionary, the foregoing story is indeed noticed, but with an observation that it has been *refuted*. Richard Rolt died in March, 1770. — CROKER.

His conversation, indeed, did not discover much of the fire of a poet; but it was recollected, that both Addison and Thomson were equally dull till excited by wine. Akenside, having been informed of this imposition, vindicated his right by publishing the poem with its real author's name. Several instances of such literary fraud have been detected. The Rev. Dr. Campbell, of St. Andrew's, wrote "An Enquiry into the original of Moral Virtue," the manuscript of which he sent to Mr. Innes, a clergyman in England, who was his countryman and acquaintance. Innes published it with his own name to it; and before the imposition was discovered, obtained considerable promotion, as a reward of his merit.¹ The celebrated Dr. Hugh Blair, and his cousin Mr. George Bannatine, when students in divinity, wrote a poem, entitled "The Resurrection," copies of which were handed about in manuscript. They were, at length, very much surprised to see a pompous edition of it in folio, dedicated to the Princess Dowager of Wales, by a Dr. Douglas, as his own. Some years ago a little novel, entitled "The Man of Feeling," was assumed by Mr. Eccles, a young Irish clergyman, who was afterwards drowned near Bath.² He had been at the pains to transcribe the whole book, with blottings, interlineations, and corrections, that it might be shown to several people as an original. It was, in truth, the production of Mr. Henry Mackenzie, an attorney in the exchequer at Edinburgh, who is the author of several other ingenious pieces³; but the belief with regard to Mr. Eccles became so general, that it was thought necessary for Messieurs Strahan and Cadell to publish an advertisement in the newspapers, contradicting the report, and mentioning that they purchased the copyright of Mr. Mackenzie. I can conceive this kind of fraud to be very easily practised with successful effrontery. The *filiation* of a literary performance is difficult of proof; seldom is there any witness present at its birth. A man, either in confidence or by improper means, obtains possession of a copy of it in manuscript, and boldly publishes it as his own. The true author, in many cases, may not be able to make his title clear. Johnson, indeed, from the peculiar features of his literary offspring, might bid defiance to any attempt to appropriate them to others:

"But Shakspeare's magic could not copied be;
Within that circle none durst walk but he!"

¹ I have both the books. Innes was the clergyman who brought Psalmazar to England, and was an accomplice in his extraordinary fiction. — BOSWELL.

² "Died, the Rev. Mr. Eccles, at Bath. In attempting to save a boy, whom he saw sinking in the Avon, he, together with the youth, were both drowned." — *Gent. Mag.* Aug. 15. 1777. And in the magazine for the next month are some verses on this event, with an epitaph, of which the first line is,

"Beneath this stone the *"Man of Feeling"* lies. — CROKER.

[JOHNSON TO MISS PORTER.

"Inner Temple Lane, Jan. 13. 1761.

"DEAREST MADAM, — I ought to have begun the new year with repairing the omissions of the last, and to have told you sooner, what I can always tell you with truth, that I wish you long life and happiness, always increasing till it shall end at last in the happiness of heaven.

"I hope, my dear, you are well; I am at present pretty much disordered by a cold and cough; I have just been blooded, and hope I shall be better.

"Pray give my love to Kitty. I should be glad to hear that she goes on well. I am, my dearest dear, your most affectionate servant,
— Pearson MSS. "SAM. JOHNSON."]

He this year lent his friendly assistance to correct and improve a pamphlet written by Mr. Gwyn, the architect, entitled "Thoughts on the Coronation of George III.,"*

Johnson had now for some years admitted Mr. Baretti to his intimacy; nor did their friendship cease upon their being separated by Baretti's revisiting his native country, as appears from Johnson's letters to him.

JOHNSON TO JOSEPH BARETTI,

*At Milan.*¹

"London, June 10. 1761.

"You reproach me very often with parsimony of writing; but you may discover, by the extent of my paper, that I design to recompense rarity by length. A short letter to a distant friend is, in my opinion, an insult like that of a slight bow or cursory salutation; — a proof of unwillingness to do much, even where there is a necessity of doing something. Yet it must be remembered, that he who continues the same course of life in the same place, will have little to tell. One week and one year are very like one another. The silent changes made by him are not always perceived; and if they are not perceived, cannot be recounted. I have risen and lain down, talked and mused, while you have roved over a considerable part of Europe; yet I have not envied my Baretti any of his pleasures, though, perhaps, I have envied others his company: and I am glad to have other nations made acquainted with the character of the English, by a traveller who has so nicely inspected our manners, and so successfully studied our literature. I received your kind letter from Falmouth, in which you gave me notice of your departure for Lisbon; and another from Lisbon, in which you told me that you were to leave Portugal in a few days. To either of these how could any answer be returned? I have had a third from Turin, complaining that I have not answered the former.

¹ Henry Mackenzie, Esq. died at Edinburgh, Jan. 14. 1831, in his eighty-sixth year. He was an intimate friend of Sir Walter Scott's, who has written his life, and at whose house I had the pleasure of meeting that amiable old man. — CROKER, 1846.

² The originals of Dr. Johnson's three letters to Mr. Baretti, which are among the very best he ever wrote, were communicated to the proprietors of that instructive and elegant monthly miscellany, "The European Magazine," in which they first appeared. — BOSWELL.

Your English style still continues in its purity and vigour. With vigour your genius will supply it; but its purity must be continued by close attention. To use two languages familiarly, and without contaminating one by the other, is very difficult: and to use more than two, is hardly to be hoped. The praises which some have received for their multiplicity of languages, may be sufficient to excite industry, but can hardly generate confidence.

"I know not whether I can heartily rejoice at the kind reception which you have found, or at the popularity to which you are exalted. I am willing that your merit should be distinguished; but cannot wish that your affections may be gained. I would have you happy wherever you are: yet I would have you wish to return to England. If ever you visit us again, you will find the kindness of your friends undiminished. To tell you how many inquiries are made after you, would be tedious, or if not tedious, would be vain; because you may be told in a very few words, that all who knew you wish you well; and that all that you embraced at your departure, will caress you at your return: therefore do not let Italian academicians nor Italian ladies drive us from your thoughts. You may find among us what you will leave behind, soft smiles and easy sonnets. Yet I shall not wonder if all our invitations should be rejected: for there is a pleasure in being considerable at home, which is not easily resisted.

"By conducting Mr. Southwell¹ to Venice, you fulfilled, I know, the original contract: yet I would wish you not wholly to lose him from your notice, but to recommend him to such acquaintance as may best secure him from suffering by his own follies, and to take such general care both of his safety and his interest as may come within your power. His relations will thank you for any such gratuitous attention: at least, they will not blame you for any evil that may happen, whether they thank you or not for any good.

"You know that we have a new king and a new parliament. Of the new parliament Fitzherbert is a member. We were so weary of our old king, that we are much pleased with his successor; of whom we are so much inclined to hope great things, that most of us begin already to believe them. The young man is hitherto blameless; but it would be unreasonable to expect much from the immaturity of juvenile years, and the ignorance of princely education. He has been long in the hands of the Scots, and has already favoured them more than the

English will contentedly endure. But, perhaps, he scarcely knows whom he has distinguished, or whom he has disgusted.

"The artists have instituted a yearly Exhibition of pictures and statues, in imitation, as I am told, of foreign academies. This year was the second Exhibition. They please themselves much with the multitude of spectators, and imagine that the English school will rise in reputation. Reynolds is without a rival, and continues to add thousands to thousands, which he deserves, among other excellencies, by retaining his kindness for Baretti. This Exhibition has filled the heads of the artists and lovers of art. Surely life, if it be not long, is tedious, since we are forced to call in the assistance of so many trifles to rid us of our time, — of that time which never can return.²

"I know my Baretti will not be satisfied with a letter in which I give him no account of myself: yet what account shall I give him? I have not, since the day of our separation, suffered or done any thing considerable. The only change in my way of life is, that I have frequented the theatre more than in former seasons. But I have gone thither only to escape from myself. We have had many new farces, and the comedy called 'The Jealous Wife,'³ which, though not written with much genius, was yet so well adapted to the stage, and so well exhibited by the actors, that it was crowded for near twenty nights. I am digressing from myself to the playhouse; but a barren plan must be filled with episodes. Of myself I have nothing to say, but that I have hitherto lived without the concurrence of my own judgment; yet I continue to flatter myself, that, when you return, you will find me mended. I do not wonder that, where the monastic life is permitted, every order finds votaries, and every monastery inhabitants. Men will submit to any rule, by which they may be exempted from the tyranny of caprice and of chance. They are glad to supply by external authority their own want of constancy and resolution, and court the government of others, when long experience has convinced them of their own inability to govern themselves. If I were to visit Italy, my curiosity would be more attracted by convents than by palaces; though I am afraid that I should find expectation in both places equally disappointed, and life in both places supported with impatience and quitted with reluctance. That it must be so soon quitted, is a powerful remedy against impatience; but what shall free us from reluctance? Those

¹ Probably the Hon. Thomas Arthur Southwell, afterwards second Viscount Southwell, who was born in 1742, and succeeded his father in 1780. — CROKER.

² This classification of the art of painting and the exhibition of its productions among the futile trifles by which mankind endeavour to get rid of time, will excite some surprise, but Hawkins tells us that "of the beauties of painting, notwithstanding the many eulogiums on that art which, after the commencement of his friendship with Sir Joshua Reynolds, he inserted in his writings, Johnson had not the least conception; and the notice of this defect led me to mention the following fact. One evening, at the club, I came in with a small roll of prints, which, in the afternoon, I had picked up: I think they were landscapes of Perelle, and laying it down with my hat, Johnson's curiosity prompted him to take it up and unroll it: he viewed the prints severally with great attention, and asked me what sort of pleasure such things could afford me: I replied that, as representations of nature, containing an assemblage of such particulars as render rural scenes delightful, they presented to my mind the objects themselves, and that my imagination realised the prospect

before me. He said, that was more than his would do, for that in his whole life he was never capable of discerning the least resemblance of any kind between the picture and the subject it was intended to represent. To the delights of music he was equally insensible: neither voice nor instrument, nor the harmony of concordant sounds, had power over his affections, or even to engage his attention. Of music in general, he has been heard to say, "it excites in my mind no ideas, and hinders me from contemplating my own;" and of a fine singer, or instrumental performer, that "he had the merit of a Canary-bird." Not that his hearing was so defective as to account for this insensibility, but he laboured under the misfortune which he has noted in the Life of Baretti, and is common to more persons than in this musical age are willing to confess it, of wanting that additional sense or faculty, which renders music grateful to the human ear." — CROKER.

³ Colman's comedy of the Jealous Wife came out in February, 1761. The characters of Mr. Oakly and Mrs. Oakly were performed by Garrick and Pritchard, and Mrs. Clive was the Lady Freelove. — WRIGHT.

who have endeavoured to teach us to die well, have taught few to die willingly: yet I cannot but hope that a good life might end at last in a contented death.

"You see to what a train of thought I am drawn by the mention of myself. Let me now turn my attention upon you. I hope you take care to keep an exact journal, and to register all occurrences and observations; for your friends here expect such a book of travels as has not been often seen. You have given us good specimens in your letters from Lisbon. I wish you had staid longer in Spain, for no country is less known to the rest of Europe; but the quickness of your discernment must make amends for the celerity of your motions. He that knows which way to direct his view, sees much in a little time.

"Write to me very often, and I will not neglect to write to you; and I may, perhaps, in time, get something to write: at least, you will know by my letters, whatever else they may have or want, that I continue to be, your most affectionate friend,
"SAM. JOHNSON."

In 1762 he wrote for the Rev. Dr. Kennedy, rector of Bradley in Derbyshire, in a strain of very courtly elegance, a Dedication to the King* of that gentleman's work, entitled "A complete System of Astronomical Chronology, unfolding the Scriptures." He had certainly looked at this work before it was printed; for the concluding paragraph is undoubtedly of his composition, of which let my readers judge:—

"Thus have I endeavoured to free religion and history from the darkness of a disputed and uncertain chronology; from difficulties which have hitherto appeared insuperable, and darkness which no luminary of learning has hitherto been able to dissipate. I have established the truth of the Mosical account, by evidence which no transcription can corrupt, no negligence can lose, and no interest can pervert. I have shewn that the universe bears witness to the inspiration of its historian, by the revolution of its orbs and the succession of its seasons; *that the stars in their courses fight against incredulity*, that the works of God give hourly confirmation to the law, the prophets, and the gospel, of which one day telleth another, and one night certifieth another; and that the validity of the sacred writings never can be denied, while the moon shall increase and wane, and the sun shall know his going down."

He this year wrote also the Dedication † to the Earl of Middlesex of Mrs. Lenox's "Female Quixote," and the Preface to the "Catalogue of the Artists' Exhibition."†

The following Letter, which, on account of its intrinsic merit, it would have been unjust both to Johnson and the public to have withheld, was obtained for me by the solicitation of my friend Mr. Seward:—

JOHNSON TO DR. STAUNTON.¹

"June 1. 1762.

"DEAR SIR, — I make haste to answer your kind letter, in hope of hearing again from you before you leave us. I cannot but regret that a man of your qualifications should find it necessary to seek an establishment in Guadaloupe, which if a peace should restore to the French, I shall think it some alleviation of the loss, that it must restore likewise Dr. Staunton to the English.

"It is a melancholy consideration, that so much of our time is necessarily to be spent upon the care of living, and that we can seldom obtain ease in one respect but by resigning it in another; yet I suppose we are by this dispensation not less happy in the whole, than if the spontaneous bounty of Nature poured all that we want into our hands. A few, if they were left thus to themselves, would, perhaps, spend their time in laudable pursuits; but the greater part would prey upon the quiet of each other, or, in the want of other objects, would prey upon themselves.

"This, however, is our condition, which we must improve and solace as we can: and though we cannot choose always our place of residence, we may in every place find rational amusements, and possess in every place the comforts of piety and a pure conscience.

"In America there is little to be observed except natural curiosities. The new world must have many vegetables and animals with which philosophers are but little acquainted. I hope you will furnish yourself with some books of natural history, and some glasses and other instruments of observation. Trust as little as you can to report; examine all you can by your own senses. I do not doubt but you will be able to add much to knowledge, and, perhaps, to medicine. Wild nations trust to simples; and, perhaps, the Peruvian bark is not the only specific which those extensive regions may afford us.

"Wherever you are, and whatever be your fortune, be certain, dear Sir, that you carry with you my kind wishes; and that whether you return hither, or stay in the other hemisphere, to hear that you are happy will give pleasure to, Sir, your most affectionate humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

A lady having at this time solicited him to obtain the Archbishop of Canterbury's patron-

¹ George Leonard Staunton was born in Galway, in Ireland, 1737, and having adopted the profession of medicine, which he studied in France, he came to London in 1760, where he wrote for the periodical publications of the day, and formed an acquaintance with Dr. Johnson. In 1762 he went to the West Indies, where he practised as a physician for a short time, and by that and some civil offices, accumulated a competent fortune, which he invested in estates in the island of Granada. He returned to England in 1770; but, in 1772, again went to Granada, where he was appointed attorney-general, and made the valuable acquaintance of Lord Macartney, who became governor of that island in 1774. By the capture of Granada by the French, in 1779, Lord Macartney

lost his government, and Staunton his property. He returned to England with, it is supposed, little of the wreck of his fortune. He, however, had acquired Lord Macartney's friendship, and he accompanied his lordship to Madras in 1781; and for his distinguished services during his official residence there had a pension of 500*l.* per annum settled on him, in 1784, by the East India Company, and was created a baronet. When Lord Macartney was selected for the celebrated embassy to China, Sir George was named to accompany him as secretary and minister plenipotentiary. His splendid account of that embassy is well known. He died in London, January 14. 1801, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.—CROKER.

age to have her son sent to the University, — one of those solicitations which are too frequent, where people, anxious for a particular object, do not consider propriety, or the opportunity which the persons whom they solicit have to assist them, — he wrote to her the following answer; with a copy of which I am favoured by the Rev. Dr. Farmer¹, Master of Emanuel College, Cambridge.

JOHNSON TO MRS. ———.

"June 8. 1762.

"MADAM, — I hope you will believe that my delay in answering your letter could proceed only from my unwillingness to destroy any hope that you had formed. Hope is itself a species of happiness, and, perhaps, the chief happiness which this world affords: but, like all other pleasures immoderately enjoyed, the excesses of hope must be expiated by pain; and expectations improperly indulged, must end in disappointment. If it be asked, what is the improper expectation which it is dangerous to indulge, experience will quickly answer, that it is such expectation as is dictated, not by reason, but by desire; expectation raised, not by the common occurrences of life, but by the wants of the expectant; an expectation that requires the common course of things to be changed, and the general rules of action to be broken.

"When you made your request to me, you should have considered, Madam, what you were asking. You ask me to solicit a great man, to whom I never spoke, for a young person whom I had never seen, upon a supposition which I had no means of knowing to be true. There is no reason why, amongst all the great, I should choose to supplicate the Archbishop, nor why, among all the possible objects of his bounty, the Archbishop should choose your son. I know, Madam, how unwillingly conviction is admitted, when interest opposes it; but surely, Madam, you must allow, that there is no reason why that should be done by me, which every other man may do with equal reason, and which, indeed, no man can do properly, without some very particular relation both to the Archbishop and to you. If I could help you in this exigence by any proper means, it would give me pleasure; but this proposal is so very remote from usual methods, that I cannot comply with it, but at the risk of such answer and suspicions as I believe you do not wish me to undergo.

"I have seen your son this morning; he seems a pretty youth, and will, perhaps, find some better

friend than I can procure him; but though he should at last miss the university, he may still be wise, useful, and happy. I am, Madam, your most humble servant,
SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO BARETTI,

At Milan.

"London, July 20. 1762.

"SIR, — However justly you may accuse me for want of punctuality in correspondence, I am not so far lost in negligence as to omit the opportunity of writing to you, which Mr. Beauclerk's passage through Milan affords me.

"I suppose you received the *Idlers*, and I intend that you shall soon receive *Shakspeare*, that you may explain his works to the ladies of Italy, and tell them the story of the editor, among the other strange narratives with which your long residence in this unknown region has supplied you.

"As you have now been long away, I suppose your curiosity may pant for some news of your old friends. Miss Williams and I live much as we did. Miss Cotterel still continues to cling to Mrs. Porter, and Charlotte is now big of the fourth child.² Mr. Reynolds gets six thousands a year. Levett is lately married, not without much suspicion that he has been wretchedly cheated in his match.³ Mr. Chambers is gone this day, for the first time, the circuit with the Judges. Mr. Richardson⁴ is dead of an apoplexy, and his second daughter⁵ has married a merchant.

"My vanity, or my kindness, makes me flatter myself, that you would rather hear of me than of those whom I have mentioned; but of myself I have very little which I care to tell. Last winter I went down to my native town, where I found the streets much narrower and shorter than I thought I had left them, inhabited by a new race of people, to whom I was very little known.⁶ My playfellows were grown old, and forced me to suspect that I was no longer young. My only remaining friend⁷ has changed his principles, and was become the tool of the predominant faction. My daughter-in-law, from whom I expected most, and whom I met with sincere benevolence, has lost the beauty and gaiety of youth, without having gained much of the wisdom of age. I wandered about for five days, and took the first convenient opportunity of returning to a place, where, if there is not much happiness, there is, at least, such a diversity of good and evil, that slight vexations do not fix upon the heart.

"I think in a few weeks to try another excursion; though to what end? Let me know, my

¹ Dr. Richard Farmer was born at Leicester, in 1735, and educated at Emanuel College, Cambridge, of which he became Master in 1775. In 1766 he published his celebrated "Essay on the Learning of Shakspeare;" a work by which, as Dr. Warton emphatically expresses it, an end is put for ever to the dispute concerning the Learning of Shakspeare." He died Sept. 6. 1797. — CROKER.

² Mrs. Porter, the actress, lived some time with Mrs. Cotterel and her eldest daughter. The younger Miss Cotterel (Charlotte), had married the Rev. John Lewis, who became Dean of Ossory in 1755. — CROKER.

³ "Levett married, when he was near sixty, a woman of the town, who had persuaded him (notwithstanding their place of congress was a small coal shed in Pettor Lane) that she was nearly related to a man of fortune, and was kept by him out of large possessions. Johnson used to say, that, compared with the marvels of this trans-

action, the Arabian Nights seemed familiar occurrences. Never was hero more completely duped. He had not been married four months before a writ was taken out against him, for debts contracted by his wife. He was secreted, and his friend then procured him a protection from a foreign minister. In a short time afterwards she ran away from him, and was tried for picking pockets at the Old Bailey. She pleaded her own cause, and was acquitted; a separation took place: and Johnson then took Levett home, where he continued till his death." — STEVENS. — CROKER.

⁴ Samuel Richardson, the author of *Clarissa*, &c., died July 4. 1761, aged 72. — MALONE.

⁵ Martha, his chief amanuensis, married Edward Bridgen, April, 1762. — CROKER.

⁶ All this supports the opinion (*anté*, p. 113. n. 6), that he had not visited Lichfield between 1737 and 1761. — CROKER.

⁷ Supposed by Dr. Harwood to be Mr. Howard. — CROKER.

Baretti, what has been the result of your return to your own country : whether time has made any alteration for the better, and whether, when the first raptures of salutation were over, you did not find your thoughts confessed their disappointment.

"Moral sentences appear ostentatious and tumid, when they have no greater occasions than the journey of a wit to his own town : yet such pleasures and such pains make up the general mass of life ; and as nothing is little to him that feels it with great sensibility, a mind able to see common incidents in their real state is disposed by very common incidents to very serious contemplations. Let us trust that a time will come, when the present moment shall be no longer irksome ; when we shall not borrow all our happiness from hope, which at last is to end in disappointment.

"I beg that you will shew Mr. Beauclerk all the civilities which you have in your power ; for he has always been kind to me.

"I have lately seen Mr. Stratico, Professor of Padua, who has told me of your quarrel with an Abbot of the Celestine order ; but had not the particulars very ready in his memory. When you write to Mr. Marsili, let him know that I remember him with kindness.

"May you, my Baretti, be very happy at Milan, or some other place nearer to, Sir, your most affectionate humble servant, SAM. JOHNSON."

The accession of George the Third to the throne of these kingdoms opened a new and brighter prospect to men of literary merit, who had been honoured with no mark of royal favour in the preceding reign. His present Majesty's education in this country, as well as his taste and beneficence, prompted him to be the patron of science and the arts ; and early this year, Johnson having been represented to him as a very learned and good man, without any certain provision, his Majesty was pleased to grant him a pension of three hundred pounds a year. The Earl of Bute, who was then Prime Minister, had the honour to announce this instance of his Sovereign's bounty, concerning which, many and various stories, all equally erroneous, have been propagated ; maliciously representing it as a political bribe to Johnson, to desert his avowed principles, and become the tool of a government which he held to be founded in usurpation. I have taken care to have it in my power to refute them from the most authentic information. Lord Bute told me, that Mr. Wedderburne, now

Lord Loughborough, was the person who first mentioned this subject to him. Lord Loughborough told me, that the pension was granted to Johnson solely as the reward of his literary merit, without any stipulation whatever, or even tacit understanding that he should write for administration. His Lordship added, that he was confident the political tracts which Johnson afterwards did write, as they were entirely consonant with his own opinions, would have been written by him, though no pension had been granted to him.¹

Mr. Thomas Sheridan and Mr. Murphy, who then lived a good deal both with him and Mr. Wedderburne, told me, that they previously talked with Johnson upon this matter, and that it was perfectly understood by all parties that the pension was merely honorary. Sir Joshua Reynolds told me, that Johnson called on him after his Majesty's intention had been notified to him, and said he wished to consult his friends as to the propriety of his accepting this mark of the royal favour, after the definitions which he had given in his Dictionary of *pension* and *pensioners*. He said he should not have Sir Joshua's answer till next day, when he would call again, and desired he might think of it. Sir Joshua answered that he was clear to give his opinion then, that there could be no objection to his receiving from the King a reward for literary merit ; and that certainly the definitions in his Dictionary were not applicable to him. Johnson, it should seem, was satisfied, for he did not call again till he had accepted the pension, and had waited on Lord Bute to thank him. He then told Sir Joshua that Lord Bute said to him expressly, "It is not given you for any thing you are to do, but for what you have done."² His Lordship, he said, behaved in the handsomest manner. He repeated the words twice, that he might be sure Johnson heard them, and thus set his mind perfectly at ease. This nobleman, who has been so virulently abused, acted with great honour in this instance, and displayed a mind truly liberal. A minister of a more narrow and selfish disposition would have availed himself of such an opportunity to fix an implied obligation on a man of Johnson's powerful talents to give him his support.³

Mr. Murphy⁴ and the late Mr. Sheridan severally contended for the distinction of hav-

¹ There is no doubt that these pamphlets contained Johnson's genuine opinions, but Mr. Boswell's statement seems hardly consistent with some admitted facts. One, at least, of these pamphlets, *The Patriot*, was "called for" by his political friends (see *post*, letter to Mr. Boswell, Nov. 26. 1774) ; and two of the others were (see *post*, letter to Langton, March 20. 1771, and March 21. 1775) submitted to the revision and correction of ministers. — CROKER.

² This was said by Lord Bute, as Dr. Burney was informed by Johnson himself, in answer to a question which he put, previously to his acceptance of the intended bounty : — "Pray, my lord, what am I expected to do for this pension ?" — MALONE.

³ Such favours are never conferred under *express* conditions of future servility, — the phrases used on this occasion have been employed in all similar cases, but they are here insisted on by Mr. Boswell, in order to reconcile Johnson's

conduct on this occasion, with his definitions of *pension* and *pensioner*. — CROKER.

⁴ This is not correct. Mr. Murphy did not "contest this distinction" with Mr. Sheridan. He claimed, we see, not the first suggestion to Lord Loughborough, but the first notice from his lordship to Johnson. His words are : — "Lord Loughborough, who, perhaps, was originally a mover in the business, had authority to mention it. He was well acquainted with Johnson ; but, having heard much of his independent spirit, and of the downfall of Osborne, the bookseller, he did not know but his benevolence might be rewarded with a folio on his head. He desired the author of these Memoirs to undertake the task. This writer thought the opportunity of doing so much good the most happy incident in his life. He went, without delay, to the chambers in the Inner Temple Lane, which, in fact, were the abode of wretchedness. By slow and studied approaches the message

ing been the first who mentioned to Mr. Wedderburne that Johnson ought to have a pension. When I spoke of this to Lord Loughborough, wishing to know if he recollected the prime mover in the business, he said, "All his friends assisted:" and when I told him that Mr. Sheridan strenuously asserted his claim to it, his Lordship said, "He rang the bell." And it is but just to add, that Mr. Sheridan told me, that when he communicated to Dr. Johnson that a pension was to be granted him, he replied in a fervour of gratitude, "The English language does not afford me terms adequate to my feelings on this occasion. I must have recourse to the French. I am *pénétré* with his Majesty's goodness." When I repeated this to Dr. Johnson, he did not contradict it.

His definitions of *pension* and *pensioner*, partly founded on the satirical verses of Pope, which he quotes, may be generally true; and yet every body must allow, that there may be, and have been, instances of pensions given and received upon liberal and honourable terms. Thus, then, it is clear, that there was nothing inconsistent or humiliating in Johnson's accepting of a pension so unconditionally and so honourably offered to him.

But I shall not detain my readers longer by any words of my own, on a subject on which I am happily enabled, by the favour of the Earl of Bute, to present them with what Johnson himself wrote; his Lordship having been pleased to communicate to me a copy of the following letter to his late father, which does great honour both to the writer, and to the noble person to whom it is addressed:—

JOHNSON TO THE EARL OF BUTE.

"July 20. 1762.

"MY LORD, — When the bills¹ were yesterday delivered to me by Mr. Wedderburne, I was informed by him of the future favours which his Majesty has, by your Lordship's recommendation, been induced to intend for me.

"Bounty always receives part of its value from

the manner in which it is bestowed: your Lordship's kindness includes every circumstance that can gratify delicacy, or enforce obligation. You have conferred your favours on a man who has neither alliance nor interest, who has not merited them by services, nor courted them by officiousness; you have spared him the shame of solicitation, and the anxiety of suspense.

"What has been thus elegantly given, will, I hope, not be reproachfully enjoyed; I shall endeavour to give your Lordship the only recompence which generosity desires,—the gratification of finding that your benefits are not improperly bestowed. I am, my Lord, your Lordship's most obliged, most obedient, and most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."²

This year his friend, Sir Joshua Reynolds, paid a visit of some weeks to his native county, Devonshire, in which he was accompanied by Johnson, who was much pleased with this jaunt, and declared he had derived from it a great accession of new ideas. He was entertained at the seats of several noblemen and gentlemen in the west of England³; but the greatest part of this time was passed at Plymouth, where the magnificence of the navy, the ship-building and all its circumstances, afforded him a grand subject of contemplation. The Commissioner of the Dock-yard [Captain Francis Rogers] paid him the compliment of ordering the yacht to convey him and his friend to the Eddystone, to which they accordingly sailed. But the weather was so tempestuous that they could not land.

Reynolds and he were at this time the guests of Dr. Mudge, the celebrated surgeon, and now physician, of that place, not more distinguished for quickness of parts and variety of knowledge, than loved and esteemed for his amiable manners⁴; and here Johnson formed an acquaintance with Dr. Mudge's father, that very eminent divine, the Rev. Zachariah Mudge, Prebendary of Exeter, who was idolised in the west, both for his excellence as a preacher and the uniform perfect propriety of his private

was disclosed. Johnson made a long pause: he asked if it was seriously intended? He fell into a profound meditation, and his own definition of a pensioner occurred to him.—He was told, 'that he, at least, did not come within the definition.' He desired to meet next day, and dine at the Mitre Tavern. At that meeting he gave up all his scruples. On the following day Lord Loughborough conducted him to the Earl of Bute.' *Murphy*, p. 92.—CROKER.

¹ It does not appear what bills these were; evidently something distinct from the pension, yet probably of the same nature, as the words "*future favours*" seem to imply that there had been some *present* favour.—CROKER.

² "The addition of three hundred pounds a year, to what Johnson was able to earn by the ordinary exercise of his talents, raised him to a state of comparative affluence, and afforded him the means of assisting many whose real or pretended wants had formerly excited his compassion. He now practised a rule which he often recommended to his friends, always to go abroad with some loose money to give to beggars, imitating therein, though certainly without intending it, that good but weak man, old Mr. Whiston, whom I have seen distributing, in the streets, money to beggars on each hand of him, till his pocket was nearly exhausted."—*Hawkins*. "He loved the poor as I never yet saw any one else do, with an earnest desire to make them happy. What signifies, says some one, giving halfpence to common beggars? they only lay it out in gin or tobacco. 'And why (says Johnson) should they be denied such sweeteners of their existence? it is surely very savage to refuse them every possible avenue to

pleasure, reckoned too coarse for our own acceptance. Life is a pill which none of us can bear to swallow without gilding; yet for the poor we delight in stripping it still barer, and are not ashamed to show even visible displeasure, if ever the bitter taste is taken from their mouths." In pursuance of these principles he nursed whole nests of people in his house, where the lame, the blind, the sick, and the sorrowful found a sure retreat from all the evils whence his little income could secure them."—*Piozzi*. "When visiting Lichfield, towards the latter part of his life, he was accustomed, on his arrival, to deposit with Miss Porter as much cash as would pay his expenses back to London. He could not trust himself with his own money, as he felt himself unable to resist the importunity of the numerous claimants on his benevolence."—*Harwood*.—CROKER.

³ At one of these seats Dr. Amyat, physician in London, told me he happened to meet him. In order to amuse him till dinner should be ready, he was taken out to walk in the garden. The master of the house, thinking it proper to introduce something scientific into the conversation, addressed him thus: "Are you a botanist, Dr. Johnson?" "No, Sir, (answered Johnson) I am not a botanist; and, (alluding, no doubt, to his near-sightedness,) should I wish to become a botanist, I must first turn myself into a reptile."—BOSWELL.

⁴ Dr. John Mudge died in 1791. He was the father of Colonel William Mudge, distinguished by his trigonometrical survey of England and Wales, carried on by order of the Ordnance.—WRIGHT.

conduct. He preached a sermon purposely that Johnson might hear him; and we shall see afterwards that Johnson honoured his memory by drawing his character.¹ While Johnson was at Plymouth, he saw a great many of its inhabitants, and was not sparing of his very entertaining conversation. It was here that he made that frank and truly original confession, that "ignorance, pure ignorance," was the cause of a wrong definition in his Dictionary of the word *pastern*, to the no small surprise of the lady who put the question to him; who, having the most profound reverence for his character, so as almost to suppose him endowed with infallibility, expected to hear an explanation (of what, to be sure, seemed strange to a common reader,) drawn from some deep-learned source with which she was unacquainted.

Sir Joshua Reynolds, to whom I was obliged for my information concerning this excursion, mentions a very characteristic anecdote of Johnson while at Plymouth. Having observed, that in consequence of the Dock-yard a new town had arisen about two miles off as a rival to the old; and knowing from his sagacity, and just observation of human nature, that it is certain, if a man hates at all, he will hate his next neighbour; he concluded that this new and rising town could not but excite the envy and jealousy of the old, in which conjecture he was very soon confirmed; he therefore set himself resolutely on the side of the old town, the *established* town, in which his lot was cast, considering it as a kind of duty to *stand by* it. He accordingly entered warmly into its interests, and upon every occasion talked of the *Dockers*, as the inhabitants of the new town were called, as upstarts and aliens. Plymouth is very plentifully supplied with water by a river brought into it from a great distance, which is so abundant that it runs to waste in the town. The Dock, or New-town, being totally destitute of water, petitioned Plymouth that a small portion of the conduit might be permitted to go to them, and this was now under consideration. Johnson, affecting to entertain the passions of the place, was violent in opposition; and half laughing at himself for his pretended zeal, where he had no concern, exclaimed, "No, no! I am against the *Dockers*; I am a Plymouth-man. Rogues! let them die of thirst. They shall not have a drop!"²

Lord Macartney obligingly favoured me with a copy of the following letter, in his own handwriting, from the original, which was found, by the present Earl of Bute, among his father's papers.

¹ See *post*, March, 1781. "I have heard Sir Joshua declare, that Mr. Z. Mudge was, in his opinion, the wisest man he ever met with, and that he had intended to have republished his Sermons, and written a sketch of his life and character." — *Northcote*. Thomas Mudge, the celebrated watch-maker in Fleet Street, who made considerable improvements in time-keepers, and wrote several pamphlets on that subject, was another son of Mr. Zachariah Mudge. He died in 1794. — *CROKER*. One of Reynolds's best portraits is a head of

JOHNSON TO THE EARL OF BUTE.

"Temple Lane, Nov. 3. 1762.

"MY LORD, — That generosity, by which I was recommended to the favour of his Majesty, will not be offended at a solicitation necessary to make that favour permanent and effectual.

"The pension appointed to be paid me at Michaelmas I have not received, and know not where or from whom I am to ask it. I beg, therefore, that your Lordship will be pleased to supply Mr. Wedderburne with such directions as may be necessary, which, I believe, his friendship will make him think it no trouble to convey to me.

"To interrupt your Lordship, at a time like this, with such petty difficulties, is improper and unseasonable; but your knowledge of the world has long since taught you, that every man's affairs, however little, are important to himself. Every man hopes that he shall escape neglect; and with reason may every man, whose vices do not preclude his claim, expect favour from that beneficence which has been extended to, my Lord, your Lordship's most obliged and most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO BARETTI,

At Milan.

"London, Dec. 21. 1762.

"SIR, — You are not to suppose, with all your conviction of my idleness, that I have passed all this time without writing to my Baretti. I gave a letter to Mr. Beauclerk, who in my opinion, and in his own, was hastening to Naples for the recovery of his health; but he has stopped at Paris, and I know not when he will proceed. Langton is with him.

"I will not trouble you with speculations about peace and war. The good or ill success of battles and embassies extends itself to a very small part of domestic life: we all have good and evil, which we feel more sensibly than our petty part of public miscarriage or prosperity. I am sorry for your disappointment, with which you seem more touched than I should expect a man of your resolution and experience to have been, did I not know that general truths are seldom applied to particular occasions; and that the fallacy of our self-love extends itself as wide as our interest or affections. Every man believes that mistresses are unfaithful, and patrons capricious; but he excepts his own mistress, and his own patron. We have all learned that greatness is negligent and contemptuous, and that in courts life is often languished away in ungratified expectation; but he that approaches greatness, or glitters in a court, imagines that destiny has at last exempted him from the common lot.

"Do not let such evils overwhelm you as thousands have suffered, and thousands have surmounted; but turn your thoughts with vigour to some other plan of life, and keep always in your mind, that, with due submission to Providence, a man of genius has been seldom ruined but by him-

Zachariah Mudge, and one of Chantrey's best busts a translation of it into marble; part of a monument to Mudge's memory, erected in the church of St. Andrew's, Plymouth. — P. CUNNINGHAM.

² A friend of mine once heard him, during this visit, exclaim with the utmost vehemence, "I HATE A DOCKER." — *BLAKEWAY*. Docker is now absurdly enough called *Devonport*. — *CROKER*.

self. Your patron's weakness or insensibility will finally do you little hurt, if he is not assisted by your own passions. Of your love I know not the propriety, nor can estimate the power; but in love, as in every other passion of which hope is the essence, we ought always to remember the uncertainty of events. There is, indeed, nothing that so much seduces reason from vigilance, as the thought of passing life with an amiable woman; and if all would happen that a lover fancies, I know not what other terrestrial happiness would deserve pursuit. But love and marriage are different states. Those who are to suffer the evils together, and to suffer often for the sake of one another, soon lose that tenderness of look, and that benevolence of mind, which arose from the participation of unmingled pleasure and successive amusement. A woman, we are sure, will not be always fair; we are not sure she will always be virtuous; and man cannot retain through life that respect and assiduity by which he pleases for a day or for a month. I do not, however, pretend to have discovered that life has any thing more to be desired than a prudent and virtuous marriage; therefore know not what counsel to give you.

"If you can quit your imagination of love and greatness, and leave your hopes of preferment and bridal raptures to try once more the fortune of literature and industry, the way through France is now open. We flatter ourselves that we shall cultivate, with great diligence, the arts of peace; and every man will be welcome among us who can teach us any thing we do not know. For your part, you will find all your old friends willing to receive you.

"Reynolds still continues to increase in reputation and in riches. Miss Williams, who very much loves you, goes on in the old way. Miss Cotterel is still with Mrs. Porter. Miss Charlotte is married to Dean Lewis, and has three children. Mr. Levett has married a street-walker. But the gazette of my narration must now arrive to tell you, that Bathurst went physician to the army, and died at the Havannah.

"I know not whether I have not sent you word that Huggins¹ and Richardson are both dead. When we see our enemies and friends gliding away before us, let us not forget that we are subject to the general law of mortality, and shall soon be where our doom will be fixed for ever. I pray God to bless you, and am, Sir, your most affectionate humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

"Write soon."

¹ Huggins, the translator of Ariosto. His enmity to Baretto and Johnson will be explained by the following extract from a MS. letter of Dr. Warton to his brother, dated Windsor, April 28, 1755:—

"He (Huggins) abuses Baretto infernally, and says that he one day lent Baretto a gold watch, and could never get it afterwards; that after many excuses Baretto skulked, and then got Johnson to write to Mr. Huggins a suppliant letter; that this letter stopped Huggins awhile, while Baretto got a protection from the Sardinian ambassador; and that, at last, with great difficulty, the watch was got from a pawnbroker's, to whom Baretto had sold it. What a strange story, and how difficult to be believed! Huggins wanted to get an approbation of his translation from Johnson; but Johnson would not; though Huggins says 'twas only to get money from him. To crown all, he says that Baretto wanted to poison Croker. By some means or other, Johnson must know this story of Huggins."

Baretto had been employed by Huggins to revise his translation. The person whom Huggins accused Baretto of an attempt to poison, was the Rev. Temple Henry Croker, the

[JOHNSON TO MISS REYNOLDS.*]

"21st Dec. 1762.

"DEAR MADAM,—If Mr. Mudge should make the offer you mention, I shall certainly comply with it, but I cannot offer myself unasked.³ I am much pleased to find myself so much esteemed by a man whom I so much esteem.

"Mr. Tolcher⁴ is here; full of life, full of talk, and full of enterprise. To see brisk young fellows of seventy-four, is very surprising to those who begin to suspect themselves of growing old.

"You may tell at Torrington that whatever they may think, I have not forgot Mr. Johnson's widow⁵, nor school — Mr. Johnson's salmon — nor Dr. Morison's Idler. For the widow I shall apply very soon to the Bishop of Bristol, who is now sick. The salmon I cannot yet learn any hope of making a profitable scheme, for where I have inquired, which was where I think the information very faithful, I was told that dried salmon may be bought in London for a penny a pound; but I shall not yet drop the search.

"For the school, a sister of Miss Carwithen's has offered herself to Miss Williams, who sent her to Mr. Reynolds, where the business seems to have stopped. Miss Williams thinks her well qualified, and I am told she is a woman of elegant manners, and of a lady-like appearance. Mr. Reynolds must be written to, for, as she knows more of him than of me, she will probably choose rather to treat with him.

"Dr. Morison's Books shall be sent to him with my sincere acknowledgements of all his civilities.

"I am going for a few days or weeks to Oxford, that I may free myself from a cough, which is sometimes very violent; however, if you design me the favour of any more letters, do not let the uncertainty of my abode hinder you, for they will be sent after me, and be very gladly received by, Madam, your most obliged humble servant.

"SAM. JOHNSON.

JOHNSON TO GEORGE STRAHAN,

At School.

"19th Feb. [1763.]

"DEAR GEORGE,—I am glad that you have found the benefit of confidence, and hope you will never want a friend to whom you may safely disclose any painful secret. The state of your mind you had not so concealed but that it was suspected at home; which I mention, that if any hint should be given you, it may not be imputed to me, who

author of several works, and amongst others of a translation of Ariosto's Orlando, published in 1755, and of his Satires, in 1759.—CROKER.

² Sir Joshua's sister, for whom Johnson had a particular affection, and to whom he wrote many letters which I have seen, and which I am sorry her too nice delicacy will not permit to be published.—BOSWELL. One was added by Mr. Malone, *post*, July 21, 1781, and several others — of which this is the first — have been communicated to me, and will appear in the course of the work. Of Miss Reynolds, Johnson thought so highly, that he once said to Mrs. Piozzi, "I never knew but one mind which would bear a microscopical examination, and that is dear Miss Reynolds's, and hers is very near to purity itself."—CROKER.

³ To be a godfather.—MISS REYNOLDS.

⁴ An alderman of Plymouth, to whom Johnson had exclaimed, in his mock enthusiasm, "I hate a Docker."—CROKER.

⁵ A clergyman's widow — to procure a pension for her.—MISS REYNOLDS.

have told nothing but to yourself, who had told more than you intended.

"I hope you read more of *Nepos*, or of some other book, than you construe to Mr. Bright. The more books you look into for your entertainment, with the greater variety of style you will make yourself acquainted. Turner I do not know; but think that if Clark be better, you should change it, for I shall never be willing that you should trouble yourself with more than one book to learn the government of words. What book that one shall be, Mr. Bright must determine. Be but diligent in reading and writing, and doubt not of the success. Be pleased to make my compliments to Miss Page and the gentlemen. I am, dear Sir, yours affectionately,

SAM. JOHNSON."

— *Rose MSS.*

JOHNSON TO GEORGE STRAHAN.

"26th March, 1763.

"DEAR SIR,—You did not very soon answer my letter, and therefore cannot complain that I make no great haste to answer yours. I am well enough satisfied with the proficiency that you make, and hope that you will not relax the vigour of your diligence. I hope you begin now to see that all is possible which was professed. Learning is a wide field, but six years spent in close application are a long time; and I am still of opinion, that if you continue to consider knowledge as the most pleasing and desirable of all acquisitions, and do not suffer your course to be interrupted, you may take your degree not only without deficiency, but with great distinction.

"You must still continue to write Latin. This is the most difficult part, indeed the only part that is very difficult of your undertaking. If you can exemplify the rules of syntax, I know not whether it will be worth while to trouble yourself with any more translations. You will more increase your number of words, and advance your skill in phraseology, by making a short theme or two every day; and when you have construed properly a stated number of verses, it will be pleasing to go from reading to composition, and from composition to reading. But do not be very particular about method; any method will do, if there be but diligence. Let me know, if you please, once a week what you are doing. I am, dear George, your humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON."

— *Rose MSS.*

JOHNSON TO MISS PORTER.

"April 12. 1763.

"MY DEAR,—The newspaper has informed me of the death of Captain Porter. I know not what to say to you, condolent or consolatory, beyond the common considerations which I suppose you have proposed to others, and know how to apply to yourself. In all afflictions the first relief is to be asked of God.

"TO THE QUEEN.

"MADAM,—To approach the high and illustrious has been in all ages the privilege of poets; and though translators cannot justly claim the same honour, yet they naturally follow their authors as attendants; and I hope that in return for having enabled Tasso to diffuse his fame through the British dominions, I may be introduced by him to the presence of your Majesty.

"Tasso has a peculiar claim to your Majesty's favour, as follower and panegyrist of the house of Este, which has one common ancestor with the house of Hanover; and in reviewing his life, it is not easy to forbear a wish that he had lived in a happier time, when he might among the descendants of

"I wish to be informed in what condition your brother's death has left your fortune; if he has bequeathed you competence or plenty, I shall sincerely rejoice; if you are in any distress or difficulty, I will endeavour to make what I have, or what I can get, sufficient for us both. I am, Madam, yours affectionately,

SAM. JOHNSON."

— *Pearson MSS.*

JOHNSON TO GEORGE STRAHAN.

"16th April, 1763.

"DEAR SIR,—Your account of your proficience is more nearly equal, I find, to my expectations than your own. You are angry that a theme on which you took so much pains was at last a kind of English Latin; what could you expect more? If at the end of seven years you write good Latin, you will excel most of your contemporaries: Scribendo discas scribere. It is only by writing ill that you can attain to write well. Be but diligent and constant, and make no doubt of success.

"I will allow you but six weeks for Tully's Offices. Walker's Particles I would not have you trouble yourself to learn at all by heart, but look in it from time to time, and observe his notes and remarks, and see how they are exemplified. The translation from Clark's history will improve you, and I would have you continue it to the end of the book.

"I hope you read by the way at loose hours other books, though you do not mention them; for no time is to be lost; and what can be done with a master is but a small part of the whole. I would have you now and then try at some English verses. When you find that you have mistaken any thing, review the passage carefully, and settle it in your mind.

"Be pleased to make my compliments, and those of Miss Williams, to all our friends. I am, dear Sir, yours most affectionately,

— *Rose MSS.*

SAM. JOHNSON."]

In 1763 he furnished to "The Poetical Calendar," published by Fawkes and Woty, a character of Collins,* which he afterwards ingrafted into his entire Life of that admirable poet, in the collection of Lives which he wrote for the body of English poetry, formed and published by the booksellers of London. His account of the melancholy depression with which Collins was severely afflicted, and which brought him to his grave, is, I think, one of the most tender and interesting passages in the whole series of his writings. He also favoured Mr. Hoole with the Dedication of his translation of Tasso to the Queen,* which is so happily conceived and elegantly expressed, that I cannot but point it out to the peculiar notice of my readers.¹

that illustrious family have found a more liberal and potent patronage.

"I cannot but observe, Madam, how unequally reward is proportioned to merit, when I reflect that the happiness which was withheld from Tasso is reserved for me; and that the poem which once hardly procured to its author the countenance of the princes of Ferrara, has attracted to its translator the favourable notice of a British queen.

"Had this been the fate of Tasso, he would have been able to have celebrated the condescension of your Majesty in nobler language, but could not have felt it with more ardent gratitude, than, Madam, your Majesty's most faithful and devoted servant,

JOHN HOOLE."

CHAPTER XV.

1763.

Boswell becomes acquainted with Johnson. — Derrick. — Mr. Thomas Sheridan. — Mrs. Sheridan. — Mr. Thomas Davies. — Mrs. Davies. — First Interview. — Johnson's Dress. — His Chambers in Temple Lane. — Dr. Blair. — Dr. James Fordyce. — Ossian. — Christopher Smart. — Johnson, the Equestrian. — Clifton's Eating House. — The Mitre. — Colley Cibber's Odes. — Gray. — Belief in Apparitions. — Cock-Lane Ghost. — Churchill. — Goldsmith. — Mallet's "Elvira." — Scotch Landlords. — Plan of Study.

THIS is to me a memorable year; for in it I had the happiness to obtain the acquaintance of that extraordinary man whose memoirs I am now writing; an acquaintance which I shall ever esteem as one of the most fortunate circumstances in my life. Though then but two and twenty, I had for several years read his works with delight and instruction, and had the highest reverence for their author, which had grown up in my fancy into a kind of mysterious veneration, by figuring to myself a state of solemn elevated abstraction, in which I supposed him to live in the immense metropolis of London. Mr. Gentleman¹, a native of Ireland, who passed some years in Scotland as a player, and as an instructor in the English language, a man whose talents and worth were depressed by misfortunes, had given me a representation of the figure and manner of DICTIONARY JOHNSON! as he was then called²; and during my first visit to London, which was for three months in 1760, Mr. Derrick the poet³, who was Gentleman's friend and countryman, flattered me with hopes that he would introduce me to Johnson, — an honour of which I was very ambitious. But he never found an opportunity; which made me doubt that he had promised to do what was not in his power; till Johnson some years afterwards told me, "Derrick, Sir, might very well have intro-

duced you. I had a kindness for Derrick, and am sorry he is dead."

In the summer of 1761, Mr. Thomas Sheridan was at Edinburgh, and delivered lectures upon the English Language and Public Speaking to large and respectable audiences. I was often in his company, and heard him frequently expatiate upon Johnson's extraordinary knowledge, talents, and virtues, repeat his pointed sayings, describe his particularities, and boast of his being his guest sometimes till two or three in the morning. At his house I hoped to have many opportunities of seeing the sage, as Mr. Sheridan obligingly assured me I should not be disappointed.

When I returned to London in the end of 1762, to my surprise and regret I found an irreconcilable difference had taken place between Johnson and Sheridan. A pension of two hundred pounds a year had been given to Sheridan. Johnson, who, as has been already mentioned, thought slightly of Sheridan's art, upon hearing that he was also pensioned, exclaimed, "What! have they given *him* a pension? Then it is time for me to give up mine." Whether this proceeded from a momentary indignation, as if it were an affront to his exalted merit that a player should be rewarded in the same manner with him, or was the sudden effect of a fit of peevishness, it was unluckily said, and, indeed, cannot be justified. Mr. Sheridan's pension was granted to him, not as a player, but as a sufferer in the cause of government, when he was manager of the Theatre Royal in Ireland, when parties ran high in 1753.⁴ And it must also be allowed that he was a man of literature, and had considerably improved the arts of reading and speaking with distinctness and propriety.

Besides, Johnson should have recollected that Mr. Sheridan taught pronunciation to Mr. Alexander Wedderburne, whose sister was married to Sir Harry Erskine, an intimate friend of Lord Bute, who was the favourite of the king; and surely the most outrageous Whig will not maintain, that, whatever ought to be the principle in the disposal of *offices*, a *pension* ought never to be granted from any bias of court connection. Mr. Macklin, indeed, shared

¹ Francis Gentleman was born in 1728, and educated in Dublin. His father was an officer in the army, and he, at the age of fifteen, obtained a commission in the same regiment; on the reduction, at the peace of 1748, he lost this profession, and adopted that of the stage, both as an author and an actor; in neither of which did he attain any eminence. He died in December, 1784; having, in the later course of his life, experienced "all the hardships of a wandering actor, and all the disappointments of a friendless author." — CROKER.

² As great men of antiquity, such as Scipio Africanus, had an epithet added to their names, in consequence of some celebrated action, so my illustrious friend was often called DICTIONARY JOHNSON, from that wonderful achievement of genius and labour, his "Dictionary of the English Language;" the merit of which I contemplate with more and more admiration. — BOSWELL. Boswell himself was at one time anxious to be called *Corsica Boswell*. See *post*, September, 1769. — CROKER.

³ See *ante*, p. 35. n. 1. — CROKER.

⁴ Unluckily Boswell, in his tenderness to the *amour propre* of Dr. Johnson, cannot bear to admit that Sheridan's

literary character had any thing to do with the pension, and no doubt he endeavoured to soften Johnson's resentment by giving, as he does in the above passage, this favour a *political* colour; but there seems no reason to believe that Sheridan's pension was given to him as a sufferer by a playhouse riot. It was probably granted (*et hinc ille laceryma*) on the same motive as Johnson's own, namely, the desire of the King and Lord Bute to distinguish the commencement of the new reign by the patronage of literature. Indeed, this is rendered almost certain by various passages of the letters of Mrs. Sheridan to Mr. Whyte; e.g. "London, Nov. 29. 1762. — Mr. Sheridan is now, as I mentioned to you formerly, busied in the English Dictionary, which he is encouraged to pursue with the more alacrity as his Majesty has vouchsafed him such a mark of royal favour. I suppose you have heard that he has granted him a pension of 200*l.* a year, merely as an encouragement to his undertaking, and this without solicitation, which makes it the more valuable." Whyte's *Miscellanea Nova*, p. 104. 107. 111. Mr. Samuel Whyte, the writer of this volume, was a celebrated schoolmaster in Dublin, a relation of and much attached to the Sheridan family. Richard Brinsley Sheridan and his elder brother

with Mr. Sheridan the honour of instructing Mr. Wedderburne¹; and though it was too late in life for a Caledonian to acquire the genuine English cadence, yet so successful were Mr. Wedderburne's instructors, and his own unabating endeavours, that he got rid of the coarse part of his Scotch accent, retaining only as much of the "native wood-note wild," as to mark his country; which, if any Scotchman should affect to forget, I should heartily despise him. Notwithstanding the difficulties which are to be encountered by those who have not had the advantage of an English education, he by degrees formed a mode of speaking, to which Englishmen do not deny the praise of elegance. Hence his distinguished oratory, which he exerted in his own country as an advocate in the Court of Session, and a ruling elder of the *Kirk*, has had its fame and ample reward, in much higher spheres. When I look back on this noble person at Edinburgh in situations so unworthy of his brilliant powers, and behold Lord Loughborough, at London, the change seems almost like one of the metamorphoses in Ovid; and as his two preceptors, by refusing his utterance, gave currency to his talents, we may say, in the words of that poet, "*Nam vos mutastis.*"

I have dwelt the longer upon this remarkable instance of successful parts and assiduity, because it affords animating encouragement to other gentlemen of North Britain to try their fortunes in the southern part of the island, where they may hope to gratify their utmost ambition; and now that we are one people by the Union, it would surely be illiberal to maintain, that they have not an equal title with the natives of any other part of his Majesty's dominions.

Johnson complained that a man who disliked him repeated his sarcasm to Mr. Sheridan, without telling him what followed, which was, that after a pause he added, "However, I

am glad that Mr. Sheridan has a pension, for he is a very good man." Sheridan could never forgive this hasty contemptuous expression. It rankled in his mind; and though I informed him of all that Johnson said, and that he would be very glad to meet him amicably, he positively declined repeated offers which I made, and once went off abruptly from a house where he and I were engaged to dine, because he was told that Dr. Johnson was to be there. I have no sympathetic feeling with such persevering resentment.² It is painful when there is a breach between those who have lived together socially and cordially; and I wonder that there is not, in all such cases, a mutual wish that it should be healed. I could perceive that Mr. Sheridan was by no means satisfied with Johnson's acknowledging him to be a good man.³ That could not soothe his injured vanity. I could not but smile, at the same time that I was offended, to observe Sheridan, in the *Life of Swift*, which he afterwards published, attempting in the writhings of his resentment to depreciate Johnson, by characterising him as "a writer of gigantic fame, in these days of little men;" that very Johnson whom he once so highly admired and venerated.⁴

This rupture with Sheridan deprived Johnson of one of his most agreeable resources for amusement in his lonely evenings; for Sheridan's well-informed, animated, and bustling mind never suffered conversation to stagnate; and Mrs. Sheridan was a most agreeable companion to an intellectual man.⁵ She was sensible, ingenious, unassuming, yet communicative. I recollect, with satisfaction, many pleasing hours which I passed with her under the hospitable roof of her husband, who was to me a very kind friend. Her novel, entitled "*Memoirs of Miss Sydney Biddulph*," contains an excellent moral, while it inculcates a future state of retribution⁶; and what it teaches is impressed upon the

Charles, were placed very early under his tuition, as was, at an interval of above thirty years, my friend Thomas Moore, who, in his *Life of Sheridan*, pays an affectionate tribute to their common preceptor. — CROKER.

¹ This is an odd coincidence. A *Scotchman* who wishes to learn a pure English pronunciation, employs one preceptor who happens to be an *Irishman*, and afterwards another, likewise an *Irishman*; and this Irish-taught Scot becomes — and mainly by his oratory — one of the chief ornaments of the English senate, and the first subject in the British empire. — CROKER.

² But Johnson seems to have kept it alive by *persevering* sarcasms. — CROKER.

³ Why should he have been? his goodness had nothing to say to the question. Sheridan's pension was given for his literary character, and Johnson's following up his attack on his talents by a supercilious acknowledgment that he was nevertheless a *very good man*, was an additional insult. See next page, n. 4. — CROKER.

⁴ Dr. Johnson had depreciated the talents and character of Dr. Swift, not merely in conversation, but in his *Lives of the Poets*. Sheridan, in his *Life of Swift*, advocated the cause of the dean, for whom he had a natural and hereditary veneration; and though he observed on Johnson's criticisms and censures with a severity sharpened probably by his personal feelings, he treated him on all other points with moderation and respect. — CROKER.

⁵ See *ant.* p. 121. n. 5.

⁶ My position has been very well illustrated by Mr. Belsham, of Bedford, in his *Essay on Dramatic Poetry*: —

"The fashionable doctrine (says he) both of moralists and

critics in these times is, that virtue and happiness are constant concomitants; and it is regarded as a kind of dramatic impiety to maintain that virtue should not be rewarded, nor vice punished, in the last scene of the last act of every tragedy. This conduct in our modern poets is, however, in my opinion, extremely injudicious; for it labours in vain to inculcate a doctrine in theory, which every one knows to be false in fact, viz. that virtue in real life is always productive of happiness; and vice of misery. Thus Congreve concludes the tragedy of "*The Mourning Bride*" with the following foolish couplet: —

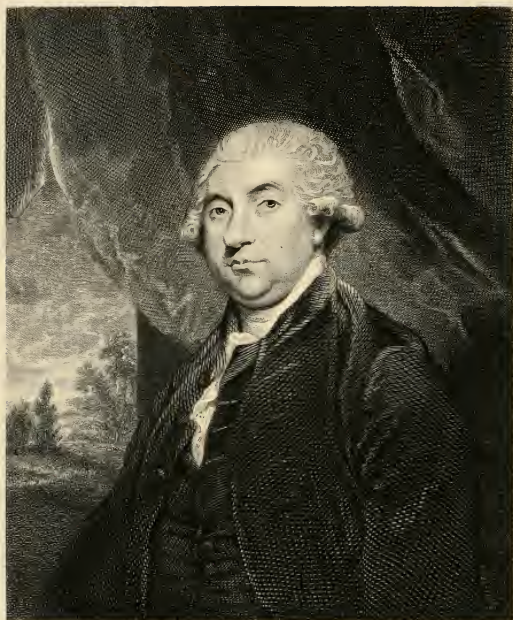
'For blessings ever wait on virtuous deeds,
And, though a late, a sure reward succeeds.'

"When a man eminently virtuous, a Brutus, a Cato, or a Socrates, finally sinks under the pressure of accumulated misfortune, we are not only led to entertain a more indignant hatred of vice, than if he rose from his distress, but we are inevitably induced to cherish the sublime idea that a day of future retribution will arrive, when he shall receive not merely poetical, but real and substantial justice." — *Essays Philosophical, Historical, and Literary*, London, 1791, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 317.

This is well reasoned and well expressed. I wish, indeed, that the ingenious author had not thought it necessary to introduce any *instance* of "a man eminently virtuous;" as he would then have avoided mentioning such a ruffian as Brutus under that description. Mr. Belsham discovers in his *Essays* so much reading and thinking, and good composition, that I regret his not having been fortunate enough to be educated a member of our excellent national establish-

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Painted by Sir Thomas Brompton

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mind by a series of as deep distress as can affect humanity, in the amiable and pious heroine, who goes to her grave unrelieved, but resigned, and full of hope of "heaven's mercy." Johnson paid her this high compliment upon it: "I know not, Madam, that you have a right, upon moral principles, to make your readers suffer so much."

Mr. Thomas Davies the actor, who then kept a bookseller's shop in Russell-Street, Covent Garden¹, told me that Johnson was very much his friend, and came frequently to his house, where he more than once invited me to meet him; but by some unlucky accident or other he was prevented from coming to us.

Mr. Thomas Davies was a man of good understanding and talents, with the advantage of a liberal education. Though somewhat pompous, he was an entertaining companion; and his literary performances have no inconsiderable share of merit. He was a friendly and very hospitable man. Both he and his wife (who has been celebrated² for her beauty), though upon the stage for many years, maintained an uniform decency of character; and Johnson esteemed them, and lived in as easy an intimacy with them as with any family which he used to visit. Mr. Davies recollected several of Johnson's remarkable sayings, and was one of the best of the many imitators of his voice and manner, while relating them. He increased my impatience more and more to see the extraordinary man whose works I highly valued, and whose conversation was reported to be so peculiarly excellent.

At last, on Monday, the 16th of May, when I was sitting in Mr. Davies's back parlour, after having drunk tea with him and Mrs. Davies, Johnson unexpectedly came into the shop³; and Mr. Davies having perceived him through the glass-door in the room in which we were sitting, advancing toward us, he announced his awful approach to me, somewhat in the manner of an actor in the part of Horatio, when he addresses Hamlet on the appearance of his father's ghost, "Look, my lord, it comes!" I found that I had a very perfect idea of Johnson's figure, from the

portrait of him painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds soon after he had published his Dictionary, in the attitude of sitting in his easy chair in deep meditation; which was the first picture his friend did for him, which Sir Joshua very kindly presented to me, and from which an engraving has been made for this work. Mr. Davies mentioned my name, and respectfully introduced me to him. I was much agitated; and recollecting his prejudice against the Scotch, of which I had heard much, I said to Davies, "Don't tell where I come from." — "From Scotland," cried Davies, roughly. "Mr. Johnson," said I, "I do indeed come from Scotland, but I cannot help it." I am willing to flatter myself that I meant this as light pleasantry to soothe and conciliate him, and not as an humiliating abasement at the expense of my country. But however that might be, this speech was somewhat unlucky; for with that quickness of wit for which he was so remarkable, he seized the expression "come from Scotland," which I used in the sense of being of that country; and, as if I had said that I had come away from it, or left it, retorted, "That, Sir, I find, is what a very great many of your countrymen cannot help." This stroke stunned me a good deal; and when we had sat down, I felt myself not a little embarrassed, and apprehensive of what might come next. He then addressed himself to Davies: "What do you think of Garrick? He has refused me an order for the play for Miss Williams, because he knows the house will be full, and that an order would be worth three shillings." Eager to take any opening to get into conversation with him, I ventured to say, "O Sir, I cannot think Mr. Garrick would grudge such a trifle to you." "Sir," said he, with a stern look, "I have known David Garrick longer than you have done: and I know no right you have to talk to me on the subject." Perhaps I deserved this check; for it was rather presumptuous in me, an entire stranger, to express any doubt of the justice of his animadversion upon his old acquaintance and pupil.⁴ I now felt myself much mortified, and began to think that the hope which I had long indulged of obtaining

ment. Had he not been nursed in nonconformity, he probably would not have been tainted with those heresies (as I sincerely, and on no slight investigation, think them) both in religion and politics, which, while I read, I am sure, with candour, I cannot read without offence. — BOSWELL. One wonders that with these feelings he thought it worth while to intrude, with so little excuse for it, Mr. Belsham's very common-place remarks. — CROKER.

¹ No. 8. — The very place where I was fortunate enough to be introduced to the illustrious subject of this work, deserves to be particularly marked. I never pass by it without feeling reverence and regret. — BOSWELL.

² By Churchill, in the Rosciad.

"With him came mighty Davies: on my life,
That Davies has a very pretty wife.
Statesman all over — in plots famous grown —
He mouths a sentence as curs mouth a bone."

This sarcasm drove, it is said, (*post*, April 7. 1778) poor Davies from the stage. — CROKER.

³ Mr. Murphy, in his "Essay on the Life and Genius of Dr. Johnson," [first published after the first edition of this work.] has given an account of this meeting considerably different from mine. I am persuaded without any consciousness of error. His memory, at the end of near thirty years, has undoubtedly deceived him, and he supposes himself to have been present at a scene which he has probably heard inaccurately described by others. In my note taken on the very day, in which I am confident I marked every thing material that passed, no mention is made of this gentleman; and I am sure that I should not have omitted one so well known in the literary world. It may easily be imagined that this my first interview with Dr. Johnson, with all its circumstances, made a strong impression on my mind, and would be registered with peculiar attention. — BOSWELL.

⁴ That this was a momentary sally against Garrick there can be no doubt; for at Johnson's desire he had, some years before, given a benefit-night at his theatre to this very person, by which she had got two hundred pounds. Johnson, indeed, upon all other occasions, when I was in his company, praised the very liberal charity of Garrick. I once mentioned to

his acquaintance was blasted. And, in truth, had not my ardour been uncommonly strong, and my resolution uncommonly persevering, so rough a reception might have deterred me for ever from making any further attempts. Fortunately, however, I remained upon the field not wholly discomfited; and was soon rewarded by hearing some of his conversation, of which I preserved the following short minute, without marking the questions and observations by which it was produced.

"People," he remarked, "may be taken in once, who imagine that an author is greater in private life than other men. Uncommon parts require uncommon opportunities for their exertion."

"In barbarous society, superiority of parts is of real consequence. Great strength or great wisdom is of much value to an individual. But in more polished times there are people to do every thing for money; and then there are a number of other superiorities, such as those of birth, and fortune, and rank, that dissipate men's attention, and leave no extraordinary share of respect for personal and intellectual superiority. This is wisely ordered by Providence, to preserve some equality among mankind."

"Sir, this book ('The Elements of Criticism;'¹ which he had taken up) is a pretty essay, and deserves to be held in some estimation, though much of it is chimerical."

Speaking of one ² who with more than ordinary boldness attacked public measures and the royal family, he said, "I think he is safe from the law, but he is an abusive scoundrel; and instead of applying to my Lord Chief Justice to punish him, I would send half a dozen footmen and have him well ducked."

"The notion of liberty amuses the people of England, and helps to keep off the *tedium vite*. When a butcher tells you that *his heart bleeds for his country*, he has, in fact, no uneasy feeling."

"Sheridan will not succeed at Bath with his oratory. Ridicule has gone down before him, and, I doubt, Derrick is his enemy."³

"Derrick may do very well, as long as he can outrun his character; but the moment his character gets up with him, it is all over."

him, "It is observed, Sir, that you attack Garrick yourself, but will suffer nobody else to do it." Johnson (stalling): "Why, Sir, that is true."—BOSWELL.

These *salutes* are of too frequent recurrence to allow us to receive Boswell's apologetical assertion that they were *momentary*; and too many circumstances of his conduct towards both Garrick and Sheridan remind us of Davies's admission, in his Life of Garrick, that Johnson was but too susceptible of the feeling of envy. "I never," he says, "knew any man but one—Doctor Johnson—who had the honesty and courage to confess that he had a tincture of *envy* in him," ii. 380. It is creditable to the candour both of Davies and Johnson, that this passage was read by Johnson before its publication. See also a somewhat similar confession from Boswell himself, *post*, sub 17th April, 1778.—CROKER.

¹ By Henry Home, Lord Kames; published in 1762.—CROKER.

It is, however, but just to record, that some years afterwards, when I reminded him of this sarcasm, he said, "Well, but Derrick has now got a character that he need not run away from."

I was highly pleased with the extraordinary vigour of his conversation, and regretted that I was drawn away from it by an engagement at another place. I had, for a part of the evening, been left alone with him, and had ventured to make an observation now and then, which he received very civilly: so that I was satisfied that though there was a roughness in his manner, there was no ill-nature in his disposition. Davies followed me to the door, and when I complained to him a little of the hard blows which the great man had given me, he kindly took upon him to console me by saying, "Don't be uneasy, I can see he likes you very well."

A few days afterwards I called on Davies, and asked him if he thought I might take the liberty of waiting on Mr. Johnson at his chambers in the Temple. He said I certainly might, and that Mr. Johnson would take it as a compliment. So upon Tuesday the 24th of May, after having been enlivened by the witty sallies of Messieurs Thornton⁴, Wilkes, Churchill, and Lloyd, with whom I had passed the morning, I boldly repaired to Johnson. His chambers were on the first floor of No. 1. Inner Temple Lane, and I entered them with an impression given me by the Rev. Dr. Blair of Edinburgh, who had been introduced to me not long before, and described his having "found the Giant in his den;" an expression which, when I came to be pretty well acquainted with Johnson, I repeated to him, and he was diverted at this picturesque account of himself. Dr. Blair⁵ had been presented to him by Dr. James Fordyce.⁶ At this time the controversy concerning the pieces published by Mr. James Macpherson, as translations of Ossian, was at its height. Johnson had all along denied their authenticity; and, what was still more provoking to their admirers, maintained that they had no merit. The subject having been introduced by Dr. Fordyce, Dr. Blair, relying on the internal evidence of their antiquity, asked Dr. Johnson whether he thought any man of a modern age could have written such poems? Johnson

² Mr. Wilkes, no doubt. Boswell was a friend and, personally, an admirer of Wilkes, and therefore very properly (Wilkes being still alive) suppressed the name.—CROKER.

³ Mr. Sheridan was then reading lectures upon Oratory at Bath, where Derrick was Master of the Ceremonies; or, as the phrase is, KING.—BOSWELL.

⁴ Boswell had a passion for getting acquainted with all the notoriety of the day, and these were then reigning wits.—CROKER.

⁵ Dr. Hugh Blair, the celebrated professor and minister of Edinburgh; born in 1718, died in 1800. The Doctor's "Dissertation on Ossian" appeared in 1762.—WRIGHT.

⁶ Dr. James Fordyce, author of "Sermons to Young Women," &c., was born at Aberdeen in 1720, and died at Bath in 1796.—WRIGHT.

replied, "Yes, Sir, many men, many women, and many children." Johnson, at this time, did not know that Dr. Blair had just published a Dissertation, not only defending their authenticity, but seriously ranking them with the poems of Homer and Virgil; and when he was afterwards informed of this circumstance, he expressed some displeasure at Dr. Fordyce's having suggested the topic, and said, "I am not sorry that they got thus much for their pains. Sir, it was like leading one to talk of a book when the author is concealed behind the door."

He received me very courteously; but it must be confessed, that his apartment, and furniture, and morning dress, were sufficiently uncouth. His brown suit of clothes looked very rusty; he had on a little old shrivelled unpowdered wig, which was too small for his head; his shirt-neck and knees of his breeches were loose; his black worsted stockings ill drawn up; and he had a pair of unbuckled shoes by way of slippers. But all these slovenly particularities were forgotten the moment that he began to talk. Some gentlemen, whom I do not recollect, were sitting with him; and when they went away, I also rose; but he said to me, "Nay, don't go."—"Sir," said I, "I am afraid that I intrude upon you. It is benevolent to allow me to sit and hear you." He seemed pleased with this compliment, which I sincerely paid him, and answered, "Sir, I am obliged to any man who visits me."—I have preserved the following short minute of what passed this day.

"Madness frequently discovers itself merely by unnecessary deviation from the usual modes of the world. My poor friend Smart showed the disturbance of his mind by falling upon his knees and saying his prayers in the street, or in any other unusual place. Now, although, rationally speaking, it is greater madness not to pray at all, than to pray as Smart did, I am afraid there are so many who do not pray, that their understanding is not called in question."

Concerning this unfortunate poet, Christopher Smart, who was confined in a mad-house¹, he had, at another time, the following conversation with Dr. Burney.—BURNKY. "How does poor Smart do, Sir? is he likely to recover?" JOHNSON. "It seems as if his mind had ceased to struggle with the disease; for he grows fat upon it." BURNKY. "Perhaps, Sir, that may be from want of exercise." JOHNSON. "No, Sir; he has partly as much exercise as he used to have, for he digs in the garden. Indeed, before his confinement, he used for exercise to walk to the ale-house;

but he was *carried* back again. I did not think he ought to be shut up. His infirmities were not noxious to society. He insisted on people praying with him; and I'd as lief pray with Kit Smart as any one else. Another charge was, that he did not love clean linen: and I have no passion for it."

Johnson continued. "Mankind have a great aversion to intellectual labour²; but even supposing knowledge to be easily attainable, more people would be content to be ignorant than would take even a little trouble to acquire it."

"The morality of an action depends on the motive from which we act. If I fling half a crown to a beggar with intention to break his head, and he picks it up and buys victuals with it, the physical effect is good; but, with respect to me, the action is very wrong. So, religious exercises, if not performed with an intention to please God, avail us nothing. As our Saviour says of those who perform them from other motives, 'Verily they have their reward.'"

"The Christian religion has very strong evidences. It, indeed, appears in some degree strange to reason; but in History we have undoubted facts, against which, in reasoning *à priori*, we have more arguments than we have for them: but then, testimony has great weight, and casts the balance. I would recommend to every man whose faith is yet unsettled, Grotius, Dr. Pearson, and Dr. Clarke."

Talking of Garrick, he said, "He is the first man in the world for sprightly conversation."

When I rose a second time, he again pressed me to stay, which I did.

He told me, that he generally went abroad at four in the afternoon, and seldom came home till two in the morning. I took the liberty to ask if he did not think it wrong to live thus, and not make more use of his great talents. He owned it was a bad habit. On reviewing, at the distance of many years, my journal of this period, I wonder how, at my first visit, I ventured to talk to him so freely, and that he bore it with so much indulgence.

Before we parted, he was so good as to promise to favour me with his company one evening at my lodgings; and, as I took my leave, shook me cordially by the hand. It is almost needless to add, that I felt no little elation at having now so happily established an acquaintance of which I had been so long ambitious.

My readers will, I trust, excuse me for

¹ It has been wondered why Johnson, who obtained a place in the edition of British Poets for Yalden, Pomfrét, Watts, and Blackmore, did not do as much for his friend Smart, a better poet than any of them, and not less pious. Perhaps he was deterred by the irregularity of poor Smart's mind and life, in connection with which he probably thought that his pious poems would rather scandalise than edify: or there

may have been some difficulty about the *copyright* of his poems, as there was, we know, about those of Goldsmith. See *post*, sub July 9. 1770. Smart's are to be found, with a *Life*, in *Anderson's Poets*. Smart died in 1770, æt. 70.—CROKER.

² See *post*, July 30. 1763, an opinion somewhat different.—CROKER.

being thus minutely circumstantial, when it is considered that the acquaintance of Dr. Johnson was to me a most valuable acquisition, and laid the foundation of whatever instruction and entertainment they may receive from my collections concerning the great subject of the work which they are now pursuing.

I did not visit him again till Monday, June 13th, at which time I recollect no part of his conversation, except that when I told him I had been to see Johnson ride upon three horses, he said, "Such a man, Sir, should be encouraged; for his performances show the extent of the human powers in one instance, and thus tend to raise our opinion of the faculties of man. He shows what may be attained by persevering application; so that every man may hope, that by giving as much application, although perhaps he may never ride three horses at a time, or dance upon a wire, yet he may be equally expert in whatever profession he has chosen to pursue."¹

He again shook me by the hand at parting, and asked me why I did not come oftener to him. Trusting that I was now in his good graces, I answered, that he had not given me much encouragement, and reminded him of the check I had received from him at our first interview. "Poh poh!" said he, with a complacent smile, "never mind these things. Come to me as often as you can. I shall be glad to see you."

I had learnt that his place of frequent resort was the Mitre Tavern in Fleet Street, where he loved to sit up late, and I begged I might be allowed to pass an evening with him there soon, which he promised I should. A few days afterwards I met him near Temple Bar, about one o'clock in the morning, and asked if he would then go to the Mitre. "Sir," said he, "it is too late; they won't let us in. But I'll go with you another night with all my heart."

A revolution of some importance in my plan of life had just taken place; for instead of procuring a commission in the foot-guards, which was my own inclination, I had, in compliance with my father's wishes, agreed to study the law, and was soon to set out for Utrecht, to hear the lectures of an excellent civilian in that University, and then to proceed on my travels. Though very desirous of obtaining Dr. Johnson's advice and instructions on the mode of pursuing my studies, I was at this time so occupied, shall I call it? or so dissipated, by the amusements of London,

that our next meeting was not till Saturday, June 25th, when, happening to dine at Clifton's eating-house, in Butcher Row², I was surprised to perceive Johnson come in and take his seat at another table. The mode of dining, or rather being fed, at such houses in London, is well known to many to be particularly unsocial, as there is no Ordinary, or united company, but each person has his own mess, and is under no obligation to hold any intercourse with any one. A liberal and full-minded man, however, who loves to talk, will break through this churlish and unsocial restraint. Johnson and an Irish gentleman got into a dispute concerning the cause of some part of mankind being black. "Why, Sir," said Johnson, "it has been accounted for in three ways: either by supposing that they are the posterity of Ham, who was cursed; or that God at first created two kinds of men, one black and another white; or that by the heat of the sun the skin is scorched, and so acquires a sooty hue. This matter has been much canvassed among naturalists, but has never been brought to any certain issue." What the Irishman said is totally obliterated from my mind; but I remember that he became very warm and intemperate in his expressions: upon which Johnson rose, and quietly walked away. When he had retired, his antagonist took his revenge, as he thought, by saying, "He has a most ungainly figure, and an affectation of pomposity, unworthy of a man of genius."

Johnson had not observed that I was in the room. I followed him, however, and he agreed to meet me in the evening at the Mitre. I called on him, and we went thither at nine. We had a good supper, and port wine, of which he then sometimes drank a bottle. The orthodox high-church sound of the MITRE, = the figure and manner of the celebrated SAMUEL JOHNSON, — the extraordinary power and precision of his conversation, and the pride arising from finding myself admitted as his companion, produced a variety of sensations, and a pleasing elevation of mind, beyond what I had ever before experienced. I find in my Journal the following minute of our conversation, which, though it will give but a very faint notion of what passed, is, in some degree, a valuable record; and it will be curious in this view, as showing how habitual to his mind were some opinions which appear in his works.

"Colley Cibber³, Sir, was by no means a blockhead: but by arrogating to himself too

¹ "In the year 1762 one Johnson, an Irishman, exhibited many feats of activity in horsemanship, and was, it is believed, the first performer, at that time, in or about London. He was an active clever fellow in his way." *Prior's Life of Burke*, vol. i. p. 124. — CROKER.

² A row of tenements in the Strand, between Wyeh Street and Temple Bar, and "so called from the butchers' shambles on the south side." (*Strype*, B. iv. p. 118.) Butcher Row was pulled down in 1813, and the present Pickett Street erected in its stead. — P. CUNNINGHAM.

³ Colley Cibber was born in 1671, bore arms in favour of the revolution, and soon after went on the stage as an actor. In 1695 he appeared as a writer of comedies with great and deserved success. He quitted the stage in 1730, on being appointed poet laureate, and died in 1757. His *Memoirs of his own Life*, under the modest title of an *Apology*, is not only a very amusing collection of theatrical anecdotes, but shows considerable power of observation and delineation of character. — CROKER.

much, he was in danger of losing that degree of estimation to which he was entitled. His friends gave out that he *intended* his birth-day Odes should be bad: but that was not the case, Sir; for he kept them many months by him, and a few years before he died he showed me one of them, with great solicitude to render it as perfect as might be, and I made some corrections, to which he was not very willing to submit. I remember the following couplet in allusion to the King and himself: —

‘Perch’d on the eagle’s soaring wing,
The lowly linnet loves to sing.’

Sir, he had heard something of the fabulous tale of the wren sitting upon the eagle’s wing, and he had applied it to a linnet. Cibber’s familiar style, however, was better than that which Whitehead has assumed. *Grand* nonsense is insupportable. Whitehead is but a little man to inscribe verses to players.”¹

I did not presume to controvert this censure, which was tinctured with his prejudice against players; but I could not help thinking that a dramatic poet might with propriety pay a compliment to an eminent performer, as Whitehead has very happily done in his verses to Mr. Garrick.

“Sir, I do not think Gray a first-rate poet. He has not a bold imagination, nor much command of words. The obscurity in which he has involved himself will not persuade us that he is sublime. His *Elegy* in a Churchyard has a happy selection of images², but I don’t like what are called his great things. His ode which begins —

‘Ruin seize thee, ruthless King,
Confusion on thy banners wait!’

has been celebrated for its abruptness, and plunging into the subject all at once. But such arts as these have no merit, unless when they are original. We admire them only once; and this abruptness has nothing new in it. We have had it often before. Nay, we have it in the old song of Johnny Armstrong: —

‘Is there ever a man in all Scotland,
From the highest estate to the lowest degree,’ &c.
And then, Sir,

‘Yes, there is a man in Westmorland,
And Johnny Armstrong they do him call.’

There, now, you plunge at once into the subject. You have no previous narration to lead you to it. The two next lines in that Ode are, I think, very good: —

‘Though fann’d by Conquest’s crimson wing,
They mock the air with idle state.”³

Here let it be observed, that although his opinion of Gray’s poetry was widely different from mine, and, I believe, from that of most men of taste, by whom it is with justice highly admired, there is certainly much absurdity in the clamour which has been raised, as if he had been culpably injurious to the merit of that bard, and had been actuated by envy. Alas! ye little short-sighted critics, could Johnson be envious of the talents of any of his contemporaries?⁴ That his opinion on this subject was what in private and in public he uniformly expressed, regardless of what others might think, we may wonder, and perhaps regret; but it is shallow and unjust to charge him with expressing what he did not think.

Finding him in a placid humour, and wishing to avail myself of the opportunity which I fortunately had of consulting a sage, to hear whose wisdom, I conceived, in the ardour of youthful imagination, that men filled with a noble enthusiasm for intellectual improvement would gladly have resorted from distant lands, I opened my mind to him ingenuously, and gave him a little sketch of my life, to which he was pleased to listen with great attention.

I acknowledged, that though educated very strictly in the principles of religion, I had for some time been misled into a certain degree of infidelity; but that I was come now to a better way of thinking, and was fully satisfied of the truth of the Christian revelation, though I was not clear as to every point considered to be orthodox. Being at all times a curious examiner of the human mind, and pleased with an undisguised display of what had passed in it, he called to me with warmth, “Give me your hand; I have taken a liking to you.” He then began to descant upon the force of testimony, and the little we could know of final causes; so that the objections of, Why was it so? or, Why was it not so? ought not to disturb us: adding, that he himself had at one period been guilty of a temporary neglect of religion; but that it was not the result of argument, but mere absence of thought.

After having given credit to reports of his bigotry, I was agreeably surprised when he expressed the following very liberal sentiment, which has the additional value of obviating an objection to our holy religion, founded upon the discordant tenets of Christians themselves:

¹ This was a sneer aimed, it is to be feared, more at Garrick (to whom the verses were inscribed) than at Whitehead. As to Whitehead, see *anté*, p. 56. n. 2. — CROKER.

² And surely a happy selection of expressions. What does it then want? As to the criticism and quotations which follow, they might be pardonable in loose conversation; but Johnson, unluckily for his own reputation, has preserved them in his criticism on Gray in the *Lives* of the Poets. There seems to have been some kind of personal pique between Johnson and Gray, for Mr. Norton Nicholls (*anté*,

p. 127. n. 2) says, “Gray disliked Johnson and declined his acquaintance, though he respected his understanding, and still more his goodness of heart.” — CROKER.

³ My friend, Mr. Malone, in his valuable comments on Shakspeare, has traced in that great poet *disjecta membra* of these lines. — BOSWELL. A piece of unnecessary trouble. Gray had already pointed out his obligation to Shakspeare’s King John, in his notes to the poem. — P. CUNNINGHAM.

⁴ Perhaps not of their talents, but sometimes, it may be feared, of their success. See *anté*, p. 133. n. 4. — CROKER.

—“For my part, Sir, I think all Christians, whether Papists or Protestants, agree in the essential articles, and that their differences are trivial, and rather political than religious.”

We talked of belief in ghosts. He said, “Sir, I make a distinction between what a man may experience by the mere strength of his imagination, and what imagination cannot possibly produce. Thus, suppose I should think that I saw a form, and heard a voice cry, ‘Johnson, you are a very wicked fellow, and unless you repent you will certainly be punished:’ my own unworthiness is so deeply impressed upon my mind, that I might *imagine* I thus saw and heard, and therefore I should not believe that an external communication had been made to me. But if a form should appear, and a voice should tell me that a particular man had died at a particular place, and a particular hour, a fact which I had no apprehension of, nor any means of knowing, and this fact, with all its circumstances, should afterwards be unquestionably proved, I should in that case be persuaded that I had supernatural intelligence imparted to me.”

Here it is proper, once for all, to give a true and fair statement of Johnson's way of thinking upon the question, whether departed spirits are ever permitted to appear in this world, or in any way to operate upon human life. He has been ignorantly misrepresented as weakly credulous upon that subject; and therefore, though I feel an inclination to disdain, and treat with silent contempt, so foolish a notion concerning my illustrious friend, yet, as I find it has gained ground, it is necessary to refute it. The real fact then is, that Johnson had a very philosophical mind,

and such a rational respect for testimony, as to make him submit his understanding to what was authentically proved, though he could not comprehend why it was so.¹ Being thus disposed, he was willing to inquire into the truth of any relation of supernatural agency, a general belief of which has prevailed in all nations and ages. But so far was he from being the dupe of implicit faith, that he examined the matter with a jealous attention, and no man was more ready to refute its falsehood when he had discovered it. Churchill, in his poem entitled “The Ghost,” availed himself of the absurd credulity imputed to Johnson, and drew a caricature of him under the name of “POMPOSO,” representing him as one of the believers of the story of a ghost in Cock-lane, which, in the year 1762, had gained very general credit in London. Many of my readers, I am convinced, are to this hour under an impression that Johnson was thus foolishly deceived. It will therefore surprise them a good deal when they are informed upon undoubted authority, that Johnson was one of those by whom the imposture was detected.² The story had become so popular, that he thought it should be investigated; and in this research he was assisted by the Rev. Dr. Douglas, now Bishop of Salisbury, the great detector of impostures; who informs me, that after the gentlemen who went and examined into the evidence were satisfied of its falsity, Johnson wrote in their presence an account of it, which was published in the newspapers and Gentleman's Magazine, and undeceived the world.³

Our conversation proceeded. “Sir,” said he, “I am a friend to subordination, as most

¹ There needed no apology for this; 'tis the ground of all reasoning: the debatable question is as to the *authentic proof*. — CROKER.

² No rational man doubted that inquiry would lead to detection; men only wondered, and do still wonder, that Dr. Johnson should so far give countenance to this flimsy imposition as to think a solemn inquiry necessary. — CROKER.

³ The account was as follows: — “On the night of the 1st of February, many gentlemen, eminent for their rank and character, were, by the invitation of the Rev. Mr. Aldrich, of Clerkenwell, assembled at his house, for the examination of the noises supposed to be made by a departed spirit, for the detection of some enormous crime. — About ten at night the gentlemen met in the chamber in which the girl, supposed to be disturbed by a spirit, had, with proper caution, been put to bed by several ladies. They sat rather more than an hour, and hearing nothing, went down stairs, when they interrogated the father of the girl, who denied, in the strongest terms, any knowledge or belief of fraud. — The supposed spirit had before publicly promised, by an affirmative knock, that it would attend one of the gentlemen into the vault under the church of St. John, Clerkenwell, where the body is deposited, and give a token of her presence there, by a knock upon her coffin; it was therefore determined to make this trial of the existence or veracity of the supposed spirit. — While they were inquiring and deliberating, they were summoned into the girl's chamber by some ladies who were near her bed, and who had heard knocks and scratches. When the gentlemen entered, the girl declared that she felt the spirit like a mouse upon her back, and was required to hold her hands out of bed. From that time, though the spirit was very solemnly required to manifest its existence by appearance, by impression on the hand or body of any present, by scratches, knocks, or any other agency, no evidence of any preternatural power was exhibited. — The spirit was then very seriously advertised, that the person to whom the promise was made of striking the coffin was then about to

visit the vault, and that the performance of the promise was then claimed. The company at one o'clock went into the church, and the gentleman to whom the promise was made went with another into the vault. The spirit was solemnly required to perform its promise, but nothing more than silence ensued: the person supposed to be accused by the spirit then went down with several others, but no effect was perceived. Upon their return they examined the girl, but could draw no confession from her. Between two and three she desired and was permitted to go home with her father. It is, therefore, the opinion of the whole assembly, that the child has some art of making or counterfeiting a particular noise, and that there is no agency of any higher cause.” — BOSWELL.

Hawkins tells us that “Mr. Saunders Welch, Johnson's intimate friend, would have dissuaded him from his purpose of visiting the place, urging that it would expose him to ridicule; but all his arguments had no effect. What Mr. Welch foretold was verified; he was censured for his credulity, his wisdom was arraigned, and his religious opinions resolved into superstition. Nor was this all: that facetious gentleman, Foote, who had assumed the name of the modern Aristophanes, and at his theatre had long entertained the town with caricatures of living persons, thought that at this time a drama, in which himself should represent Johnson, and in his mien, his garb, and his speech, should display all his comic powers, would yield him a golden harvest. Johnson was apprised of his intention; and gave Mr. Foote to understand, that the licence under which he was permitted to entertain the town would not justify the liberties he was accustomed to take with private characters, and that if he persisted in his design, he would, by a severe chastisement of his representative on the stage, and in the face of the whole audience, convince the world, that whatever were his infirmities, or even his follies, they should not be made the sport of the public, or the means of gain to any one of his profession. Foote, upon this intimation, had discretion enough

conducive to the happiness of society. There is a reciprocal pleasure in governing and being governed."

"Dr. Goldsmith is one of the first men we now have as an author, and he is a very worthy man too. He has been loose in his principles, but he is coming right."

I mentioned Mallet's tragedy of "Elvira," which had been acted the preceding winter at Drury-lane, and that the Hon. Andrew Erskine¹, Mr. Dempster², and myself, had joined in writing a pamphlet, entitled "Critical Strictures," against it³; that the mildness of Dempster's disposition had, however, relented; and he had candidly said, "We have hardly a right to abuse this tragedy; for, bad as it is, how vain should either of us be to write one not near so good!" JOHNSON. "Why no, Sir; this is not just reasoning. You may abuse a tragedy, though you cannot write one. You may scold a carpenter who has made you a bad table, though you cannot make a table. It is not your trade to make tables."

When I talked to him of the paternal estate to which I was heir, he said, "Sir, let me tell you, that to be a Scotch landlord, where you have a number of families dependent upon you, and attached to you, is, perhaps, as high a situation as humanity can arrive at. A merchant upon the 'Change of London, with a hundred thousand pounds, is nothing; an English Duke, with an immense fortune, is nothing: he has no tenants who consider themselves as under his patriarchal care, and who will follow him to the field upon an emergency."

His notion of the dignity of a Scotch landlord had been formed upon what he had heard of the Highland chiefs; for it is long since a Lowland landlord has been so curtailed in his feudal authority, that he has little more influence over his tenants than an English landlord; and of late years most of the Highland chiefs have destroyed, by means too well known, the princely power which they once enjoyed.⁴

He proceeded:—"Your going abroad, Sir, and breaking off idle habits, may be of great importance to you. I would go where there are courts and learned men. There is a good deal of Spain that has not been perambulated. I would have you go thither. A

man of inferior talents to yours may furnish us with useful observations upon that country." His supposing me, at that period of life, capable of writing an account of my travels that would deserve to be read, elated me not a little.

I appeal to every impartial reader whether this faithful detail of his frankness, complacency, and kindness to a young man, a stranger, and a Scotchman, does not refute the unjust opinion of the harshness of his general demeanour. His occasional reproofs of folly, impudence, or impiety, and even the sudden sallies of his constitutional irritability of temper, which have been preserved for the poignancy of their wit, have produced that opinion among those who have not considered that such instances, though collected by Mrs. Piozzi into a small volume⁵, and read over in a few hours, were, in fact, scattered through a long series of years: years, in which his time was chiefly spent in instructing and delighting mankind by his writings and conversation, in acts of piety to God, and good-will to men.

I complained to him that I had not yet acquired much knowledge, and asked his advice as to my studies. He said, "Don't talk of study now. I will give you a plan; but it will require some time to consider of it." "It is very good in you," I replied, "to allow me to be with you thus. Had it been foretold to me some years ago that I should pass an evening with the author of the RAMBLER, how should I have exulted!" What I then expressed, was sincerely from the heart. He was satisfied that it was, and cordially answered, "Sir, I am glad we have met. I hope we shall pass many evenings, and mornings too, together." We finished a couple of bottles of port, and sat till between one and two in the morning.

He wrote this year in the Critical Review the account of "Telemachus, a Mask," by the Rev. George Graham, of Eton College.⁶ The subject of this beautiful poem was particularly interesting to Johnson, who had much experience of "the conflict of opposite principles," which he describes as "the contention between pleasure and virtue; a struggle which will always be continued while the present system of nature shall subsist; nor can history or poetry exhibit more than pleasure

to desist from his purpose. Johnson entertained no resentment against him, and they were ever after friends." — CROKER.

¹ Third son of the fifth Earl of Kellie, born in 1739, died 1793. He published in 1763 some letters and poems addressed to Mr. Boswell. — CROKER.

² George Dempster, of Dunnichen, secretary to the Order of the Thistle, and long M. P. for the Fife district of boroughs. He was a man of talents and very agreeable manners. Burns mentions him more than once with eulogy. Mr. Dempster retired from parliament in 1790, and died in 1818, in his 86th year. — CROKER.

³ The Critical Review, in which Mallet himself sometimes wrote, characterised this pamphlet as "the crude efforts of envy, petulance, and self-conceit." There being thus three

epithets, we, the three authors, had a humorous contention how each should be appropriated. — BOSWELL.

⁴ Boswell alludes, principally at least, to the substitution of sheep farming for the old black-cattle system in the Highlands and islands of Scotland, in consequence of which, fewer hands being required on the chiefs' estates, a large portion of their clansmen were driven into exile in America. We shall hear more of these affairs in the course of the Hebridean Journal, *post*. — LOCKHART.

⁵ Mr. Boswell here, and elsewhere, hints blame against Mrs. Piozzi for repeating Johnson's conversational asperities. Any one who examines the two works will find that Boswell relates ten times as many as the lady. No one would honestly relate Johnson's conversation without giving such sallies. — CROKER.

⁶ See *post*, 18th Feb. 1777. — C.

triumphing over virtue, and virtue subjugating pleasure."

As Dr. Oliver Goldsmith will frequently appear in this narrative, I shall endeavour to make my readers in some degree acquainted with his singular character. He was a native of Ireland, and a contemporary with Mr. Burke, at Trinity College, Dublin, but did not then give much promise of future celebrity.¹ He, however, observed to Mr. Malone, that "though he made no great figure in mathematics, which was a study in much repute there, he could turn an Ode of Horace into English better than any of them." He afterwards studied physic at Edinburgh, and upon the continent²; and, I have been informed, was enabled to pursue his travels on foot, partly by demanding at Universities to enter the lists as a disputant, by which, according to the custom of many of them, he was entitled to the premium of a crown, when, luckily for him, his challenge was not accepted; so that, as I once observed to Dr. Johnson, he *disputed* his passage through Europe. He then came to England, and was employed successively in the capacities of an usher to an academy, a corrector of the press, a reviewer, and a writer for a newspaper.³ He had sagacity enough to cultivate assiduously the acquaintance of Johnson, and his faculties were gradually enlarged by the contemplation of such a model. To me and many others it appeared that he studiously copied the manner of Johnson, though, indeed, upon a smaller scale.

At this time I think he had published nothing with his name, though it was pretty generally known that *one Dr. Goldsmith* was the author of "An Inquiry into the present State of Polite Learning in Europe," and of "The Citizen of the World," a series of letters

supposed to be written from London by a Chinese.⁴ No man had the art of displaying with more advantage, as a writer, whatever literary acquisitions he made. "*Nihil quod tetigit non ornavit.*"⁵ His mind resembled a fertile, but thin soil. There was a quick, but not a strong vegetation, of whatever chanced to be thrown upon it. No deep root could be struck. The oak of the forest did not grow there; but the elegant shrubbery and the fragrant parterre appeared in gay succession. It has been generally circulated and believed that he was a mere fool in conversation⁶; but, in truth, this has been greatly exaggerated. He had, no doubt, a more than common share of that hurry of ideas which we often find in his countrymen, and which sometimes produces a laughable confusion in expressing them. He was very much what the French call *un étourdi*; and from vanity and an eager desire of being conspicuous wherever he was, he frequently talked carelessly without knowledge of the subject, or even without thought. His person was short, his countenance coarse and vulgar, his deportment that of a scholar awkwardly affecting the easy gentleman. Those who were in any way distinguished, excited envy in him to so ridiculous an excess, that the instances of it are hardly credible. When accompanying two beautiful young ladies⁷ with their mother on a tour in France, he was seriously angry that more attention was paid to them than to him; and once, at the exhibition of the *Fantoccini* in London, when those who sat next him observed with what dexterity a puppet was made to toss a pike, he could not bear that it should have such praise, and exclaimed with some warmth, "Pshaw! I can do it better myself."⁸

He, I am afraid, had no settled system of

¹ Goldsmith got a premium at a Christmas examination in Trinity College, Dublin, which I have seen. — KEARNEY. The *Christmas premium* is the most honourable, being the first of the academic year: at the other three examinations, the one who has already had a premium can only have a *certificate* that he had been the best answerer. — MALONE. Dr. Kearney must have been under some misconception; as it seems certain that Oliver Goldsmith never obtained any premium. — CROKER.

² With no great success, it seems, from his being in 1758 rejected by the College of Surgeons, as not qualified for a Hospital Mate. *Prior's Life*, ii. 282. — CROKER.

³ The story of George Primrose in the Vicar of Wakefield contains many circumstances of his own personal history. — CROKER, 1846.

⁴ He had also published in 1759, "The Bee; being Essays on the most interesting Subjects." — MALONE.

⁵ See his Epitaph in Westminster Abbey, written by Dr. Johnson. — BOSWELL.

⁶ In allusion to this, Mr. Horace Walpole, who admired his writings, said he was "an inspired idiot;" and Garrick described him as one

— "for shortness call'd Noll,
Who wrote like an angel, and talk'd like poor Poll."

Sir Joshua Reynolds mentioned to me, that he frequently heard Goldsmith talk warmly of the pleasure of being liked, and observe how hard it would be if literary excellence should preclude a man from that satisfaction, which he perceived it often did, from the envy which attended it; and therefore Sir Joshua was convinced that he was intentionally more absurd, in order to lessen himself in social intercourse, trusting that his character would be sufficiently supported by his works. If it indeed was his intention to appear absurd

in company, he was often very successful. But, with due deference to Sir Joshua's ingenuity, I think the conjecture too refined. — BOSWELL.

⁷ Miss Hornecks, one of whom is now married to Henry Bunbury, Esq., and the other to Colonel Gwyn. — BOSWELL. Mrs. Gwyn survived to favour my first edition with some communications, and died in 1840, within a few days of having completed her 88th year. Mr. Prior, with his usual good-natured anxiety to whitewash Goldsmith, tells us that he has the authority of one of the ladies (no doubt Mrs. Gwyn) for saying that Goldsmith's alleged jealousy of the attention paid to them was a mere plesantry. I cannot, however, think that he makes out his case. The fact of Goldsmith's having made the absurd complaint is admitted — but, says Mr. Prior's informant, "it was in mere playfulness, and I was shocked many years afterwards to see it in print, as a proof of his envious disposition." The good-natured construction which the kind old lady was willing, after a lapse of above sixty years, to put on Goldsmith's behaviour, she did not express in her previous communication with me, though it had afforded so obvious an opportunity of correcting the alleged injustice; and after all, it can be only matter of opinion whether the vexation so seriously exhibited by Goldsmith was real or assumed: and the lady went on, according to Mr. Prior, to state another circumstance, which proves Goldsmith's absurd vanity almost as strongly as the fact which she extenuates. "*If Paris,*" said she, "*he soon grew tired, the celebrity of his name not ensuring him that attention from its literary circles which the applause he received at home induced him to expect.*" *Prior's Life*, ii. 291. — CROKER, 1846.

⁸ He went home with Mr. Burke to supper; and broke his shin by attempting to exhibit to the company how much better he could jump over a stick than the puppets. — BOSWELL.

any sort, so that his conduct must not be strictly scrutinised; but his affections were social and generous, and when he had money he gave it away very liberally. His desire of imaginary consequence predominated over his attention to truth. When he began to rise into notice he said he had a brother who was Dean of Durham¹; a fiction so easily detected, that it is wonderful how he should have been so inconsiderate as to hazard it. He boasted to me at this time of the power of his pen in commanding money, which I believe was true in a certain degree, though in the instance he gave he was by no means correct. He told me that he had sold a novel for four hundred pounds. This was his "Vicar of Wakefield." But Johnson informed me, that he had made the bargain for Goldsmith, and the price was sixty pounds. "And, Sir," said he, "a sufficient price too, when it was sold; for then the fame of Goldsmith had not been elevated, as it afterwards was, by his 'Traveller;' and the bookseller had such faint hopes of profit by his bargain, that he kept the manuscript by him a long time, and did not publish it till after the 'Traveller' had appeared. Then, to be sure, it was accidentally worth more money."

¹ I am willing to hope that there may have been some mistake as to this anecdote, though I had it from a dignitary of the church. Dr. Isaac Goldsmith, his near relation, was Dean of Cloyne in 1747. — BOSWELL.

² It may not be improper to annex here Mrs. Piozzi's account of this transaction, in her own words, as a specimen of the extreme inaccuracy with which all her anecdotes of Dr. Johnson are related, or rather discoloured and distorted:—

"I have forgotten the year, but he called scarcely, I think, be later than 1765 or 1766, that he was called *abruptly* from our house after dinner, and, returning in about three hours, said he had been with an enraged author, whose landlady pressed him for payment within doors, while the bailiffs beset him without; that he was drinking himself drunk with Madeira, to drown care, and fretting over a novel, which, when finished, was to be his whole fortune; but he could not get it done for distraction, nor could he step out of doors to offer it for sale. Mr. Johnson, therefore, sent away the bottle, and went to the bookseller, recommending the performance, and desiring some immediate relief; which when he brought back to the writer, he called the woman of the house directly to partake of punch, and pass their time in merriment." *Anecdotes*, p. 119. — BOSWELL.

Johnson sometimes repeated the same anecdote with different circumstances. Here the greatest discrepancy between the two stories is the time of the day at which it happened; and, unluckily, the admitted fact of the bottle of Madeira seems to render Mrs. Piozzi's version the more probable of the two. If, according to Mr. Boswell's account, Goldsmith had, in the morning, changed Johnson's charitable guinea for the purpose of getting a bottle of Madeira, we cannot wonder that Mrs. Piozzi represents him as "drinking himself drunk with Madeira;" but there is a more serious objection to Mrs. Piozzi's story. She says, Johnson left her table to go and sell the novel; now the novel was sold in 1761—four years before Johnson's acquaintance with the Thrales,—though it was not published till March, 1766. The Traveller appeared December, 1764. It may be doubtful whether the sale was not later than 1761, but it certainly was long before his acquaintance with the Thrales. Steevens tells a not dissimilar story of Johnson himself, who "confessed to have been sometimes in the power of bailiffs. Richardson, the author of *Clarissa*, was his constant friend on such occasions. 'I remember writing to him,' said Johnson, 'from a sponging house; and was so sure of my deliverance, through his kindness and liberality, that, before his reply was brought, I knew I could afford to joke with the rascal who had me in custody, and did so, over a pint of adulterated wine, for which, at that instant, I had no money to pay.'" *London Mag.* vol. lv. p. 253. — CROKER.

³ *Anecdotes*, p. 119. *Life*, 420. — BOSWELL. How Mr. Boswell,

Mrs. Piozzi² and Sir John Hawkins³ have strangely mis-stated the history of Goldsmith's situation and Johnson's friendly interference, when this novel was sold. I shall give it authentically from Johnson's own exact narration:—

"I received one morning a message from poor Goldsmith that he was in great distress, and, as it was not in his power to come to me, begging that I would come to him as soon as possible. I sent him a guinea, and promised to come to him directly. I accordingly went as soon as I was dressed, and found that his landlady had arrested him for his rent, at which he was in a violent passion. I perceived that he had already changed my guinea, and had got a bottle of Madeira and a glass before him. I put the cork into the bottle, desired he would be calm, and began to talk to him of the means by which he might be extricated. He then told me that he had a novel ready for the press, which he produced to me. I looked into it, and saw its merit; told the landlady I should soon return; and, having gone to a bookseller, sold it for sixty pounds. I brought Goldsmith the money, and he discharged his rent, not without rating his landlady in a high tone for having used him so ill."⁴

who affects such extreme accuracy, should say that Hawkins has *strangely mis-stated* this affair, is very surprising; what Hawkins says (*Life*, p. 420.), is merely that, under a pressing necessity, he wrote the *Vicar of Wakefield*, and sold it to Newberry for 40*l*. Hawkins's account is not in any respect inconsistent with Boswell's; and the difference between the prices stated, even if Hawkins be in error, is surely not sufficient to justify the charge of a *strange mis-statement*. — CROKER.

⁴ Goldsmith was small of stature, and of mean aspect. Miss Reynolds says that the greatest triumph of her brother's pencil was in giving something of an intellectual air to Goldsmith, but even this portrait seems mean and vulgar. Hawkins and other writers tell a variety of anecdotes of Goldsmith's imprudence and absurdity, which his last biographer, Mr. B. Prior, is, with an amiable partiality, disposed to question; but of the substantial truth of which there can be, I think, no reasonable doubt.

Colonel O'Moore, of Cloghan Castle in Ireland, told me an amusing instance of the mingled vanity and simplicity of Goldsmith, which (though, perhaps, coloured a little, as *anecdotes* too often are) is characteristic at least of the opinion which his best friends entertained of Goldsmith. One afternoon, as Colonel O'Moore and Mr. Burke were walking to dine with Sir Joshua Reynolds, they observed Goldsmith (also on his way to Sir Joshua's) standing near a crowd of people, who were staring and shouting at some foreign women in the windows of one of the hotels in Leicester-Square. "Observe Goldsmith," said Mr. Burke to O'Moore, "and mark what passes between him and me by-and-by at Sir Joshua's." They passed on, and arrived before Goldsmith, who came soon after, and Mr. Burke affected to receive him very coolly. This seemed to vex poor Goldsmith, who begged Mr. Burke would tell him how he had had the misfortune to offend him. Burke appeared very reluctant to speak; but, after a good deal of pressing, said, "that he was really ashamed to keep up an intimacy with one who could be guilty of such monstrous indiscretions as Goldsmith had just exhibited in the square." Goldsmith, with great earnestness, protested he was unconscious of what was meant. "Why," said Burke, "did you not exclaim, as you were looking up at those women, what stupid beasts the crowd must be for staring with such admiration at those painted J-zebels; while a man of your talents passed by unnoticed?" Goldsmith was horror-struck, and said, "Surely, surely, my dear friend, I did not say so?" "Nay," replied Burke, "if you had not said so, how should I have known it?" "That's true," answered Goldsmith, with great humility: "I am very sorry—it was very foolish: I do recollect that something of the kind passed through my mind, but I did not think I had uttered it." — CROKER.

CHAPTER XVI.

1763.

Suppers at the Mitre. — Dr. John Campbell. — Churchill. — Bonnell Thornton. — Burlesque “*Ode on St. Cecilia's Day.*” — *The Connoisseur.* — *The World.* — Miss Williams's *Tea Parties.* — London. — Miss Porter's *Legacy.* — “*The King can do no Wrong.*” — *Historical Composition.* — Bayle. — Arbuthnot. — *The noblest Prospect in Scotland.* — Rhyme. — Adam Smith. — Jacobitism. — Lord Hailes. — *Keeping a Journal.* — *The King of Prussia's Poetry.* — Johnson's *Library.* — “*Not at Home.*” — *Pity.* — *Style of Hume.* — *Inequality of Mankind.* — *Constitutional Goodness.* — *Miracles.* — *Acquaintance of Young People.* — *Hard Reading.* — *Melancholy.* — Mrs. Macaulay. — Warton's *Essay on Pope.* — Sir James Macdonald. — *Projected Tour to the Hebrides.* — *School-boy Happiness.*

My next meeting with Johnson was on Friday the 1st of July, when he and I and Dr. Goldsmith supped at the Mitre. I was before this time pretty well acquainted with Goldsmith, who was one of the brightest ornaments of the Johnsonian school. Goldsmith's respectful attachment to Johnson was then at its height; for his own literary reputation had not yet distinguished him so much as to excite a vain desire of competition with his great master. He had increased my admiration of the goodness of Johnson's heart, by incidental remarks in the course of conversation; such as, when I mentioned Mr. Levett, whom he entertained under his roof, “He is poor and honest, which is recommendation enough to Johnson;” and when I wondered that he was very kind to a man of whom I had heard a very bad character¹, “He is now become miserable, and that insures the protection of Johnson.”

Goldsmith attempting this evening to maintain, I suppose from an affectation of

paradox, “that knowledge was not desirable on its own account, for it often was a source of unhappiness;” — JOHNSON. “Why, Sir, that knowledge may in some cases produce unhappiness, I allow. But, upon the whole, knowledge, *per se*, is certainly an object which every man would wish to attain, although, perhaps, he may not take the trouble necessary for attaining it.”

Dr. John Campbell, the celebrated political and biographical writer, being mentioned, Johnson said, “Campbell is a man of much knowledge, and has a good share of imagination. His ‘*Hermippus Redivivus*’ is very entertaining, as an account of the Hermetic philosophy, and as furnishing a curious history of the extravagancies of the human mind. If it were merely imaginary, it would be nothing at all. Campbell is not always rigidly careful of truth in his conversation; but I do not believe there is any thing of this carelessness in his books. Campbell is a good man, a pious man. I am afraid he has not been in the inside of a church for many years²; but he never passes a church without pulling off his hat. This shows that he has good principles. I used to go pretty often to Campbell's on a Sunday evening³, till I began to consider that the shoals of Scotchmen who flocked about him might probably say, when any thing of mine was well done, ‘Ay, ay, he has learnt this of CAWMELL!’”

He talked very contemptuously of Churchill's poetry, observing, that “it had a temporary currency, only from its audacity of abuse, and being filled with living names, and that it would sink into oblivion.” I ventured to hint that he was not quite a fair judge, as Churchill had attacked him violently. JOHNSON. “Nay, Sir, I am a very fair judge. He did not attack me violently till he found I did not like his poetry; and his attack on me shall not prevent me from continuing to say what I think of him, from an apprehension that it may be ascribed to resentment. No, Sir, I called the fellow a blockhead at first, and I will call him a blockhead still. However, I will acknowledge that I have a better opinion

¹ This is so ambiguously worded, that it is necessary to observe, that the “*bad character*” was not Levett. — CROKER.

² I am inclined to think that he was misinformed as to this circumstance. I own I am jealous for my worthy friend Dr. John Campbell. For though Milton could without remorse absent himself from public worship, I cannot. On the contrary, I have the same habitual impressions upon my mind, with those of a truly venerable judge, who said to Mr. Langton, “Friend Langton, if I have not been at church on Sunday, I do not feel myself easy.” Dr. Campbell was a sincerely religious man. Lord Macartney, who is eminent for his variety of knowledge, and attention to men of talents, and knew him well, told me, that when he called on him in a morning, he found him reading a chapter in the Greek New Testament, which he informed his lordship was his constant practice. The quantity of Dr. Campbell's composition is almost incredible, and his labours brought him large profits. Dr. Joseph Warton told me that Johnson said of him, “He is the richest author that ever grazed the common of literature.” — BOSWELL.

Mr. Boswell quotes this *dictum* as if it was evidence only of Dr. Campbell's *wealth*; he probably did not see that it

characterised his *celebrated* friend, by no very complimentary allusion, as *grazing the common* of literature. The strange story of Campbell's “pulling off his hat whenever he passed a church, though he had not been for many years *inside* one,” must have arisen from some error. Johnson could hardly have seriously told such an absurdity. It is well known, that the members of the kirk of Scotland do not think it necessary to uncover on entering places of worship, though the lower classes sometimes show a kind of superstitious veneration for burial-places: perhaps Dr. Campbell may, in conversation with Johnson, have alluded to those circumstances, and thus given occasion to this misapprehension. His “*Lives of the Admirals*” is the only one of his almost innumerable publications that is now called for. He was born in 1708, and died in 1775. — CROKER.

³ “Campbell's residence for some years before his death was the large new-build house situate at the north-west corner of Queen Square, Bloomsbury, whither, particularly on a Sunday evening, great numbers of persons of the first eminence for science and literature were accustomed to resort for the enjoyment of conversation.” Hawkins, p. 210. — P. CUNNINGHAM.

of him now than I once had; for he has shewn more fertility than I expected. To be sure, he is a tree that cannot produce good fruit: he only bears crabs. But, Sir, a tree that produces a great many crabs is better than a tree which produces only a few."

In this depreciation of Churchill's poetry I could not agree with him. It is very true that the greatest part of it is upon the topics of the day, on which account, as it brought him great fame and profit at the time, it must proportionably slide out of the public attention as other occasional objects succeed. But Churchill had extraordinary vigour both of thought and expression. His portraits of the players will ever be valuable to the true lovers of the drama; and his strong caricatures of several eminent men of his age, will not be forgotten by the curious. Let me add, that there is in his works many passages which are of a general nature; and his "Prophecy of Famine" is a poem of no ordinary merit. It is, indeed, falsely injurious to Scotland; but therefore may be allowed a greater share of invention.

Bonnell Thornton had just published a burlesque "Ode on St. Cecilia's Day," adapted to the ancient British music, viz. the salt-box, the Jew's harp, the marrow-bones and cleaver, the hum-strum or hurdygurdy, &c. Johnson praised its humour, and seemed much diverted with it. He repeated the following passage:

"In strains more exalted the salt-box shall join,
And clattering and battering and clapping combine;
With a rap and a tap, while the hollow side sounds,
Up and down leaps the flap, and with rattling rebounds."¹

I mentioned the periodical paper called "THE CONNOISSEUR." He said it wanted matter. — No doubt it had not the deep thinking of Johnson's writings; but surely it has just views of the surface of life, and a very sprightly manner. His opinion of "THE WORLD" was not much higher than of "The Connoisseur."

Let me here apologise for the imperfect manner in which I am obliged to exhibit Johnson's conversation at this period. In the early part of my acquaintance with him, I was so wrapt in admiration of his extraordinary colloquial talents, and so little accustomed to his peculiar mode of expression, that I found it extremely difficult to recollect and record his conversation with its genuine vigour and vivacity. In

progress of time, when my mind was, as it were, *strongly impregnated with the Johnsonian æther*, I could, with much more facility and exactness, carry in my memory and commit to paper the exuberant variety of his wisdom and wit.

At this time Miss Williams, as she was then called, though she did not reside with him in the Temple under his roof, but had lodgings in Bolt-court, Fleet-street, had so much of his attention, that he every night drank tea with her before he went home, however late it might be, and she always sat up for him. This, it may be fairly conjectured, was not alone a proof of his regard for her; but of his own unwillingness to go into solitude, before that unseasonable hour at which he had habituated himself to expect the oblivion of repose. Dr. Goldsmith, being a privileged man, went with him this night, strutting away, and calling to me with an air of superiority, like that of an esoteric over an exoteric disciple of a sage of antiquity², "I go to Miss Williams." I confess, I then envied him this mighty privilege, of which he seemed so proud; but it was not long before I obtained the same mark of distinction.

On Tuesday the 5th of July, I again visited Johnson. He told me he had looked into the poems of a pretty voluminous writer, Mr. (now Dr.) John Ogilvie, one of the Presbyterian ministers of Scotland, which had lately come out, but could find nothing in them. BOSWELL. "Is there not imagination in them, Sir?" JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, there is in them, *what* was imagination, but it is no more imagination, in *him*, than sound is sound in the echo. And his diction, too, is not his own. We have long ago seen *white-robed innocence*, and *flower-bespangled meads*."

Talking of London, he observed, "Sir, if you wish to have a just notion of the magnitude of this city, you must not be satisfied with seeing its great streets and squares, but must survey the innumerable little lanes and courts. It is not in the showy evolutions of buildings, but in the multiplicity of human habitations which are crowded together, that the wonderful immensity of London consists." — I have often amused myself with thinking how different a place London is to different people. They, whose narrow minds are contracted to the consideration of some one particular pursuit, view it only through that medium. A politician thinks of it merely as the seat of go-

¹ In 1769 I set for Smart and Newbery, Thornton's burlesque Ode on St. Cecilia's day. It was performed at Ranelagh in masks, to a very crowded audience, as I was told; for I then resided in Norfolk. Beard sang the salt-box song, which was admirably accompanied on that instrument by Brent, the fencing-master and father of Miss Brent, the celebrated singer; Skeggs on the broomstick, as bassoon; and a remarkable performer on the Jew's harp. — "Buzzing twangs the iron lyre." Cleavers were cast in bell-metal for this entertainment. All the performers of the old woman's Oratory, employed by Foote, were, I believe, employed at Ranelagh on this occasion. — BURNBY. In the original

edition of this ode now before me, the date on the title-page is 1749, a mistake, no doubt, for 1769. For the use to which Dr. Burney put it, as a burlesque vehicle for music, it is very well; but as a literary production, it seems without object or meaning. It has not even the low merit of being a parody; the best line is that on the Jew's harp, above quoted — "Buzzing twangs the iron lyre." — CROKER.

² The ancient philosophers were supposed to have two sets of tenets — one, the *esoteric*, external, or *public* doctrines — the other, the *exoteric*, the internal, or *secret* doctrines, which were reserved for the more favoured few. — CROKER.

vernment in its different departments; a grazier, as a vast market for cattle; a mercantile man, as a place where a prodigious deal of business is done upon 'Change; a dramatic enthusiast, as the grand scene of theatrical entertainments; a man of pleasure, as an assemblage of taverns, and the great emporium for ladies of easy virtue. But the intellectual man is struck with it, as comprehending the whole of human life in all its variety, the contemplation of which is inexhaustible.

[JOHNSON TO MISS PORTER.

"July 5, 1763.

"MY DEAREST DEAR, — I am extremely glad that so much prudence and virtue as yours is at last awarded with so large a fortune¹, and doubt not but that the excellence which you have shewn in circumstances of difficulty will continue the same in the convenience of wealth.

"I have not written to you sooner, having nothing to say, which you would not easily suppose—nothing but that I love you and wish you happy; of which you may be always assured, whether I write or not.

"I have had an inflammation in my eyes; but it is much better, and will be, I hope, soon quite well.

"Be so good as to let me know whether you design to stay at Lichfield this summer; if you do, I purpose to come down. I shall bring Frank with me; so that Kitty must contrive to make two beds, or get a servant's bed at the Three Crowns, which may be as well. As I suppose she may want sheets, and table linen, and such things, I have sent ten pounds, which she may lay out in conveniences. I will pay her for our board what you think proper; I think a guinea a week for me and the boy.

"Be pleased to give my love to Kitty. — I am, my dearest love, your most humble servant,
— Pearson MSS. "SAM. JOHNSON."]

On Wednesday, July 6., he was engaged to sup with me at my lodgings in Downing-street, Westminster. But on the preceding night my landlord having behaved very rudely to me and some company who were with me, I had resolved not to remain another night in his house. I was exceedingly uneasy at the awkward appearance I supposed I should make to Johnson and the other gentlemen whom I had invited, not being able to receive them at home, and being obliged to order supper at the Mitre. I went to Johnson in the morning, and talked of it as of a serious distress. He laughed, and said, "Consider, Sir, how insignifi-

cant this will appear a twelvemonth hence." Were this consideration to be applied to most of the little vexatious incidents of life, by which our quiet is too often disturbed, it would prevent many painful sensations. I have tried it frequently with good effect. "There is nothing," continued he, "in this mighty misfortune; nay, we shall be better at the Mitre." I told him that I had been at Sir John Fielding's office, complaining of my landlord, and had been informed that, though I had taken my lodgings for a year, I might, upon proof of his bad behaviour, quit them when I pleased, without being under an obligation to pay rent for any longer time than while I possessed them. The fertility of Johnson's mind could show itself even upon so small a matter as this. "Why, Sir," said he, "I suppose this must be the law, since you have been told so in Bow-street. But, if your landlord could hold you to your bargain, and the lodgings should be yours for a year, you may certainly use them as you think fit.² So, Sir, you may quarter two life-guardsmen upon him; or you may send the greatest scoundrel you can find into your apartments; or you may say that you want to make some experiments in natural philosophy, and may burn a large quantity of assafetida in his house."

I had as my guests this evening at the Mitre tavern, Dr. Johnson, Dr. Goldsmith, Mr. Thomas Davies, Mr. Eccles³, an Irish gentleman, for whose agreeable company I was obliged to Mr. Davies, and the Rev. Mr. John Ogilvie⁴, who was desirous of being in company with my illustrious friend; while I, in my turn, was proud to have the honour of showing one of my countrymen upon what easy terms Johnson permitted me to live with him.

Goldsmith, as usual, endeavoured, with too much eagerness, to *shine*, and disputed very warmly with Johnson against the well-known maxim of the British constitution, "the king can do no wrong;" affirming, that "what was morally false could not be politically true; and as the king might, in the exercise of his regal power, command and cause the doing of what was wrong, it certainly might be said, in sense and in reason, that he could do wrong." JOHNSON. "Sir, you are to consider, that in our constitution, according to its true principles, the king is the head, he is supreme; he is above every thing, and there is no power by which he can be tried. Therefore it is, Sir,

¹ Miss Porter had just received a legacy of ten thousand pounds, by the death of her brother. — CROKER.

² Certainly not; you must use them according to the contract, expressed or implied, under which you have hired them. If a landlord breaks his part of the contract, the law will relieve the other party; but the latter is not at liberty to take such violent and illegal steps as Johnson suggests. — CROKER.

³ Isaac Ambrose Eccles, Esq., of Cronroe, in the county of Wicklow, whom I have heard talk of this supper. He was of a literary turn, and published one or two plays of Shakspeare, with notes. — CROKER.

⁴ The northern bard mentioned page 143. When I asked Dr. Johnson's permission to introduce him, he obligingly agreed; adding, however, with a sly pleasantry, "but he must give us none of his poetry." It is remarkable that Johnson and Churchill, however much they differed in other points, agreed on this subject. See Churchill's "Journey." It is, however, but justice to Dr. Ogilvie to observe, that his "Day of Judgment" has no inconsiderable share of merit. — BOSWELL.

Boswell's *naïveté* in thinking it remarkable that two persons should agree in disliking the poetry of his northern bard is amusing; it might have been more remarkable if two had agreed in *liking* it. — CROKER.

that we hold the king can do no wrong; that whatever may happen to be wrong in government may not be above our reach, by being ascribed to Majesty. Redress is always to be had against oppression, by punishing the immediate agents. The king, though he should command, cannot force a judge to condemn a man unjustly; therefore it is the judge whom we prosecute and punish. Political institutions are formed upon the consideration of what will most frequently tend to the good of the whole, although now and then exceptions may occur. Thus it is better in general that a nation should have a supreme legislative power, although it may at times be abused. And then, Sir, there is this consideration, that *if the abuse be enormous, Nature will rise up; and, claiming her original rights, overturn a corrupt political system.*" I mark this animated sentence with peculiar pleasure, as a noble instance of that truly dignified spirit of freedom which ever glowed in his heart, though he was charged with slavish tenets by superficial observers; because he was at all times indignant against that false patriotism, that pretended love of freedom, that unruly restlessness, which is inconsistent with the stable authority of any good government.

This generous sentiment, which he uttered with great fervour, struck me exceedingly, and stirred my blood to that pitch of fancied resistance, the possibility of which I am glad to keep in mind, but to which I trust I never shall be forced.

"Great abilities," said he, "are not requisite for an historian; for in historical composition all the greatest powers of the human mind are quiescent. He has facts ready to his hand; so there is no exercise of invention. Imagination is not required in any high degree; only about as much as is used in the lower kinds of poetry. Some penetration, accuracy, and colouring, will fit a man for the task, if he can give the application which is necessary."

"Bayle's Dictionary is a very useful work for those to consult who love the biographical part of literature, which is what I love most."¹

Talking of the eminent writers in Queen Anne's reign, he observed, "I think Dr. Arbuthnot the first man among them. He was the most universal genius, being an ex-

cellent physician, a man of deep learning, and a man of much humour. Mr. Addison was, to be sure, a great man: his learning was not profound; but his morality, his humour, and his elegance of writing, set him very high."

Mr. Ogilvie was unlucky enough to choose for the topic of his conversation the praises of his native country. He began with saying, that there was very rich land around Edinburgh. Goldsmith, who had studied physic there, contradicted this, very untruly, with a sneering laugh. Disconcerted a little by this, Mr. Ogilvie then took new ground, where, I suppose, he thought himself perfectly safe; for he observed, that Scotland had a great many noble wild prospects. JOHNSON. "I believe, Sir, you have a great many. Norway, too, has noble wild prospects; and Lapland is remarkable for prodigious noble wild prospects. But, Sir, let me tell you, the noblest prospect which a Scotchman ever sees, is the high road that leads him to England!"² This unexpected and pointed sally produced a roar of applause. After all, however, those who admire the rude grandeur of Nature cannot deny it to Catalonia.

On Saturday, July 9., I found Johnson surrounded with a numerous levée, but have not preserved any part of his conversation.

[JOHNSON TO MISS PORTER.

"July 12. 1763.

"MY DEAREST LOVE,—I had forgot my debt to poor Kitty; pray let her have the note, and do what you can for her, for she has been always very good. I will help her to a little more money if she wants it, and will write. I intend that she shall have the use of the house as long as she and I live.

"That there should not be room for me at the house is some disappointment to me, but the matter is not very great. I am sorry you have had your head filled with building³, for many reasons. It was not necessary to settle immediately for life at any one place; you might have staid and seen more of the world. You will not have your work done, as you do not understand it, but at twice the value. You might have hired a house at half the interest of the money for which you build it, if your house cost you a thousand pounds. You might have the Palace for twenty pounds, and make forty of your thousand pounds; so in twenty years you would

¹ "Somebody speaking of Bayle's manner in his Dictionary, Mr. Pope said:—'Ay, he is the only man that ever collected with so much judgment, and wrote with so much spirit, at the same time.'—*Spence*.—*Viviani*."

² Mrs. Brooke [Frances Moore, wife of the Rev. Mr. Brooke, chaplain to the forces in Canada, whither she accompanied him] received an answer not unlike this, when expatiating on the accumulation of sublime and beautiful objects, which form the fine prospect up the river St. Lawrence in North America: "Come, madam, (says Dr. Johnson,) confess that nothing ever equalled your pleasure in seeing that sight reversed, and finding yourself looking at the happy prospect down the river St. Lawrence." Mrs. Brooke wrote two novels called "Emily Montague," and "Lady Julia Mandeville." She afterwards produced several dramatic pieces, one of which, "Rosina," still keeps the stage. She is said to have been much esteemed by Johnson. She died in 1789.

"The truth is," adds Mrs. Piozzi, "he hated to hear about prospects and views, and laying out ground, and taste in gardening:—'That was the best garden (he said) which produced most roots and fruits; and that water was most to be prized which contained most fish.' He used to laugh at Shenstone most unmercifully for not caring whether there was any thing good *to eat* in the streams he was so fond of. Walking in a wood when it rained was, I think, the only rural image which pleased his fancy. He loved the sight of fine forest-trees, however, and detested Brighthelmstone Downs, 'because it was a country so truly desolate (he said), that if one had a mind to hang one's self for desperation at being obliged to live there, it would be difficult to find a tree on which to fasten the rope.'—*CROKER*."

³ Miss Porter laid out nearly one-third of her legacy in building a handsome house at Lichfield, where Johnson in after years frequently visited her.—*CROKER*.

have saved four hundred pounds, and still have had your thousand. I am, dear dear, yours, &c.,
— *Pearson MSS.* "SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO GEORGE STRAHAN.

"14th July, 1763.

"DEAR GEORGE, — To give pain ought always to be painful, and I am sorry that I have been the occasion of any uneasiness to you, to whom I hope never to [do] any thing but for your benefit or your pleasure. Your uneasiness was without any reason on your part, as you had written with sufficient frequency to me, and I had only neglected to answer them, because as nothing new had been proposed to your study, no new direction or incitement could be offered you. But if it had happened that you had omitted what you did not omit, and that I had for an hour, or a week, or a much longer time, thought myself put out of your mind by something to which presence gave that prevalence, which presence will sometimes give even where there is the most prudence and experience, you are not to imagine that my friendship is light enough to be blown away by the first cross blast, or that my regard or kindness hangs by so slender a hair as to be broken off by the unfelt weight of a petty offence. I love you, and hope to love you long. You have hitherto done nothing to diminish my good will, and though you had done much more than you have supposed imputed to you, my good will would not have been diminished.

"I write thus largely on this suspicion, which you have suffered to enter into your mind, because in youth we are apt to be too rigorous in our expectations, and to suppose that the duties of life are to be performed with unfailling exactness and regularity; but in our progress through life we are forced to abate much of our demands, and to take friends such as we can find them, not as we would make them.

"These concessions every wise man is more ready to make to others, as he knows that he shall often want them for himself; and when he remembers how often he fails in the observance of a cultivation of his best friends, is willing to suppose that his friends may in their turn neglect him, without any intention to offend him.

"When therefore it shall happen, as happen it will, that you or I have disappointed the expectation of the other, you are not to suppose that you have lost me, or that I intended to lose you; nothing will remain but to repair the fault, and to go on as if it never had been committed. I am, Sir, your affectionate servant, SAM. JOHNSON."]
— *Rose MSS.*

On the 14th we had another evening by ourselves at the Mitre. It happening to be a very rainy night, I made some common-place observations on the relaxation of nerves and depression of spirits which such weather occa-

sioned¹; adding, however, that it was good for the vegetable creation. Johnson, who, as we have already seen, denied that the temperature of the air had any influence on the human frame, answered, with a smile of ridicule, "Why, yes, Sir, it is good for vegetables, and for the animals who eat those vegetables, and for the animals who eat those animals." This observation of his aptly enough introduced a good supper; and I soon forgot, in Johnson's company, the influence of a moist atmosphere.²

Feeling myself now quite at ease as his companion, though I had all possible reverence for him, I expressed a regret that I could not be so easy with my father, though he was not much older than Johnson, and certainly, however respectable, had not more learning and greater abilities to depress me. I asked him the reason of this. JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, I am a man of the world. I live in the world, and I take, in some degree, the colour of the world as it moves along. Your father is a judge in a remote part of the island, and all his notions are taken from the old world. Besides, Sir, there must always be a struggle between a father and son, while one aims at power and the other at independence." I said, I was afraid my father would force me to be a lawyer. JOHNSON. "Sir, you need not be afraid of his forcing you to be a laborious practising lawyer; that is not in his power. For, as the proverb says, 'One man may lead a horse to the water, but twenty cannot make him drink.' He may be displeased that you are not what he wishes you to be; but that displeasure will not go far. If he insists only on your having as much law as is necessary for a man of property, and then endeavours to get you into parliament, he is quite in the right."

He enlarged very convincingly upon the excellence of rhyme over blank verse in English poetry. I mentioned to him that Dr. Adam Smith, in his lectures upon composition, when I studied under him in the College of Glasgow, had maintained the same opinion strenuously, and I repeated some of his arguments. JOHNSON. "Sir, I was once³ in company with Smith, and we did not take to each other; but had I known that he loved rhyme as much as you tell me he does, I should have hugged him."

Talking of those who denied the truth of Christianity, he said, "It is always easy to be on the negative side. If a man were now to deny that there is salt upon the table, you could not reduce him to an absurdity. Come, let us try this a little further. I deny that Canada is taken, and I can support my denial

¹ Johnson would suffer none of his friends to fill up chasms in conversation with remarks on the weather: — "Let us not talk of the weather." — *BRADLEY.*

² Mrs. Piozzi says that "though Dr. Johnson owed his very life to air and exercise given him when his organs of respiration could scarcely play, in the year 1766, yet he ever persisted in the notion, that neither of them had any thing to

do with health." "People live as long," said he, "in Pepper Alley as on Salisbury Plain; and they live so much happier, that an inhabitant of the first would, if he turned cottager, starve his understanding for want of conversation, and perish in a state of mental inferiority." — *CROKER.*

³ See *post*, 29th Oct. 1773, and 29th April, 1778 — *C.*

by pretty good arguments. The French are a much more numerous people than we; and it is not likely that they would allow us to take it. 'But the ministry have assured us, in all the formality of the Gazette, that it is taken.'—Very true. But the ministry have put us to an enormous expense by the war in America, and it is their interest to persuade us that we have got something for our money.—'But the fact is confirmed by thousands of men who were at the taking of it.'—Ay, but these men have still more interest in deceiving us. They don't want that you should think the French have beat them, but that they have beat the French. Now suppose you should go over and find that it really is taken; that would only satisfy yourself; for when you come home we will not believe you. We will say, you have been bribed.—Yet, Sir, notwithstanding all these plausible objections, we have no doubt that Canada is really ours. Such is the weight of common testimony. How much stronger are the evidences of the Christian religion!

"Idleness is a disease which must be combated; but I would not advise a rigid adherence to a particular plan of study.¹ I myself have never persisted in any plan for two days together. A man ought to read just as inclination leads him; for what he reads as a task will do him little good. A young man should read five hours in the day, and so may acquire a great deal of knowledge."

To a man of vigorous intellect and ardent curiosity like his own, reading without a regular plan may be beneficial; though even such a man must submit to it, if he would attain a full understanding of any of the sciences.

To such a degree of unrestrained frankness had he now accustomed me, that in the course of this evening I talked of the numerous reflections which had been thrown out against him on account of his having accepted a pension from his present Majesty. "Why, Sir, (said he, with a hearty laugh,) it is a mighty foolish noise that they make.² I have accepted of a pension as a reward which has been thought due to my literary merit; and now that I have this pension, I am the same man in every respect that I have ever been; I retain the same principles. It is true, that I cannot now curse (smiling) the house of Hanover; nor would it be decent for me to drink King James's health in the wine that King George gives me money to pay for. But, Sir, I think that the pleasure of cursing the house of Hanover, and drinking King James's health,

are amply overbalanced by three hundred pounds a year."

There was here, most certainly, an affectation of more Jacobitism than he really had; and indeed an intention of admitting, for the moment, in a much greater extent than it really existed, the charge of disaffection imputed to him by the world, merely for the purpose of showing how dexterously he could repel an attack, even though he were placed in the most disadvantageous position; for I have heard him declare, that if holding up his right hand would have secured victory at Culloden to Prince Charles's army, he was not sure he would have held it up; so little confidence had he in the right claimed by the house of Stuart, and so fearful was he of the consequences of another revolution on the throne of Great Britain; and Mr. Topham Beauclerk assured me, he had heard him say this before he had his pension. At another time he said to Mr. Langton, "Nothing has ever offered that has made it worth my while to consider the question fully." He, however, also said to the same gentleman, talking of King James the Second, "It was become impossible for him to reign any longer in this country." He no doubt had an early attachment to the house of Stuart; but his zeal had cooled as his reason strengthened. Indeed, I heard him once say, "that after the death of a violent Whig, with whom he used to contend with great eagerness, he felt his Toryism much abated." I suppose he meant Mr. Walmsley.³

Yet there is no doubt that at earlier periods he was wont often to exercise both his pleasantries and ingenuity in talking Jacobitism. My much respected friend, Dr. Douglas, now Bishop of Salisbury, has favoured me with the following admirable instance from his Lordship's own recollection. One day when dining at old Mr. Langton's, where Miss Roberts, his niece, was one of the company, Johnson, with his usual complacent attention to the fair sex, took her by the hand and said, "My dear, I hope you are a Jacobite." Old Mr. Langton, who, though a high and steady Tory, was attached to the present royal family, seemed offended, and asked Johnson with great warmth, what he could mean by putting such a question to his niece? "Why, Sir," said Johnson, "I meant no offence to your niece; I meant her a great compliment. A Jacobite, Sir, believes in the divine right of kings. He that believes in the divine right of kings believes in a Divinity. A Jacobite believes in the divine right of bishops. He that believes in the

¹ See *post*, his letter to Mr. George Strahan, May 25. 1765.—C.

² When I mentioned the same idle clamour to him several years afterwards, he said, with a smile, "I wish my pension were twice as large, that they might make twice as much noise."—BOSWELL.

³ It seems unlikely that he and Mr. Walmsley could have had much intercourse since 1737, when Johnson removed to London: Mr. Walmsley continuing to reside in Lichfield,

where he died in 1751: it was more probably some member of the Ivy-lane club, perhaps M'Ghie, who was a strong Whig; as indeed was Dyer, but he survived to 1772.—C., 1831. I cannot but believe that the events of 1745 had some influence on Dr. Johnson personally, to the diminution of his Jacobite feelings. See *ante*, p. 54. n. 2. The battle of Culloden was fought some months after the Pretender's retreat out of England, when, if at all, the occasion of Johnson's disgust must have happened.—CROKER, 1846.

divine right of bishops believes in the divine authority of the Christian religion. Therefore, Sir, a Jacobite is neither an atheist nor a deist. That cannot be said of a Whig; for *Whiggism is a negation of all principle.*"¹

He advised me, when abroad, to be as much as I could with the professors in the universities, and with the clergy; for from their conversation I might expect the best accounts of every thing, in whatever country I should be, with the additional advantage of keeping my learning alive.

It will be observed, that when giving me advice as to my travels, Dr. Johnson did not dwell upon cities, and palaces, and pictures, and shows, and Arcadian scenes. He was of Lord Essex's² opinion, who advises his kinsman, Roger Earl of Rutland, "rather to go a hundred miles to speak with one wise man, than five miles to see a fair town."³

I described to him an impudent fellow from Scotland, who affected to be a savage, and railed at all established systems. JOHNSON. "There is nothing surprising in this, Sir. He wants to make himself conspicuous. He would tumble in a hogsty, as long as you looked at him and called to him to come out. But let him alone, never mind him, and he'll soon give it over."

I added, that the same person⁴ maintained that there was no distinction between virtue and vice. JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, if the fellow does not think as he speaks, he is lying; and I see not what honour he can propose to himself from having the character of a liar. But if he does really think that there is no distinction between virtue and vice, why, Sir, when he leaves our houses let us count our spoons."

Sir David Dalrymple, now one of the Judges of Scotland by the title of Lord Hailes⁵, had contributed much to increase my high opinion of Johnson, on account of his writings, long before I attained to a personal acquaintance with him: I, in return, had informed Johnson of Sir David's eminent character for learning and religion; and Johnson was so much pleased, that at one of our evening meetings he gave him for his toast. I at this time kept up a very frequent correspondence with Sir David; and I read to Dr. Johnson to-night the following passage from the letter which I had last received from him:—

¹ He used to tell, with great humour, from my relation to him, the following little story of my early years, which was literally true:—"Boswell, in the year 1745, was a fine boy, wore a white cockade, and prayed for King James, till one of his uncles (General Cochrane) gave him a shilling on condition that he would pray for King George, which he accordingly did. So you see (says Boswell) that *Whigs of all ages are made the same way.*"—BOSWELL.

² The celebrated and unfortunate Earl of Essex.—CROKER, 1846.

³ Letter to Rutland on Travel, 16mo. 1596.—BOSWELL.

⁴ This person has, fortunately for him, escaped my inquiries after his identity.—CROKER, 1846.

⁵ This learned and excellent person was born in 1726; educated at Eton, and afterwards at Utrecht; called to the Scotch bar in 1748; a lord of session in 1766. He died in

"It gives me pleasure to think that you have obtained the friendship of Mr. Samuel Johnson. He is one of the best moral writers which England has produced. At the same time, I envy you the free and undisguised converse with such a man. May I beg you to present my best respects to him, and to assure him of the veneration which I entertain for the author of the Rambler and of Rasselas? Let me recommend this last work to you; with the Rambler you certainly are acquainted. In Rasselas you will see a tender-hearted operator, who probes the wound only to heal it. Swift, on the contrary, mangles human nature. He cuts and slashes, as if he took pleasure in the operation, like the tyrant who said, *Ita feri ut se sentiat emori.*"

Johnson seemed to be much gratified by this just and well-turned compliment.

He recommended to me to keep a journal of my life, full and unreserved. He said it would be a very good exercise, and would yield me great satisfaction when the particulars were faded from my remembrance. I was uncommonly fortunate in having had a previous coincidence of opinion with him upon this subject, for I had kept such a journal for some time; and it was no small pleasure to me to have this to tell him, and to receive his approbation. He counselled me to keep it private, and said I might surely have a friend who would burn it in case of my death. From this habit I have been enabled to give the world so many anecdotes, which would otherwise have been lost to posterity. I mentioned that I was afraid I put into my journals too many little incidents. JOHNSON. "There is nothing, Sir, too little for so little a creature as man. It is by studying little things, that we attain the great art of having as little misery and as much happiness as possible."

Next morning Mr. Dempster happened to call on me, and was so much struck even with the imperfect account which I gave him of Dr. Johnson's conversation, that to his honour be it recorded, when I complained that drinking port and sitting up late with him, affected my nerves for some time after, he said, "One had better be palsied at eighteen than not keep company with such a man."

On Tuesday, July 19., I found tall Sir Thomas Robinson⁶ sitting with Johnson. Sir Thomas said, that the King of Prussia valued himself upon three things:—upon being a hero, a musician, and an author. JOHNSON.

1792. He wrote some papers in the *World and Mirror*, and published several original tracts on religious, historical, and antiquarian subjects, and republished a great many more.—CROKER.

⁶ The elder brother of the first Lord Rokeby, called long Sir Thomas Robinson, on account of his height, and to distinguish him from Sir Thomas Robinson, first Lord Grantham. He was a familiar acquaintance of Lord Chesterfield, and by him, as Hawkins relates, employed as a mediator with Johnson, who, on his first visit, treated him very indignantly. It was on his request for an epigram that Lord Chesterfield made the distich—

"Unlike my subject will I make my song,
It shall be witty and it shan't be long."

and to whom he said in his last illness, "Ah, Sir Thomas,

"Pretty well, Sir, for one man. As to his being an author, I have not looked at his poetry; but his prose is poor stuff. He writes just as you may suppose Voltaire's footboy to do, who has been his amanuensis. He has such parts as the valet might have, and about as much of the colouring of the style as might be got by transcribing his works." When I was at Ferney, I repeated this to Voltaire, in order to reconcile him somewhat to Johnson, whom he, in affecting the English mode of expression, had previously characterised as "a superstitious dog;" but after hearing such a criticism on Frederick the Great, with whom he was then on bad terms, he exclaimed, "An honest fellow!"

But I think the criticism much too severe; for the "Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg" are written as well as many works of that kind. His poetry, for the style of which he himself makes a frank apology, "*jargonnant un François barbare*," though fraught with pernicious ravings of infidelity, has, in many places, great animation, and in some a pathetic tenderness.

Upon this contemptuous animadversion on the King of Prussia, I observed to Johnson, "It would seem then, Sir, that much less parts are necessary to make a king, than to make an author; for the king of Prussia is confessedly the greatest king now in Europe, yet you think he makes a very poor figure as an author."

Mr. Levett this day showed me Dr. Johnson's library, which was contained in two garrets over his chambers, where Lintot, son of the celebrated bookseller of that name, had formerly his warehouse. I found a number of good books, but very dusty and in great confusion. The floor was strewn with manuscript leaves, in Johnson's own handwriting, which I beheld with a degree of veneration, supposing they perhaps might contain portions of the Rambler, or of Rasselas. I observed an apparatus for chemical experiments, of which Johnson was all his life very fond. The place seemed to be very favourable for retirement and meditation. Johnson told me, that he went up thither without mentioning it to his servant when he wanted to study, secure from interruption; for he would not allow his servant to say he was not at home when he really was. "A servant's strict regard for truth," said he, "must be weakened by such a practice. A philosopher may know that it is merely a

form of denial; but few servants are such nice distinguishers. If I accustom a servant to tell a lie for me, have I not reason to apprehend that he will tell many lies for himself?" I am, however, satisfied that every servant, of any degree of intelligence, understands saying his master is not at home, not at all as the affirmation of a fact, but as customary words, intimating that his master wishes not to be seen; so that there can be no bad effect from it.

Mr. Temple¹, now vicar of St. Gluvias, Cornwall, who had been my intimate friend for many years, had at this time chambers in Farrar's Buildings, at the bottom of Inner Temple Lane, which he kindly lent me upon my quitting my lodgings, he being to return to Trinity Hall, Cambridge. I found them particularly convenient for me, as they were so near Dr. Johnson's.

On Wednesday, July 20., Dr. Johnson, Mr. Dempster, and my uncle Dr. Boswell, who happened to be now in London, supped with me at these chambers. JOHNSON. "Pity is not natural to man. Children are always cruel. Savages are always cruel. Pity is acquired and improved by the cultivation of reason.² We may have uneasy sensations from seeing a creature in distress, without pity; for we have not pity unless we wish to relieve them. When I am on my way to dine with a friend, and finding it late, have bid the coachman make haste, if I happen to attend when he whips his horses, I may feel unpleasantly that the animals are put to pain, but I do not wish him to desist: no, Sir, I wish him to drive on."

Mr. Alexander Donaldson, bookseller of Edinburgh, had for some time opened a shop in London, and sold his cheap editions of the most popular English books, in defiance of the supposed common-law right of *Literary Property*. Johnson, though he concurred in the opinion which was afterwards sanctioned by a judgment of the House of Lords, that there was no such right, was at this time very angry that the booksellers of London, for whom he uniformly professed much regard, should suffer from an invasion of what they had ever considered to be secure; and he was loud and violent against Mr. Donaldson. "He is a fellow who takes advantage of the law to injure his brethren; for notwithstanding that the statute secures only fourteen years of exclusive right, it has always been understood by the trade, that he who buys

It will, be sooner over with me than it would be with you, for I am dying by inches. Lord Chesterfield was very short. Sir Thomas did not long survive his witty friend, and died in 1777. — CROKER.

¹ William Johnson Temple, LL B., of Trinity Hall, Cambridge. Boswell had formed an intimacy with this gentleman at the University of Glasgow. Temple's sketch of Gray's character, adopted both by Mason and Johnson, has transmitted his name to posterity. For some particulars of his preference and works, see Mitford's "Gray," p. lii. He died Aug. 8, 1796. — MARLAND.

² Johnson's antithesis between pity and cruelty is not exact,

and the argument (such as it is) drawn from it is therefore inconclusive. Pity is as natural to man as any other emotion of the mind. Bishop Eltrington observed to me, that children are said to be *cruel*, when it would be more just to say that they are *ignorant* — they do not know that they give pain. Nor are savages cruel in the sense here used, for cruelty's sake; they use cruel means to attain an object, because they know no other mode of accomplishing the object; and so far is pity from being acquired solely by the cultivation of reason, that reason is one of the checks upon the pity natural to mankind. — CROKER.

the copyright of a book from the author obtains a perpetual property; and upon that belief, numberless bargains are made to transfer that property after the expiration of the statutory term. Now, Donaldson, I say, takes advantage here, of people who have really an equitable title from usage; and if we consider how few of the books, of which they buy the property, succeed so well as to bring profit, we should be of opinion that the term of fourteen years is too short; it should be sixty years." **DEMPSTER.** "Donaldson, Sir, is anxious for the encouragement of literature. He reduces the price of books, so that poor students may buy them." **JOHNSON** (laughing). "Well, Sir, allowing that to be his motive, he is no better than Robin Hood, who robbed the rich in order to give to the poor."

It is remarkable, that when the great question concerning literary property came to be ultimately tried before the supreme tribunal of this country, in consequence of the very spirited exertions¹ of Mr. Donaldson, Dr. Johnson was zealous against a perpetuity; but he thought that the term of the exclusive right of authors should be considerably enlarged. He was then for granting a hundred years.

The conversation now turned upon Mr. David Hume's style. **JOHNSON.** "Why, Sir, his style is not English; the structure of his sentences is French. Now the French structure and the English structure may, in the nature of things, be equally good. But if you allow that the English language is established, he is wrong. My name might originally have been Nicholson, as well as Johnson; but were you to call me Nicholson now, you would call me very absurdly."

Rousseau's treatise on the inequality of mankind² was at this time a fashionable topic. It gave rise to an observation by Mr. Dempster, that the advantages of fortune and rank were nothing to a wise man, who ought to value only merit. **JOHNSON.** "If man were a savage, living in the woods by himself, this might be true; but in civilised society we all depend upon each other, and our happiness is very much owing to the good opinion of mankind. Now, Sir, in civilised society, external advantages make us more respected. A man with a good coat upon his back meets with a better reception than he who has a bad one. Sir, you may analyse this, and say, What is there in it? But that will avail you nothing, for it is a part of a general system. Pound St. Paul's church into atoms, and consider any single atom; it is, to be sure,

good for nothing: but, put all these atoms together, and you have St. Paul's church. So it is with human felicity, which is made up of many ingredients, each of which may be shown to be very insignificant. In civilised society, personal merit will not serve you so much as money will. Sir, you may make the experiment. Go into the street, and give one man a lecture on morality, and another a shilling, and see which will respect you most. If you wish only to support nature, Sir, William Petty fixes your allowance at three pounds a year³; but as times are much altered, let us call it six pounds. This sum will fill your belly, shelter you from the weather, and even get you a strong lasting coat, supposing it to be made of good bull's hide. Now, Sir, all beyond this is artificial, and is desired in order to obtain a greater degree of respect from our fellow creatures. And, Sir, if six hundred pounds a year procure a man more consequence, and of course, more happiness, than six pounds a year, the same proportion will hold as to six thousand, and so on, as far as opulence can be carried. Perhaps he who has a large fortune may not be so happy as he who has a small one; but that must proceed from other causes than from his having the large fortune: for, *ceteris paribus*, he who is rich, in civilised society, must be happier than he who is poor; as riches, if properly used, (and it is a man's own fault if they are not,) must be productive of the highest advantages. Money, to be sure, of itself is of no use; for its only use is to part with it. Rousseau, and all those who deal in paradoxes, are led away by a childish desire of novelty.⁴ When I was a boy, I used always to choose the wrong side of a debate⁵, because most ingenious things, that is to say, most new things, could be said upon it. Sir, there is nothing for which you may not muster up more plausible arguments, than those which are urged against wealth and other external advantages. Why, now, there is stealing; why should it be thought a crime? When we consider by what unjust methods property has been often acquired, and that what was unjustly got it must be unjust to keep, where is the harm in one man's taking the property of another from him? Besides, Sir, when we consider the bad use that many people make of their property, and how much better use the thief may make of it, it may be defended as a very allowable practice. Yet, Sir, the experience of mankind has discovered stealing to be so very bad a thing, that they make no scruple to hang a man for it. When I was running about this town a very poor

¹ It savours of that nationality which Mr. Boswell was so anxious to disclaim, to talk thus eulogistically of "the very spirited exertions" of a piratical bookseller. — **CROKER.**

² A prize essay for the Academy of Dijon, *Sur l'origine de l'inégalité des conditions*, published in 1752. — **CROKER.**

³ See his "Quantulumcumque concerning Money." — **WRIGHT.**

⁴ Johnson told Dr. Burney, that Goldsmith said, when he

first began to write, he determined to commit to paper nothing but what was *new*; but he afterwards found that what was *new* was generally false, and from that time was no longer solicitous about novelty. — **BURNEY.** See post, March 26. 1779. — **C.**

⁵ This boyish practice appears to have adhered, in some degree, to the man. — **CROKER.**

fellow, I was a great arguer for the advantages of poverty; but I was, at the same time, very sorry to be poor. Sir, all the arguments which are brought to represent poverty as no evil, show it to be evidently a great evil. You never find people labouring to convince you that you may live very happily upon a plentiful fortune. So you hear people talking how miserable a king must be; and yet they all wish to be in his place."

It was suggested, that kings must be unhappy, because they are deprived of the greatest of all satisfactions, easy and unserved society. JOHNSON. "That is an ill-founded notion. Being a king does not exclude a man from such society. Great kings have always been social. The king of Prussia, the only great king at present, is very social. Charles the Second, the last king of England who was a man of parts, was social; and our Henrys and Edwards were all social."¹

Mr. Dempster having endeavoured to maintain that intrinsic merit *ought* to make the only distinction amongst mankind. JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, mankind have found that this cannot be. How shall we determine the proportion of intrinsic merit? Were that to be the only distinction amongst mankind, we should soon quarrel about the degrees of it. Were all distinctions abolished, the strongest would not long acquiesce, but would endeavour to obtain a superiority by their bodily strength. But, Sir, as subordination is very necessary for society, and contentions for superiority very dangerous, mankind, that is to say, all civilised nations, have settled it upon a plain invariable principle. A man is born to hereditary rank; or his being appointed to certain offices gives him a certain rank. Subordination tends greatly to human happiness. Were we all upon an equality, we should have no other enjoyment than mere animal pleasure."

I said, I consider distinction of rank to be of so much importance in civilised society, that if I were asked on the same day to dine with the first duke in England, and with the first man in Britain for genius, I should hesitate which to prefer. JOHNSON. "To be sure, Sir, if you were to dine only once, and it were never to be known where you dined, you would choose rather to dine with the first man for genius; but to gain most respect, you should dine with the first duke in England. For nine people in ten that you meet with, would have a higher opinion of you for having dined with a duke; and the great genius himself would receive you better, because you had been with the great duke."

He took care to guard himself against any possible suspicion that his settled principles of reverence for rank, and respect for wealth, were at all owing to mean or interested motives; for he asserted his own independence as a literary man. "No man," said he, "who ever lived by literature, has lived more independently than I have done." He said he had taken longer time than he needed to have done in composing his Dictionary. He received our compliments upon that great work with complacency, and told us that the Academy *della Crusca* could scarcely believe that it was done by one man.

Next morning I found him alone, and have preserved the following fragments of his conversation. Of a gentleman² who was mentioned, he said, "I have not met with any man for a long time who has given me such general displeasure. He is totally unfixed in his principles, and wants to puzzle other people." I said his principles had been poisoned by a noted infidel writer, but that he was, nevertheless, a benevolent good man. JOHNSON. "We can have no dependence upon that instinctive, that constitutional goodness, which is not founded upon principle. I grant you that such a man may be a very amiable member of society. I can conceive him placed in such a situation that he is not much tempted to deviate from what is right; and as every man prefers virtue, when there is not some strong incitement to transgress its precepts, I can conceive him doing nothing wrong. But if such a man stood in need of money, I should not like to trust him; and I should certainly not trust him with young ladies, for *there* there is always temptation. Hume, and other sceptical innovators, are vain men, and will gratify themselves at any expense. Truth will not afford sufficient food to their vanity; so they have betaken themselves to error. Truth, Sir, is a cow which will yield such people no more milk, and so they are gone to milk the bull. If I could have allowed myself to gratify my vanity at the expense of truth, what fame might I have acquired! Every thing which Hume has advanced against Christianity had passed through my mind long before he wrote. Always remember this, that after a system is well settled upon positive evidence, a few partial objections ought not to shake it. The human mind is so limited, that it cannot take in all the parts of a subject, so that there may be objections raised against any thing. There are objections against a *plenum*, and objections against a *vacuum*; yet one of them must certainly be true."

¹ This opinion received strong confirmation from George the Fourth, whose natural abilities were undoubtedly very considerable, whose reign was eminently glorious, and whose private life was in a high degree amiable and social; but after all, the dullest people must be social in their own way, and George I. was probably as social in the Duchess of Kendal's circle as Charles II. in the Duchess of Cleveland's.—CROKER.

² Probably Mr. Dempster, whose share in the preceding conversation — (and it is, I dare say, not fully reported by his friend Boswell) — was very likely to have displeased Johnson. The "infidel writer" is no doubt their countryman, Hume.—CROKER.

I mentioned Hume's argument against the belief of miracles, that it is more probable that the witnesses to the truth of them are mistaken, or speak falsely, than that the miracles should be true. JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, the great difficulty of proving miracles should make us very cautious in believing them. But let us consider; although God has made Nature to operate by certain fixed laws, yet it is not unreasonable to think that he may suspend those laws, in order to establish a system highly advantageous to mankind. Now the Christian religion is a most beneficial system, as it gives us light and certainty where we were before in darkness and doubt. The miracles which prove it are attested by men who had no interest in deceiving us; but who, on the contrary, were told that they should suffer persecution, and did actually lay down their lives in confirmation of the truth of the facts which they asserted. Indeed, for some centuries the heathens did not pretend to deny the miracles; but said they were performed by the aid of evil spirits. This is a circumstance of great weight. Then, Sir, when we take the proofs derived from prophecies which have been so exactly fulfilled, we have most satisfactory evidence. Supposing a miracle possible, as to which, in my opinion, there can be no doubt, we have as strong evidence for the miracles in support of Christianity as the nature of the thing admits."

At night, Mr. Johnson and I supped in a private room at the Turk's Head coffee-house, in the Strand.¹ "I encourage this house," said he, "for the mistress of it is a good civil woman, and has not much business."

"Sir, I love the acquaintance of young people; because, in the first place, I don't like to think myself growing old. In the next place, young acquaintances must last longest, if they do last; and then, Sir, young men have more virtue than old men; they have more generous sentiments in every respect. I love the young dogs of this age; they have more wit and humour and knowledge of life than we had²; but then the dogs are not so good scholars. Sir, in my early years I read very hard. It is a sad reflection, but a true one, that I knew almost as much at eighteen as I do now.³ My judgment, to be sure, was not so good; but I had all the facts. I remember very well, when I was at Oxford, an old gentleman said to me, 'Young man, ply your book diligently now, and acquire a stock of knowledge; for when years come unto you, you will find that poring upon books will be but an irksome task.'"

This account of his reading, given by himself in plain words, sufficiently confirms what I have already advanced upon the disputed question as to his application. It reconciles any seeming inconsistency in his way of talking upon it at different times; and shows that idleness and reading hard were with him relative terms, the import of which, as used by him, must be gathered from a comparison with what scholars of different degrees of ardour and assiduity have been known to do. And let it be remembered, that he was now talking spontaneously, and expressing his genuine sentiments; whereas at other times he might be induced, from his spirit of contradiction, or more properly from his love of argumentative contest, to speak lightly of his own application to study. It is pleasing to consider that the old gentleman's gloomy prophecy as to the irksomeness of books to men of an advanced age, which is too often fulfilled, was so far from being verified in Johnson, that his ardour for literature never failed, and his last writings had more ease and vivacity than any of his earlier productions.

He mentioned it to me now, for the first time, that he had been distressed by melancholy, and for that reason had been obliged to fly from study and meditation, to the dissipating variety of life. Against melancholy he recommended constant occupation of mind, a great deal of exercise, moderation in eating and drinking, and especially to shun drinking at night. He said melancholy people were apt to fly to intemperance for relief, but that it sunk them much deeper in misery. He observed, that labouring men, who work hard, and live sparingly, are seldom or never troubled with low spirits.

He again insisted on the duty of maintaining subordination of rank. "Sir, I would no more deprive a nobleman of his respect, than of his money. I consider myself as acting a part in the great system of society, and I do to others as I would have them to do to me. I would behave to a nobleman as I should expect he would behave to me, were I a nobleman and he Sam. Johnson. Sir, there is one Mrs. Macaulay⁴, in this town, a great republican. One day when I was at her house, I put on a very grave countenance, and said to her, 'Madam, I am now become a convert to your way of thinking. I am convinced that all mankind are upon an equal footing; and to give you an unquestionable proof, Madam, that I am in earnest, here is a very sensible, civil, well-behaved fellow citizen, your footman; I desire that he may be allowed to sit down and dine with us.' I thus,

¹ A coffee-house over against Catherine Street, in the Strand, recently rebuilt and called "Wright's Hotel." — P. CUNNINGHAM.

² The justice of this assertion may be questioned. Johnson was comparing men of such a rank and station as he now met, with the narrow, provincial, and inferior society in which his own youth was spent. — CROKER.

³ His great period of study was from the age of twelve to

that of eighteen; as he told Mr. Langton, who gave me this information. — MALONE. He went to Oxford in his nineteenth year, and produced, if he had not previously made, his translation of the Messiah before he had been there quite three months. — CROKER.

⁴ This "one Mrs. Macaulay" was the same personage, who afterwards made herself so much known as "the celebrated female historian." — BOSWELL. See *anté*, p. 78. n. 3. — C.

Sir, showed her the absurdity of the levelling doctrine. She has never liked me since. Sir, your levellers wish to level *down* as far as themselves; but they cannot bear levelling *up* to themselves. They would all have some people under them; why not then have some people above them?" I mentioned a certain author who disgusted me by his forwardness, and by showing no deference to noblemen into whose company he was admitted. JOHNSON. "Suppose a shoemaker should claim an equality with him, as he does with a lord: how he would stare! "Why, Sir, do you stare?" (says the shoemaker,) I do great service to society. 'Tis true, I am paid for doing it; but so are you, Sir: and, I am sorry to say it, better paid than I am, for doing something not so necessary. For mankind could do better without your books, than without my shoes.' Thus, Sir, there would be a perpetual struggle for precedence, were there no fixed invariable rules for the distinction of rank, which creates no jealousy, as it is allowed to be accidental."

He said, Dr. Joseph Warton was a very agreeable man, and his "Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope" a very pleasing book. I wondered that he delayed so long to give us the continuation of it. JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, I suppose he finds himself a little disappointed, in not having been able to persuade the world to be of his opinion as to Pope."

We have now been favoured with the concluding volume, in which, to use a parliamentary expression, he has *explained*, so as not to appear quite so adverse to the opinion of the world, concerning Pope, as was at first thought; and we must all agree, that his work is a most valuable accession to English literature.

A writer of deserved eminence¹ being mentioned, Johnson said, "Why, Sir, he is a man of good parts, but being originally poor, he has got a love of mean company, and low jocularities; a very bad thing, Sir. To laugh is good, as to talk is good. But you ought no more to think it enough if you laugh, than you are to think it enough if you talk. You may laugh in as many ways as you talk; and surely *every* way of talking that is practised cannot be esteemed."

I spoke of Sir James Macdonald² as a young man of most distinguished merit, who united the highest reputation at Eton and Oxford, with the patriarchal spirit of a great

Highland chieftain. I mentioned that Sir James had said to me, that he had never seen Mr. Johnson, but he had a great respect for him, though at the same time it was mixed with some degree of terror. JOHNSON. "Sir, if he were to be acquainted with me, it might lessen both."

The mention of this gentleman led us to talk of the Western Islands of Scotland, to visit which he expressed a wish, that then appeared to me a very romantic fancy, which I little thought would be afterwards realised. He told me, that his father had put Martin's account of those islands into his hands when he was very young, and that he was highly pleased with it; that he was particularly struck with the St. Kilda man's notion that the high church of Glasgow had been hollowed out of a rock³; a circumstance to which old Mr. Johnson had directed his attention. He said, he would go to the Hebrides with me, when I returned from my travels, unless some very good companion should offer when I was absent, which he did not think probable; adding, "There are few people to whom I take so much as to you." And when I talked of my leaving England, he said with a very affectionate air, "My dear Boswell, I should be very unhappy at parting, did I think we were not to meet again."—I cannot too often remind my readers, that although such instances of his kindness are doubtless very flattering to me, yet I hope my recording them will be ascribed to a better motive than to vanity; for they afford unquestionable evidence of his tenderness and complacency, which some, while they were forced to acknowledge his great powers, have been so strenuous to deny.

He maintained, that a boy at school was the happiest of human beings. I supported a different opinion, from which I have never yet varied, that a man is happier: and I enlarged upon the anxiety and sufferings which are endured at school. JOHNSON. "Ah! Sir, a boy's being flogged is not so severe as a man's having the hiss of the world against him. Men have a solicitude about fame; and the greater share they have of it, the more afraid they are of losing it." I silently asked myself, "Is it possible that the great SAMUEL JOHNSON really entertains any such apprehension, and is not confident that his exalted fame is established upon a foundation never to be shaken?"

He this evening drank a bumper to Sir David Dalrymple, "as a man of worth, a

¹ It is not easy to say who was here meant. Murphy, who was born poor, was distinguished for elegance of manners and conversation; and Fielding, who could not have been spoken of as alive in 1763, was born to better prospects, though he kept low company; and had it been Goldsmith, Boswell would probably have had no scruple in naming him. —C., 1830. The neighbouring mention of the name of Joseph Warton, and the allusion to "a fondness for low company," with which he has been often reproached (though Dr. Mant says unjustly), creates a suspicion that *he* is the person meant. The Quarterly Review (1831) suggests *Smollett*; who had left London for Italy the month before this conversation

occurs, and might naturally be talked of; but, on the whole, I believe Warton was meant. —CROKER.

² A young baronet of great promise, whom Mr. Boswell called the Marcellus of Scotland, and whom the concurrent testimony of his contemporaries proves to have been a very extraordinary young man. (Mrs. Carter's Letters, vol. i. p. 316.) He died at Rome in 1766. See *post*, 5th Sept. 1773. He was the elder brother of Sir Alexander, created Lord Macdonald, and of the late Chief Baron. —CROKER, 1846.

³ Addison, in the Spectator, No. 50., makes the Indian king suppose that St. Paul's was carved out of a rock. —CROKER.

scholar, and a wit." "I have," said he, "never heard of him, except from you; but let him know my opinion of him: for, as he does not show himself much in the world, he should have the praise of the few who hear of him."

CHAPTER XVII.

1763.

Table-Talk. — *Influence of the Weather.* — *Swift.* — *Thomson.* — *Burke.* — *Sheridan.* — *Evidences of Christianity.* — *Derrick.* — *Day at Greenwich.* — *The Methodists.* — *Johnson's "Walk."* — *Convocation.* — *Blacklock.* — *Johnson accompanies Boswell to Harwich.* — *The Journey.* — *"Good Eating."* — *"Abstinence and Temperance."* — *Johnson's favourite Dishes.* — *Bishop Berkeley "refuted."* — *Burke.* — *Boswell sails for Holland.*

On Tuesday, July 26., I found Mr. Johnson alone. It was a very wet day, and I again complained of the disagreeable effects of such weather. JOHNSON. "Sir, this is all imagination, which physicians encourage; for man lives in air, as a fish lives in water; so that, if the atmosphere press heavy from above, there is an equal resistance from below. To be sure, bad weather is hard upon people who are obliged to be abroad; and men cannot labour so well in the open air in bad weather, as in good: but, Sir, a smith or tailor, whose work is within doors, will surely do as much in rainy weather as in fair. Some very delicate frames indeed may be affected by wet weather; but not common constitutions."

We talked of the education of children; and I asked him what he thought was best to teach them first. JOHNSON. "Sir, it is no matter what you teach them first, any more than what leg you shall put into your breeches first. Sir, you may stand disputing which is best to put in first, but in the mean time your breech is bare. Sir, while you are considering which of two things you should teach your child first, another boy has learnt them both."

On Thursday, July 28., we again supped in private at the Turk's Head coffee-house. JOHNSON. "Swift has a higher reputation than he deserves. His excellence is strong sense, for his humour, though very well, is not remarkably good. I doubt whether the

'Tale of a Tub' be his; for he never owned it, and it is much above his usual manner.¹

"Thomson, I think, had as much of the poet about him as most writers. Every thing appeared to him through the medium of his favourite pursuit. He could not have viewed those two candles burning but with a poetical eye."

"Has not — ² a great deal of wit, Sir?" JOHNSON. "I do not think so, Sir. He is, indeed, continually attempting wit, but he fails. And I have no more pleasure in hearing a man attempting wit and failing, than in seeing a man trying to leap over a ditch and tumbling into it."

He laughed heartily when I mentioned to him a saying of his concerning Mr. Thomas Sheridan, which Foote took a wicked pleasure to circulate. "Why, Sir, Sherry is dull, naturally dull; but it must have taken him a great deal of pains to become what we now see him. Such an excess of stupidity, Sir, is not in Nature." — "So," said he, "I allowed him all his own merit."

He now added, "Sheridan cannot bear me. I bring his declamation to a point. I ask him a plain question, 'What do you mean to teach?'³ Besides, Sir, what influence can Mr. Sheridan have upon the language of this great country, by his narrow exertions? Sir, it is burning a farthing candle at Dover, to show light at Calais."

Talking of a young man⁴ who was uneasy from thinking that he was very deficient in learning and knowledge, he said, "A man has no reason to complain who holds a middle place, and has many below him; and perhaps he has not six of his years above him; — perhaps not one. Though he may not know any thing perfectly, the general mass of knowledge that he has acquired is considerable. Time will do for him all that is wanting."

The conversation then took a philosophical turn. JOHNSON. "Human experience, which is constantly contradicting theory, is the great test of truth. A system built upon the discoveries of a great many minds, is always of more strength than what is produced by the mere workings of any one mind, which, of itself, can do little. There is not so poor a book in the world that would not be a prodigious effort were it wrought out entirely by a single mind, without the aid of prior investigators. The French writers are superficial, because they are not scholars, and so proceed upon the mere power of their own minds; and we see how very little power they have."

¹ This opinion was given by him more at large at a subsequent period. See *post*, Aug. 16. 1773. — Boswell. How could Johnson doubt that Swift was the author of the Tale of a Tub, when, as he himself relates in his Life of Swift, "no other claimants can be produced; and when Archbishop Sharpe and the Duchess of Somerset, by showing it to Queen Anne, debarred Swift of a bishopric, he did not deny it?" We have, moreover, Swift's own acknowledgment of it, in his letter to Ben. Tooke, the printer, June 29. 1710. — CROKER.

² There is no doubt that this blank must be filled with the name of Mr. Burke. See *post*, Aug. 15. and Sept. 15. 1773, and April 25. 1778. — CROKER.

³ He endeavours to assign a reason for Sheridan's dissatisfaction very different from the true one; there is even reason to suppose, from Mr. Boswell's own account, that Johnson and Sheridan never met after Johnson's insult to Sheridan on the subject of the pension. — CROKER.

⁴ No doubt Boswell himself, now about twenty-two. — CROKER.

"As to the Christian religion, Sir, besides the strong evidence which we have for it, there is a balance in its favour from the number of great men who have been convinced of its truth, after a serious consideration of the question. Grotius was an acute man, a lawyer, a man accustomed to examine evidence, and he was convinced. Grotius was not a recluse, but a man of the world, who certainly had no bias to the side of religion. Sir Isaac Newton set out an infidel, and came to be a very firm believer."¹

He this evening again recommended to me to perambulate Spain.² I said it would amuse him to get a letter from me dated at Salamanca. JOHNSON. "I love the university of Salamanca; for when the Spaniards were in doubt as to the lawfulness of their conquering America, the university of Salamanca gave it as their opinion that it was not lawful." He spoke this with great emotion, and with that generous warmth which dictated the lines in his "London," against Spanish encroachment.³

I expressed my opinion of my friend Derrick as but a poor writer. JOHNSON. "To be sure, Sir, he is: but you are to consider that his being a literary man has got for him all that he has. It has made him King of Bath. Sir, he has nothing to say for himself but that he is a writer. Had he not been a writer, he must have been sweeping the crossings in the streets, and asking halfpence from everybody that passed."

In justice, however, to the memory of Mr. Derrick, who was my first tutor in the ways of London, and showed me the town in all its variety of departments, both literary and sportive, the particulars of which Dr. Johnson advised me to put in writing, it is proper to mention what Johnson, at a subsequent period [27th August, 1773], said of him, both as a writer and an editor: "Sir, I have often said, that if Derrick's letters had been written by one of a more established name, they would have been thought very pretty letters." And [22d September, 1773], "I sent Derrick to Dryden's relations to gather materials for his life; and I believe he got all that I myself should have got."

Poor Derrick! I remember him with kindness. Yet I cannot withhold from my readers a pleasant humorous sally which could not have hurt him had he been alive, and now is

perfectly harmless. In his collection of poems, there is one upon entering the harbour of Dublin, his native city, after a long absence. It begins thus:—

"Eblana! much loved city, hail!
Where first I saw the light of day."

And after a solemn reflection on his being "numbered with forgotten dead," there is the following stanza:

"Unless my lines protract my fame,
And those who chance to read them, cry,
I knew him! Derrick was his name,
In yonder tomb his ashes lie;"—

which was thus happily parodied by Mr. John Home, to whom we owe the beautiful and pathetic tragedy of "Douglas:—

"Unless my deeds protract my fame,
And he who passes sadly sings,
I knew him! Derrick was his name,
On yonder tree his carcase swings!"

I doubt much whether the amiable and ingenious author of these burlesque lines will recollect them; for they were produced extempore one evening while he and I were walking together in the dining-room at Eglintoune Castle, in 1760, and I have never mentioned them to him since.

Johnson said once to me, "Sir, I honour Derrick for his presence of mind. One night, when Floyd⁴, another poor author, was wandering about the streets in the night, he found Derrick fast asleep upon a bulk: upon being suddenly waked, Derrick started up, 'My dear Floyd, I am sorry to see you in this destitute state: will you go home with me to my lodgings?'"⁵

I again begged his advice as to my method of study at Utrecht. "Come," said he, "let us make a day of it. Let us go down to Greenwich and dine, and talk of it there." The following Saturday was fixed for this excursion.

As we walked along the Strand to-night, arm in arm, a woman of the town accosted us, in the usual enticing manner. "No, no, my girl," said Johnson, "it won't do." He, however, did not treat her with harshness; and we talked of the wretched life of such women, and agreed, that much more misery than happiness, upon the whole, is produced by illicit commerce between the sexes.

¹ Where, Bishop Elrington asked, did Johnson learn this? It is true that Dr. Horsley declined publishing some papers on religious subjects which Newton left behind him—some have suspected that they were tainted with Unitarianism; others (probably from a consideration of his work on the Revelations) believed that they were in a strain of mysticism not (in the opinion of his friends) worthy of so great a genius; and the recent publication of his two letters to Locke, in a style of infantine simplicity (See Lord King's Life of Locke), gives additional colour to this latter opinion; but for Johnson's assertion that he set out an infidel, there appears no authority, and all the inferences are the other way.—CROKER.

² I fully intended to have followed advice of such weight; but having staid much longer both in Germany and Italy

than I proposed to do, and having also visited Corsica, I found that I had exceeded the time allowed me by my father, and hastened to France in my way homewards.—BOSWELL.

³ "Has Heaven reserved, in pity to the poor,
No pathless waste, or undiscover'd shore?
No secret island in the boundless main?
No peaceful desert yet unclaim'd by Spain?"
—CROKER.

⁴ Thomas Floyd published, in 1760, "Bibliotheca Biographica; a Synopsis of Universal Biography," in three volumes, 8vo.—BOSWELL.

⁵ No great presence of mind; for Floyd would have naturally accepted such a proposal, and then Derrick would have been doubly exposed.—CROKER.

On Saturday, July 30., Dr. Johnson and I took a sculler at the Temple-stairs, and set out for Greenwich. I asked him if he really thought a knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages an essential requisite to a good education. JOHNSON. "Most certainly, Sir; for those who know them have a very great advantage over those who do not. Nay, Sir, it is wonderful what a difference learning makes upon people even in the common intercourse of life, which does not appear to be much connected with it. "And yet," said I, "people go through the world very well, and carry on the business of life to good advantage, without learning." JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, that may be true in cases where learning cannot possibly be of any use; for instance, this boy rows us as well without learning as if he could sing the song of Orpheus to the Argonauts, who were the first sailors." He then called to the boy, "What would you give, my lad, to know about the Argonauts?" "Sir," said the boy, "I would give what I have." Johnson was much pleased with his answer, and we gave him a double fare. Dr. Johnson then turning to me, "Sir," said he, "a desire of knowledge is the natural feeling of mankind; and every human being, whose mind is not debauched, will be willing to give all that he has, to get knowledge."¹

We landed at the Old Swan², and walked to Billingsgate, where we took oars and moved smoothly along the silver Thames. It was a very fine day. We were entertained with the immense number and variety of ships that were lying at anchor, and with the beautiful country on each side of the river.

I talked of preaching, and of the great success which those called methodists³ have. JOHNSON. "Sir, it is owing to their expressing themselves in a plain and familiar manner,

which is the only way to do good to the common people, and which clergymen of genius and learning ought to do from a principle of duty, when it is suited to their congregations; a practice, for which they will be praised by men of sense. To insist against drunkenness as a crime, because it debases reason, the noblest faculty of man, would be of no service to the common people: but to tell them that they may die in a fit of drunkenness, and show them how dreadful that would be, cannot fail to make a deep impression. Sir, when your Scotch clergy give up their homely manner, religion will soon decay in that country." Let this observation, as Johnson meant it, be ever remembered.

I was much pleased to find myself with Johnson at Greenwich, which he celebrates in his "London" as a favourite scene. I had the poem in my pocket, and read the lines aloud with enthusiasm:

"On Thames's banks in silent thought we stood,
Where Greenwich smiles upon the silver flood:
Struck with the seat that gave ELIZA birth,
We kneel and kiss the consecrated earth."

He remarked that the structure of Greenwich Hospital was too magnificent for a place of charity, and that its parts were too much detached, to make one great whole.

Buchanan, he said, was a very fine poet; and observed, that he was the first who complimented a lady, by ascribing to her the different perfections of the heathen goddesses⁴; but that Johnstone⁵ improved upon this, by making his lady, at the same time, free from their defects.

He dwelt upon Buchanan's elegant verses to Mary Queen of Scots, *Nympha Caledonia*, &c., and spoke with enthusiasm of the beauty of Latin verse. "All the modern languages,"

¹ No doubt there is a *hunger and thirst* of the mind as well as of the body; mark the intellectual voracity of children. — CROKER, 1846.

² The erection of a new London Bridge may render it useful to observe, that with the flood-tide it was impossible, and with the ebb-tide dangerous, to pass through, or *shoot*, the arches of the old bridge: in the latter case, prudent passengers, therefore, landed above the bridge, and walked to some wharf below it. — C. I had once the honour of attending the Duke and Duchess of York on a party of pleasure down the river, and we were about to land to allow the barge to shoot the bridge. The Duchess asked "why?" and being told that it was on account of the *danger*, positively refused to get out of the boat, and insisted on *shooting*, which we reluctantly did; but we shipped a good deal of water, and all got very wet; Her Royal Highness showing not the least alarm or regret. — CROKER.

³ All who are acquainted with the history of religion, (the most important, surely, that concerns the human mind,) know that the appellation of *Methodists* was first given to a society of students in the University of Oxford, who, about the year 1730, were distinguished by an earnest and *methodical* attention to devout exercises. This disposition of mind is not a novelty, or peculiar to any sect, but has been, and still may be, found in many Christians of every denomination. Johnson himself was, in a dignified manner, a methodist. In his *Rambler*, No. 110., he mentions with respect "the whole discipline of regulated piety;" and in his "Prayers and Meditations," many instances occur of his anxious examination into his spiritual state. That this religious earnestness, and in particular an observation of the influence of the Holy Spirit, has sometimes degenerated into folly, and sometimes been counterfeited for base purposes, cannot be denied. But it is not, therefore, fair to censure it when genuine. The principal argument, in reason and good

sense, against methodism is, that it tends to debase human nature, and prevent the generous exertions of goodness, by an unworthy supposition that God will pay no regard to them; although it is positively said in the scriptures, that he "will reward every man according to his works." But I am happy to have it in my power to do justice to those whom it is the fashion to ridicule, without any knowledge of their tenets; and this I can do by quoting a passage from one of their best apologists, Mr. Milner, who thus expresses their doctrine upon this subject: — "Justified by faith, renewed in his faculties, and constrained by the love of Christ, the believer moves in the sphere of love and gratitude, and all his duties flow more or less from this principle. And though they are accumulating for him in heaven a treasure of bliss proportioned to his faithfulness and activity, and it is by no means inconsistent with his principles to feel the force of this consideration, yet love itself sweetens every duty to his mind; and he thinks there is no absurdity in his feeling the love of God as the grand commanding principle of his life." — *Essays on religious Subjects*, &c., by Joseph Milner, A.M., Master of the Grammar-School of Kingston-upon-Hull, 1789, p. 11. — BOSWELL. Joseph Milner was brother of the better known Dr. Isaac Milner, who died Dean of Carlisle. — CROKER.

⁴ Epigram, Lib. II. "In Elizabeth, Angliæ Reg." — I suspect that the author's memory here deceived him, and that Johnson said, "the first modern poet;" for there is a well-known Epigram in the *Anthologia*, containing this kind of eulogy. — MALONE.

⁵ Arthur Johnstone, born near Aberdeen in 1587, an elegant Latin poet. His principal works are a volume of epigrams (in which it is to be found that to which Dr. Johnson alludes,) and a Latin paraphrase of the Psalms. He died at Oxford in 1641. — CROKER.

said he, "cannot furnish so melodious a line as —

'Formosam resonare doces Amarillidæ silvas.'"¹

Afterwards he entered upon the business of the day, which was to give me his advice as to a course of study. And here I am to mention, with much regret, that my record of what he said is miserably scanty. I recollect with admiration an animating blaze of eloquence, which roused every intellectual power in me to the highest pitch, but must have dazzled me so much, that my memory could not preserve the substance of his discourse; for the note which I find of it is no more than this:—"He ran over the grand scale of human knowledge; advised me to select some particular branch to excel in, but to acquire a little of every kind." The defect of my minutes will be fully supplied by a long letter upon the subject, which he favoured me with, after I had been some time at Utrecht, and which my readers will have the pleasure to peruse in its proper place.

We walked in the evening in Greenwich Park. He asked me, I suppose by way of trying my disposition, "Is not this very fine?" Having no exquisite relish of the beauties of nature, and being more delighted with "the busy hum of men," I answered, "Yes, Sir; but not equal to Fleet-street." JOHNSON. "You are right, Sir."

I am aware that many of my readers may censure my want of taste. Let me, however, shelter myself under the authority of a very fashionable baronet² in the brilliant world, who, on his attention being called to the fragrance of a May evening in the country, observed, "This may be very well; but, for my part, I prefer the smell of a flambeau at the playhouse."

We staid so long at Greenwich, that our sail up the river, in our return to London, was by no means so pleasant as in the morning; for the night air was so cold that it made me shiver. I was the more sensible of it from having sat up all the night before recollecting and writing in my Journal what I thought worthy of preservation; an exertion, which, during the first part of my acquaintance with Johnson, I frequently made. I remember having sat up four nights in one week, without being much incommoded in the daytime.

Johnson, whose robust frame was not in the least affected by the cold, scolded me, as if my shivering had been a paltry effeminacy, saying, "Why do you shiver?" Sir William Scott³, of the Commons, told me, that when he com-

plained of a headach in the post-chaise, as they were travelling together to Scotland, Johnson treated him in the same manner: "At your age, Sir, I had no headach." It is not easy to make allowance for sensations in others, which we ourselves have not at the time. We must all have experienced how very differently we are affected by the complaints of our neighbours, when we are well and when we are ill. In full health, we can scarcely believe that they suffer much; so faint is the image of pain upon our imagination: when softened by sickness, we readily sympathise with the sufferings of others.

We concluded the day at the Turk's Head coffee-house very socially. He was pleased to listen to a particular account which I gave him of my family, and of its hereditary estate, as to the extent and population of which he asked questions, and made calculations; recommending, at the same time, a liberal kindness to the tenantry, as people over whom the proprietor was placed by Providence. He took delight in hearing my description of the romantic seat of my ancestors. "I must be there, Sir," said he, "and we will live in the old castle; and if there is not a room in it remaining, we will build one." I was highly flattered, but could scarcely indulge a hope that Auchinleck would indeed be honoured by his presence, and celebrated by a description, as it afterwards was, in his "Journey to the Western Islands."

After we had again talked of my setting out for Holland, he said, "I must see thee out of England; I will accompany you to Harwich." I could not find words to express what I felt upon this unexpected and very great mark of his affectionate regard.⁴

Next day, Sunday, July 31., I told him I had been that morning at a meeting of the people called Quakers, where I had heard a woman preach. JOHNSON. "Sir, a woman preaching is like a dog's walking on his hind legs. It is not done well; but you are surprised to find it done at all."

On Tuesday, August 2., (the day of my departure from London having been fixed for the 5th,) Dr. Johnson did me the honour to pass a part of the morning with me at my chambers. He said, that "he always felt an inclination to do nothing." I observed, that it was strange to think that the most indolent man in Britain had written the most laborious work, THE ENGLISH DICTIONARY.

I mentioned an imprudent publication, by a certain friend of his, at an early period of life, and asked him if he thought it would hurt

¹ "And the wood rings with Amarillidæ's name."

Virg. Eccl. 1. 5. Dr. Johnson, *ante*, p. 10. — CROKER.

² My friend Sir Michael Le Fleming, of Rydall in Westmoreland. This gentleman, with all his experience of sprightly and elegant life, inherits, with the beautiful family domain, no inconsiderable share of that love of literature, which distinguished his venerable grandfather the Bishop of Carlisle. He one day observed to me, of Dr. Johnson, in a

felicity of phrase, "There is a blunt dignity about him on every occasion." — BOSWELL. Sir Michael Le Fleming died of an apoplectic fit, May 19. 1806, while conversing, at the Admiralty, with Lord Grey (then first Lord). — MILONE.

³ Afterwards Lord Stowell, who accompanied Dr. Johnson from Newcastle to Edinburgh in 1773. — CROKER.

⁴ They had met only thirteen days; so that the friendship was of rapid growth. — CROKER.

him. JOHNSON. "No, Sir; not much. It may, perhaps, be mentioned at an election."¹

I had now made good my title to be a privileged man, and was carried by him in the evening to drink tea with Miss Williams, whom, though under the misfortune of having lost her sight, I found to be agreeable in conversation; for she had a variety of literature, and expressed herself well; but her peculiar value was the intimacy in which she had long lived with Johnson, by which she was well acquainted with his habits, and knew how to lead him on to talk.

After tea he carried me to what he called his walk, which was a long narrow paved court in the neighbourhood, overshadowed by some trees. There we sauntered a considerable time; and I complained to him that my love of London and of his company was such, that I shrunk almost from the thought of going away even to travel, which is generally so much desired by young men. He roused me by manly and spirited conversation. He advised me, when settled in any place abroad, to study with an eagerness after knowledge, and to apply to Greek an hour every day; and when I was moving about, to read diligently the great book of mankind.

On Wednesday, August 3., we had our last social evening at the Turk's Head coffee-house, before my setting out for foreign parts. I had the misfortune, before we parted, to irritate him unintentionally. I mentioned to him how common it was in the world to tell absurd stories of him, and to ascribe to him very strange sayings. JOHNSON. "What do they make me say, Sir?" BOSWELL. "Why, Sir, as an instance very strange indeed, (laughing heartily as I spoke,) David Hume told me, you said that you would stand before a battery of cannon to restore the Convocation to its full powers." Little did I apprehend that he had actually said this: but I was soon convinced of my error; for, with a determined look, he thundered out, "And would I not, Sir? Shall the Presbyterian kirk of Scotland have its General Assembly, and the Church of England be denied its Convocation?" He was walking up and down the room, while I told him the anecdote; but when he uttered this explosion of high-church zeal, he had come close to my chair, and his eyes flashed

with indignation. I bowed to the storm, and diverted the force of it, by leading him to expatiate on the influence which religion derived from maintaining the church with great external respectability.²

I must not omit to mention that he this year wrote "The Life of Ascham,"[†] and the Dedication to the Earl of Shaftesbury, † prefixed to the edition of that writer's English works, published by Mr. Bennet.³

On Friday, August 5., we set out early in the morning in the Harwich stage-coach. A fat elderly gentlewoman, and a young Dutchman, seemed the most inclined among us to conversation. At the inn where we dined, the gentlewoman said that she had done her best to educate her children; and particularly, that she had never suffered them to be a moment idle. JOHNSON. "I wish, Madam, you would educate me too: for I have been an idle fellow all my life." "I am sure, Sir," said she, "you have not been idle." JOHNSON. "Nay, Madam, it is very true; and that gentleman there," pointing to me, "has been idle. He was idle at Edinburgh. His father sent him to Glasgow, where he continued to be idle. He then came to London, where he has been very idle; and now he is going to Utrecht, where he will be as idle as ever." I asked him privately how he could expose me so. JOHNSON. "Poh, poh!" said he, "they knew nothing about you, and will think of it no more." In the afternoon the gentlewoman talked violently against the Roman Catholics, and of the horrors of the Inquisition. To the utter astonishment of all the passengers but myself, who knew that he could talk upon any side of a question, he defended the Inquisition, and maintained, that "false doctrine should be checked on its first appearance; that the civil power should unite with the church in punishing those who dare to attack the established religion, and that such only were punished by the Inquisition." He had in his pocket "*Pomponius Mela de Situ Orbis*," in which he read occasionally, and seemed very intent upon ancient geography. Though by no means niggardly, his attention to what was generally right was so minute, that having observed at one of the stages that I ostentatiously gave a shilling to the coachman, when the custom was for each passenger to give only sixpence,

¹ This probably alludes to Mr. Burke's "Vindication of Natural Society," a work published in 1756, in a happy imitation of Lord Bolingbroke's style, and in an ironical adoption of his principles: the whole was so well done, that it at first passed as a genuine work of Lord Bolingbroke's, and subsequently as a serious and (as in style and imagery it certainly is) splendid exposition of the principles of one of his disciples. Lord Chesterfield and Bishop Warburton are stated to have been so deceived; and it would seem, from the passage in the text, that Johnson and Boswell were in the same error. In 1765, Mr. Burke reprinted this piece, with a preface, in which he throws off altogether the mask of irony. Mr. Boswell calls him a *friend of Johnson's*, for he himself had not yet met Mr. Burke. — CROKER.

² It must be confessed, that the existing practice relative to Convocation is an anomaly, that seems at first sight absurd. Convocation is still summoned to meet when Parliament does;

but its meeting is a mere form, and it neither does nor dares do any business. It is now a solemn farce — but its reality would probably be fatal to the Church itself, and is, indeed, in the present state of our constitution, impossible. The historical inquirer sees, in the Houses of Convocation, Lords, and Commons, a striking analogy with the three Estates of the old *Etats Généraux* of France. — CROKER.

³ Johnson was, in fact, the editor of this work, as appears from a letter of Mr. T. Davies to the Rev. Edm. Bettesworth: — "Reverend Sir, — I take the liberty to send you Roger Ascham's works in English. Though Mr. Bennet's name is in the title, the editor was in reality Mr. Johnson, the author of the Rambler, who wrote the life of the author, and added several notes. Mr. Johnson gave it to Mr. Bennet, for his advantage," &c. I have not discovered why Johnson took this interest in Mr. Bennet. — CROKER.

he took me aside and scolded me, saying that what I had done would make the coachman dissatisfied with all the rest of the passengers, who gave him no more than his due. This was a just reprimand; for in whatever way a man may indulge his generosity or his vanity in spending his money, for the sake of others he ought not to raise the price of any article for which there is a constant demand.

He talked of Mr. Blacklock's¹ poetry, so far as it was descriptive of visible objects; and observed, that, "as its author had the misfortune to be blind, we may be absolutely sure that such passages are combinations of what he has remembered of the works of other writers who could see. That foolish fellow, Spence, has laboured to explain philosophically how Blacklock may have done, by means of his own faculties, what it is impossible he should do. The solution, as I have given it, is plain. Suppose, I know a man to be so lame that he is absolutely incapable to move himself, and I find him in a different room from that in which I left him; shall I puzzle myself with idle conjectures, that, perhaps, his nerves have by some unknown change all at once become effective? No, Sir, it is clear how he got into a different room; he was carried."

Having stopped a night at Colchester, Johnson talked of that town with veneration, for having stood a siege for Charles the First. The Dutchman alone now remained with us. He spoke English tolerably well; and, thinking to recommend himself to us by expatiating on the superiority of the criminal jurisprudence of this country over that of Holland, he inveighed against the barbarity of putting an accused person to the torture, in order to force a confession. But Johnson was as ready for this, as for the Inquisition. "Why, Sir, you do not, I find, understand the law of your own country. To torture in Holland is considered as a favour to an accused person; for no man is put to the torture there unless there is as much evidence against him as would amount to conviction in England. An accused person among you, therefore, has one chance more to escape punishment, than those who are tried among us."²

At supper this night he talked of good eating with uncommon satisfaction. "Some people," said he, "have a foolish way of not minding, or pretending not to mind, what they eat.

For my part, I mind my belly very studiously, and very carefully; for I look upon it, that he who does not mind his belly will hardly mind any thing else." He now appeared to me *Jean Bull philosophe*, and he was for the moment, not only serious, but vehement. Yet I have heard him, upon other occasions, talk with great contempt of people who were anxious to gratify their palates; and the 206th number of his *Rambler* is a masterly essay against gulosity. His practice, indeed, I must acknowledge, may be considered as casting the balance of his different opinions upon this subject; for I never knew any man who relished good eating more than he did. When at table, he was totally absorbed in the business of the moment: his looks seemed riveted to his plate; nor would he, unless when in very high company, say one word, or even pay the least attention to what was said by others, till he had satisfied his appetite; which was so fierce, and indulged with such intenseness, that, while in the act of eating, the veins of his forehead swelled, and generally a strong perspiration was visible. To those whose sensations were delicate, this could not but be disgusting; and it was doubtless not very suitable to the character of a philosopher, who should be distinguished by self-command. But it must be owned, that Johnson, though he could be rigidly *abstemious*, was not a *temperate* man either in eating or drinking. He could refrain³, but he could not use moderately. He told me, that he had fasted two days without inconvenience, and that he had never been hungry but once. They who beheld with wonder how much he ate upon all occasions, when his dinner was to his taste, could not easily conceive what he must have meant by hunger; and not only was he remarkable for the extraordinary quantity which he ate, but he was, or affected to be, a man of very nice discernment in the science of cookery. He used to descant critically on the dishes which had been at table where he had dined or supped, and to recollect very minutely what he had liked. I remember when he was in Scotland, his praising *Gordon's palates* (a dish of palates at the Honourable Alexander Gordon's) with a warmth of expression which might have done honour to more important subjects. "As for Maclaurin's imitation of a *made dish*, it was a wretched attempt."⁴ He about the same time was so much displeased with the performances of a

¹ Dr. Thomas Blacklock was born in 1721: he totally lost his sight by the small-pox at the age of six years, but was, nevertheless, a descriptive poet. He died in 1791. "We may conclude," says his biographer, "with Denina, in his *Discorso della Letteratura*, that Blacklock will appear to posterity a fable, as to us he is a *prodigy*. It will be thought a fiction, that a man blind from his infancy, besides having made himself master of various foreign languages, should be a great poet in his own, and without having hardly seen the light, should be so remarkably happy in description." Johnson, no doubt, gives the true solution of Blacklock's power, which was *memory* and not *miracle*. — CROKER.

² "By a law of Holland, the criminal's confession is essential to a capital punishment; no other evidence being

sufficient, and if he insists on his innocence, he is tortured till he pronounces the words of confession." — *Kames's History of Man*, b. iii. sec. 12. — CROKER, 1835.

³ If hypercritically examined, *refrain* is not, perhaps, the word which exactly gives Mr. Boswell's meaning, which was, that Johnson could *abstain*, but found it hard to *refrain*. Hannah More pressed him one day, in 1782, at Bishop Porteus's table, to take a *little* wine; he replied, "I cannot drink a *little*, child; therefore I never touch it. *Abstinence* is as easy to me as *temperance* would be difficult." *Life*, i. 251. — CROKER.

⁴ On returning to Edinburgh, after the tour to the Hebrides, he dined one day at Mr. Maclaurin's, and supped at the Honourable Alexander Gordon's: the former, son

nobleman's French cook, that he exclaimed with vehemence, "I'd throw such a rascal into the river;" and he then proceeded to alarm a lady at whose house he was to sup, by the following manifesto of his skill: "I, Madam, who live at a variety of good tables, am a much better judge of cookery than any person who has a very tolerable cook, but lives much at home; for his palate is gradually adapted to the taste of his cook; whereas, Madam, in trying by a wider range, I can more exquisitely judge." When invited to dine, even with an intimate friend, he was not pleased if something better than a plain dinner was not prepared for him. I have heard him say on such an occasion, "This was a good dinner enough, to be sure; but it was not a dinner to *ask* a man to." On the other hand, he was wont to express, with great glee, his satisfaction when he had been entertained quite to his mind. One day when he had dined with his neighbour and landlord in Bolt Court, Mr. Allen¹, the printer, whose old housekeeper had studied his taste in every thing, he pronounced this eulogy: "Sir, we could not have had a better dinner, had there been a *Synod of Cooks*."²

While we were left by ourselves, after the Dutchman had gone to bed, Dr. Johnson talked of that studied behaviour which many have recommended and practised. He disapproved of it; and said, "I never considered whether I should be a grave man, or a merry man, but just let inclination, for the time, have its course."

He flattered me with some hopes that he would, in the course of the following summer, come over to Holland, and accompany me in a tour through the Netherlands.

I teased him with fanciful apprehensions of unhappiness. A moth having fluttered round

the candle, and burnt itself, he laid hold of this little incident to admonish me; saying, with a sly look, and in a solemn but a quiet tone, "That creature was its own tormentor, and I believe its name was Boswell."

Next day we got to Harwich to dinner; and my passage in the packet-boat to Helvoetsluys being secured, and my baggage put on board, we dined at our inn by ourselves. I happened to say, it would be terrible if he should not find a speedy opportunity of returning to London, and be confined in so dull a place. JOHNSON. "Don't, Sir, accustom yourself to use big words for little matters.³ It would *not* be terrible, though *I were* to be detained some time here." The practice of using words of disproportionate magnitude is, no doubt, too frequent every where; but, I think, most remarkable among the French, of which, all who have travelled in France must have been struck with innumerable instances.

We went and looked at the church, and having gone into it and walked up to the altar, Johnson, whose piety was constant and fervent, sent me to my knees, saying, "Now that you are going to leave your native country, recommend yourself to the protection of your CREATOR and REDEEMER."

After we came out of the church, we stood talking for some time together of Bishop Berkeley's ingenious sophistry to prove the non-existence of matter, and that every thing in the universe is merely ideal. I observed, that though we are satisfied his doctrine is not true, it is impossible to refute it. I never shall forget the alacrity with which Johnson answered, striking his foot with mighty force against a large stone, till he rebounded from it, "I refute it *thus*."⁴ This was a stout exemplification of the *first truths* of *Père Bouffier*,

of the celebrated mathematician, became in 1787, a Lord of Session, by the title of Lord Dreghorn; the latter was third son of the second Earl of Aberdeen, and, in 1788, he also was made a Lord of Session, and took the title of Lord Rockville. — CROKER.

¹ Edward Allen was a very excellent printer in Bolt Court. His office united to Johnson's dwelling. He died in 1780. — NICHOLS.

² Johnson's notions about eating, says Mrs. Piozzi, however, were nothing less than delicate: a leg of pork boiled till it dropped from the bone, a veal pie with plums and sugar, or the outside cut of a salt buttock of beef, were his favourite dainties: with regard to drink, his liking was for the strongest, as it was not the flavour, but the effect he sought for, and professed to desire: and when I first knew him, he used to pour capillaire into his port wine. For the last twelve years, however, he left off all fermented liquors. To make himself some amends, indeed, he took his chocolate liberally, pouring in large quantities of cream, or even melted butter; and was so fond of fruit, that though he would eat seven or eight large peaches of a morning before breakfast began, and treated them with proportionate attention after dinner again, yet I have heard him protest, that he never had quite as much as he wished of wall-fruit, except *ones* in his life, and that was when we were all together at Omersley, the seat of my Lord Sandys; and yet, when his Irish friend Grierson, [see *post*, sub 1770.] hearing him enumerate the qualities necessary to the formation of a poet, began a comical parody upon his ornamented harangue in praise of a cook, concluding with this observation, that he who dressed a good dinner was a more excellent and a more useful member of society than he who wrote a good poem. "And in this opinion," said Mr. Johnson, in reply, "all the dogs in the town will join you." — He loved his dinner exceedingly,

and has often said in my hearing, perhaps for my edification, "that wherever the dinner is ill got up, there is poverty, or there is avarice, or there is stupidity; in short, the family is somehow grossly wrong; for," continued he, "a man seldom thinks with more earnestness of any thing than he does of his dinner; and if he cannot get that well dressed, he should be suspected of inaccuracy in other things." One day, when he was speaking upon the subject, I asked him, if he ever huffed his wife about his dinner? "So often," replied he, "that at last she called to me, when about to say grace, and said, 'Nay, hold, Mr. Johnson, and do not make a farce of thanking God for a dinner which, in a few minutes, you will pronounce not eatable.'"³ — CROKER.

³ This advice comes drolly from the writer who makes a young lady talk of "the *cosmetic discipline*," "a regular *lustration* with bean-flower water, and the use of a pomade to discuss pimples and clear *discoloration*" (Rambler, No. 130.); while a young gentleman tells us of "the *flaccid sides* of a foot-ball having swelled out into stiffness and extension." (No. 117.) And it is equally amusing to find Mr. Boswell, after his various defences of Johnson's *grandiloquence*, attacking the little infatigations of French conversation — straining at a gnat, after having swallowed a camel. — CROKER.

⁴ Dr. Johnson seems to have been imperfectly acquainted with Berkeley's doctrine; as his experiment only proves that we have the sensation of solidity, which Berkeley did not deny. He admitted that we had sensations or ideas that are usually called sensible qualities, one of which is solidity: he only denied the existence of *matter*, i. e. an inert senseless substance, in which they are supposed to subsist. Johnson's exemplification concurs with the vulgar notion, that solidity is matter. — KEARNEY.

or the *original principles* of Reid and of Beattie; without admitting which, we can no more argue in metaphysics, than we can argue in mathematics without axioms. To me it is not conceivable how Berkeley can be answered by pure reasoning; but I know that the nice and difficult task was to have been undertaken by one of the most luminous minds¹ of the present age, had not politics "turned him from calm philosophy aside." What an admirable display of subtlety, united with brilliance, might his contending with Berkeley have afforded us! How must we, when we reflect on the loss of such an intellectual feast, regret that he should be characterised as the man, —

"Who, born for the universe, narrow'd his mind,
And to party gave up what was meant for mankind?"²

My revered friend walked down with me to the beach, where we embraced and parted with tenderness, and engaged to correspond by letters. I said, "I hope, Sir, you will not forget me in my absence." JOHNSON. "Nay, Sir, it is more likely you should forget me, than that I should forget you." As the vessel put out to sea, I kept my eyes upon him for a considerable time, while he remained rolling his majestic frame in his usual manner; and at last I perceived him walk back into the town, and he disappeared.

[JOHNSON TO GEORGE STRAHAN.

"20th Sept. 1763.

"DEAR SIR, — I should have answered your last letter sooner if I could have given you any valuable or useful directions; but I know not any way by which the composition of Latin verses can be much facilitated. Of the grammatical part, which comprises the knowledge of the measure of the foot, and quantity of the syllables, your grammar will teach you all that you can be taught, and even of that you can hardly know any thing by rule but the measure of the foot. The quantity of syllables, even of those for which rules are given, is commonly learned by practice and retained by observation. For the poetical part, which comprises variety of expression, propriety of terms, dexterity in selecting commodious words, and readiness in changing their order, it will all be produced by frequent essays and resolute perseverance. The less help you have the sooner you will be able to go forward without help.

"I suppose you are now ready for another author. I would not have you dwell longer upon one book than till your familiarity with its style makes it easy to you. Every new book will for a time be difficult. Make it a rule to write some-

thing in Latin every day; and let me know what you are now doing, and what your scheme is to do next. Be pleased to give my compliments to Mr. Bright, Mr. Stevenson, and Miss Page. I am, dear Sir, your affectionate servant,
— Rose MSS.

"SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO MISS REYNOLDS.

"Oxford, 27th Oct. [1763.]

"Your letter has scarcely come time enough to make an answer possible. I wish we could talk over the affair. I cannot go now. I must finish my book. I do not know Mr. Collier. I have not money beforehand sufficient. How long have you known Collier, that you should have put yourself into his hands? I once told you that ladies were timorous, and yet not cautious.³

"If I might tell my thoughts to one with whom they never had any weight, I should think it best to go through France. The expense is not great; I do not much like obligation, nor think the grossness of a ship very suitable to a lady. Do not go till I see you. I will see you as soon as I can. I am, my dearest, most sincerely yours,
— Reyn. MSS.

"SAM. JOHNSON."]

CHAPTER XVIII.

1763—1765.

Boswell at Utrecht. — Letter from Johnson. — The Frisick Language. — Johnson's Visit to Langton. — Institution of "The Club." — Reynolds. — Garrick. — Dr. Nugent. — Granger's "Sugar Cane." — Hypochondriac Attack. — Days of Abstraction. — Odd Habits. — Visit to Dr. Percy. — Letter to Reynolds. — Visit to Cambridge. — Self-examination. — Letter to, and from, Garrick. — Johnson created LL.D. by Dublin University. — Letter to Dr. Leland. — "Engaging in Politics." — William Gerard Hamilton.

UTRECHT seeming at first very dull to me, after the animated scenes of London, my spirits were grievously affected; and I wrote to Johnson a plaintive and desponding letter, to which he paid no regard. Afterwards, when I had acquired a firmer tone of mind, I wrote him a second letter, expressing much anxiety to hear from him. At length I received the following epistle, which was of important service to me, and, I trust, will be so to many others.

sail to the Mediterranean, and offered Miss Reynolds a passage; and she appears to have wished that Johnson might be of the party. Johnson was not aware that Captain Collier's *lady* was also going. Sir Joshua had gone to the Mediterranean in a similar way with Captain Keppel. — CROKER.

¹ Mr. Burke. — CROKER.

² In the latter years of his life, Mr. Burke reversed the conduct which Goldsmith so elegantly reprehended, and gave up party for what he conceived to be the good of mankind. — CROKER.

³ Captain, afterwards Sir George Collier, was about to

A. M. M. BOSWELL,

A la Cour de l'Empereur, Utrecht.

"London, Dec. 8. 1763.

"DEAR SIR,— You are not to think yourself forgotten, or criminally neglected, that you have had yet no letter from me. I love to see my friends, to hear from them, to talk to them, and to talk of them; but it is not without a considerable effort of resolution that I prevail upon myself to write. I would not, however, gratify my own indolence by the omission of any important duty, or any office of real kindness.

"To tell you that I am or am not well, that I have or have not been in the country, that I drank your health in the room in which we last sat together, and that your acquaintance continue to speak of you with their former kindness, topics with which those letters are commonly filled which are written only for the sake of writing, I seldom shall think worth communicating; but if I can have it in my power to calm any harassing disquiet, to excite any virtuous desire, to rectify any important opinion, or fortify any generous resolution, you need not doubt but I shall at least wish to prefer the pleasure of gratifying a friend much less esteemed than yourself, before the gloomy calm of idle vacancy. Whether I shall easily arrive at an exact punctuality of correspondence, I cannot tell. I shall, at present, expect that you will receive this in return for two which I have had from you. The first, indeed, gave me an account so hopeless of the state of your mind, that it hardly admitted or deserved an answer; by the second I was much better pleased; and the pleasure will still be increased by such a narrative of the progress of your studies, as may evince the continuance of an equal and rational application of your mind to some useful inquiry.

"You will, perhaps, wish to ask, what study I would recommend. I shall not speak of theology, because it ought not to be considered as a question whether you shall endeavour to know the will of God.

"I shall, therefore, consider only such studies as we are at liberty to pursue or to neglect; and of these I know not how you will make a better choice, than by studying the civil law as your father advises, and the ancient languages as you had determined for yourself: at least resolve, while you remain in any settled residence, to spend a certain number of hours every day amongst your books. The dissipation of thought of which you complain, is nothing more than the vacillation of a mind suspended between different motives, and changing its direction as any motive gains or loses strength. If you can but kindle in your mind any strong desire, if you can but keep predominant any wish for some particular excellence or attainment, the gusts of imagination will break away, without any effect upon your conduct, and commonly without any traces left upon the memory.

"There lurks, perhaps, in every human heart a desire of distinction, which inclines every man first to hope, and then to believe, that nature has given him something peculiar to himself. This vanity makes one mind nurse aversion, and another actuate

desires, till they rise by art much above their original state of power; and, as affectation in time improves to habit, they at last tyrannise over him who at first encouraged them only for show. Every desire is a viper in the bosom, who, while he was chill, was harmless; but when warmth gave him strength, exerted it in poison. You know a gentleman¹, who, when first he set his foot in the gay world, as he prepared himself to whirl in the vortex of pleasure, imagined a total indifference and universal negligence to be the most agreeable concomitants of youth, and the strongest indication of an airy temper and a quick apprehension. Vacant to every object, and sensible of every impulse, he thought that all appearance of diligence would deduct something from the reputation of genius; and hoped that he should appear to attain, amidst all the ease of carelessness, and all the tumult of diversion, that knowledge and those accomplishments which mortals of the common fabric obtain only by mute abstraction and solitary drudgery. He tried this scheme of life awhile, was made weary of it by his sense and his virtue; he then wished to return to his studies; and finding long habits of idleness and pleasure harder to be cured than he expected, still willing to retain his claim to some extraordinary prerogatives, resolved the common consequences of irregularity into an unalterable decree of destiny, and concluded that Nature had originally formed him incapable of rational employment.

"Let all such fancies, illusive and destructive, be banished henceforward from your thoughts for ever. Resolve, and keep your resolution: choose, and pursue your choice. If you spend this day in study, you will find yourself still more able to study to-morrow; not that you are to expect that you shall at once obtain a complete victory. Depravity is not very easily overcome. Resolution will sometimes relax, and diligence will sometimes be interrupted; but let no accidental surprise or deviation, whether short or long, dispose you to despondency. Consider these failings as incident to all mankind. Begin again where you left off, and endeavour to avoid the seducements that prevailed over you before.

"This, my dear Boswell, is advice which, perhaps, has been often given you, and given you without effect. But this advice, if you will not take from others, you must take from your own reflections, if you purpose to do the duties of the station to which the bounty of Providence has called you.

"Let me have a long letter from you as soon as you can. I hope you continue your journal, and enrich it with many observations upon the country in which you reside. It will be a favour if you can get me any books in the Frisick language, and can inquire how the poor are maintained in the Seven Provinces. I am, dear Sir, your most affectionate servant,
SAM. JOHNSON."

I am sorry to observe, that neither in my own minutes, nor in my letters to Johnson which have been preserved by him, can I find any information how the poor are maintained

¹ Boswell himself. — CROKER, 1835.

in the Seven Provinces. But I shall extract from one of my letters what I learnt concerning the other subject of his curiosity.

"I have made all possible inquiry with respect to the Frisick language, and find that it has been less cultivated than any other of the northern dialects; a certain proof of which is their deficiency of books. Of the old Frisick there are no remains, except some ancient laws preserved by *Schotanus* in his '*Beschryving van die Heerlykeid van Friesland*;' and his '*Historia Frisica*.' I have not yet been able to find these books. Professor Trotz, who formerly was of the University of Vrancken in Friesland, and is at present preparing an edition of all the Frisick laws, gave me this information. Of the modern Frisick, or what is spoken by the boors of this day, I have procured a specimen. It is '*Gisbert Japix's Rymelerie*,' which is the only book that they have. It is amazing that they have no translation of the bible, no treatises of devotion, nor even any of the ballads and story-books which are so agreeable to country people. You shall have *Japix* by the first convenient opportunity. I doubt not to pick up *Schotanus*. Mynheer Trotz has promised me his assistance."

Early in 1764, Johnson paid a visit to the Langton family, at their seat of Langton in Lincolnshire, where he passed some time much to his satisfaction. His friend Bennet Langton, it will not be doubted, did every thing in his power to make the place agreeable to so illustrious a guest; and the elder Mr. Langton and his lady, being fully capable of understanding his value, were not wanting in attention. He, however, told me, that old Mr. Langton, though a man of considerable learning, had so little allowance to make for his occasional "laxity of talk," that because in the course of discussion he sometimes mentioned what might be said in favour of the peculiar tenets of the Romish church, he went to his grave believing him to be of that communion.¹

Johnson, during his stay at Langton, had the advantage of a good library, and saw several gentlemen of the neighbourhood. I have obtained from Mr. Langton the following particulars of this period.

He was now fully convinced² that he could not have been satisfied with a country living; for, talking of a respectable clergyman in Lincolnshire, he observed, "This man, Sir, fills up the duties of his life well. I approve of him, but could not imitate him."

To a lady who endeavoured to vindicate herself from blame for neglecting social atten-

tion to worthy neighbours, by saying "I would go to them if it would do them any good;" he said, "What good, Madam, do you expect to have in your power to do them? It is showing them respect, and that is doing them good."

So socially accommodating was he, that once, when Mr. Langton and he were driving together in a coach, and Mr. Langton complained of being sick, he insisted that they should go out, and sit on the back of it in the open air, which they did. And being sensible how strange the appearance must be, observed, that a countryman whom they saw in a field would probably be thinking, "If these two madmen should come down, what would become of me?"

[JOHNSON TO MISS PORTER.

"London, Jan. 10. 1764.

"MY DEAR, — I was in hopes that you would have written to me before this time, to tell me that your house was finished, and that you were happy in it. I am sure I wish you happy. By the carrier of this week you will receive a box, in which I have put some books, most of which were your poor dear mamma's, and a diamond ring³, which I hope you will wear as my new year's gift. If you receive it with as much kindness as I send it, you will not slight it; you will be very fond of it.

"Pray give my service to Kitty, who, I hope, keeps pretty well. I know not now when I shall come down; I believe it will not be very soon. But I shall be glad to hear of you from time to time.

"I wish you, my dearest, many happy years; take what care you can of your health. I am, my dear, your affectionate humble servant,

— *Pearson MSS.* "SAM. JOHNSON."]

Soon after his return to London, which was in February, was founded that CLUB which existed long without a name, but at Mr. Garrick's funeral became distinguished by the title of THE LITERARY CLUB. Sir Joshua Reynolds had the merit of being the first proposer of it⁴; to which Johnson acceded, and the original members were, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Dr. Johnson, Mr. Edmund Burke, Dr. Nugent, Mr. Beauclerk, Mr. Langton, Dr. Goldsmith, Mr. Chamier, and Sir John Hawkins. They met at the Turk's Head, in Gerrard Street, Soho, one evening in every week, at seven, and generally continued their conversation till a pretty late hour.⁵ This club has been gradually increased to its present

¹ See *post*, April 1776, an anecdote that does not say much for Mr. Langton's learning or even good sense. — CROKER.

² This alludes to the offer to him of the living of Langton. See *ante*, p. 107. The clergyman was probably the person who, on his refusal, had been nominated. — CROKER.

³ This ring is now, as Dr. Harwood informs me, in the possession of Mrs. Pearson. — CROKER, 1831.

⁴ Johnson, as Mrs. Piozzi tells us, called Sir Joshua their *Romulus*. — CROKER.

⁵ It was Johnson's original intention, that the number of

this club should not exceed nine, but Mr. Dyer, a member of that in Ivy Lane before spoken of, and who for some years had been abroad, made his appearance among them, and was cordially received. The hours which Johnson spent in this society seemed to be the happiest of his life. He would often applaud his own sagacity in the selection of it, and was so constant at its meetings as never to absent himself. It is true, he came late, but then he stayed late, for, as has been already said of him, he little regarded hours. Our evening toast was the motto of Padre Paolo, "Esto perpetua." A

[1791] number, thirty-five. After about ten years, instead of supping weekly, it was resolved to dine together once a fortnight during the meeting of Parliament. Their original tavern having been converted into a private house, they moved first to Prince's in Sackville Street, then to Le Telier's in Dover Street, and now meet at Parsloe's, St. James's Street. Between the time of its formation, and the time at which this work is passing through the press (June, 1792), the following persons, now dead, were members of it: Mr. Dunning (afterwards Lord Ashburton), Mr. Samuel Dyer, Mr. Garrick, Dr. Shipley Bishop of St. Asaph, Mr. Vesey, Mr. Thomas Warton, and Dr. Adam Smith. The present members are, Mr. Burke, Mr. Langton, Lord Charlemont, Sir Robert Chambers, Dr. Percy Bishop of Dromore, Dr. Barnard Bishop of Killaloe, Dr. Marlay Bishop of Clonfert, Mr. Fox, Dr. George Fordyce, Sir William Scott, Sir Joseph Banks, Sir Charles Bunbury, Mr. Windham of Norfolk, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Gibbon, Sir William Jones, Mr. Colman, Mr. Steevens, Dr. Burney, Dr. Joseph Warton, Mr. Malone, Lord Ossory, Lord Spencer, Lord Lucan, Lord Palmerston, Lord Eliot, Lord Macartney, Mr. Richard Burke junior, Sir William Hamilton, Dr. Warren, Mr. Courtenay, Dr. Hinchliffe Bishop of Peterborough, the Duke of Leeds, Dr. Douglas Bishop of Salisbury, and the writer of this account.

Sir John Hawkins represents himself [*Life*, p. 425.] as a "*seceder*" from this society, and assigns as the reason of his "*withdrawing*" himself from it, that its late hours were inconsistent with his domestic arrangements. In this he is not accurate; for the fact was, that he one evening attacked Mr. Burke in so rude a manner, that all the company testified their displeasure; and at their next meeting their reception was such, that he never came again.¹

He is equally inaccurate with respect to Mr. Garrick, of whom he says, "He trusted that the least intimation of a desire to come among us, would procure him a ready admission;" but in this he was mistaken. Johnson

consulted me upon it; and when I could find no objection to receiving him, exclaimed, 'He will disturb us by his buffoonery;'—and afterwards so managed matters, that he was never formally proposed, and, by consequence, never admitted.²

In justice both to Mr. Garrick and Dr. Johnson, I think it necessary to rectify this mis-statement. The truth is, that not very long after the institution of our club, Sir Joshua Reynolds was speaking of it to Garrick. "I like it much," said he; "I think I shall be of you." When Sir Joshua mentioned this to Dr. Johnson, he was much displeased with the actor's conceit. "*He'll be of us*," said Johnson, "how does he know we will *permit* him? the first duke in England has no right to hold such language." However, when Garrick was regularly proposed some time afterwards, Johnson, though he had taken a momentary offence at his arrogance, warmly and kindly supported him, and he was accordingly elected [March, 1773], was a most agreeable member, and continued to attend our meetings to the time of his death.

Mrs. Piozzi³ has also given a similar misrepresentation of Johnson's treatment of Garrick in this particular, as if he had used these contemptuous expressions: "If Garrick *does* apply, I'll blackball him.—Surely, one ought to sit in a society like ours,

'Unelbow'd by a gamester, pimp, or player.'"

POPE.

I am happy to be enabled by such unquestionable authority as that of Sir Joshua Reynolds⁴, as well as from my own knowledge, to vindicate at once the heart of Johnson and the social merit of Garrick.

In this year, except what he may have done in revising Shakspeare, we do not find that he laboured much in literature. He wrote a review of Grainger's "Sugar Cane," a poem, in the London Chronicle. He told me that Dr. Percy wrote the greatest part of this review; but, I imagine, he did not recollect it distinctly, for it appears to be mostly, if not altogether, his own. He also wrote, in the

lady*, distinguished by her beauty, and taste for literature, invited us, two successive years, to a dinner at her house. Curiosity was her motive, and possibly a desire of intermingling with our conversation the charms of her own. She affected to consider us as a set of literary men, and perhaps gave the first occasion for distinguishing the society by the name of the "Literary Club," an appellation which it never assumed to itself.—At these meetings, Johnson, as indeed he did every where, led the conversation, yet was he far from arrogating to himself that superiority, which, some years before, he was disposed to contend for. He had seen enough of the world to know, that respect was not to be extorted, and began now to be satisfied with that degree of eminence to which his writings had exalted him. This change in his behaviour was remarked by those who were best acquainted with his character, and it rendered him an easy and delightful companion. Our discourse was miscellaneous, but chiefly literary. Politics were alone excluded.—*Hawkins*. "It was a supper-meeting then," says Mrs.

Piozzi, "on a Friday night, and I fancy Dr. Nugent [Mrs. Burke's father, who was a Roman Catholic] ordered an omelet; and Johnson felt very painful sensations at the sight of that dish soon after his death, and cried, 'Ah, my poor dear friend, I shall never eat omelet with thee again!' quite in an agony."—CROKER.

¹ From Sir Joshua Reynolds.—BOSWELL. The knight having refused to pay his portion of the reckoning for supper, because he usually ate no supper at home, Johnson observed, "Sir John, Sir, is a very *unclubbable* man."—BRUNY. Hawkins was not knighted till October, 1772, long after he had left the club. Burney, in relating the story, puts the *nunc pro tunc*.—CROKER.

² Hawkins no doubt meant "never" while he himself belonged to the Club.—CROKER.

³ Letters, vol. ii. p. 387.—BOSWELL.

⁴ It does not appear how Sir Joshua Reynolds's authority can be made available in this case. The expression is stated to have been used to *Mr. Thrale*; and the apt quotation from Pope, the saucy phrase which Boswell admits that Garrick used, and the fact, that he was for near ten years excluded from the Club, seem to accredit Mrs. Piozzi's anecdote.—CROKER.

* Either Mrs. Montagu, Mrs. Vesey, or Mrs. Ord.—Mr. Pennington (Miss Carter's nephew) thought the latter.—CROKER.

Critical Review, an account † of Goldsmith's excellent poem, "The Traveller."

The ease and independence to which he had at last attained by royal munificence, increased his natural indolence. In his "Meditations," [p. 53.] he thus accuses himself:

"GOOD FRIDAY, April 20. 1764. — I have made no reformation; I have lived totally useless, more sensual in thought, and more addicted to wine and meat."

And next morning he thus feelingly complains:—

"My indolence, since my last reception of the sacrament, has sunk into grosser sluggishness, and my dissipation spread into wilder negligence. My thoughts have been clouded with sensuality; and, except that from the beginning of this year I have, in some measure, forborne excess of strong drink, my appetites have predominated over my reason. A kind of strange oblivion has overspread me, so that I know not what has become of the last year; and perceive that incidents and intelligence pass over me without leaving any impression."

He then solemnly says, "This is not the life to which heaven is promised;" and he earnestly resolves an amendment.

"[Easter-day, April 22. 1764. Having, before I went to bed, composed the foregoing meditation, and the following prayer, I tried to compose myself, but slept unquietly. I rose, took tea, and prayed for resolution and perseverance. Thought on Tetty, dear poor Tetty, with my eyes full. I went to church; came in at the first of the Psalms, and endeavoured to attend the service, which I went through without perturbation. After sermon, I recommended Tetty in a prayer by herself; and my father, mother, brother, and Bathurst, in another. I did it only once, so far as it might be lawful for me.

"I then prayed for resolution and perseverance to amend my life. I received soon: the communicants were many. At the altar, it occurred to me that I ought to form some resolutions. I resolved, in the presence of God, but without a vow, to repel sinful thoughts, to study eight hours daily, and, I think, to go to church every Sunday, and read the Scriptures. I gave a shilling; and seeing a poor girl at the sacrament in a bedgown, gave her privately a crown, though I saw Hart's Hymns¹ in her hand. I prayed earnestly for amendment, and repeated my prayer at home. Dined with Miss W[illiams]; went to prayers at church; went to ———², spent the evening not pleasantly. Avoided wine, and tempered a very few glasses

with sherbet. Came home and prayed. I saw at the sacrament a man meanly dressed, whom I have always seen there at Easter."³]

It was his custom to observe certain days with a pious abstraction: viz. New-year's-day, the day of his wife's death, Good Friday, Easter-day, and his own birth-day. He this year [on his birth-day] says,

"I have now spent fifty-five years in resolving; having, from the earliest time almost that I can remember, been forming schemes of a better life. I have done nothing. The need of doing, therefore, is pressing, since the time of doing is short. O God, grant me to resolve aright, and to keep my resolutions, for Jesus Christ's sake. Amen."

Such a tenderness of conscience, such a fervent desire of improvement, will rarely be found. It is, surely, not decent in those who are hardened in indifference to spiritual improvement, to treat this pious anxiety of Johnson with contempt.

About this time he was afflicted with a very severe return of the hypochondriac disorder, which was ever lurking about him. He was so ill, as, notwithstanding his remarkable love of company, to be entirely averse to society, the most fatal symptom of that malady. Dr. Adams told me, that, as an old friend, he was admitted to visit him, and that he found him in a deplorable state, sighing, groaning, talking to himself, and restlessly walking from room to room. He then used this emphatical expression of the misery which he felt: "I would consent to have a limb amputated to recover my spirits."

Talking to himself was, indeed, one of his singularities ever since I knew him. I was certain that he was frequently uttering pious ejaculations; for fragments of the Lord's Prayer have been distinctly overheard.⁴ His friend Mr. Thomas Davies, of whom Churchill says,

"That Davies hath a very pretty wife;"

when Dr. Johnson muttered "lead us not into temptation"—used with waggish and gallant humour to whisper Mrs. Davies, "You, my dear, are the cause of this."

He had another particularity, of which none of his friends ever ventured to ask an explanation. It appeared to me some superstitious habit, which he had contracted early, and from which he had never called upon his reason to disentangle him. This was his

¹ "Hymns composed on various Subjects, by the Rev. John Hart, of the Grey Friars' Church, Edinburgh; with a Brief Account of the Author's Experience." 12mo. 1759. The "though" is here very characteristic. — CROKER.

² Dr. Hall found, in the original MS., instead of this blank, the letters *Davi*, followed by some other letters which are illegible. They, no doubt, meant either *Davies*, the bookseller, or *David Garrick*; most likely the former. — CROKER.

³ See post, p. 167. — C.

⁴ It used to be imagined at Mr. Thrale's, when Johnson retired to a window or corner of the room, by perceiving his lips in motion, and hearing a murmur without audible articulation, that he was praying; but this was not *always* the

case, for I was once, perhaps unperceived by him, writing at a table, so near the place of his retreat, that I heard him repeating some lines in an ode of Horace, over and over again, as if by iteration to exercise the organs of speech, and fix the ode in his memory:—

"Audiet clives acuisse ferrum
Quo graves Persæ melius perirent,
Audiet pugnas"

"Our sons shall hear, shall hear to latest times,
Of Roman arms with civil gore imbued,
Which better had the Persian foe subdued."—*Francis*.

It was during the American war. — BURNES.

anxious care to go out or in at a door or passage, by a certain number of steps from a certain point, or at least so as that either his right or his left foot (I am not certain which) should constantly make the first actual movement when he came close to the door or passage. Thus I conjecture: for I have, upon innumerable occasions, observed him suddenly stop, and then seem to count his steps with a deep earnestness; and when he had neglected or gone wrong in this sort of magical movement, I have seen him go back again, put himself in a proper posture to begin the ceremony, and, having gone through it, break from his abstraction, walk briskly on, and join his companion. A strange instance of something of this nature, even when on horseback, happened when he was in the Isle of Sky [12th October, 1773]. Sir Joshua Reynolds has observed him to go a good way about, rather than cross a particular alley in Leicester Fields; but this Sir Joshua imputed to his having had some disagreeable recollection associated with it.¹

That the most minute singularities which belonged to him, and made very observable parts of his appearance and manner, may not be omitted, it is requisite to mention, that, while talking, or even musing as he sat in his chair, he commonly held his head to one side towards his right shoulder, and shook it in a tremulous manner, moving his body backwards and forwards, and rubbing his left knee in the same direction, with the palm of his hand. In the intervals of articulating he made various sounds with his mouth, sometimes as if ruminating, or what is called chewing the end, sometimes giving a half whistle, sometimes making his tongue play backwards from the roof of his mouth, as if clucking like a hen, and sometimes protruding it against his upper gums in front, as if pronouncing quickly, under his breath, *too, too, too*: all this accompanied sometimes with a thoughtful look, but more frequently with a smile. Generally, when he had concluded a period, in the course of a dispute, by which time he was a good deal exhausted by violence and vociferation, he used to blow out his breath like a whale. This,

I suppose, was a relief to his lungs; and seemed in him to be a contemptuous mode of expression, as if he had made the arguments of his opponent fly like chaff before the wind.

I am fully aware how very obvious an occasion I here give for the sneering jocularities of such as have no relish of an exact likeness; which to render complete, he who draws it must not disclaim the slightest strokes. But if wittings should be inclined to attack this account, let them have the candour to quote what I have offered in my defence.

He was for some time in the summer at Easton Maudit, Northamptonshire, on a visit to the Rev. Dr. Percy, now Bishop of Dromore.² Whatever dissatisfaction he felt at what he considered as a slow progress in intellectual improvement, we find that his heart was tender, and his affections warm, as appears from the following very kind letter:—

JOHNSON TO REYNOLDS,

In Leicester Fields.

"DEAR SIR,—I did not hear of your sickness till I heard likewise of your recovery, and therefore escape that part of your pain, which every man must feel, to whom you are known as you are known to me.

"Having had no particular account of your disorder, I know not in what state it has left you. If the amusement of my company can exhilarate the languor of a slow recovery, I will not delay a day to come to you; for I know not how I can so effectually promote my own pleasure as by pleasing you, or my own interest as by preserving you, in whom, if I should lose you, I should lose almost the only man whom I call a friend.

"Pray, let me hear of you from yourself, or from dear Miss Reynolds. Make my compliments to Mr. Mudge. I am, dear Sir, your most affectionate and most humble servant, SAM. JOHNSON.

"At the Rev. Mr. Percy's, at Easton Maudit, Northamptonshire, (by Castle Ashby,) Aug. 19. 1764."

Early in the year 1765 he paid a short visit to the University of Cambridge, with his friend Mr. Beauclerk. There is a lively picturesque account of his behaviour on this visit

¹ See, *antè*, p. 42., his conduct at Mr. Bankes's, which seems something of the same kind. Dr. Fisher, Master of the Charter House, told me, that in walking on the quadrangle of University College, he would not step on the juncture of the stones, but carefully on the centre: but this is a trick which many persons have when sauntering on any kind of tessellation. Dr. Fisher adds, that he would sometimes take a phial to the college pump, and alternately fill and empty it, without any object that Dr. Fisher could discern. "Mr. Sheridan," says Mr. Whyte, "at one time lived in Bedford Street, opposite Henrietta Street, which ranges with the south side of Covent Garden, so that the prospect lies open the whole way, free of interruption. We were standing together at the drawing-room window, expecting Johnson, who was to dine there. Mr. Sheridan asked me, could I see the length of the Garden? 'No, Sir,' [Mr. Whyte was short-sighted.] 'Take out your opera-glass, Johnson is coming; you may know him by his gait.' I perceived him at a good distance, working along with a peculiar solemnity of deportment, and an awkward sort of measured step. At that time the broad flagging at

each side the streets was not universally adopted, and stone posts were in fashion, to prevent the annoyance of carriages. Upon every post, as he passed along, I could observe, he deliberately laid his hand; but missing one of them when he had got at some distance, he seemed suddenly to recollect himself, and immediately returning back, carefully performed the accustomed ceremony, and resumed his former course, not omitting one till he gained the crossing. This, Mr. Sheridan assured me, however odd it might appear, was his constant practice; but why or wherefore he could not inform me."—*Whyte, Miscellaneous Notes*, p. 49. Mr. Samuel Whyte, the writer of this volume, was a celebrated schoolmaster in Dublin, related, I believe, and much attached to the Sheridan family. Richard Brinsley Sheridan and his elder brother Charles, were placed very early under his tuition, as was, at an interval of above thirty years, my friend Thomas Moore, who, in his *Life of Sheridan*, pays an affectionate tribute to their common preceptor.—CROKER.

² He spent parts of the months of June, July, and August with me, accompanied by his friend, Mrs. Williams, whom Mrs. Percy found a very agreeable companion.—PERCY.

in the Gentleman's Magazine for March, 1785, being an extract of a letter from the late Dr. John Sharp.¹

"Cambridge, March 1. 1765. — As to Johnson, you will be surprised to hear that I have had him in the chair in which I am now writing. He has ascended my aerial citadel. He came down on a Saturday evening, with a Mr. Beaucherk, who has a friend at Trinity [Mr. Lister]. *Caliban*, you may be sure, was not roused from his lair before next day noon, and his breakfast probably kept him till night. I saw nothing of him, nor was he heard of by any one, till Monday afternoon, when I was sent for home to two gentlemen unknown. In conversation I made a strange *faux pas* about Burnaby Greene's poem², in which Johnson is drawn at full length. *He drank his large potation of tea with me, interrupted by many an indignant contradiction, and many a noble sentiment.* He had on a better wig than usual, but one whose curls were not, like Sir Cloudesley's, 'formed for eternal buckle.' Our conversation was chiefly on books, you may be sure. He was much pleased with a small Milton of mine, published in the author's lifetime, and with the Greek epigram on his own effigy, of its being the picture, not of him, but of a bad painter. There are many manuscript stanzas, for aught I know, in Milton's own handwriting, and several interlined hints and fragments. We were puzzled about one of the sonnets, which we thought was not to be found in Newton's edition, and differed from all the printed ones. But Johnson cried, 'No, no!' repeated the whole sonnet instantly, *memoriter*, and showed it us in Newton's book. After which he learnedly harangued on sonnet-writing, and its different numbers. He tells me he will come hither again quickly, and is promised 'an habitation in Emanuel College' [with Dr. Farmer]. He went back to town next morning; but as it began to be known that he was in the university, *several persons got into his company the last evening at Trinity, where, about twelve, he began to be very great; stripped poor Mrs. Macaulay to the very skin, then gave her for his toast, and drank her in two bumpers.*³

The strictness of his self-examination, and scrupulous Christian humility, appear in his pious meditation on Easter-day this year.

"I purpose again to partake of the blessed sacrament; yet when I consider how vainly I have hitherto resolved, at this annual commemoration of my Saviour's death, to regulate my life by his laws, I am almost afraid to renew my resolutions." [p. 61.]

The concluding words are very remarkable, and show that he laboured under a severe depression of spirits.

"Since the last Easter I have reformed no evil habit; my time has been unprofitably spent, and seems as a dream that has left nothing behind. *My memory grows confused, and I know not how the days pass over me.* Good Lord, deliver me!"

[He proceeds:—

"I purpose to rise at eight, because, though I shall not yet rise early, it will be much earlier than I now rise, for I often lie till two, and will gain me much time, and tend to a conquest over idleness, and give time for other duties. I hope to rise yet earlier."

"I invited home with me the man whose pious behaviour I had for several years observed on this day, and found him a kind of Methodist, full of texts, but ill-instructed. I talked to him with temper, and offered him twice wine, which he refused. I suffered him to go without the dinner which I had purposed to give him. I thought this day that there was something irregular and particular in his look and gesture; but having intended to invite him to acquaintance, and having a fit opportunity by finding him near my own seat after I had missed him, I did what I at first designed, and am sorry to have been so much disappointed. Let me not be prejudiced hereafter against the appearance of piety in mean persons, who, with indeterminate notions, and perverse or inelegant conversation, perhaps are doing all they can."

[JOHNSON TO GARRICK.⁴

"May 18, 1765.

"DEAR SIR, — I know that great regard will be had to your opinion of an Edition of Shakspeare. I desire, therefore, to secure an honest prejudice in my favour by securing your suffrage, and that this prejudice may really be honest, I wish you would name such plays as you would see, and they shall be sent you by, Sir, your most humble servant, — Upcott MSS.

"SAM. JOHNSON."

GARRICK TO JOHNSON.

"May 31, 1765.

"DEAR SIR, — My brother greatly astonished me this morning, by asking me 'if I was a subscriber to your Shakspeare?' I told him, yes, that I was one of the first, and as soon as I heard of your intention; and that I gave you, at the same time, some other names, among which were the Duke of Devonshire, Mr. Beighton, &c. I cannot immediately have recourse to my memorandum, though I remember to have seen it just before I left England. I hope that you will recollect it, and not think me capable of neglecting to make you so trifling a compliment, which was doubly due from me, not only on account of the respect I have always had for your abilities, but from the sincere regard I shall ever pay to your friendship. I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant, DAVID GARRICK."

— CROKER.

¹ Dr. John Sharp, grandson of Sharp, Archbishop of York, and son of the Archdeacon of Durham, in which pre ferment he succeeded his father. He was a member of Trinity College, Cambridge. He died in 1792, aged 69. — CROKER.

² Edward Burnaby, who took the name of Greene, published in 1756 an imitation of the 10th Ep. of the First Book of Horace. He died in 1788. — CROKER.

³ Of this letter Boswell had quoted only the two paragraphs marked in Italics, adding that "they were very characteristic;" but surely the rest is equally so. — CROKER.

⁴ This and the following letter are from the originals in the possession of Mr. Upcott. It would be a great palliation of Johnson's ill humour towards Garrick, if he was under the impression that Garrick had not subscribed to his Shakspeare.

JOHNSON TO GEORGE STRAHAN,

University College, Oxford.

"May 25. 1765.

"DEAR SIR, — That I have answered neither of your letters you must not impute to any declension of good will, but merely to the want of something to say. I suppose you pursue your studies diligently, and diligence will seldom fail of success. Do not tire yourself so much with Greek one day as to be afraid of looking on it the next; but give it a certain portion of time, suppose four hours, and pass the rest of the day in Latin or English. I would have you learn French, and take in a literary journal once a month, which will accustom you to various subjects, and inform you what learning is going forward in the world. Do not omit to mingle some lighter books with those of more importance; that which is read *remisso animo* is often of great use, and takes great hold of the remembrance. However, take what course you will, if you be diligent you will be a scholar. I am, dear Sir, yours affectionately, SAM. JOHNSON."]

— Rose MSS.

No man was more gratefully sensible of any kindness done to him than Johnson. There is a little circumstance in his diary this year, which shows him in a very amiable light.

"July 2. I paid Mr. Simpson ten guineas, which he had formerly lent me in my necessity, and for which Tetty expressed her gratitude."

"July 8. I lent Mr. Simpson ten guineas more."

Here he had a pleasing opportunity of doing the same kindness to an old friend, which he had formerly received from him. Indeed his liberality as to money was very remarkable. The next article in his diary is, "July 16th, I received seventy-five pounds.¹ Lent Mr. Davies twenty-five."

Trinity College, Dublin, at this time surprised Johnson with a spontaneous compliment of the highest academical honours, by creating him Doctor of Laws. The diploma, which is in my possession, is as follows:—

"*OMNIBUS ad quos presentes literæ pervenerint, salutem. Nos Præpositus et Socii Seniores Collegii Sacrosanctæ et Individuæ Trinitatis Regine Elizabethæ juxta Dublin, testamur, Samueli Johnson, Armigero, ob egregiam scriptorum elegantiam et utilitatem, gratiam concessam fuisse pro gradu Doctoratus in utroque Jure, octavo die Julii, Anno Domini millesimo septingentesimo sexagesimo-quinto. In*

cujus rei testimonium singulorum manus et sigillum quo in hæc utimur apposimus; vicesimo tertio die Julii, Anno Domini millesimo septingentesimo sexagesimo-quinto.

GUL. CLEMENT. FRAN. ANDREWS.
THO. WILSON. *Præps.*
THO. LELAND.²

R. MURRAY.
ROBTUS. LAW.
MICH. KEARNEY."³

This unsolicited mark of distinction, conferred on so great a literary character, did much honour to the judgment and liberal spirit of that learned body. Johnson acknowledged the favour in a letter to Dr. Leland, one of their number.

JOHNSON TO DR. LELAND.

"Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, London,
"Oct. 17. 1765."

"SIR, — Among the names subscribed to the degree which I have had the honour of receiving from the University of Dublin, I find none of which I have any personal knowledge but those of Dr. Andrews and yourself.

"Men can be estimated by those who know them not, only as they are represented by those who know them; and therefore I flatter myself that I owe much of the pleasure which this distinction gives me, to your concurrence with Dr. Andrews in recommending me to the learned society.

"Having desired the Provost to return my general thanks to the University, I beg that you, Sir, will accept my particular and immediate acknowledgments. I am, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant, SAM. JOHNSON."⁵

He appears this year to have been seized with a temporary fit of ambition, for he had thoughts both of studying law, and of engaging in politics. His "Prayer [p. 67.] before the Study of Law" is truly admirable:—

"Sept. 26. 1765. Almighty God, the giver of wisdom, without whose help resolutions are vain, without whose blessing study is ineffectual; enable me, if it be thy will, to attain such knowledge as may qualify me to direct the doubtful, and instruct the ignorant; to prevent wrongs and terminate contentions; and grant that I may use that knowledge which I shall attain, to thy glory and my own salvation, for Jesus Christ's sake. Amen."

His prayer in the view of becoming a politician is entitled, "Engaging in politics with H——n," no doubt, his friend, the Right Hon. William Gerard Hamilton⁶, for whom, during

¹ A quarter's pension. — CROKER.

² Dr. Thomas Leland, the translator of Demosthenes, and author of the History of Ireland, was born at Dublin, in 1722, and died in 1785. — WRIGHT.

³ The same who has contributed some notes to this work, and the elder brother of my earliest literary friend Dr. John Kearney, sometime Provost of Dublin College, and afterwards Bishop of Ossory. Both the brothers were amiable men and accomplished scholars. — CROKER.

⁴ Hawkins and Murphy seem to think that this honour followed the publication of Shakspeare, but that is a mistake. The degree was in July at the annual Commencement; the publication of Shakspeare in October. Johnson's acknowledgment was postponed to the end of the academic vacation. — CROKER.

⁵ Hawkins and Murphy thought that Johnson's attachment to Oxford prevented him from assuming the title which it conferred. The fact is true; but it is still more remarkable that he never used the title of Doctor before his name, even after his Oxford degree, (post, 30th Mar. 1775.) Hawkins says that he disliked to be called Doctor, as reminding him that he had been a schoolmaster. This seems improbable; my opinion is, that he did not use his Irish title, expecting an Oxford one, and when the Oxford one came tardily and ungraciously ten years later, he disdained to assume it. — CROKER.

⁶ Single-speech Hamilton had been secretary to Lord Halifax, as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and remained a short time with his successor, Lord Northumberland, but he resigned in 1764. Though he never spoke in parliament after

a long acquaintance, he had a great esteem, and to whose conversation he once paid this high compliment: "I am very unwilling to be left alone, Sir, and therefore I go with my company down the first pair of stairs, in some hopes that they may, perhaps, return again; I go with you, Sir, as far as the street-door." In what particular department he intended to engage¹ does not appear, nor can Mr. Hamilton explain. His prayer is in general terms:

"Enlighten my understanding with knowledge of right, and govern my will by thy laws, that no deceit may mislead me, nor temptation corrupt me; that I may always endeavour to do good, and hinder evil." [Amidst all the hopes and fears of this world, take not thy Holy Spirit from me.]

There is nothing upon the subject in his diary.

CHAPTER XIX.

1765—1766.

Acquaintance with the Thrales. — *Publication of his Shakespeare.* — *Kenrick.* — *Dedications.* — *Boswell returns to England.* — *Voltaire on Pope and Dryden.* — *Goldsmith's "Traveller," and "Deserted Village."* — *Suppers at the Mitre resumed.* — *"Equal Happiness."* — *"Courting great Men."* — *Convents.* — *Second Sight.* — *Corsica.* — *Rousseau.* — *Subordination.* — *"Making Verses."* — *Letters to Langton.*

This year was distinguished by his being introduced into the family of Mr. Thrale, one of the most eminent brewers in England, and member of Parliament for the borough of Southwark. Foreigners are not a little amazed when they hear of brewers, distillers, and men in similar departments of trade, held forth as persons of considerable consequence. In this great commercial country it is natural that a

situation which produces much wealth should be considered as very respectable; and, no doubt, honest industry is entitled to esteem. But, perhaps, the too rapid advance of men of low extraction tends to lessen the value of that distinction by birth and gentility, which has ever been found beneficial to the grand scheme of subordination. Johnson used to give this account of the rise of Mr. Thrale's father: "He worked at six shillings a week for twenty years in the great brewery, which afterwards was his own. The proprietor of it had an only daughter, who was married to a nobleman. It was not fit that a peer should continue the business. On the old man's death, therefore, the brewery was to be sold. To find a purchaser for so large a property was a difficult matter; and, after some time, it was suggested, that it would be advisable to treat with Thrale, a sensible, active, honest man, who had been employed in the house, and to transfer the whole to him for thirty thousand pounds, security being taken upon the property. This was accordingly settled. In eleven years Thrale paid the purchase-money. He acquired a large fortune, and lived to be a member of parliament for Southwark.³ But what was most remarkable was the liberality with which he used his riches. He gave his son and daughters the best education. The esteem which his good conduct procured him from the nobleman who had married his master's daughter, made him be treated with much attention; and his son, both at school and at the university of Oxford, associated with young men of the first rank. His allowance from his father, after he left college, was splendid; not less than a thousand a year. This, in a man who had risen as old Thrale did, was a very extraordinary instance of generosity. He used to say, "If this young dog does not find so much after I am gone as he expects, let him remember that he has a great deal in my own time."

The son, though in affluent circumstances, had good sense enough to carry on his father's

this, his biographer informs us (perhaps on the authority of this passage), that he meditated taking an active part in political life: he, however, did not, and his alliance with Johnson, whatever it was intended to be, seems to have produced little or nothing. He died in 1796. — CROKER.

¹ In the preface to a late collection of Mr. Hamilton's Pieces, it has been observed that our author was, by the generality of Johnson's words, "led to suppose that he was seized with a temporary fit of ambition, and that hence he was induced to apply his thoughts to law and politics. But Mr. Boswell was certainly mistaken in this respect; and these words merely allude to Johnson's having at that time entered into some engagement with Mr. Hamilton occasionally to furnish him with his sentiments on the great political topics which should be considered in parliament." In consequence of this engagement, Johnson, in November, 1766, wrote a very valuable tract, entitled "Considerations on Corn," which is printed as an appendix to the works of Mr. Hamilton, published by T. Payne in 1808. — MALONE. I cannot doubt that so solemn a "prayer, on engaging in politics," must have had a serious meaning; and the passage as to "hopes and fears," though omitted in Boswell's quotation, confirms this opinion. It were perhaps vain now to inquire after what Mr. Hamilton professed not to be able to explain; but we may be sure that it was, in Johnson's opinion, no such slight and casual assistance

as is suggested in the foregoing note. From a letter to Miss Porter (*post*, January 14, 1766), it may be guessed, that this engagement was in some way connected with the parliamentary session; perhaps an alliance to write pamphlets or paragraphs, or to prepare speeches. Whatever it was, it may be inferred, from the obscurity in which they involved and left it, that it was something which Johnson did not chuse to talk about, nor Hamilton to avow. — CROKER.

² The predecessor of old Thrale was Edmund Halsey, Esq.; the nobleman who married his daughter was Lord Cobham, great uncle of the first Marquis of Buckingham. But I believe Dr. Johnson was mistaken in assigning so very low an origin to Mr. Thrale. The clerk of St. Albans, a very aged man, told me, that he (the elder Thrale) married a sister of Mr. Halsey. It is at least certain that the family of Thrale was of some consideration in that town: in the abbey church is a handsome monument to the memory of Mr. John Thrale, late of London, merchant, who died in 1704, aged 54, Margaret his wife, and three of their children who died young, between the years 1676 and 1690. The arms upon this monument are, paly of eight, *gules* and *or*, impaling, *ermine*, on a chief indented *vert*, three wolves' (or gryphons') heads, *or*, couped at the neck; — Crest on a ducal coronet, a tree, *vert*.

— BLAKEWAY.

³ In 1733 he served the office of high sheriff for Surrey. He died April 9, 1753. — CROKER.

trade, which was of such extent, that I remember he once told me, he would not quit it for an annuity of ten thousand a year: "Not," said he, "that I get ten thousand a year by it, but it is an estate to a family." Having left daughters only, the property was sold for the immense sum of one hundred and thirty-five thousand pounds: a magnificent proof of what may be done by fair trade in a long period of time.

There may be some who think that a new system of gentility¹ might be established, upon principles totally different from what have hitherto prevailed. Our present heraldry, it may be said, is suited to the barbarous times in which it had its origin. It is chiefly founded upon ferocious merit, upon military excellence. Why, in civilised times, we may be asked, should there not be rank and honours, upon principles which, independent of long custom, are certainly not less worthy, and which, when once allowed to be connected with elevation and precedence, would obtain the same dignity in our imagination? Why should not the knowledge, the skill, the expertness, the assiduity, and the spirited hazards of trade and commerce, when crowned with success, be entitled to give those flattering distinctions by which mankind are so universally captivated?

Such are the specious, but false arguments for a proposition which always will find numerous advocates, in a nation where men are every day starting up from obscurity to wealth. To refute them is needless. The general sense of mankind cries out, with irresistible force, "*Un gentilhomme est toujours gentilhomme.*"²

Mr. Thrale had married Miss Hesther Lynch Salusbury, of good Welsh extraction, a lady of lively talents, improved by education. That Johnson's introduction into Mr. Thrale's family, which contributed so much to the happiness of his life, was owing to her desire for his conversation, is a very probable and the

general supposition: but it is not the truth. Mr. Murphy, who was intimate with Mr. Thrale, having spoken very highly of Dr. Johnson, he was requested to make them acquainted. This being mentioned to Johnson, he accepted of an invitation to dinner at Thrale's, and was so much pleased with his reception, both by Mr. and Mrs. Thrale, and they so much pleased with him, that his invitations to their house were more and more frequent, till at last he became one of the family, and an apartment was appropriated to him, both in their house at Southwark and in their villa at Streatham.³

Johnson had a very sincere esteem for Mr. Thrale, as a man of excellent principles, a good scholar, well skilled in trade, of a sound understanding, and of manners such as presented the character of a plain independent English 'squire. As this family will frequently be mentioned in the course of the following pages, and as a false notion has prevailed that Mr. Thrale was inferior, and in some degree insignificant, compared with Mrs. Thrale, it may be proper to give a true state of the case from the authority of Johnson himself in his own words.

"I know no man," said he, "who is more master of his wife and family than Thrale. If he but holds up a finger, he is obeyed. It is a great mistake to suppose that she is above him in literary attainments. She is more flippant; but he has ten times her learning: he is a regular scholar; but her learning is that of a schoolboy in one of the lower forms." My readers may naturally wish for some representation of the figures of this couple.⁴ Mr. Thrale was tall, well proportioned, and stately. As for *Madam*, or *my Mistress*, by which epithets Johnson used to mention Mrs. Thrale, she was short, plump, and brisk.⁵ She has herself given us a lively view of the idea which Johnson had of her person, on her appearing before him in a dark-coloured gown: "You

¹ Mrs. Burney informs me that she heard Dr. Johnson say, "An English merchant is a new species of gentleman." He, perhaps, had in his mind the following ingenious passage in "The Conscious Lovers," Act iv. Scene 2, where Mr. Sealant thus addresses Sir John Bevil:—"Give me leave to say, that we merchants are a species of gentry that have grown into the world this last century, and are as honourable, and almost as useful, as you landed-folks, that have always thought yourselves so much above us; for your trading, forsooth, is extended no farther than a load of hay, or a fat ox. You are pleasant people indeed! because you are generally bred up lazy, therefore, I warrant you, industry is dishonourable." — BOSWELL.

If, indeed, Johnson called merchants a *new species of gentlemen*, he must have forgotten not only the merchants of Tyre, who were "princes," and the Medici of Florence, but the Greshams, Cranfields, Osbornes, Duncombes, and so many others of England. — CROKER.

² This dictum, whatever be its value, is not applicable to this question, which is, not whether a gentleman can ever cease to be one, but whether a plebeian can ever become one. — CROKER.

³ "The first time," says Mrs. Piozzi, "I ever saw this extraordinary man was in the year 1764, when Mr. Murphy, who had long been the friend and confidential intimate of Mr. Thrale, persuaded him to wish for Johnson's conversation, extolling it in terms which that of no other person could have deserved, till we were only in doubt how to obtain his company, and find an excuse for the invitation. The celebrity

of Mr. Woodhouse, a shoemaker, whose verses were at that time the subject of common discourse, soon afforded a pretence, and Mr. Murphy brought Johnson to meet him, giving me general cautions not to be surprised at his figure, dress, or behaviour. What I recollect best of the day's talk was his earnestly recommending Addison's works to Mr. Woodhouse as a model for imitation. 'Give nights and days, Sir,' said he, 'to the study of Addison, if you mean either to be a good writer, or what is more worth, an honest man.' When I saw something like the same expression in his criticism on that author, in the *Lives of the Poets*, I put him in mind of his past injunctions to the young poet, to which he replied, 'that he wished the shoemaker might have remembered them as well.' Mr. Johnson liked his new acquaintance so much, however, that from that time he dined with us every Thursday through the winter." — CROKER.

⁴ The reader will not fail to observe the tone in which Boswell permits himself to talk of "*this couple*." It marks a prejudice which pervades his book. — CROKER.

⁵ He should have added that she was very pretty. She was about twenty-four or twenty-five years of age, when this acquaintance commenced. At the time of my first edition I was unable to ascertain precisely Mrs. Piozzi's age — but a subsequent publication, named *Piozziana*, fixes her birth on her own authority to the 16th January, 1740; yet even that is not quite conclusive, for she calls it 1740 *old style*, that is, 1741. I must now, of course, adopt, though not without some doubt, the lady's reckoning. See *Quarterly Review*, vol. xlix. p. 252. — CROKER, 1846.

little creatures should never wear those sort of clothes, however; they are unsuitable in every way. What! have not all insects gay colours?"¹ Mr. Thrale gave his wife a liberal indulgence, both in the choice of their company, and in the mode of entertaining them. He understood and valued Johnson, without remission, from their first acquaintance to the day of his death. Mrs. Thrale was enchanted with Johnson's conversation for its own sake, and had also a very allowable vanity in appearing to be honoured with the attention of so celebrated a man.

Nothing could be more fortunate for Johnson than this connection. He had at Mr. Thrale's all the comforts and even luxuries of life; his melancholy was diverted, and his irregular habits lessened, by association with an agreeable and well-ordered family. He was treated with the utmost respect, and even affection. The vivacity of Mrs. Thrale's literary talk roused him to cheerfulness and exertion, even when they were alone. But this was not often the case; for he found here a constant succession of what gave him the highest enjoyment, the society of the learned, the witty, and the eminent in every way; who were assembled in numerous companies, called forth his wonderful powers, and gratified him with admiration, to which no man could be insensible.

In the October of this year he at length gave to the world his edition of Shakspeare, which, if it had no other merit but that of producing his Preface, in which the excellences and defects of that immortal bard are displayed with a masterly hand, the nation would have had no reason to complain.² A blind indiscriminate admiration of Shakspeare had exposed the British nation to the ridicule of foreigners. Johnson, by candidly admitting the faults of his poet, had the more credit in bestowing on him deserved and indisputable praise; and doubtless none of all his panegyrists have done him half so much honour. Their praise was like that of a counsel, upon his own side of the cause: Johnson's was like the grave, well-considered, and impartial opi-

nion of the judge, which falls from his lips with weight, and is received with reverence. What he did as a commentator has no small share of merit, though his researches were not so ample, and his investigations so acute, as they might have been; which we now certainly know from the labours of other able and ingenious critics who have followed him. He has enriched his edition with a concise account of each play, and of its characteristic excellence. Many of his notes have illustrated obscurities in the text, and placed passages eminent for beauty in a more conspicuous light; and he has, in general, exhibited such a mode of annotation, as may be beneficial to all subsequent editors.

His Shakspeare was virulently attacked by Mr. William Kenrick, who obtained the degree of LL.D. from a Scotch university, and wrote for the booksellers in a great variety of branches. Though he certainly was not without considerable merit, he wrote with so little regard to decency, and principles, and decorum, and in so hasty a manner, that his reputation was neither extensive nor lasting. I remember one evening, when some of his works were mentioned, Dr. Goldsmith said, he had never heard of them; upon which Dr. Johnson observed, "Sir, he is one of the many who have made themselves *public*, without making themselves *known*."³

A young student of Oxford, of the name of Barclay, wrote an answer to Kenrick's review of Johnson's Shakspeare. Johnson was at first angry that Kenrick's attack should have the credit of an answer. But afterwards, considering the young man's good intention, he kindly noticed him, and probably would have done more, had not the young man died.

In his Preface to Shakspeare, Johnson treated Voltaire very contemptuously, observing, upon some of his remarks, "These are the petty cavils of petty minds." Voltaire, in revenge, made an attack upon Johnson, in one of his numerous literary sallies which I remember to have read; but, there being no general index to his voluminous works, have searched in vain, and therefore cannot quote it.⁴

¹ Anecdotes, p. 279. — BOSWELL.

² Hawkins says that "Johnson was insensible to Churchill's abuse; but the poem before mentioned had brought to remembrance that his edition of Shakspeare had long been due. His friends took the alarm, and, by all the arts of reasoning and persuasion, laboured to convince him that, having taken subscriptions for a work in which he had made no progress, his credit was at stake. He confessed he was culpable, and promised from time to time to begin a course of such reading as was necessary to qualify him for the work: this was no more than he had formerly done in an engagement with Coxeter*, to whom he had bound himself to write the Life of Shakspeare, but he never could be prevailed on to begin it, so that even now it was questioned whether his promises were to be relied on. For this reason

Sir Joshua Reynolds, and some other of his friends, who were more concerned for his reputation than himself seemed to be, contrived to entangle him by a wager, or some other pecuniary engagement, to perform his task by a certain time."

— C. — Grainger thus writes to Percy on this subject, "27th June, 1758: I have several times called on Johnson to pay him *part* of your subscription — I say *part*, because he never thinks of working if he has a couple of guineas in his pocket." And again, 20th July: "As to his Shakspeare, *movet sed non promovet*. I shall feed him occasionally with guineas." Prior's *Goldsmith*, i. 235. — CROKER, 1846.

³ Kenrick was born at Watford, Herts, and was brought up to the business of a *rule-maker*, which he quitted for literature. Of this "attack," entitled "A Review of Dr. Johnson's new edition of Shakspeare; in which the Ignorance or Inattention of that Editor is exposed, and the Poet defended from the Persecution of his Commentators," Dr. Johnson only said, "He did not think himself bound by Kenrick's *rules*." In 1774 he delivered Lectures on Shakspeare, and the next year commenced the London Review, which he continued to his death, June 10. 1779. — WRIGHT.

⁴ "Je ne veux point soupçonner le sieur Jonson d'être un mauvais plaisant, et d'aimer trop le vin: mais je trouve un

* Thomas Coxeter, Esq., from whose manuscript notes the "Lives of the English Poets," by Shiels and Cibber, were principally compiled. He was bred at Trinity College, Oxford, and died in London, April 17. 1747, in his fifty-ninth year. See *Gent. Mag.* for 1781, p. 173. — MALONE

Voltaire was an antagonist with whom I thought Johnson should not disdain to contend. I pressed him to answer. He said, he perhaps might; but he never did.¹

[JOHNSON TO DR. JOSEPH WARTON.

"Oct. 9. 1765.

"DEAR SIR,—Mrs. Warton uses me hardly in supposing that I could forget so much kindness and civility as she showed me at Winchester. I remember, likewise, our conversation about St. Cross.² The desire of seeing her again will be one of the motives that will bring me into Hampshire.

"I have taken care of your book; being so far from doubting your subscription, that I think you have subscribed twice: you once paid your guinea into my own hand in the garret in Gough Square. When you light on your receipt, throw it on the fire; if you find a second receipt, you may have a second book.

"To tell the truth, as I felt no solicitude about this work, I receive no great comfort from its conclusion; but yet am well enough pleased that the public has no farther claim upon me. I wish you would write more frequently to, dear Sir, your affectionate humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON.]"

Mr. Burney having occasion to write to Johnson for some receipts for subscriptions to his Shakspeare, which Johnson had omitted to deliver when the money was paid, he availed himself of that opportunity of thanking Johnson for the great pleasure which he had received from the perusal of his Preface to Shakspeare; which, although it excited much clamour against him at first, is now justly ranked among the most excellent of his writings. To this letter Johnson returned the following answer:—

JOHNSON TO BURNEY,

In Poland Street.

"Oct. 16. 1765.

"SIR,—I am sorry that your kindness to me has brought upon you so much trouble, though you have taken care to abate that sorrow, by the pleasure which I received from your approbation. I defend my criticism in the same manner with you. We must confess the faults of our favourite, to gain credit to our praise of his excellencies. He that claims, either in himself or for another, the honours of perfection, will surely injure the repu-

tation which he designs to assist. Be pleased to make my compliments to your family. I am, Sir, your most obliged and most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

From one of his Journals I transcribed what follows:—

"At church, Oct. — 65.

"To avoid all singularity: *Bonaventura*.³

"To come in before service, and compose my mind by meditation, or by reading some portions of scripture. *Tetty*.

"If I can hear the sermon, to attend it, unless attention be more troublesome than useful.

"To consider the act of prayer as a reposal of myself upon God, and a resignation of all into his holy hand."

In 1764 and 1765 it should seem that Dr. Johnson was so busily employed with his edition of Shakspeare, as to have had little leisure for any other literary exertion, or, indeed, even for private correspondence.⁴ He did not favour me with a single letter for more than two years, for which it will appear that he afterwards apologised.

He was, however, at all times ready to give assistance to his friends, and others, in revising their works, and in writing for them, or greatly improving, their Dedications. In that courtly species of composition no man excelled Dr. Johnson. Though the loftiness of his mind prevented him from ever dedicating in his own person, he wrote a very great number of Dedications for others. Some of these, the persons who were favoured with them are unwilling should be mentioned, from a too anxious apprehension, as I think, that they might be suspected of having received larger assistance; and some, after all the diligence I have bestowed, have escaped my inquiries. He told me, a great many years ago, "he believed he had dedicated to all the Royal Family round;" and it was indifferent to him what was the subject of the work dedicated, provided it were innocent. He once dedicated some music for the German Flute to Edward, Duke of York. In writing Dedications for others, he considered himself as by no means speaking his own sentiments.⁵

Notwithstanding his long silence, I never omitted to write to him, when I had any thing worthy of communicating. I generally kept

peu singulier qu'il compte la bouffonnerie et l'ivrognerie parmi les beautés du théâtre tragique;" &c. &c. — Dictionnaire Philosophique, art. "Art Dramatique." Voltaire, édit. 1784, vol. xxxviii. p. 10. — WRIGHT.

¹ He appears in the course of this summer to have visited Dr. Warton, Head Master of Winchester School, and on the publication of his Shakspeare wrote to him the letter in the text, which I extract from Woolf's Life of Warton. — CROKER.

² The hospital of St. Cross, near Winchester, endowed formerly for the maintenance of seventy resident members, clergy and laity, with one hundred out-pensioners; but, since the Dissolution, reduced to ten residents, with the master and chaplain, and three out-pensioners. — CROKER.

³ He was probably proposing to himself the model of this excellent person, who for his piety was named the *Scraphic Doctor*. — BOSWELL.

⁴ This trait is amusing: Mr. Boswell concludes that because Johnson did not, for two years, write to *him*, he wrote to nobody, and was exclusively occupied with his Shakspeare, though we have seen that, in those years, he found time to pay visits to his friends in Lincolnshire and Northamptonshire, and at Cambridge and Winchester. He also visited Brighton. If Mr. Boswell had been these two years in London, there can be no doubt that he would have found Johnson by no means absorbed in Shakspeare. — CROKER.

⁵ This paragraph about *Dedications* seems accidentally misplaced, it would come in better under April 15. 1773. — CROKER.

copies of my letters to him, that I might have a full view of our correspondence, and never be at a loss to understand any reference in his letters. He kept the greater part of mine very carefully; and a short time before his death was attentive enough to seal them up in bundles, and ordered them to be delivered to me, which was accordingly done. Amongst them I found one, of which I had not made a copy, and which I own I read with pleasure at the distance of almost twenty years. It is dated November, 1765, at the palace of Pascal Paoli, in Corte, the capital of Corsica, and is full of generous enthusiasm. After giving a sketch of what I had seen and heard in that island, it proceeded thus: "I dare to call this a spirited tour. I dare to challenge your approbation."

This letter produced the following answer, which I found on my arrival at Paris.

A M. M. BOSWELL,

Chez Mr. Waters, Banquier, à Paris.

"Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, Jan. 14. 1766.

"DEAR SIR, — Apologies are seldom of any use. We will delay till your arrival the reasons, good or bad, which have made me such a sparing and ungrateful correspondent. Be assured, for the present, that nothing has lessened either the esteem or love with which I dismissed you at Harwich. Both have been increased by all that I have been told of you by yourself or others; and when you return, you will return to an unaltered, and, I hope, unalterable friend.

"All that you have to fear from me is the vexation of disappointing me. No man loves to frustrate expectations which have been formed in his favour; and the pleasure which I promise myself from your journals and remarks is so great, that perhaps no degree of attention or discernment will be sufficient to afford it.

"Come home, however, and take your chance. I long to see you, and to hear you; and hope that we shall not be so long separated again. Come home, and expect such welcome as is due to him, whom a wise and noble curiosity has led, where perhaps no native of this country ever was before.

"I have no news to tell you that can deserve your notice; nor would I willingly lessen the pleasure that any novelty may give you at your return. I am afraid we shall find it difficult to keep among us a mind which has been so long feasted with variety. But let us try what esteem and kindness can effect.

¹ See *anté*, p. 169. n. 1. — CROKER.

² In the *Life of Dr. Warton*, p. 312., we find a letter (dated Jan. 22. 1766) from him to his brother, giving some account of Johnson and his society at this period: — "I only dined with Johnson, who seemed cold and indifferent, and scarce said any thing to me; perhaps he has heard what I said of his Shakespeare, or rather was offended at what I wrote to him — as he pleases. Of all solemn coxcombs, Goldsmith is the first; yet sensible — but affects to use Johnson's hard words in conversation. We had a Mr. Dyer (*anté*, p. 58, and *post*, 177.) who is a scholar and a gentleman. Garrick is entirely off from Johnson, and cannot, he says, forgive him his insinuating that he withheld his old editions, which always were open to him, nor I suppose his never mentioning him in all his works." This coyness

"As your father's liberality has indulged you with so long a ramble, I doubt not but you will think his sickness, or even his desire to see you, a sufficient reason for hastening your return. The longer we live, and the more we think, the higher value we learn to put on the friendship and tenderness of parents and of friends. Parents we can have but once; and he promises himself too much, who enters life with the expectation of finding many friends. Upon some motive, I hope, that you will be here soon; and am willing to think that it will be an inducement to your return, that it is sincerely desired by, dear Sir, your affectionate humble servant,
SAM. JOHNSON."

[JOHNSON TO MISS PORTER.

"Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, Jan. 14. 1766.

"DEAR MADAM, — The reason why I did not answer your letters was that I can please myself with no answer. I was loth that Kitty should leave the house till I had seen it once more, and yet for some reasons I cannot well come during the session of parliament. I am unwilling to sell it, yet hardly know why. If it can be let, it should be repaired, and I purpose to let Kitty have part of the rent while we both live; and wish that you would get it surveyed, and let me know how much money will be necessary to fit it for a tenant. I would not have you stay longer than is convenient, and I thank you for your care of Kitty.

"Do not take my omission amiss. I am sorry for it, but know not what to say. You must act by your own prudence, and I shall be pleased. Write to me again; I do not design to neglect you any more. It is great pleasure for me to hear from you; but this whole affair is painful to me. I wish you, my dear, many happy years. Give my respects to Kitty. I am, dear Madam, your most affectionate humble servant,

— Pearson MSS. "SAM. JOHNSON." ²]

I returned to London in February, and found Dr. Johnson in a good house in Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, in which he had accommodated Miss Williams with an apartment on the ground floor, while Mr. Levett occupied his post in the garret: his faithful Francis was still attending upon him. He received me with much kindness. The fragments of our first conversation, which I have preserved, are these: I told him that Voltaire, in a conversation with me, had distinguished Pope and Dryden thus: — "Pope drives a handsome chariot, with a couple of neat trim nags; Dryden a coach, and six stately horses."³

between Johnson and Warton was probably not serious — a subsequent difference arising out of a dispute at Sir Joshua Reynolds's table was more lasting. — CROKER.

³ It is remarkable that Mr. Gray has employed somewhat the same image to characterise Dryden. He, indeed, furnishes his car with but two horses; but they are of "ethereal race." —

"Behold where Dryden's less presumptuous car
Wide o'er the fields of glory bear
Two coursers of ethereal race,
With necks in thunder clothed, and long resounding pace."
BOSWELL.

Johnson, in the *Life of Pope*, has made a comparison between him and Dryden, in the spirit of this correction of

JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, the truth is, they both drive coaches and six; but Dryden's horses are either galloping or stumbling: Pope's go at a steady even trot." He said of Goldsmith's "Traveller," which had been published in my absence, "There has not been so fine a poem since Pope's time."

And here it is proper to settle, with authentic precision, what has long floated in public report, as to Johnson's being himself the author of a considerable part of that poem. Much, no doubt, both of the sentiments and expression, were derived from conversation with him¹; and it was certainly submitted to his friendly revision: but, in the year 1783, he, at my request, marked with a pencil the lines which he had furnished, which are only line 420th:—

"To stop too fearful, and too faint to go;"

and the concluding ten lines, except the last couplet but one, which I distinguish by the *Italic* character:

"How small of all that human hearts endure,
That part which laws or kings can cause or cure!
Still to ourselves in every place consign'd,
Our own felicity we make or find:
With secret course, which no loud storms annoy,
Glides the smooth current of domestic joy.
The lifted axe, the agonizing wheel,
Luke's iron crown, and Demien's bed of steel,
To men remote from power, but rarely known,
Leave reason, faith, and conscience all our own."

He added, "These are all of which I can be sure." They bear a small proportion to the whole, which consists of four hundred and thirty-eight verses. Goldsmith, in the couplet which he inserted², mentions *Luke* as a person well known, and superficial readers have passed it over quite smoothly; while those of more attention have been as much perplexed by *Luke* as by *Lydiat*, in "The Vanity of Human Wishes." The truth is, that Goldsmith himself was in a mistake. In the "*Respublica Hungarica*," there is an account of a desperate rebellion in the year 1514, headed by two brothers of the name of *Zeck*, George and Luke. When it was quelled, George, not Luke, was punished, by his head being encircled with a red-hot iron crown; "*coronâ candescente ferreâ coronatur*."³ The same severity of torture was exercised on the Earl of Athol, one of the murderers of King James I. of Scotland!

Voltaire's metaphor. It is one of the most beautiful critical passages in our language, and was probably suggested to Johnson's mind by this conversation, although he did not make use of the same illustration. — CROKER. Johnson condemns the image in his Life of Gray. "The car of Dryden," he says, "with his two coursers, has nothing in it peculiar; it is a car in which any other rider may be placed." — P. CUNNINGHAM.

¹ This rests on no authority whatever, and may well be doubted. The *Traveller* is a poem which, in a peculiar degree, seems written from the personal observation and feelings of its author. — CROKER.

² This is a strange way of speaking of the lines of an author in *his own poem* — Johnson's were rather the

Dr. Johnson at the same time favoured me by marking the lines which he furnished to Goldsmith's "Deserted Village," which are only the last four:—

"That trade's proud empire hastes to swift decay,
As ocean sweeps the labour'd mole away;
While self-dependent power can time defy,
As rocks resist the billows and the sky."

Talking of education, "People have now-a-days," said he, "got a strange opinion that every thing should be taught by lectures. Now, I cannot see that lectures can do so much good as reading the books from which the lectures are taken. I know nothing that can be best taught by lectures, except where experiments are to be shown. You may teach chymistry by lectures:—you might teach making of shoes by lectures!"

At night I supped with him at the Mitre tavern, that we might renew our social intimacy at the original place of meeting. But there was now a considerable difference in his way of living. Having had an illness⁴, in which he was advised to leave off wine, he had, from that period, continued to abstain from it, and drank only water, or lemonade.

I told him that a foreign friend of his⁵, whom I had met with abroad, was so wretchedly perverted to infidelity, that he treated the hopes of immortality with brutal levity; and said, "As man dies like a dog, let him lie like a dog." JOHNSON. "*If he dies like a dog, let him lie like a dog.*" I added, that this man said to me, "I hate mankind, for I think myself one of the best of men, and I know how bad I am." JOHNSON. "Sir, he must be very singular in his opinion, if he thinks himself one of the best of men; for none of his friends think him so." — He said, "No honest man could be a Deist; for no man could be so after a fair examination of the proofs of Christianity." I named Hume. JOHNSON. "No, Sir; Hume owned to a clergyman in the bishopric of Durham, that he had never read the New Testament with attention." — I mentioned Hume's notion, that all who are happy are equally happy; a little miss with a new gown at a dancing-school ball, a general at the head of a victorious army, and an orator after having made an eloquent speech in a great assembly. JOHNSON. "Sir, that all who are happy, are equally happy, is not true. A peasant and a philosopher may be equally satis-

insertion; and it must be observed that they could only have been alterations of, or substitutions for other lines, conveying, though perhaps in less effective language, the same or similar sentiments. — CROKER.

³ Mr. Boswell is in error. The names of the brother rebels were George and Luke *Dosa*, and they (or at least George) were punished, as stated in the poem. *Felicien Zeck* (properly *Zack*), was a different person. — JOHN MURRAY. The alteration therefore which a late editor of Goldsmith, Mr. Bolton Corney, has made, of *Luke* into "*Zeck*," is doubly improper. — P. CUNNINGHAM.

⁴ Probably the severe fit of hypochondria mentioned *antè*, p. 165. — CROKER.

⁵ Probably Baretti. — CROKER.

fied, but not equally *happy*. Happiness consists in the multiplicity of agreeable consciousness. A peasant has not capacity for having equal happiness with a philosopher." I remember this very question very happily illustrated, in opposition to Hume, by the Rev. Mr. Robert Brown, at Utrecht. "A small drinking-glass and a large one," said he, "may be equally full; but the large one holds more than the small."¹

Dr. Johnson was very kind this evening, and said to me, "You have now lived five-and-twenty years, and you have employed them well." "Alas, Sir," said I, "I fear not. Do I know history? Do I know mathematics? Do I know law?" JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, though you may know no science so well as to be able to teach it, and no profession so well as to be able to follow it, your general mass of knowledge of books and men renders you very capable to make yourself master of any science, or fit yourself for any profession." I mentioned, that a gay friend had advised me against being a lawyer, because I should be excelled by plodding blockheads. JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, in the formulary and statutory part of law, a plodding blockhead may excel; but in the ingenious and rational part of it, a plodding blockhead can never excel."

I talked of the mode adopted by some to rise in the world, by courting great men, and asked him whether he had ever submitted to it. JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, I never was near enough to great men, to court them. You may be prudently attached to great men, and yet independent. You are not to do what you think wrong; and, Sir, you are to calculate, and not pay too dear for what you get. You must not give a shilling's worth of court for sixpence worth of good. But if you can get a shilling's worth of good for sixpence worth of court, you are a fool if you do not pay court."

He said, "If convents should be allowed at all, they should only be retreats for persons unable to serve the public, or who have served it. It is our first duty to serve society², and, after we have done that, we may attend wholly to the salvation of our own souls. A youthful

passion for abstracted devotion should not be encouraged.

I introduced the subject of second sight, and other mysterious manifestations; the fulfilment of which, I suggested, might happen by chance. JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir, but they have happened so often³ that mankind have agreed to think them not fortuitous."

I talked to him a great deal of what I had seen in Corsica, and of my intention to publish an account of it. He encouraged me by saying, "You cannot go to the bottom of the subject; but all that you tell us will be new to us. Give us as many anecdotes as you can."

Our next meeting at the Mitre was on Saturday the 15th of February, when I presented to him my old and most intimate friend, the Rev. Mr. Temple, then of Cambridge. I having mentioned that I had passed some time with Rousseau in his wild retreat, and having quoted some remark made by Mr. Wilkes, with whom I had spent many pleasant hours in Italy, Johnson said, sarcastically, "It seems, Sir, you have kept very good company abroad, — Rousseau and Wilkes!" Thinking it enough to defend one at a time, I said nothing as to my gay friend, but answered with a smile, "My dear Sir, you don't call Rousseau bad company. Do you really think *him* a bad man?" JOHNSON. "Sir, if you are talking jestingly of this, I don't talk with you. If you mean to be serious, I think him one of the worst of men; a rascal, who ought to be hunted out of society, as he has been. Three or four nations have expelled him: and it is a shame that he is protected in this country." BOSWELL. "I don't deny, Sir, but that his novel⁴ may, perhaps, do harm; but I cannot think his intention was bad." JOHNSON. "Sir, that will not do. We cannot prove any man's intention to be bad. You may shoot a man through the head, and say you intended to miss him; but the judge will order you to be hanged. An alleged want of intention, when evil is committed, will not be allowed in a court of justice. Rousseau, Sir, is a very bad man. I would sooner sign a sentence for his transportation, than that of any felon who has

¹ Bishop Hall, in discussing this subject, has the same image: "Yet so conceive of these heavenly degrees, that the least is glorious. *So do these vessels differ, that all are full.*" — Epistles, Dec. iii. cap. 6. It is found also in "A Work worth the Reading," by Charles Gibbon, 4to. 1591: "The joys of heaven are little compared to vessels filled with liquor, of all quantities; for every man shall have his full measure there." — MALONE. — See post, sub Mar. 24. 1775, Boswell's own use of this metaphor. — CROKER.

² This observation has given offence, as seeming to sanction the postponement of the care of our salvation, until we should have performed all our duties to society; which would be, in fact, an adjournment *sine die*. But Dr. Johnson was talking of monastic retirement, and from the context, as well as from his own practice, it is clear that he must have meant, that an entire abstraction from the world, and an exclusive dedication to reclusive devotion, was not justifiable, as long as any of our duties to society were unperformed. Jeremy Taylor, who will not be suspected of worldliness, has a sentiment not dissimilar: — "If our youth be chaste and temperate, moderate and industrious, proceeding through a prudent and sober manhood, to a religious old age, then we

have lived our whole duration, and shall never die." — *Holy Dying*, c. i. s. c. Neither the Bishop nor Dr. Johnson could mean that youth and manhood should not be religious, but that they should not be religious to the exclusion of the social duties of industry, prudence, &c. See post, Aug. 19. 1773, where Johnson quotes from Hesiod, and explains in this sense,

"Ἐγγυ νῆαν, βαυδαί τε μέσων, ὑψηλαί τε γέροντων,

a line which Bishop Taylor had perhaps in his mind, and of which Boswell there gives this translation: —

"Let youth in deeds, in counsel men engage:

Prayer is the proper duty of old age." — CROKER.

³ The fact seems rather to be, that they have happened so seldom that (however general *superstition* may be) there does not seem to be on record, in the profane history of the world, one single well-authenticated instance of such a manifestation — not one such instance as could command the full belief of rational men. Although Dr. Johnson generally leaned to the superstitious side of this question, it will be seen that he occasionally took a more rational view of it. — CROKER.

⁴ *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, published in 1761. — CROKER.

gone from the Old Bailey these many years. Yes, I should like to have him work in the plantations." BOSWELL. "Sir, do you think him as bad a man as Voltaire?" JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, it is difficult to settle the proportion of iniquity between them."

This violence seemed very strange to me, who had read many of Rousseau's animated writings with great pleasure, and even edification; had been much pleased with his society, and was just come from the continent, where he was very generally admired. Nor can I yet allow that he deserves the very severe censure which Johnson pronounced upon him. His absurd preference of savage to civilised life, and other singularities, are proofs rather of a defect in his understanding, than of any depravity in his heart.¹ And notwithstanding the unfavourable opinion which many worthy men have expressed of his "*Profession de Foi du Vicaire Savoyard*," I cannot help admiring it as the performance of a man full of sincere reverential submission to Divine Mystery, though beset with perplexing doubts: a state of mind to be viewed with pity rather than with anger.

On his favourite subject of subordination, Johnson said, "So far is it from being true that men are naturally equal, that no two people can be half an hour together, but one shall acquire an evident superiority over the other."²

I mentioned the advice given us by philosophers, to console ourselves, when distressed or embarrassed, by thinking of those who are in a worse situation than ourselves. This, I observed, could not apply to all, for there must be some who have nobody worse than they are. JOHNSON. "Why, to be sure, Sir, there are; but they don't know it. There is no being so poor and so contemptible, who does not think there is somebody still poorer, and still more contemptible."

As my stay in London at this time was very short, I had not many opportunities of being with Dr. Johnson; but I felt my veneration for him in no degree lessened, by my having seen *multorum hominum mores et urbes*.³ On the contrary, by having it in my power to compare him with many of the most celebrated

persons of other countries, my admiration of his extraordinary mind was increased and confirmed.

The roughness, indeed, which sometimes appeared in his manners, was more striking to me now, from my having been accustomed to the studied smooth complying habits of the continent; and I clearly recognised in him, not without respect for his honest conscientious zeal, the same indignant and sarcastical mode of treating every attempt to unhinge or weaken good principles.

One evening, when a young gentleman teased him with an account of the infidelity of his servant, who, he said, would not believe the scriptures, because he could not read them in the original tongues, and be sure that they were not invented. "Why, foolish fellow," said Johnson, "has he any better authority for almost every thing that he believes?"

BOSWELL. "Then the vulgar, Sir, never can know they are right, but must submit themselves to the learned." JOHNSON. "To be sure, Sir. The vulgar are the children of the State, and must be taught like children. BOSWELL. "Then, Sir, a poor Turk must be a Mahometan, just as a poor Englishman must be a Christian?" JOHNSON. "Why, yes, Sir; and what then? This, now, is such stuff⁴ as I used to talk to my mother, when I first began to think myself a clever fellow; and she ought to have whipt me for it."

Another evening Dr. Goldsmith and I called on him, with the hope of prevailing on him to sup with us at the Mitre. We found him indisposed, and resolved not to go abroad. "Come, then," said Goldsmith, "we will not go to the Mitre to-night, since we cannot have the big man⁵ with us." Johnson then called for a bottle of port, of which Goldsmith and I partook, while our friend, now a water-drinker, sat by us. GOLDSMITH. "I think, Mr. Johnson, you don't go near the theatres now. You give yourself no more concern about a new play, than if you had never had anything to do with the stage." JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, our tastes greatly alter. The lad does not care for the child's rattle, and the old man does not care for the young man's mistress."⁶ GOLDSMITH. "Nay, Sir; but your Muse was not a pros-

¹ Boswell was always *engoué* of notorieties; and the *Confessions* of this miserable man had not been at this time published. If we are to admit Mr. Boswell's distinction between the *understanding* and the *heart*, it would seem that his judgment on this point should be reversed, for Rousseau's *understanding* would probably have been sound enough, if the folly and turpitude of his *heart* had not disordered it. I do not think there is in literature so hollow and undeserved a reputation as Rousseau's. — CROKER.

² No mistake was ever greater, in terms or in substance, than that which affirms the *natural* equality of mankind. Men, on the contrary, are born so very unequal in capacities and powers, mental and corporeal, that it requires laws and the institutions of civil society to bring them to a state of *moral* equality. *Social* equality — that is, equality in property, power, rank, and respect — if it were miraculously established, could not maintain itself a week. — CROKER.

³ Horace, (*de Art. Poet.* 142.) of Ulysses, in allusion to the opening lines of the *Odyssey*, who, —

"Wandering from clime to clime, observant stray'd,
Their manners noted, and their states survey'd." — POPE.
— CROKER.

⁴ It may be suspected that Dr. Johnson called this "*childish stuff*" somewhat hastily, and from a desire of evading the subject; for, no doubt, the principle involved in Mr. Boswell's inquiries is one of very high importance, and of very great difficulty — for it applies not merely to the submission of the ignorant to the interpretations of the learned, but to the degree of absolute, verbal and literal authority, to which human transcripts of the divine inspiration are entitled. This question has a great share in the infidel sophistry of some modern Germans. — CROKER, 1831—1846.

⁵ These two little words may be observed as marks of Mr. Boswell's accuracy in reporting the expressions of his personages. It is a jocular Irish phrase, which, of all Johnson's acquaintances, no one, probably, but Goldsmith, would have used. — CROKER.

⁶ Mr. Macaulay, in the essay before mentioned, censures

titude." JOHNSON. "Sir, I do not think she was. But as we advance in the journey of life we drop some of the things which have pleased us; whether it be that we are fatigued, and don't choose to carry so many things any farther, or that we find other things which we like better." BOSWELL. "But, Sir, why don't you give us something in some other way?" GOLDSMITH. "Ay, Sir, we have a claim upon you." JOHNSON. "No, Sir, I am not obliged to do any more. No man is obliged to do as much as he can do. A man is to have part of his life to himself. If a soldier has fought a good many campaigns, he is not to be blamed if he retires to ease and tranquillity. A physician, who has practised long in a great city, may be excused if he retires to a small town, and takes less practice. Now, Sir, the good I can do by my conversation bears the same proportion to the good I can do by my writings, that the practice of a physician, retired to a small town, does to his practice in a great city." BOSWELL. "But I wonder, Sir, you have not more pleasure in writing than in not writing." JOHNSON. "Sir, you may wonder."

He talked of making verses, and observed, "The great difficulty is, to know when you have made good ones. When composing, I have generally had them in my mind, perhaps fifty at a time, walking up and down in my room; and then I have written them down, and often, from laziness, have written only half lines. I have written a hundred lines in a day. I remember I wrote a hundred lines of 'The Vanity of Human Wishes' in a day. Doctor," turning to Goldsmith, "I am not quite idle; I made one line to-day; but I made no more." GOLDSMITH. "Let us hear it: we'll put a bad one to it." JOHNSON. "No, Sir; I have forgot it."

Such specimens of the easy and playful conversation of the great Dr. Samuel Johnson are, I think, to be prized; as exhibiting the little varieties of a mind so enlarged and so powerful when objects of consequence required its exertions, and as giving us a minute knowledge of his character and modes of thinking.

my capricious delicacy, in omitting, in one or two instances, an indecent passage, and in substituting, in two or three others, for a coarse word, a more decorous equivalent; and he regrets particularly the suppression of "*a strong old-fashioned English word, familiar to all who read their Bibles*." It would be easy, I think, to refute Mr. Macaulay's general principle, and to expose his equally sophistical and irreverent allusion to the *Bible*; but I shall here content myself with adducing the contrary authority of Sir Walter Scott, and the author of the *Lives of Burke and Goldsmith*, who, having, since my edition and Mr. Macaulay's Review were published, occasion to quote some of those passages, adopted my reserve: and I am convinced that the public at large must approve of my endeavour to remove from this delightful book the few expressions that might offend female delicacy. I am sorry, however, to say, that one or two of Mr. Macaulay's "*strong old-fashioned words*" still remain, being so interwoven with the context, that I could not remove them without too much laceration. — CROKER.

¹ Mr. Langton's eldest sister. — CROKER.

² Mr. Burke came into Parliament under the auspices of the Marquess of Rockingham, in the year 1765. — CROKER.

JOHNSON TO LANGTON,

At Langton, near Spilsby.

"Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, March 9. 1766.

"DEAR SIR, — What your friends have done, that from your departure till now nothing has been heard of you, none of us are able to inform the rest; but as we are all neglected alike, no one thinks himself entitled to the privilege of complaint.

"I should have known nothing of you or of Langton, from the time that dear Miss Langton¹ left us, had not I met Mr. Simpson, of Lincoln, one day in the street, by whom I was informed that Mr. Langton, your mamma, and yourself, had been all ill, but that you were all recovered.

"That sickness should suspend your correspondence, I did not wonder; but hoped that it would be renewed at your recovery.

"Since you will not inform us where you are, or how you live, I know not whether you desire to know any thing of us. However, I will tell you that THE CLUB subsists; but we have the loss of Burke's company since he has been engaged in public business², in which he has gained more reputation than perhaps any man at his [first] appearance ever gained before. He made two speeches in the House for repealing the Stamp Act, which were publicly commended by Mr. Pitt, and have filled the town with wonder.

"Burke is a great man by nature, and is expected soon to attain civil greatness. I am grown greater too, for I have maintained the newspapers these many weeks³; and what is greater still, I have risen every morning since New-year's day, at about eight: when I was up, I have, indeed, done but little; yet it is no slight advancement to obtain, for so many hours more, the consciousness of being.

"I wish you were in my new study; I am now writing the first letter in it. I think it looks very pretty about me.⁴

"Dyer⁵ is constant at THE CLUB; Hawkins is remiss; I am not over diligent; Dr. Nugent, Dr. Goldsmith, and Mr. Reynolds are very constant. Mr. Lye⁶ is printing his Saxon and Gothic Dictionary: all THE CLUB subscribers.

"You will pay my respects to all my Lincolnshire friends. I am, dear Sir, most affectionately yours,

SAM. JOHNSON."

³ Probably with criticisms on his Shakespeare. — CROKER.

⁴ He entered this study 7th March, 1766, with a prayer "*On entering Novum Museum*." *Pr. and Med. p. 68. Hall.* — CROKER.

⁵ Samuel Dyer, Esq., a most learned and ingenious member of the "Literary Club," for whose understanding and attainments Dr. Johnson had great respect. He died Sept. 14. 1772. A more particular account of this gentleman may be found in a Note on the Life of Dryden, p. 186, prefixed to the edition of that great writer's Prose Works, in four volumes, 8vo. 1800: in which his character is vindicated, and the very unfavourable representation of it, given by Sir John Hawkins in his *Life of Johnson*, pp. 222, 232., is minutely examined. — MALONE.

⁶ Edward Lye was born in 1704. He published the *Etymologicum Anglicanum* of Junius. His great work is that referred to above, which he was printing; but he did not live to see the publication. He died in 1767, and the Dictionary was published, in 1772, by the Rev. Owen Manning, author of the *History and Antiquities of Surrey*. — CROKER.

JOHNSON TO LANGTON,

At Langton.

"Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, May 10. 1766.

"DEAR SIR,—In supposing that I should be more than commonly affected by the death of Peregrine Langton¹, you were not mistaken; he was one of those whom I loved at once by instinct and by reason. I have seldom indulged more hope of any thing than of being able to improve our acquaintance to friendship. Many a time have I placed myself again at Langton, and imagined the pleasure with which I should walk to Partney² in a summer morning; but this is no longer possible. We must now endeavour to preserve what is left us,—his example of piety and economy. I hope you make what inquiries you can, and write down what is told you. The little things which distinguish domestic characters are soon forgotten: if you delay to inquire, you will have no information; if you neglect to write, information will be vain.³

¹ Mr. Langton's uncle.—BOSWELL.

² The place of residence of Mr. Peregrine Langton.—BOSWELL.

³ Mr. Langton did not disregard the counsel given by Dr. Johnson, but wrote an account which he has been pleased to communicate to me:—

"The circumstances of Mr. Peregrine Langton were these. He had an annuity for life of two hundred pounds *per annum*. He resided in a village in Lincolnshire: the rent of his house, with two or three small fields, was twenty-eight pounds: the county he lived in was not more than moderately cheap; his family consisted of a sister, who paid him eighteen pounds annually for her board, and a niece. The servants were two maids, and two men in livery. His common way of living, at his table, was three or four dishes: the appurtenances to his table were neat and handsome; he frequently entertained company at dinner, and then his table was well served with as many dishes as were usual at the tables of the other gentlemen in the neighbourhood. His own appearance, as to clothes, was genteelly neat and plain. He had always a post-chaise, and kept three horses.

"Such, with the resources I have mentioned, was his way of living, which he did not suffer to employ his whole income: for he had always a sum of money lying by him for any extraordinary expenses that might arise. Some money he put into the stocks; at his death, the sum he had there amounted to one hundred and fifty pounds. He purchased out of his income his household furniture and linen, of which latter he had a very ample store; and, as I am assured by those that had very good means of knowing, not less than the tenth part of his income was set apart for charity: at the time of his death, the sum of twenty-five pounds was found, with a direction to be employed in such uses.

"He had laid down a plan of living proportioned to his income, and did not practise any extraordinary degree of parsimony, but endeavoured that in his family there should be plenty without waste. As an instance that this was his endeavour, it may be worth while to mention a method he took in regulating a proper allowance of malt liquor to be drunk in his family, that there might not be a deficiency, or any intemperate profusion. On a complaint made that his allowance of a hoghead in a month was not enough for his own family, he ordered the quantity of a hoghead to be put into bottles, had it locked up from the servants, and distributed out, every day, eight quarts, which is the quantity each day at one hoghead in a month; and told his servants, that if that did not suffice, he would allow them more; but, by this method, it appeared at once that the allowance was much more than sufficient for his small family; and this proved a clear conviction, that could not be answered, and saved all future dispute. He was, in general, very diligently and punctually attended and obeyed by his servants; he was very considerate as to the injunctions he gave, and explained them distinctly; and, at their first coming to his service, steadily exacted a close compliance with them, without any remission; and the servants, finding this to be the case, soon grew habitually accustomed to the practice of their business, and then very little further attention was necessary. On extraordinary instances of good behaviour, or diligent service, he was not wanting in particular encouragements and

"His art of life certainly deserves to be known and studied. He lived in plenty and elegance upon an income which, to many, would appear indigent, and to most, scanty. How he lived, therefore, every man has an interest in knowing. His death, I hope, was peaceful; it was surely happy.

"I wish I had written sooner, lest, writing now, I should renew your grief; but I would not forbear saying what I have now said.

"This loss is, I hope, the only misfortune of a family to whom no misfortune at all should happen, if my wishes could avert it. Let me know how you all go on. Has Mr. Langton got him the little horse that I recommended? It would do him good to ride about his estate in fine weather.

"Be pleased to make my compliments to Mrs. Langton, and to dear Miss Langton, and Miss Di, and Miss Juliet, and to every body else.

"THE CLUB holds very well together. Monday is my night.⁴ I continue to rise tolerably well, and read more than I did. I hope something will yet come on it. I am, Sir, your most affectionate servant,
SAM. JOHNSON."

presents above their wages: it is remarkable that he would permit their relations to visit them, and stay at his house two or three days at a time.

"The wonder, with most that hear an account of his economy, will be, how he was able, with such an income, to do so much, especially when it is considered that he paid for every thing he had. He had no land, except the two or three small fields which I have said he rented; and, instead of gaining any thing by their produce, I have reason to think he lost by them; however, they furnished him with no further assistance towards his housekeeping, than grass for his horses (not hay, for that I know he bought), and for two cows. Every Monday morning he settled his family accounts, and so kept up a constant attention to the confining his expenses within his income; and to do it more exactly, compared those expenses with a computation he had made, how much that income would afford him every week and day of the year. One of his economical practices was, as soon as any repair was wanting in or about his house, to have it immediately performed. When he had money to spare, he chose to lay in a provision of linen or clothes, or any other necessities; as then, he said, he could afford it, which he might not be so well able to do when the actual want came; in consequence of which method, he had a considerable supply of necessary articles lying by him, beside what was in use.

"But the main particular that seems to have enabled him to do so much with his income, was, that he paid for every thing as soon as he had it, except, alone, what were current accounts, such as rent for his house, and servants' wages; and these he paid at the stated times with the utmost exactness. He gave notice to the tradesmen of the neighbouring market towns, that they should no longer have his custom, if they let any of his servants have any thing without their paying for it. Thus he put it out of his power to commit those imprudences to which those are liable, that defer their payments by using their money some other way than where it ought to go. And whatever money he had by him, he knew that it was not demanded elsewhere, but that he might safely employ it as he pleased.

"His example was confined, by the sequestered place of his abode, to the observation of few, though his prudence and virtue would have made it valuable to all who could have known it. These few particulars, which I knew myself, or have obtained from those who lived with him, may afford instruction, and be an incentive to that wise art of living, which he so successfully practised."—BOSWELL.

With all our respect for Mr. Bennet Langton's acknowledged character for accuracy and veracity, there seems something, in the foregoing relation, absolutely incomprehensible—a house, a good table, frequent company, four servants (two of them men in livery), a carriage and three horses on two hundred pounds a year! Economy and ready-money payments will do much to diminish current expenses, but what effect can they have had on rent, taxes, wages, and other permanent charges of a respectable domestic establishment?—CROKER.

⁴ Of his being in the chair of the Literary Club, which at this time met once a week in the evening.—BOSWELL. The day was soon after changed to Friday.—CROKER.

CHAPTER XX.

1765—1767.

Boswell's Thesis — Study of the Law. — Rash Vows. — Streatham. — Oxford. — London Improvements. — Dedications. — Mrs. Williams's Miscellanies. — Mr. William Drummond. — Translation of the Bible into the Gaelic. — Case of Heeley. — Dr. Robertson. — Cuthbert Shaw. — "Tom Hervey." — Johnson's Interview with George III. — Visit to Lichfield. — Death of Catherine Chambers. — Lexiphanes. — Mrs. Aston.

AFTER I had been some time in Scotland, I mentioned to him in a letter that "On my first return to my native country, after some years of absence, I was told of a vast number of my acquaintance who were all gone to the land of forgetfulness, and I found myself like a man stalking over a field of battle, who every moment perceives some one lying dead." I complained of irresolution, and mentioned my having made a vow as a security for good conduct. I wrote to him again without being able to move his indolence: nor did I hear from him till he had received a copy of my inaugural Exercise, or Thesis in Civil Law, which I published at my admission as an Advocate, as is the custom in Scotland. He then wrote to me as follows:—

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"London, August 10. 1766.

"DEAR SIR,—The reception of your Thesis put me in mind of my debt to you. Why did you . . .¹ I will punish you for it, by telling you that your Latin wants correction.² In the beginning, *Spei alteræ*, not to urge that it should be *primæ*, is not grammatical; *alteræ* should be *alteri*. In the next line you seem to use *genus* absolutely, for what we call *family*, that is, for *illustrious extraction*, I doubt without authority. *Homines nullius originis*, for *nullis orti majoribus*, or *nullo loco nati*, is, as I am afraid, barbarous. — *Ruddiman* is dead.³

"I have now vexed you enough, and will try to please you. Your resolution to obey your father I sincerely approve; but do not accustom yourself to enchain your volatility by vows; they will sometime leave a thorn in your mind, which you will, perhaps, never be able to extract or eject. Take this warning; it is of great importance.

¹ The passage omitted alluded to a private transaction. — BOSWELL.

² This censure of my Latin relates to the dedication, which was as follows:—"Viro nobilissimo, ornatissimo, Joanni, Vicecomiti Mountstuart, atavis edite regibus, excelsæ familiæ de Bute *spei alteræ*; labente seculo, quum homines *nullius originis genus* equare opibus aggrederentur, sanguinis antiqui et illustris semper memori natalium splendorem virtutibus augenti: ad publica populi comitia jam legato: in optatum vero Magnæ Britannia senatu, jure hereditario, olim consensuro: vim insitam variâ doctrinâ promovenote, nec tamen se venditante, prædito: prisca fide, animo liberimo, et morum elegantia insigni: in Italia visitande itinere socio suo honoratissimo: hæc jurisprudentiæ primitiis, devotissimæ amicitia et observantiæ, monumentum, D. D. C. Q. Jacobus Boswell." — BOSWELL.

"The study of the law is what you very justly term it, copious and generous⁴; and in adding your name to its professors, you have done exactly what I always wished, when I wished you best. I hope that you will continue to pursue it vigorously and constantly. You gain, at least, what is no small advantage, security from those troublesome and wearisome discontents, which are always obtruding themselves upon a mind vacant, unemployed, and undetermined.

"You ought to think it no small inducement to diligence and perseverance, that they will please your father. We all live upon the hope of pleasing somebody, and the pleasure of pleasing ought to be greatest, and at last always will be greatest, when our endeavours are exerted in consequence of our duty.

"Life is not long, and too much of it must not pass in idle deliberation how it shall be spent: deliberation which those who begin it by prudence, and continue it with subtilty, must, after long expense of thought, conclude by chance. To prefer one future mode of life to another, upon just reasons, requires faculties which it has not pleased our Creator to give us.

"If, therefore, the profession you have chosen has some unexpected inconveniences, console yourself by reflecting that no profession is without them; and that all the importunities and perplexities of business are softness and luxury, compared with the incessant cravings of vacancy, and the unsatisfactory expedients of idleness.—

‘Hæc sunt quæ nostrâ potui te voce monere;
Vade, age.’⁵

"As to your History of Corsica, you have no materials which others have not, or may not have. You have, somehow or other, warmed your imagination. I wish there were some cure, like the lover's leap, for all heads of which some single idea has obtained an unreasonable and irregular possession. Mind your own affairs, and leave the Corsicans to theirs. — I am, dear Sir, your most humble servant,
SAM. JOHNSON."

BOSWELL TO JOHNSON.

"Auchinlech, Nov. 6. 1766.

"MUCH ESTEEMED AND DEAR SIR,—I plead not guilty to . . .⁶

"Having thus, I hope, cleared myself of the charge brought against me, I presume you will not be displeased if I escape the punishment which you have decreed for me unheard. If you have discharged the arrows of criticism against an innocent man, you must rejoice to find they have missed him, or have not been pointed so as to wound him.

³ He says *Ruddiman* (a great grammarian) is dead — as in former days it was said that *Priscian's head* was broken. *Ruddiman*, who was born in 1674, had died in 1757. — CROKER.

⁴ This alludes to the first sentence of the Proœmium of my Thesis. "Jurisprudentiæ studio nullum uberius, nullum generosius: in legibus enim agitantis, populorum mores, variasque fortune vices ex quibus leges oriuntur, contemplari simul solemus." — BOSWELL.

⁵ Hæc sunt quæ nostrâ licet te voce monere;

These are the counsels that my voice may give;
Go — follow them. — ÆN. vi. 461.

⁶ The passage omitted explained the transaction to which the preceding letter had alluded. — BOSWELL.

"To talk no longer in allegory, I am, with all deference, going to offer a few observations in defence of my Latin, which you have found fault with.

"You think I should have used *spei primæ* instead of *spei alteræ*. *Spes* is, indeed, often used to express something on which we have a future dependence, as in Virg. *Eclog.* i. l. 14. —

'— modo namque gemellos

Spem gregis, ah ! silice in nudâ connixa reliquit :'

and in *Georg.* iii. l. 473. —

'*Spemque gregemque simul,*

for the lambs and the sheep. Yet it is also used to express any thing on which we have a present dependence, and is well applied to a man of distinguished influence, — our support, our refuge, our *presidium*, as Horace calls Mæcenæ. So, *Æneid* xii. l. 57., Queen Amata addresses her son-in-law, Turnus: — '*Spes tu nunc una:*' and he was then no future hope, for she adds, —

'— decus imperiumque Latini

Te penes ;'

which might have been said of my Lord Bute some years ago. Now I consider the present Earl of Bute to be '*Excelsæ familiæ de Bute spes prima ;*' and my Lord Mountstuart, as his eldest son, to be '*spes altera.*' So in *Æneid* xii. l. 168., after having mentioned Pater *Æneas*, who was the *present* spes, the *reigning* spes, as my German friends would say, the *spes prima*, the poet adds, —

'*Et juxta Ascanius, magnæ spes altera Romæ.*'¹

"You think *altera* ungrammatical, and tell me it should have been *alteri*. You must recollect, that in old times *alter* was declined regularly ; and when the ancient fragments preserved in the *Juris Civiilis Fontes* were written, it was certainly declined in the way that I use it. This, I should think, may protect a lawyer who writes *altera* in a dissertation upon part of his own science. But as I could hardly venture to quote fragments of old law to so classical a man as Mr. Johnson, I have not made an accurate search into these remains, to find examples of what I am able to produce in poetical composition. We find in Plaut. *Rudens*, act iii. scene 4. —

'*Nam huic altera patria quæ sit profecto nescio.*'

Plautus is, to be sure, an old comic writer ; but in the days of Scipio and Lælius, we find Terent. *Heautontim.* act ii. scene 3. —

'— hoc ipsa in itinere altera
Dum narrat, forte audivi.'

¹ It is very strange that Johnson, who in his letter quotes the *Æneid*, should not have recollected this obvious and decisive authority for *spes altera*, nor yet the remarkable use of these words, attributed to Cicero, by Servius and Donatus : the expressions of the latter are conclusive in Mr. Boswell's favour : — '*At cum Cicero quosdam versus (Virgilii) audisset, in fine ait : 'Magnæ spes altera Romæ.' — Quasi ipse linguæ Latine spes prima fuisset, et Maro futurus esset secunda.*' Donat. vit. Vir. § 41. — CROKER.

² See ante, p. 123. — C.

³ Mrs. Piozzi says, "In the year 1766, Mr. Johnson's health grew so bad, that he could not stir out of his room, in the court he inhabited, for many weeks together — I think months. Mr. Thrale's attentions and my own now became so acceptable to him, that he often lamented to us the horrible condition of his mind, which he said was nearly dis-

"You doubt my having authority for using *genus* absolutely, for what we call *family*, that is, for *illustrious extraction*. Now I take *genus* in Latin to have much the same signification with *birth* in English ; both in their primary meaning expressing simply descent, but both made to stand κατ' ἔξοχην for noble descent. *Genus* is thus used in Hor. lib. ii. Sat. v. l. 8. —

'*Et genus et virtus, nisi cum re, vilior algâ est.*'

And in lib. i. *Epist.* vi. l. 37. —

'*Et genus et formam Regina Pecunia donat.*'

And in the celebrated contest between Ajax and Ulysses, Ovid's *Metamorph.* lib. xiii. l. 140. —

'*Nam genus et proavos, et quæ non fecimus ipsi,
Vix ea nostra voco.*'

"*Homines nullius originis, for nullis orti majoribus, or nullo loco nati*, is, 'you are afraid, barbarous.'

"*Origo* is used to signify extraction, as in Virg. *Æneid* i. 286. —

'*Nascetur pulchrâ Trojanus origine Cæsar :*'

and in *Æneid* x. l. 618. —

'*Ille tamen nostrâ deducit origine nomen.*

and as *nullus* is used for obscure, is it not in the genius of the Latin language to write *nullius originis*, for obscure extraction ?

"I have defended myself as well as I could.

"Might I venture to differ from you with regard to the utility of vows ? I am sensible that it would be very dangerous to make vows rashly, and without a due consideration. But I cannot help thinking that they may often be of great advantage to one of a variable judgment and irregular inclinations. I always remember a passage in one of your letters to our Italian friend Baretti ; where, talking of the monastic life, you say you do not wonder that serious men should put themselves under the protection of a religious order, when they have found how unable they are to take care of themselves.² For my own part, without affecting to be a Socrates, I am sure I have a more than ordinary struggle to maintain with the *Evil Principle* ; and all the methods I can devise are little enough to keep me tolerably steady in the paths of rectitude.

"I am ever, with the highest veneration, your affectionate humble servant,

"JAMES BOSWELL.

It appears from Johnson's diary, that he was this year at Mr. Thrale's³, from before Mid-

tracted ; and though he charged us to make him odd solemn promises of secrecy on so strange a subject, yet when we waited on him one morning, and heard him, in the most pathetic terms, beg the prayers of Dr. Delap [Rector of Lewes], who had left him as we came in, I felt excessively affected with grief, and well remember that my husband involuntarily lifted up one hand to shut his mouth, from provocation at hearing a man so wildly proclaim what he could at last persuade no one to believe, and what, if true, would have been so very unfit to reveal. Mr. Thrale went away soon after, leaving me with him, and bidding me prevail on him to quit his close habitation in the court and come with us to Streatham, where I undertook the care of his health, and had the honour and happiness of contributing to its restoration." — CROKER.

summer till after Michaelmas, and that he afterwards passed a month at Oxford. He had then contracted a great intimacy with Mr. Chambers of that University, afterwards Sir Robert Chambers, one of the Judges in India.

He published nothing this year in his own name; but the noble Dedication * to the King, of Gwyn's "London and Westminster Improved,"¹ was written by him; and he furnished the Preface,† and several of the pieces, which compose a volume of Miscellanies by Mrs. Anna Williams, the blind lady who had an asylum in his house.² Of these, there are his "Epitaph on Philips,"* "Translation of a Latin Epitaph on Sir Thomas Hamner;"† "Friendship, an Ode;"* and, "The Ant,"* a paraphrase from the Proverbs, of which I have a copy in his own handwriting; and, from internal evidence, I ascribe to him, "To Miss —, on her giving the Author a gold and silk network Purse of her own weaving;"†³ and "The happy Life."†—Most of the pieces in this volume have evidently received additions from his superior pen, particularly "Verses to Mr. Richardson, on his Sir Charles Grandison;" "The Excursion;" "Reflections on a Grave digging in Westminster Abbey." There is in this collection a poem, "On the death of Stephen Grey, the Electrician;"* which, on reading it, appeared to me to be undoubtedly Johnson's. I asked Mrs. Williams whether it was not his. "Sir," said she, with some warmth, "I wrote that poem before I had the honour of Dr. Johnson's acquaintance." I, however, was so much impressed with my first notion, that I mentioned it to Johnson, repeating, at the same time, what Mrs. Williams had said. His answer was, "It is true, Sir, that she wrote it before she was acquainted with me; but she has not told you that I wrote it all over again, except two lines."⁴ "The Fountains,"† a beautiful little Fairy tale in prose, written with exquisite simplicity, is one of Johnson's productions; and I cannot withhold from Mrs. Thrale the praise of being the

author of that admirable poem, "The Three Warnings."

He wrote this year a letter, not intended for publication, which has, perhaps, as strong marks of his sentiment and style, as any of his compositions. The original is in my possession. It is addressed to the late Mr. William Drummond, bookseller in Edinburgh, a gentleman of good family, but small estate, who took arms for the house of Stuart in 1745; and during his concealment in London till the act of general pardon came out, obtained the acquaintance of Dr. Johnson, who justly esteemed him as a very worthy man. It seems some of the members of the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian knowledge had opposed the scheme of translating the Holy Scriptures into the Erse or Gaelic language, from political considerations of the disadvantage of keeping up the distinction between the Highlanders and the other inhabitants of North Britain. Dr. Johnson being informed of this, I suppose by Mr. Drummond, wrote with a generous indignation as follows:—

JOHNSON TO WILLIAM DRUMMOND.

"Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, Aug. 13. 1766.

"SIR,—I did not expect to hear that it could be, in an assembly convened for the propagation of Christian knowledge, a question whether any nation uninstructed in religion should receive instruction; or whether that instruction should be imparted to them by a translation of the holy books into their own language. If obedience to the will of God be necessary to happiness, and knowledge of his will be necessary to obedience, I know not how he that withholds this knowledge, or delays it, can be said to love his neighbour as himself. He that voluntarily continues ignorance is guilty of all the crimes which ignorance produces; as to him that should extinguish the tapers of a light-house, might justly be imputed the calamities of shipwrecks. Christianity is the highest perfection of humanity; and as no man is good but as he wishes the good of others, no man can be good in the highest degree, who wishes not to others the largest measures of the greatest good. To omit for a year, or for

¹ In this work Mr. Gwyn proposed the *principle*, and in many instances the *details*, of the most important improvements which have been made in the metropolis in our day. A bridge near Somerset House—a great street from the Haymarket to the New Road—the improvement of the interior of St. James's Park—quays along the Thames—new approaches to London Bridge—the removal of Smithfield market, and several other suggestions on which we pride ourselves as original designs of our own times, are all to be found in Mr. Gwyn's able and curious work. It is singular, that he denounced a row of houses then building in Pimlico, as intolerable nuisances to Buckingham Palace, and of these very houses the public voice now calls for the destruction. Gwyn had, what Lord Chatham called, "the prophetic eye of taste."—CROKER.

² The following account of this publication was given by Lady Knight (see *anté*, p. 21, and 74.). "As to her poems, she many years attempted to publish them, the half-crowns she had got towards the publication, she confessed to me, went for necessities, and that the greatest pain she ever felt was from the appearance of defrauding her subscribers: 'but what can I do?' the Doctor [Johnson] always puts me off with 'Well, we'll think about it;' and Goldsmith says, 'Leave it to me.'" However, two of her friends, under her directions, made a new subscription at a crown, the whole price of the work, and in a very little time raised sixty pounds. Mrs. Carter

was applied to by Mrs. Williams's desire, and she, with the utmost activity and kindness, procured a long list of names. At length the work was published, in which is a fine written but gloomy [fairy] tale of Dr. Johnson. The money (150*l*.) Mrs. Williams had various uses for, and a part of it was funded."—MALONE.

³ See *anté*, p. 54., where it is shown that the "Verses on the Purse" are by Hawkesworth. It is strange that Boswell should there state his belief that *both* the Latin epitaph on Hamner and its translation were Johnson's, when it appears on the face of Mrs. Williams's volume, that *it* (I presume the Latin) was "*written by Dr. Friend*," who was celebrated for this species of composition.—CROKER, 1831—1846.

⁴ These lines record a memorable fact which I have not seen elsewhere noticed. Miss Williams, it seems, in her earlier life, had been an assistant to Gray in his electrical experiments, and mention is made of

"—— the electric flame:—
"The flame which *first*, weak pupil of thy lore,
"I saw—condemned, alas! to see no more."

To which is appended a note, saying, "The publisher of this Miscellany, as she was assisting Mr. Gray in his experiments, was the first that observed and notified the emission of the electric spark from the human body. *Misc.* p. 42.—CAUKEK, 1846.

a day, the most efficacious method of advancing Christianity, in compliance with any purposes that terminate on this side of the grave, is a crime of which I know not that the world has yet had an example, except in the practice of the planters of America, — a race of mortals whom, I suppose, no other man wishes to resemble.

"The Papists have, indeed, denied to the laity the use of the Bible; but this prohibition, in few places now very rigorously enforced, is defended by arguments, which have for their foundation the care of souls. To obscure, upon motives merely political, the light of revelation, is a practice reserved for the reformed; and, surely, the blackest midnight of popery is meridian sunshine to such a reformation. I am not very willing that any language should be totally extinguished. The similitude and derivation of languages afford the most indubitable proof of the traddition of nations, and the genealogy of mankind. They add often physical certainty to historical evidence; and often supply the only evidence of ancient migrations, and of the revolutions of ages which left no written monuments behind them.

"Every man's opinions, at least his desires, are a little influenced by his favourite studies. My zeal for languages may seem, perhaps, rather over-heated, even to those by whom I desire to be well esteemed. To those who have nothing in their thoughts but trade or policy, present power, or present money, I should not think it necessary to defend my opinions; but with men of letters I would not unwillingly compound, by wishing the continuance of every language, however narrow in its extent, or however incommodious for common purposes, till it is repositied in some version of a known book, that it may be always hereafter examined and compared with other languages, and then permitting its disuse. For this purpose, the translation of the Bible is most to be desired. It is not certain that the same method will not preserve the Highland language, for the purposes of learning, and abolish it from daily use. When the Highlanders read the Bible, they will naturally wish to have its obscurities cleared, and to know the history, collateral or appendant. Knowledge always desires increase: it is like fire, which must first be kindled by some external agent, but which will afterwards propagate itself. When they once desire to learn, they will naturally have recourse to the nearest language by which that desire can be gratified; and one will tell another, that if he would attain knowledge, he must learn English.

"This speculation may, perhaps, be thought more subtle than the grossness of real life will easily admit. Let it, however, be remembered, that the efficacy of ignorance has long been tried, and has not produced the consequence expected. Let know-

ledge, therefore, take its turn; and let the patrons of privation stand awhile aside, and admit the operation of positive principles.

"You will be pleased, Sir, to assure the worthy man who is employed in the new translation¹, that he has my wishes for his success; and if here or at Oxford I can be of any use, that I shall think it more than honour to promote his undertaking.

"I am sorry that I delayed so long to write. I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

The opponents of this pious scheme being made ashamed of their conduct, the benevolent undertaking was allowed to go on.

The following letters, though not written till the year after, being chiefly upon the same subject, are here inserted.

JOHNSON TO DRUMMOND.

"Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, April 21, 1767.

"DEAR SIR, — That my letter should have had such effects as you mention, gives me great pleasure. I hope you do not flatter me by imputing to me more good than I have really done. Those whom my arguments have persuaded to change their opinion, show such modesty and candour as deserve great praise.

"I hope the worthy translator goes diligently forward. He has a higher reward in prospect than any honours which this world can bestow. I wish I could be useful to him.

"The publication of my letter, if it could be of use in a cause to which all other causes are nothing, I should not prohibit. But first, I would have you to consider whether the publication will really do any good; next, whether by printing and distributing a very small number, you may not attain all that you propose; and, what perhaps I should have said first, whether the letter, which I do not now perfectly remember, be fit to be printed. If you can consult Dr. Robertson, to whom I am a little known, I shall be satisfied about the propriety of whatever he shall direct. If he thinks that it should be printed, I entreat him to revise it; there may, perhaps, be some negligent lines written, and whatever is amiss, he knows very well how to rectify.² Be pleased to let me know, from time to time, how this excellent design goes forward.

"Make my compliments to young Mr. Drummond, whom I hope you will live to see such as you desire him. I have not lately seen Mr. Elphinstone, but believe him to be prosperous. I shall be glad to hear the same of you, for I am, Sir, your affectionate humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

¹ The Rev. Mr. John Campbell, minister of the parish of Kippen, near Stirling, who has lately favoured me with a long, intelligent, and very obliging letter upon this work, makes the following remark: — "Dr. Johnson has alluded to the worthy man employed in the translation of the New Testament. Might not this have afforded you an opportunity of paying a proper tribute of respect to the memory of the Rev. Mr. James Stuart, late minister of Killin, distinguished by his eminent piety, learning, and taste? The amiable simplicity of his life, his warm benevolence, his indefatigable and successful exertions for civilising and improving the parish of which he was minister for upwards of fifty years,

entitle him to the gratitude of his country, and the veneration of all good men. It certainly would be a pity, if such a character should be permitted to sink into oblivion." — BOSWELL.

² This paragraph shows Johnson's real estimation of the character and abilities of the celebrated Scottish Historian, however lightly, in a moment of caprice, he may have spoken of his works. — BOSWELL. He seems never to have spoken otherwise than slightly of Dr. Robertson's works, however he may have respected both his general character and his judgment on this particular subject. See *post*, April 19. 1772, April 30. 1773, &c. — CROKER.

JOHNSON TO DRUMMOND.

"Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, Oct. 24. 1767.

"SIR, — I returned this week from the country, after an absence of near six months, and found your letter with many others, which I should have answered sooner, if I had sooner seen them.

"Dr. Robertson's opinion was surely right. Men should not be told of the faults which they have mended. I am glad the old language is taught, and honour the translator, as a man whom God has distinguished by the high office of propagating his word.

"I must take the liberty of engaging you in an office of charity. Mrs. Heely, the wife of Mr. Heely, who had lately some office in your theatre, is my near relation, and now in great distress. They wrote me word of their situation some time ago, to which I returned them an answer which raised hopes of more than it is proper for me to give them. Their representation of their affairs I have discovered to be such as cannot be trusted; and at this distance, though their case requires haste, I know not how to act. She, or her daughters, may be heard of at Canongate head. I must beg, Sir, that you will enquire after them, and let me know what is to be done. I am willing to go to ten pounds, and will transmit you such a sum, if upon examination you find it likely to be of use. If they are in immediate want, advance them what you think proper. What I could do I would do for the woman, having no great reason to pay much regard to Heely himself.¹

"I believe you may receive some intelligence from Mrs. Baker of the theatre, whose letter I received at the same time with yours; and to whom, if you see her, you will make my excuse for the seeming neglect of answering her.

"Whatever you advance within ten pounds shall be immediately returned to you, or paid as you shall order. I trust wholly to your judgment. I am, Sir, &c.,
SAM. JOHNSON."

Mr. Cuthbert Shaw², alike distinguished by his genius, misfortunes, and misconduct, published this year a poem, called "The Race, by Mercurius Spur, Esq.," in which he whimsically made the living poets of England contend for pre-eminence of fame by running:

"Prove by their heels the prowess of the head."

In this poem there was the following portrait of Johnson.

¹ This is the person concerning whom Sir John Hawkins has thrown out very unwarrantable reflections both against Dr. Johnson and Mr. Francis Barber. — BOSWELL.

Hawkins wished to persuade the world that Dr. Johnson acted unjustifiably in the disposal of his property, in preferring Barber to this man, whom Sir John and his daughter, in her *Memoirs*, with a most surprising disregard of truth, call Johnson's relation, but who, in fact, had only married his relation. She was dead, and Heeley had married another woman, at the time when Hawkins affected to think that he had claims to be Dr. Johnson's heir. We see that so early as seventeen years before his death Johnson expressed a marked disregard for Heely himself. See *post*, sub Oct. 20. and Dec. 1784, the probable motive of Hawkins's misstatement. — CROKER.

² See an account of him in the *European Magazine*, January 1766. — BOSWELL. Cuthbert Shaw was born in 1738 or 1739, and died, overloaded with complicated distress, in Titchfield Street, Oxford Market, Sept. 1. 1771. — WRIGHT.

"Here Johnson comes, — unblest with outward grace,

His rigid morals stamp'd upon his face;
While strong conceptions struggle in his brain;
(For even wit is brought to bed with pain:)
To view him, porters with their loads would rest,
And babes cling frighted to the nurses' breast.
With looks convulsed he roars in pompous strain,
And, like an angry lion, shakes his mane.
The Nine, with terror struck, who ne'er had seen
Aught human with so terrible a mien,
Debating whether they should stay or run,
Virtue steps forth, and claims him for her son.
With gentle speech she warns him now to yield,
Nor stain his glories in the doubtful field;
But, wrapt in conscious worth, content sit down,
Since Fame, resolved his various pleas to crown,
Though forced his present claim to disavow,
Had long reserved a chaplet for his brow.
He bows, obeys; for Time shall first expire,
Ere Johnson stay, when Virtue bids retire."

The Hon. Thomas Hervey³ and his lady having unhappily disagreed, and being about to separate, Johnson interfered as their friend, and wrote him a letter of expostulation, which I have not been able to find; but the substance of it is ascertained by a letter to Johnson in answer to it, which Mr. Hervey printed. The occasion of this correspondence between Dr. Johnson and Mr. Hervey was thus related to me by Mr. Beauclerk. "Tom Hervey had a great liking for Johnson, and in his will had left him a legacy of fifty pounds. One day he said to me, 'Johnson may want this money now, more than afterwards. I have a mind to give it him directly. Will you be so good as to carry a fifty pound note from me to him?' This I positively refused to do, as he might, perhaps, have knocked me down for insulting him, and have afterwards put the note in his pocket. But I said, if Hervey would write him a letter, and enclose a fifty pound note, I should take care to deliver it. He accordingly did write him a letter, mentioning that he was only paying a legacy a little sooner. To his letter he added, '*P.S. I am going to part with my wife.*' Johnson then wrote to him, saying nothing of the note, but remonstrating with him against parting with his wife."

When I mentioned to Johnson this story, in as delicate terms as I could, he told me that the fifty pound note was given⁴ to him by Mr.

³ The Hon. Thomas Hervey, whose "Letter to Sir Thomas Hanmer" in 1742, was much read at that time. He was the second son of John, first Earl of Bristol, and one of the brothers of Johnson's early friend, Henry Hervey. He [was born in 1698.] married, in 1744, Anne, daughter of Francis Coughlan, Esq., and died Jan. 20. 1775. — MALONE.

⁴ This is not inconsistent with Mr. Beauclerk's account. It may have been in consideration of this pamphlet that Hervey left Johnson the fifty pounds in his will, and on second thoughts he may have determined to send it to him. It were, however, to be wished, that the story had stood on its original ground. The acceptance of an anticipated legacy from a friend would have had nothing objectionable in it; but can so much be said for the employment of one's pen for hire, in the disgusting squabbles of so mischievous and profligate a madman as Mr. Thomas Hervey? "He was well known," says the gentle biographer of the Peerage (Sir Egerton Brydges), "for his genius and eccentricities." The Letter to Sir Thomas Hanmer, above mentioned, was the first

Hervey in consideration of his having written for him a pamphlet against Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, who, Mr. Hervey imagined, was the author of an attack upon him; but that it was afterwards discovered to be the work of a garretter¹, who wrote "The Fool;" the pamphlet therefore against Sir Charles was not printed.

In February, 1767, there happened one of the most remarkable incidents of Johnson's life, which gratified his monarchical enthusiasm, and which he loved to relate with all its circumstances, when requested by his friends. This was his being honoured by a private conversation with his Majesty, in the library at the Queen's house.² He had frequently visited those splendid rooms and noble collection of books³, which he used to say was more numerous and curious than he supposed any person could have made in the time which the King had employed. Mr. Barnard, the librarian, took care that he should have every accommodation that could contribute to his ease and convenience, while indulging his literary taste in that place; so that he had here a very agreeable resource at leisure hours.

His Majesty having been informed of his

(1741), it is believed, of the many appeals which Mr. Hervey made to the public, relative to his private concerns. The subject is astonishing. Lady Hamner eloped from her husband with Mr. Hervey, and made, it seems, a will, in his favour, of certain estates, of which Sir Thomas had a life possession. Hervey's letter arows the adultery, and assigns very strange reasons for the lady's leaving her husband, and then goes on to complain, that Sir Thomas was cutting timber on the estate which had belonged to "our wife," so he calls her, and of which the reversion was Hervey's, and begging that, if Hamner did sell any more timber, he would give him, Hervey, the refusal of it. All this is garnished and set off by extravagant flights of fine writing, the most cutting sarcasms, the most indecent details, and the most serious expressions of the writer's conviction, that *his* conduct was natural and delicate, and such as every body must approve; and that, finally, in *Heaven*, Lady Hamner, in the distribution of wives (*suam cuique*), would be considered as *his*. Twenty years did not cool his brain. Just at the close of the reign he addressed a letter to King George the Second, which still more clearly explains the state of his intellect. He talks, amidst a great deal of scandalous extravagance, of "*the hideous subject of his mental excruciation*," and complains that "his doctor mistook his case, by calling that a nervous disorder which was clearly inflammatory, and, in consequence of that fatal error, Hervey passed eleven years without any more account of time, or other notice of things, than a person asleep, under the influence of some horrid dream," and so on. It is this letter which Horace Walpole thus characterises: "Have you seen Tom Hervey's letter to the King? full of absurdity and madness, but with here and there gleams of genius and happy expressions that are wonderfully fine." — *Letter to Conway*, Dec. 1766. His quarrel with his second wife, in 1767, referred to in the text, he, according to his custom, blazoned to the public by the following advertisement: "*Whereas Mrs. Hervey has been three times from home last year, and at least as many the year before, without my leave or privity, and hath encouraged her son to persist in the like rebellious practices, I hereby declare, that I neither am nor will be accountable for any future debts of hers whatsoever. She is now keeping forcible possession of my house, to which I never did invite or thought of inviting her in all my life. — Thomas Hervey.*" He afterwards proceeded further, and commenced a suit against his lady for jactitation of marriage, which finally ended in his discomfiture. Johnson, as we shall see hereafter (6th April, 1775), characterised his friend, Tom Hervey, as he had already done (*ante*, p. 29.), his brother Henry, as very vicious. Alas! it is but too probable, that both were disordered in mind, and that what was called *vice* was, in truth, *disease*, and required a madhouse rather than a prison. — CROKER.

¹ Some curiosity would naturally be felt as to who the garretter was, who wrote a pamphlet, which was attributed

occasional visits, was pleased to signify a desire that he should be told when Dr. Johnson came next to the library. Accordingly, the next time that Johnson did come, as soon as he was fairly engaged with a book, on which, while he sat by the fire, he seemed quite intent, Mr. Barnard stole round to the apartment where the King was, and, in obedience to his Majesty's commands, mentioned that Dr. Johnson was then in the library. His Majesty said he was at leisure, and would go to him; upon which Mr. Barnard took one of the candles that stood on the King's table, and lighted his Majesty through a suite of rooms, till they came to a private door into the library, of which his Majesty had the key. Being entered, Mr. Barnard stepped forward hastily to Dr. Johnson, who was still in a profound study, and whispered him, "Sir, here is the King." Johnson started up, and stood still. His Majesty approached him, and at once was courteously easy.⁴

His Majesty began by observing, that he understood he came sometimes to the library; and then mentioning his having heard that the Doctor had been lately at Oxford, asked him if he was not fond of going thither. To which

to Sir C. H. Williams, the most celebrated wit of the day, and to answer which, the wild and sarcastic genius of Hervey required the assistance of Dr. Johnson. His name was William Horsley, but his acknowledged works are poor productions. — CROKER.

² Buckingham House in St. James's Park, built in 1703, for Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham, bought in 1761, by George III. for 21,000*l.*, and settled on Queen Charlotte in lieu of Somerset House. All their children (George IV. excepted) were born in this house. The present Buckingham Palace occupies the site. — P. CUNNINGHAM.

³ Dr. Johnson had the honour of contributing his assistance towards the formation of this library; for I have read a long letter from him to Mr. Barnard, giving the most masterly instructions on the subject. I wished much to have gratified my readers with the perusal of this letter, and have reason to think that his Majesty would have been graciously pleased to permit its publication; but Mr. Barnard, to whom I applied, declined it "on his own account." — BOSWELL. I was more fortunate, and this letter will be found under its proper date, May 28, 1768, p. 196. — CROKER.

⁴ The particulars of this conversation I have been at great pains to collect with the utmost authenticity, from Dr. Johnson's own detail to myself; from Mr. Langton, who was present when he gave an account of it to Dr. Joseph Warton and several other friends at Sir Joshua Reynolds's; from Mr. Barnard; from the copy of a letter written by the late Mr. Strahan the printer, to Bishop Warburton; and from a minute, the original of which is among the papers of the late Sir James Caldwell, and a copy of which was most obligingly obtained for me from his son Sir John Caldwell, by Sir Francis Lumm. To all these gentlemen I beg leave to make my grateful acknowledgments, and particularly to Sir Francis Lumm, who was pleased to take a great deal of trouble, and even had the minute laid before the King by Lord Caernarthen, now Duke of Leeds, then one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, who announced to Sir Francis the royal pleasure concerning it by a letter, in these words: — "I have the King's commands to assure you, Sir, how sensible his Majesty is of your attention in communicating the minute of the conversation previous to its publication. As there appears no objection to your complying with Mr. Boswell's wishes on the subject, you are at full liberty to deliver it to that gentleman, to make such use of in his Life of Dr. Johnson, as he may think proper." — BOSWELL.

Boswell was so jealous of the copyright of his work, that he had this conversation, as well as Johnson's letter to Lord Chesterfield, printed separately, and entered at Stationers' Hall, to prevent his rivals making use of it. This is alluded to in Mr. Alexander Chalmers's excellent pleasantries, "*Lessons in Biography*," in the Appendix. — CROKER.

Johnson answered, that he was indeed fond of going to Oxford sometimes, but was likewise glad to come back again. The King then asked him what they were doing at Oxford. Johnson answered, he could not much commend their diligence, but that in some respects they were mended, for they had put their press under better regulations, and were at that time printing Polybius. He was then asked whether there were better libraries at Oxford or Cambridge. He answered, he believed the Bodleian was larger than any they had at Cambridge; at the same time adding, "I hope, whether we have more books or not than they have at Cambridge, we shall make as good use of them as they do." Being asked whether All-Souls or Christ-Church library was the largest, he answered, "All-Souls library is the largest we have, except the Bodleian." "Ay," said the King, "that is the public library."

His Majesty inquired if he was then writing any thing. He answered, he was not, for he had pretty well told the world what he knew, and must now read to acquire more knowledge. The King, as it should seem with a view to urge him to rely on his own stores as an original writer, and to continue his labours, then said, "I do not think you borrow much from any body." Johnson said, he thought he had already done his part as a writer. "I should have thought so too," said the King, "if you had not written so well." Johnson observed to me, upon this, that "No man could have paid a handsomer compliment"; and it was fit for a King to pay. It was decisive." When asked by another friend, at Sir Joshua Reynolds's, whether he made any reply to this high compliment, he answered, "No, Sir. When the King had said it, it was to be so. It was not for me to bandy civilities with my Sovereign." Perhaps no man who had spent his whole life in courts could have shown a more nice and dignified sense of true politeness, than Johnson did in this instance.

His Majesty having observed to him that he supposed he must have read a great deal; Johnson answered, that he thought more than

he read; that he had read a great deal in the early part of his life, but having fallen into ill health, he had not been able to read much, compared with others: for instance, he said he had not read much, compared with Dr. Warburton. Upon which the King said, that he heard Dr. Warburton was a man of such general knowledge, that you could scarce talk with him on any subject on which he was not qualified to speak; and that his learning resembled Garrick's acting, in its universality.² His Majesty then talked of the controversy³ between Warburton and Lowth, which he seemed to have read, and asked Johnson what he thought of it. Johnson answered, "Warburton has most general, most scholastic learning; Lowth is the more correct scholar. I do not know which of them calls names best." The King was pleased to say he was of the same opinion; adding, "You do not think then, Dr. Johnson, that there was much argument in the case." Johnson said, he did not think there was. "Why truly," said the King, "when once it comes to calling names, argument is pretty well at an end."

His Majesty then asked him what he thought of Lord Lyttelton's History, which was then just published. Johnson said, he thought his style pretty good, but that he had blamed Henry the Second rather too much. "Why," said the King, "they seldom do these things by halves."—"No, Sir," answered Johnson, "not to Kings." But fearing to be misunderstood, he proceeded to explain himself; and immediately subjoined, "That for those who spoke worse of Kings than they deserved, he could find no excuse; but that he could more easily conceive how some might speak better of them than they deserved, without any ill intention; for, as Kings had much in their power to give, those who were favoured by them would frequently, from gratitude, exaggerate their praises: and as this proceeded from a good motive, it was certainly excusable, as far as error could be excusable."

The King then asked him what he thought of Dr. Hill.⁴ Johnson answered, that he was an ingenious man, but had no veracity; and

¹ Johnson himself imitated it to Paoli (see *post*, Oct. 10. 1769); and it has indeed become one of the common-places of compliment — *regis ad exemplar*. Hawkins has preserved a compliment of the same kind by George II., which, of a prince not celebrated for such things, seems worth repeating. Mr. Thornton of Yorkshire raised, at his own expense, a regiment of horse, and though newly married to a beautiful young lady, marched at the head of it with the King's army. After the rebellion, he and his wife went to court, when the king, who had noticed Mrs. Thornton, said to him, "Mr. Thornton, I have been told of your services to your country, and your attachment to my family, and have held myself obliged to you for both; but I was never able to appreciate the degree of the obligation till I had seen the lady you left behind you." — CROKER.

² The Rev. Mr. Strahan clearly recollects having been told by Johnson, that the King observed that Pope made Warburton a bishop. "True, Sir," said Johnson, "but Warburton did more for Pope; he made him a Christian!" alluding, no doubt, to his ingenious comments on the "Essay on Man." — BOSWELL. Mr. Strahan's recollection probably deceived him. His Majesty and Dr. Johnson were both too well informed to have bandied such idle talk. Warburton

had published the *Divine Legation*, and was chaplain to the prince of Wales before he knew Pope; his acquaintance with that poet, but of four years' continuance, was ended by Pope's death in 1744. It was ten years after, that he became a King's chaplain, and, in 1755, he had a prebend in the cathedral of Durham. In 1757, he was made dean of Bristol; and, in 1760, sixteen years after Pope's death, he became bishop of Gloucester. If it be alleged, that Mr. Strahan's report refers to the supposition, that his commentary on Pope's "Essay on Man" tended to create that character which finally raised him to the bench; it may be observed, that he published, before and after that commentary, a multitude of works on polemical and religious subjects, much more important and remarkable than the Commentary on the "Essay on Man." The truth is, Warburton was made a bishop by his numerous works, and his high literary character, to which his commentary on Pope contributed a very inconsiderable part. See *post*, 20th Aug. 1773. — CROKER.

³ See the article *Lowth*, in Chalmers's Biographical Dictionary, vol. xx. p. 438. — WRIGHT.

⁴ John Hill, M. D., who assumed latterly the title of Sir John, on receiving a Swedish order of Knighthood. This

immediately mentioned, as an instance of it, an assertion of that writer, that he had seen objects magnified to a much greater degree by using three or four microscopes at a time than by using one. "Now," added Johnson, "every one acquainted with microscopes knows, that the more of them he looks through, the less the object will appear." — "Why," replied the King, "this is not only telling an untruth, but telling it clumsily; for, if that be the case, every one who can look through a microscope will be able to detect him."¹

"I now," said Johnson to his friends, when relating what had passed, "began to consider that I was depreciating this man in the estimation of his Sovereign, and thought it was time for me to say something that might be more favourable." He added, therefore, that Dr. Hill was, notwithstanding, a very curious observer; and if he would have been contented to tell the world no more than he knew, he might have been a very considerable man, and needed not to have recourse to such mean expedients to raise his reputation.

The King then talked of literary journals, mentioned particularly the *Journal des Savans*, and asked Johnson if it was well done. Johnson said, it was formerly very well done, and gave some account of the persons who began it, and carried it on for some years: enlarging, at the same time, on the nature and use of such works. The King asked him if it was well done now. Johnson answered, he had no reason to think that it was.² The King then asked him if there were any other literary journals published in this kingdom, except the *Monthly* and *Critical Reviews*; and on being answered there was no other, his Majesty asked which of them was the best: Johnson answered, that the *Monthly Review* was done with most care, the *Critical* upon the best principles; adding, that the authors of the *Monthly Review* were enemies to the Church. This the King said he was sorry to hear.

The conversation next turned on the *Philosophical Transactions*, when Johnson observed that they had now a better method of arranging their materials than formerly. "Ay," said the King, "they are obliged to Dr. Johnson for that!" for his Majesty had heard and remembered the circumstance, which Johnson himself had forgot.

His Majesty expressed a desire to have the literary biography of this country ably executed, and proposed to Dr. Johnson to undertake it. Johnson signified his readiness to comply with his Majesty's wishes.

During the whole of this interview, Johnson talked to his Majesty with profound respect, but still in his firm manly manner, with a sonorous voice, and never in that subdued tone which is commonly used at the levee and in the drawing-room. After the King withdrew, Johnson showed himself highly pleased with his Majesty's conversation, and gracious behaviour. He said to Mr. Barnard, "Sir, they may talk of the King as they will; but he is the finest gentleman I have ever seen." And he afterwards observed to Mr. Langton, "Sir, his manners are those of as fine a gentleman as we may suppose Lewis the Fourteenth or Charles the Second."⁴

At Sir Joshua Reynolds's, where a circle of Johnson's friends was collected round him to hear his account of this memorable conversation, Dr. Joseph Warton, in his frank and lively manner, was very active in pressing him to mention the particulars. "Come now, Sir, this is an interesting matter; do favour us with it." Johnson, with great good-humour, complied.

He told them, "I found his Majesty wished I should talk, and I made it my business to talk. I find it does a man good to be talked to by his Sovereign. In the first place, a man cannot be in a passion —." Here some question interrupted him, which is to be regretted, as he certainly would have pointed out and illustrated many circumstances of advantage, from being in a situation where the powers of the mind are at once excited to vigorous exertion, and tempered by reverential awe.

During all the time in which Dr. Johnson was employed in relating to the circle at Sir Joshua Reynolds's the particulars of what passed between the King and him, Dr. Goldsmith remained unmoved upon a sofa at some distance, affecting not to join in the least in the eager curiosity of the company. He assigned as a reason for his gloom and seeming inattention, that he apprehended Johnson had relinquished his purpose of furnishing him with a Prologue to his play, with the hopes of

literary and medical quack died in 1775. Garrick's Epigram is well known: —

"For physic and farces, his equal there scarce is;
His farces are physic, his physic a farce is." — LOCKHART.

¹ Here, Bishop Elrington observed, Dr. Johnson was unjust to Hill, and showed that he did not understand the subject. Hill does not talk of magnifying objects by two or more microscopes, but by applying two object glasses to one microscope; and the advantage of diminished spherical errors by this contrivance is well known. Hill's account of the experiment is obscurely and inaccurately expressed in one or two particulars; but there can be no doubt that he is substantially right, and that Dr. Johnson's statement was altogether unfounded. — CROKER.

² Mr. Gibbon, however, about the same time (1763) gave a different judgment: — "I can hardly express how much I

am delighted with the *Journal des Savans*; its characteristics are erudition, precision, and taste; but what I most admire is that impartiality and candour which distinguish the beauties and defects of a work, giving to the former due and hearty praise, and calmly and tenderly pointing out the latter." *Misc. Works*, vol. v. p. 442. — LOCKHART.

³ This perhaps may have given Dr. Johnson the idea of the most popular and entertaining of all his works, "The Lives of the Poets." He himself says in his advertisement, that he "was persuaded to furnish the booksellers with prefaces," but that is not inconsistent with his having been predisposed by the royal wish. — CROKER.

⁴ This reminds us of Madame de Sevigné's charming naïveté, when, after giving an account of Louis XIV. having danced with her, she adds, "Ah! c'est le plus grand roi du monde!" — CROKER.

which he had been flattered; but it was strongly suspected that he was fretting with chagrin and envy at the singular honour Dr. Johnson had lately enjoyed. At length, the frankness and simplicity of his natural character prevailed. He sprung from the sofa, advanced to Johnson, and in a kind of flutter, from imagining himself in the situation which he had just been hearing described, exclaimed, "Well, you acquitted yourself in this conversation better than I should have done; for I should have bowed and stammered through the whole of it."¹

I received no letter from Johnson this year; nor have I discovered any of the correspondence² he had, except the two letters to Mr. Drummond, which have been inserted for the sake of connection with that to the same gentleman in 1766. His diary affords no light as to his employment at this time. He passed three months at Lichfield³: and I cannot omit an affecting and solemn scene there, as related by himself:—

"Sunday, Oct. 18, 1767. Yesterday, Oct. 17., at about ten in the morning, I took my leave for ever of my dear old friend, Catherine Chambers, who came to live with my mother about 1724, and has been but little parted from us since. She buried my father, my brother, and my mother. She is now fifty-eight years old.

"I desired all to withdraw, then told her that we were to part for ever; that as Christians, we should part with prayer; and that I would, if she was willing, say a short prayer beside her. She expressed great desire to hear me; and held up her poor hands, as she lay in bed, with great fervour, while I prayed, kneeling by her, nearly in the following words:—

"Almighty and most merciful Father, whose loving kindness is over all thy works, behold, visit, and relieve this thy servant, who is grieved with sickness. Grant that the sense of her weakness may add strength to her faith, and seriousness to her repentance. And grant that by the help of thy Holy Spirit, after the pains and labours of this short life, we may all obtain everlasting happiness, through

Jesus Christ our Lord, for whose sake hear our prayers.⁴ Amen. Our Father, &c.

"I then kissed her. She told me, that to part was the greatest pain that she had ever felt, and that she hoped we should meet again in a better place. I expressed, with swelled eyes, and great emotion of tenderness, the same hopes. We kissed, and parted. I humbly hope to meet again, and to part no more."⁵

By those who have been taught to look upon Johnson as a man of a harsh and stern character, let this tender and affectionate scene be candidly read; and let them then judge whether more warmth of heart, and grateful kindness, is often found in human nature.

We have the following notice in his devotional record:—

"August 2, 1767. I have been disturbed and unsettled for a long time, and have been without resolution to apply to study or to business, being hindered by sudden snatches.

"I have for some days forborne wine and suppers. Abstinence is not easily practised in another's house; but I think it fit to try.

"I was extremely perturbed in the night, but have had this day more ease than I expected. D[eo] gr[atia]. Perhaps this may be such a sudden relief as I once had by a good night's rest in Fetter Lane.

"From that time, by abstinence, I have had more ease. I have read five books of Homer, and hope to end the sixth to-night. I have given Mrs. Desnoullins a guinea.

"By abstinence from wine and suppers, I obtained sudden and great relief, and had freedom of mind restored to me; which I have wanted for all this year, without being able to find any means of obtaining it."

He, however, furnished Mr. Adams with a Dedication* to the King of that ingenious gentleman's "Treatise on the Globes," conceived and expressed in such a manner as could not fail to be very grateful to a monarch, distinguished for his love of the sciences.

This year was published a ridicule of his

¹ It is remarkable that Johnson should have seen four, if not five, of our sovereigns, and been in the actual presence of three if not four of them. Queen Anne touched him; George the First he probably never saw; but George the Second he must frequently have seen, though only in public. George the Third he conversed with on this occasion; and he once told Sir John Hawkins, that, in a visit to Mrs. Percy, who had the care of one of the young princes, at the Queen's house, the Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV., being a child, came into the room, and began to play about; when Johnson, with his usual curiosity, took an opportunity of asking him what books he was reading, and, in particular, inquired as to his knowledge of the Scriptures; the Prince, in his answers, gave him great satisfaction. It is possible, also, that at that visit he might have seen Prince William Henry (William IV.), who was, I think, as well as the Duke of Kent, under Mrs. Percy's care.—CROKER.

² It is proper here to mention, that when I speak of his correspondence, I consider it independent of the voluminous collection of letters which, in the course of many years, he wrote to Mrs. Thrale, which forms a separate part of his works; and, as a proof of the high estimation set on any thing which came from his pen, was sold by that lady for the sum of five hundred pounds.—BOSWELL. In my former edition I had extracted largely from those letters to fill up

the lacunæ (such as this) in Mr. Boswell's narrative, but the restricted plan of this edition obliges me to limit myself to such extracts as are essential to carry on the Life of Johnson.—CROKER.

³ In his letter to Mr. Drummond, dated Oct. 24, 1767, he mentions that he had arrived in London, after an absence of nearly six months in the country. Probably part of that time was spent at Oxford.—MALONE. He appears to have been more than "three months" in Lichfield. Writing to Mr. Thrale, 20th July, 1767, he says that he had already been away "much longer than he proposed or expected." And it appears that he remained there till the 18th October. It is probable that he was on a visit to Miss Porter, for he adds, "Miss Lucy is more kind and civil than I expected, and has raised my esteem by many excellencies very noble and respectful, though a little discoloured by hoary virginity."—CROKER.

⁴ The greater part of this prayer is, as Bishop Elrington observed to me, in the Visitation of the Sick in our Liturgy, where, indeed, the best helps to prayer for all occasions may be found.—CROKER.

⁵ Catherine Chambers, as Dr. Harwood informed me, died in a few days after this interview, and was buried in St. Chad's, Lichfield, on the 7th of Nov. 1767.—CROKER.

style, under the title of "Lexiphanes." Sir John Hawkins ascribes it to Dr. Kenrick; but its author was one Campbell, a Scotch purser in the navy. The ridicule consisted in applying Johnson's "words of large meaning" to insignificant matters, as if one should put the armour of Goliath upon a dwarf. The contrast might be laughable; but the dignity of the armour must remain the same in all considerate minds. This malicious drollery¹, therefore, it may easily be supposed, could do no harm to its illustrious object.

JOHNSON TO LANGTON,

At Mr. Rothwell's, Perfumer, in New Bond Street.

"Lichfield, Oct. 10. 1767.

"DEAR SIR, — That you have been all summer in London is one more reason for which I regret my long stay in the country, I hope that you will not leave the town before my return. We have here only the chance of vacancies in the passing carriages, and I have bespoken one that may, if it happens, bring me to town on the fourteenth² of this month; but this is not certain.

It will be a favour if you communicate this to Mrs. Williams: I long to see all my friends. I am, dear Sir, your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON."

[JOHNSON TO MRS. ASTON.³

"Nov. 17. 1767.

"MADAM, — If you impute it to disrespect or inattention, that I took no leave when I left Lichfield, you will do me great injustice. I know you too well not to value your friendship.

"When I came to Oxford I inquired after the product of our walnut-tree, but it had, like other trees this year, but very few nuts, and for those few I came too late. The tree, as I told you, Madam, we cannot find to be more than thirty years old, and, upon measuring it, I found it, at about one foot from the ground, seven feet in circumference, and at the height of about seven feet, the circumference is five feet and a half; it would have been, I believe, still bigger, but that it has been lopped. The nuts are small, such as they call single nuts; whether this nut is of quicker growth than better I have not yet inquired; such as they are, I hope to send them next year.

¹ It may have been malicious, but it certainly is not droll. It is so overcharged, as to have neither resemblance nor pleasantry. Hawkins, in his second edition, (published long before Boswell) had corrected his error, and attributed it to Campbell. — CROKER. Archibald Campbell, son of Professor Archibald Campbell, of St. Andrew's, was also author of "The Sale of Authors; a Dialogue, in imitation of Lucian." — ANDERSON.

² We have just seen that he was detained till the 18th. — CROKER.

³ Elizabeth, one of the younger daughters of Sir Thomas Aston: see *ante*, p. 20. n. 4. Some letters of Johnson to Mrs. Aston, communicated to me after that note was first printed, are in a uniform spirit of tenderness and respect, and, even if of no other value, afford an additional proof of the inaccuracy of Miss Seward. A bundle of her letters were destroyed by Johnson just before his death, with a strong expression of regard and regret for the writer. — CROKER. ⁴ It appears that he visited, with the Thralls, (though Mr. Boswell never mentions it), Mr. Brooke of Town-malling, of whose primitive house and manners we find some account in the *Letters*.

"You know, dear Madam, the liberty I took of hinting, that I did not think your present mode of life very pregnant with happiness. Reflection has not yet changed my opinion. Solitude excludes pleasure, and does not always secure peace. Some communication of sentiments is commonly necessary to give vent to the imagination, and discharge the mind of its own flatulencies. Some lady surely might be found, in whose conversation you might delight, and in whose fidelity you might repose. *The World*, says Locke, *has people of all sorts*. You will forgive me this obtrusion of my opinion; I am sure I wish you well."

"Poor Kitty has done what we have all to do, and Lucy has the world to begin anew: I hope she will find some way to more content than I left her possessing.

"Be pleased to make my compliments to Mrs. Hinckley and Miss Turton. I am, Madam, your most obliged and most humble servant,
— Parker MSS. "SAM. JOHNSON."]

CHAPTER XXI.

1768.

State of Johnson's Mind. — Visit to Town-Malling. — Prologue to Goldsmith's "Good-natured Man." — Boswell's "Account of Corsica." — Practice of the Law. — Novels and Comedies. — The Douglas Cause. — Reading MSS. — St. Kilda. — Oxford. — Guthrie. — Hume. — Robertson. — Future Life of Brutes. — Natural History. — Bell's Travels. — Chastity. — Choice of a Wife. — Baretti's Italy. — Liberty. — Kenrick. — Thomson. — Monsey. — Swift. — Lord Eglintowne. — Letter on the Formation of a Library. — Boswell at the Stratford Jubilee. — Johnson's Opinion of his "Corsica."

It appears from his notes of the state of his mind, that he suffered great perturbation and distraction in 1768.

"Town-Malling, in Kent⁴, 18th Sept. 1768, at night. — I have now begun the sixtieth year of my

"Dr. Johnson to Mrs. Thrale, 23d August, 1777. — "It was very well done by Mr. Brooke to send for you. His house is one of my favourite places. His water is very commodious, and the whole place has the true old appearance of a little country town."

"Mrs. Thrale to Dr. Johnson, 13th September, 1777. — "Come, here is news of Town-Malling, the quiet old-fashioned place in Kent, that you liked so, because it was agreeable to your own notions of a rural life. I believe we were the first people, except the master of it, who had, for many years, taken delight in the old coach without springs, the two roasted ducks in one dish, the fortified flower-garden, and fir-trees cut in figures. A spirit of innovation has however reached even there at last. The roads are mended; no more narrow shaded lanes, but clear open turnpike trotting. A yew hedge, or an eugh hedge if you will, newly cut down too by his nephew's desire. Ah! those nephews. And a wall pulled away, which bore incomparable fruit — *to call in the country* — is the phrase. Mr. Thrale is wicked enough to urge on these rough reformers: how it will end I know not. For your comfort, the square canals still drop into one another, and the chocolate is still made in the

life. How the last year has past, I am unwilling to terrify myself with thinking. This day has been past in great perturbation: I was distracted at church in an uncommon degree, and my mistress has had very little intermission. I have found myself somewhat relieved by reading, which I therefore intend to practise when I am able. This day it came into my mind to write the history of my melancholy. On this I purpose to deliberate; I know not whether it may not too much disturb me."

Nothing of his writings was given to the public this year, except the Prologue* to his friend Goldsmith's comedy of "The Good-natured Man." The first lines of this Prologue are strongly characteristic of the dismal gloom of his mind; which in his case, as in the case of all who are distressed with the same malady of imagination, transfers to others its own feelings. Who could suppose it was to introduce a comedy, when Mr. Bensley solemnly began,

"Press'd with the load of life, the weary mind
Surveys the general toil of human kind."

But this dark ground might make Goldsmith's humour shine the more.¹

In the spring of this year, having published my "Account of Corsica², with the Journal of a Tour to that Island," I returned to London, very desirous to see Dr. Johnson, and hear him upon the subject. I found he was at Oxford, with his friend Mr. Chambers, who was now Vinerian Professor, and lived in New-Inn Hall. Having had no letter from him since that in which he criticised the Latinity of my Thesis, and having been told by somebody that he was offended at my having put into my book an extract of his letter to me at Paris, I was impatient to be with him, and therefore followed him to Oxford, where I was entertained by Mr. Chambers, with a civility which I shall ever gratefully remember. I found that Dr. Johnson had sent a letter to me to Scotland, and that I had nothing to complain of but his being more indifferent to my anxiety than I wished him to be. Instead of giving,

with the circumstances of time and place, such fragments of his conversation as I preserved during this visit to Oxford, I shall throw them together in continuation.

I asked him whether, as a moralist, he did not think that the practice of the law, in some degree, hurt the nice feeling of honesty. JOHNSON. "Why no, Sir, if you act properly. You are not to deceive your clients with false representations of your opinion: you are not to tell lies to a Judge." BOSWELL. "But what do you think of supporting a cause which you know to be bad?" JOHNSON. "Sir, you do not know it to be good or bad till the Judge determines it. I have said that you are to state facts fairly: so that your thinking, or what you call knowing, a cause to be bad, must be from reasoning, must be from your supposing your arguments to be weak and inconclusive. But, Sir, that is not enough. An argument which does not convince yourself, may convince the judge to whom you urge it: and if it does convince him, why, then, Sir, you are wrong, and he is right. It is his business to judge; and you are not to be confident in your own opinion that a cause is bad, but to say all you can for your client, and then hear the judge's opinion." BOSWELL. "But, Sir, does not affecting a warmth when you have no warmth, and appearing to be clearly of one opinion when you are in reality of another opinion, does not such dissimulation impair one's honesty? Is there not some danger that a lawyer may put on the same mask in common life, in the intercourse with his friends?" JOHNSON. "Why no, Sir. Every body knows you are paid for affecting warmth for your client; and it is, therefore, properly no dissimulation: the moment you come from the bar you resume your usual behaviour. Sir, a man will no more carry the artifice of the bar into the common intercourse of society, than a man who is paid for tumbling upon his hands will continue to tumble upon his hands when he should walk on his feet."³

room by a maid, who curtsies as she presents every cup. Dear old Daddy Brooke looks well, and even handsome, at eighty-one years old; while I saw his sister, who is ninety-four years old and calls him *Franky*, eat more venison at a sitting than Mr. Thrale. These are the proper contemplations of this season. May my daughter and my friend but enjoy life as long, and use it as innocently as these sweet people have done. The sight of such a family consoles one's heart." — CROKER.

¹ In this prologue, after the line — "And social sorrow lessens half its pain," the following couplet was inserted: —

"Amidst the toils of this returning year,
When senators and nobles learn to fear,
Our little bard without complaint may share
The bustling season's epidemic care."

So the prologue appeared in the *Public Advertiser*. Goldsmith probably thought that the lines printed in *Italic* characters might give offence, and therefore prevailed on Johnson to omit them. The epithet *little*, which perhaps the author thought might diminish his dignity, was also changed to *anxious*. — MALONE. Goldsmith was low in stature, a circumstance often alluded to by his contemporaries. — CROKER.

² "Mr. Boswell's book I was going to recommend to you when I received your letter: it has pleased and moved me strangely, all (I mean) that relates to Paoli. He is a man born two thousand years after his time! The pamphlet proves what I have always maintained, that any fool may write a most valuable book by chance, if he will only tell us what he heard and saw with veracity. Of Mr. Boswell's truth I have not the least suspicion, because I am sure he could invent nothing of this kind. The true title of this part of his work is, a Dialogue between a Green-Goose and a Hero. *Gray to Horace Walpole, Feb. 25. 1768.* — CROKER, 1846.

³ See *post*, Aug. 15. 1773, where Johnson has supported the same argument. — J. BOSWELL, jun.

Cicero touches this question more than once, but never with much confidence. "Atqui etiam hoc preceptum officii diligenter tenendum est, ne quem unquam innocentem judicio capitis arcessas; id, enim, sine scelere fieri licito pacto potest. Nec tamen, ut hoc fugiendum est, ita habendum est religioni, *nocentem aliquando, modo ne nefarium impiumque, defendere.* Vult hoc multum, patitur consuetudo, fert etiam humanitas. Judicis est semper in causis *verum* sequi, patroni nonnunquam verisimile, etiam si minus sit verum, defendere." (De Off. l. 2. c. 14.) We might have expected a less conditional and apologetical defence of his own profession from the great philosophical orator. — CROKER.

Talking of some of the modern plays, he said, "False Delicacy"¹ was totally void of character. He praised Goldsmith's "Good-natured Man;" said it was the best comedy that had appeared since "The Provoked Husband," and that there had not been of late any such character exhibited on the stage as that of Croaker. I observed it was the *Suspicious* of his Rambler [No. 59.]. He said, Goldsmith had owned he had borrowed it from thence. "Sir," continued he, "there is all the difference in the world between characters of nature and characters of manners; and there is the difference between the characters of Fielding and those of Richardson. Characters of manners are very entertaining; but they are to be understood, by a more superficial observer than characters of nature, where a man must dive into the recesses of the human heart."

It always appeared to me, that he estimated the compositions of Richardson too highly², and that he had an unreasonable prejudice against Fielding. In comparing those two writers, he used this expression; "that there was as great a difference between them, as between a man who knew how a watch was made, and a man who could tell the hour by looking on the dial-plate." This was a short and figurative state of his distinction between drawing characters of nature and characters only of manners. But I cannot help being of opinion, that the neat watches of Fielding are as well constructed as the large clocks of Richardson, and that his dial-plates are brighter. Fielding's characters, though they do not expand themselves so widely in dissertation, are as just pictures of human nature, and I will venture to say, have more striking features, and nicer touches of the pencil; and, though Johnson used to quote with approbation a saying of Richardson's, "that the virtues of Fielding's heroes were the vices of a truly good man," I will venture to add, that the moral tendency of Fielding's writings, though it does not encourage a strained and rarely possible virtue, is ever favourable to honour and honesty, and cherishes the benevolent and generous affections. He who is as good as

Fielding would make him, is an amiable member of society, and may be led on by more regulated instructors, to a higher state of ethical perfection.³

Johnson proceeded: "Even Sir Francis Wronghead⁴ is a character of manners, though drawn with great humour." He then repeated, very happily, all Sir Francis's credulous account to Manly of his being with "the great man," and securing a place. I asked him, if "The Suspicious Husband"⁵ did not furnish a well-drawn character, that of Ranger. JOHNSON. "No, Sir; Ranger is just a rake, a mere rake, and a lively young fellow, but no character."

The great Douglas Cause was at this time a very general subject of discussion. I found he had not studied it with much attention⁶, but had only heard parts of it occasionally. He, however, talked of it, and said, "I am of opinion that positive proof of fraud should not be required of the plaintiff, but that the Judges should decide according as probability shall appear to preponderate, granting to the defendant the presumption of filiation to be strong in his favour. And I think too, that a good deal of weight should be allowed to the dying declarations, because they were spontaneous. There is a great difference between what is said without our being urged to it, and what is said from a kind of compulsion. If I praise a man's book without being asked my opinion of it, that is honest praise, to which one may trust. But if an author asks me if I like his book, and I give him something like praise, it must not be taken as my real opinion."

"I have not been troubled for a long time with authors desiring my opinion of their works. I used once to be sadly plagued with a man who wrote verses, but who literally had no other notion of a verse, but that it consisted of ten syllables. *Lay your knife and your fork across your plate*, was to him a verse:—

'Lay yōr knife ānd your fōrk acrōss your plāte.'

As he wrote a great number of verses, he sometimes by chance made good ones, though he did not know it."⁷

He renewed his promise of coming to Scot-

¹ By Hugh Kelly, the poetical staymaker: he died, an. ætat. 38, Feb. 3. 1777. — CROKER.

² See *post*, April 6. 1772. — C.

³ "Johnson," says Hawkins, "was inclined, as being personally acquainted with Richardson, to favour the opinion of his admirers; but he seemed not firm in it, and could at any time he talked into a disapprobation of all fictitious relations, of which he would frequently say, they took no hold of the mind." — CROKER.

⁴ In *The Provoked Husband*, begun by Sir John Vanbrugh, and finished by Colley Cibber. — WRIGHT.

⁵ By Dr. Benjamin Hoadly. Garrick's inimitable performance of Ranger was the main support of the piece during its first run. George II. was so well pleased with this comedy, that he sent the author one hundred pounds — *Wright*. Horace Walpole gives as a reason of George the Second's favour, that one of the causes of suspicion against the innocent heroine (the finding Ranger's hat) was the same with one of those alleged against his mother, the Electress Dorothea — the hat of Count Koenigsmark (the same who

caused the murder of Mr. Thynne) having been found in her apartment. — CROKER.

⁶ Boswell, who was counsel on the side of Mr. Douglas, had published, in 1766, a pamphlet entitled the "Essence of the Douglas Cause," but which, it will be seen, *post*, April 27. 1773, he could not induce Johnson even to read. — LOCKHART.

⁷ "Dr. Johnson did not like that his friends should bring their manuscripts for him to read, and he liked still less to read them when they were brought: sometimes, however, when he could not refuse, he would take the play or poem, or whatever it was, and give the people his opinion from some one page that he had peeped into. A gentleman carried him his tragedy, which, because he loved the author, Johnson took, and it lay about our rooms at Streatham some time. 'What answer did you give your friend, Sir?' asked I, after the book had been called for. 'I told him,' replied he, 'that there was too much *Tig and Terry* in it.' Seeing me laugh most violently, 'Why, what wouldst have, child?' said he; 'I looked at nothing but the *dramatis personæ*, and

land, and going with me to the Hebrides, but said he would now content himself with seeing one or two of the most curious of them. He said, "Macaulay, who writes the account of St. Kilda, set out with a prejudice against prejudice, and wanted to be a smart modern thinker; and yet he affirms for a truth, that when a ship arrives there all the inhabitants are seized with a cold."

Dr. John Campbell, the celebrated writer¹, took a great deal of pains to ascertain this fact, and attempted to account for it on physical principles, from the effect of effluvia from human bodies. Johnson, at another time [March 21. 1772], praised Macaulay for his "magnanimity," in asserting this wonderful story, because it was well attested. A lady of Norfolk, by a letter [Oct. 2. 1773], to my friend Dr. Burney, has favoured me with the following solution:—

"Now for the explication of this seeming mystery, which is so very obvious as, for that reason, to have escaped the penetration of Dr. Johnson and his friend, as well as that of the author. Reading the book with my ingenious friend, the late Rev. Mr. Christian of Docking—after ruminating a little, 'The cause,' says he, 'is a natural one.' The situation of St. Kilda renders a north-east wind indispensably necessary before a stranger can land. The wind, not the stranger, occasions an epidemic cold. If I am not mistaken, Mr. Macaulay is dead; if living, this solution might please him, as I hope it will Mr. Boswell, in return for the many agreeable hours his works have afforded us."

Johnson expatiated on the advantages of Oxford for learning. "There is here, Sir," said he, "such a progressive emulation. The students are anxious to appear well to their tutors; the tutors are anxious to have their pupils appear well in the college; the colleges are anxious to have their students appear well in the university; and there are excellent rules of discipline in every college. That the rules are sometimes ill observed may be true, but is nothing against the system. The members of an university may, for a season, be unmindful of their duty. I am arguing for the excellency of the institution."

Of Guthrie, he said, "Sir, he is a man of parts. He has no great regular fund of knowledge; but by reading so long, and writing so long, he no doubt has picked up a good deal."

He said he had lately been a long while at

Lichfield, but had grown very weary before he left it. BOSWELL. "I wonder at that, Sir; it is your native place." JOHNSON. "Why so is Scotland *your* native place."

His prejudice against Scotland appeared remarkably strong at this time.² When I talked of our advancement in literature, "Sir," said he, "you have learnt a little from us, and you think yourselves very great men. Hume would never have written history, had not Voltaire written it before him. He is an echo of Voltaire." BOSWELL. "But, Sir, we have lord Kames." JOHNSON. "You have lord Kames. Keep him; ha, ha, ha! We don't envy you him. Do you ever see Dr. Robertson?" BOSWELL. "Yes, Sir." JOHNSON. "Does the dog talk of me?" BOSWELL. "Indeed, Sir, he does, and loves you." Thinking that I now had him in a corner, and being solicitous for the literary fame of my country, I pressed him for his opinion on the merit of Dr. Robertson's History of Scotland. But to my surprise, he escaped.—"Sir, I love Robertson, and I won't talk of his book."

It is but justice both to him and Dr. Robertson to add, that though he indulged himself in this sally of wit, he had too good taste not to be fully sensible of the merits of that admirable work.³

An essay, written by Mr. Dean, a divine of the Church of England, maintaining the future life of brutes⁴, by an explication of certain parts of the Scriptures, was mentioned, and the doctrine insisted on by a gentleman who seemed fond of curious speculation; Johnson, who did not like to hear of any thing concerning a future state which was not authorised by the regular canons of orthodoxy, discouraged this talk; and being offended at its continuation, he watched an opportunity to give the gentleman a blow of reprehension. So, when the poor speculatist, with a serious metaphysical pensive face, addressed him, "But really, Sir, when we see a very sensible dog, we don't know what to think of him;" Johnson, rolling with joy at the thought which beamed in his eye, turned quickly round, and replied, "True, Sir: and when we see a very foolish fellow, we don't know what to think of him." He then rose up, strided to the fire, and stood for some time laughing and exulting.

I told him that I had several times, when in Italy, seen the experiment of placing a scorpion within a circle of burning coals; that it ran

there was *Tigranes* and *Tiridates*, or *Teribazus*, or such stuff." — PIZZOLI. This was Murphy's tragedy of *Zenobia*, in which there are two characters, *Tigranes* and *Teribazus*, whose names, abbreviated, as is usual in plays, would be *Tig*, and *Terf*. — CROKER.

¹ See *anté*, p. 140. — C.

² Johnson's invectives against Scotland, in common conversation, were more in pleasantry and sport than real and malignant; for no man was more visited by natives of that country, nor were there any for whom he had a greater esteem. It was to Dr. Grainger, a Scottish physician, that I owed my first acquaintance with Johnson, in 1756. — PERCY. They were something more than sport. — CROKER.

³ It is to be regretted that Mr. Boswell should have per-

sisted in repeating these assertions. Dr. Johnson, on every occasion, seems to have expressed a great contempt for Dr. Robertson's works—very unjustly indeed; but, however Mr. Boswell might lament Johnson's prejudice, he was not justified in thus repeatedly mistating the fact. See *anté*, p. 179, *post*, sub 19th April, 1772, where Boswell suppresses, and 30th April, 1773, where he again misrepresents Johnson's opinions of Dr. Robertson. — CROKER.

⁴ "An Essay on the Future Life of Brute-Creatures, by Richard Dean, curate of Middleton." This work is reviewed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1768, p. 177, in a style very like Johnson's; and a story of "a very sensible dog" is noticed with censure. So that it may probably have been Johnson's. — CROKER.

round and round in extreme pain; and finding no way to escape, retired to the centre, and, like a true Stoic philosopher, darted its sting into its head, and thus at once freed itself from its woes. "*This must end 'em.*" I said, this was a curious fact, as it showed deliberate suicide in a reptile. Johnson would not admit the fact. He said, Maupertuis¹ was of opinion that it does not kill itself, but dies of the heat; that it gets to the centre of the circle, as the coolest place; that its turning its tail in upon its head is merely a convulsion, and that it does not sting itself. He said he would be satisfied if the great anatomist Morgagni, after dissecting a scorpion on which the experiment had been tried, should certify that its sting had penetrated into its head.

He seemed pleased to talk of natural philosophy.² "That woodcocks," said he, "fly over the northern countries is proved, because they have been observed at sea. Swallows certainly sleep all the winter. A number of them conglobulate together, by flying round and round, and then all in a heap throw themselves under water, and lie in the bed of a river."³ He told us, one of his first essays was a Latin poem upon the glow-worm; I am sorry I did not ask where it was to be found.

Talking of the Russians and the Chinese, he advised me to read Bell's Travels.⁴ I asked him whether I should read Du Halde's Account of China. "Why yes," said he, "as one reads such a book; that is to say, consult it."

He talked of the heinousness of the crime of adultery, by which the peace of families was destroyed. He said, "Confusion of progeny constitutes the essence of the crime; and therefore a woman who breaks her marriage vows is much more criminal than a man who does it. A man, to be sure, is criminal in the sight of God; but he does not do his wife a very material injury, if he does not insult her; if, for instance, from mere wantonness of appetite, he steals privately to her chambermaid. Sir, a wife ought not greatly to resent this. I would not receive home a daughter who had run away from her husband on that account. A wife should study to reclaim her husband by more attention to please him. Sir,

a man will not, once in a hundred instances, leave his wife and go to a harlot, if his wife has not been negligent of pleasing."

Here he discovered that acute discrimination, that solid judgment, and that knowledge of human nature, for which he was upon all occasions remarkable. Taking care to keep in view the moral and religious duty, as understood in our nation, he showed clearly, from reason and good sense, the greater degree of culpability in the one sex deviating from it than the other; and, at the same time, inculcated a very useful lesson as to *the way to keep him*.

I asked him if it was not hard that one deviation from chastity should so absolutely ruin a young woman. JOHNSON. "Why no, Sir; it is the great principle which she is taught. When she has given up that principle, she has given up every notion of female honour and virtue, which are all included in chastity."

A gentleman⁵ talked to him of a lady whom he greatly admired and wished to marry, but was afraid of her superiority of talents. "Sir," said he, "you need not be afraid; marry her. Before a year goes about, you'll find that reason much weaker, and that wit not so bright." Yet the gentleman may be justified in his apprehension by one of Dr. Johnson's admirable sentences in his Life of Waller: "He doubtless praised many whom he would have been afraid to marry; and, perhaps, married one whom he would have been ashamed to praise. Many qualities contribute to domestic happiness, upon which poetry has no colours to bestow; and many airs and sallies may delight imagination, which he who flatters them never can approve."

He praised Signor Barettil. "His account of Italy is a very entertaining book; and, Sir, I know no man who carries his head higher in conversation than Barettil. There are strong powers in his mind. He has not, indeed, many hooks; but with what hooks he has, he grapples very forcibly."

At this time I observed upon the dial-plate of his watch a short Greek inscription, taken from the New Testament, *Νὺξ γὰρ ἐρχεται*⁶, being the first words of our Saviour's solemn

¹ I should think it impossible not to wonder at the variety of Johnson's reading, however desultory it might have been. Who could have imagined that the High Church of Englandman would be so prompt in quoting *Maupertuis*, who, I am sorry to think, stands in the list of those unfortunate mistaken men, who call themselves *esprits forts*. I have, however, a high respect for that philosopher, whom the great Frederic of Prussia loved and honoured, and addressed pathetically in one of his poems,

"*Maupertuis, cher Maupertuis,
Que notre vie est peu de chose.*"

There was in Maupertuis a vigour and yet a tenderness of sentiment, united with strong intellectual powers, and uncommon ardour of soul. Would he had been a Christian! I cannot help earnestly venturing to hope that he is one now. — BOSWELL. Maupertuis died in 1759, at the age of 62, in the arms of the Bernoulli, *très chrétienement*. — BURNEY.

Mr. Boswell seems to contemplate the possibility of a *post mortem* conversion to Christianity. — CROKER.

² Natural history. — CROKER.

³ This story has been entirely exploded. — LOCKHART.

⁴ John Bell, of Anternony, who published at Glasgow, in 1763, "*Travels from St. Petersburg, in Russia, to divers Parts of Asia*." — CROKER.

⁵ Probably Boswell himself. — CROKER.

⁶ John ix. 4. I know not why Boswell calls them the *first* words: on the contrary, they are expletive of the former part of the admonition. Hawkins says that this watch (made for Johnson by Mudge and Dutton in 1768) was the first he ever possessed; but he adds that the Greek inscription was made unintelligible by the mistake of inscribing *νὺξ* for *νύξ*. This Mr. Stevens denied; and he certainly bequeathed to his niece a watch bearing, as I am informed, the *correct* inscription: but from the evidence of Hawkins, one of Johnson's executors, and from the known propensity of Stevens to what is leniently called *mystification*, I conclude that

admonition to the improvement of that time which is allowed us to prepare for eternity; "*the night cometh* when no man can work." He some time afterwards laid aside this dial-plate; and when I asked him the reason, he said, "It might do very well upon a clock which a man keeps in his closet; but to have it upon his watch, which he carries about with him, and which is often looked at by others, might be censured as ostentatious." Mr. Steevens is now possessed of the dial-plate inscribed as above.

He remained at Oxford a considerable time.¹ I was obliged to go to London, where I received this letter, which had been returned from Scotland.

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"Oxford, March 23. 1768.

"MY DEAR BOSWELL, — I have omitted a long time to write to you, without knowing very well why. I could now tell why I should not write; for who would write to men who publish the letters of their friends, without their leave?² Yet I write to you in spite of my caution, to tell you that I shall be glad to see you, and that I wish you would empty your head of Corsica, which I think has filled it rather too long. But, at all events, I shall be glad, very glad, to see you. I am, Sir, yours affectionately,
SAM. JOHNSON."

I answered thus: —

BOSWELL TO JOHNSON.

"London, April 26. 1768.

"MY DEAR SIR, — I have received your last letter, which, though very short, and by no means complimentary, yet gave me real pleasure, because it contains these words, 'I shall be glad, very glad, to see you.' — Surely you have no reason to complain of my publishing a single paragraph of one of your letters; the temptation to it was so strong. An irrevocable grant of your friendship, and your signifying my desire of visiting Corsica with the epithet of 'a wise and noble curiosity,' are to me more valuable than many of the grants of kings.

"But how can you bid me 'empty my head of Corsica?' My noble-minded friend, do you not feel for an oppressed nation bravely struggling to be free? Consider fairly what is the case. The Corsicans never received any kindness from the Genoese. They never agreed to be subject to them. They owe them nothing, and when reduced to an abject state of slavery, by force, shall they not rise in the great cause of liberty, and break the galling yoke? And shall not every liberal soul be warm

for them? Empty my head of Corsica! Empty it of honour, empty it of humanity, empty it of friendship, empty it of piety. No! while I live, Corsica, and the cause of the brave islanders, shall ever employ much of my attention, shall ever interest me in the sincerest manner. * * *. I am, &c.,

"JAMES BOSWELL."

[JOHNSON TO MISS PORTER.

"Oxford, April 18. 1768.

"MY DEAR, DEAR LOVE, — You have had a very great loss.³ To lose an old friend, is to be cut off from a great part of the little pleasure that this life allows. But such is the condition of our nature, that as we live on we must see those whom we love drop successively, and find our circle of relations grow less and less, till we are almost unconnected with the world; and then it must soon be our turn to drop into the grave. There is always this consolation, that we have one Protector who can never be lost but by our own fault, and every new experience of the uncertainty of all other comforts should determine us to fix our hearts where true joys are to be found. All union with the inhabitants of earth must in time be broken; and all the hopes that terminate here, must on [one] part or other end in disappointment.

"I am glad that Mrs. Adey and Mrs. Cobb do not leave you alone. Pay my respects to them, and the Swards, and all my friends. When Mr. Porter comes, he will direct you. Let me know of his arrival, and I will write to him.

"When I go back to London, I will take care of your reading-glass. Whenever I can do any thing for you, remember, my dear darling, that one of my greatest pleasures is to please you.

"The punctuality of your correspondence I consider as a proof of great regard. When we shall see each other, I know not, but let us often think on each other, and think with tenderness. Do not forget me in your prayers. I have for a long time back been very poorly; but of what use is it to complain? Write often, for your letters always give great pleasure to my dear, your most affectionate and most humble servant.

— Malone.

"SAM. JOHNSON."]

Upon his arrival in London in May, he surprised me one morning with a visit at my lodging in Halfmoon Street, was quite satisfied with my explanation, and was in the kindest and most agreeable frame of mind. As he had objected to a part of one of his letters being published, I thought it right to take this opportunity of asking him explicitly whether it would be improper to publish his letters after his death. His answer was, "Nay, Sir, when I am dead, you may do as you will."

his was not the *original* dial. However that may be, the dial was laid aside by Johnson, as being, Boswell says, "too ostentatious," and Hawkins, "too pedantic." But Johnson may have had a better reason, even if *νυξ* were not misspelled. Giving the inscription, no doubt from memory, he had altered the divine phrase, which is simply *ἔχειται νυξ*, and Johnson, when he perceived the variance, probably removed the dial. Boswell in his first edition had given the text correctly; he afterwards adopted the mistake of adding *νυξ*. — CROKER. Sir Walter Scott put the same Greek words on a sun-dial in his garden at Abbotsford. — LOCKHART.

¹ Where, it appears, from the *Letters*, l. 14., that he was

for some time confined to Mr. Chambers's apartments in New Inn Hall by a fit of illness, and took a strong interest in the triumphant election of high church candidates for the University. "The virtue of Oxford," he says, "once more prevailed over the slaves of power and the solicitors of favour."

— CROKER

² Mr. Boswell, in his "Journal of a Tour in Corsica," had printed the second and third paragraphs of Johnson's letter to him of January 14. 1766. — CROKER.

³ The death of her aunt, Mrs. Hunter, widow of Johnson's schoolmaster. — CROKER.

He talked in his usual style with a rough contempt of popular liberty. "They make a rout about *universal* liberty, without considering that all that is to be valued, or indeed can be enjoyed by individuals, is *private* liberty. Political liberty is good only so far as it produces private liberty. Now, Sir, there is the liberty of the press, which you know is a constant topic. Suppose you and I and two hundred more were restrained from printing our thoughts: what then? What proportion would that restraint upon us bear to the private happiness of the nation?"¹

This mode of representing the inconveniences of restraint as light and insignificant, was a kind of sophistry in which he delighted to indulge himself, in opposition to the extreme laxity for which it has been fashionable for too many to argue, when it is evident, upon reflection, that the very essence of government is restraint; and certain it is, that as government produces rational happiness, too much restraint is better than too little. But when restraint is unnecessary, and so close as to gall those who are subject to it, the people may and ought to remonstrate; and, if relief is not granted, to resist. Of this manly and spirited principle, no man was more convinced than Johnson himself.

About this time Dr. Kenrick attacked him, through my sides, in a pamphlet, entitled "An Epistle to James Boswell, Esq., occasioned by his having transmitted the moral Writings of Dr. Samuel Johnson to Pascal Paoli, General of the Corsicans." I was at first inclined to answer this pamphlet; but Johnson, who knew that my doing so would only gratify Kenrick, by keeping alive what would soon die away of itself, would not suffer me to take any notice of it.²

His sincere regard for Francis Barber, his faithful negro servant, made him so desirous of his further improvement, that he now placed him at a school at Bishop Stortford, in Hertfordshire.³ This humane attention does Johnson's heart much honour. Out of many letters which Mr. Barber received from his master, he has preserved three, which he kindly gave me, and which I shall insert according to their dates.

JOHNSON TO FRANCIS BARBER.

"May 28. 1768.

"DEAR FRANCIS, — I have been very much out of order. I am glad to hear that you are well, and design to come soon to you. I would have you stay at Mrs. Clapp's for the present, till I can determine what we shall do. Be a good boy. My compliments to Mrs. Clapp and to Mr. Fowler. I am yours affectionately, SAM. JOHNSON."

Soon afterwards, he supped at the Crown and Anchor tavern, in the Strand, with a company whom I collected to meet him. They were, Dr. Percy now Bishop of Dromore, Dr. Douglas now Bishop of Salisbury, Mr. Langton, Dr. Robertson the Historian, Dr. Hugh Blair, and Mr. Thomas Davies, who wished much to be introduced to these eminent Scotch literati; but on the present occasion he had very little opportunity of hearing them talk; for, with an excess of prudence, for which Johnson afterwards found fault with them, they hardly opened their lips, and that only to say something which they were certain would not expose them to the sword of Goliath; such was their anxiety for their fame when in the presence of Johnson. He was this evening in remarkable vigour of mind, and eager to exert himself in conversation, which he did with great readiness and fluency; but I am sorry to find that I have preserved but a small part of what passed.

He allowed high praise to Thomson as a poet; but when one of the company said he was also a very good man, our moralist contested this with great warmth, accusing him of gross sensuality and licentiousness of manners. I was very much afraid that, in writing Thomson's life, Dr. Johnson would have treated his private character with a stern severity, but I was agreeably disappointed; and I may claim a little merit in it, from my having been at pains to send him authentic accounts of the affectionate and generous conduct of that poet to his sisters, one of whom, the wife of Mr. Thomson, schoolmaster at Lanark, I knew, and was presented by her with three of his letters, one of which Dr. Johnson has inserted in his life.

He was vehement against old Dr. Mounsey, of Chelsea College, as "a fellow who swore and talked indecently."⁴ "I have been often in his

¹ See *post*, p. 200, n. 1. — C.

² Hawkins says, Johnson's silence proceeded not more from his contempt of such an adversary, than from a settled resolution he had formed, of declining all controversy in defence either of himself or of his writings. Against personal abuse he was ever armed, by a reflection that I have heard him utter: — "Alas! reputation would be of little worth, were it in the power of every concealed enemy to deprive us of it;" and he defied all attacks on his writings by an answer of Dr. Bentley to one who threatened to write him down, that "no author was ever written down but by himself." — CROKER.

³ The sending his negro servant, at least five and twenty years old, to a boarding-school, seems a strange exercise of Johnson's good nature. It was very unpopular with his other inmates. When Mrs. Williams and Francis quar-

relled, as was very frequent, the lady would complain to the doctor, adding, "This is your scholar, on whose education you have spent 300*l*." Dr. Johnson, in the conclusion of the letter, calls him a "*boy*," but sixteen years had already elapsed since he entered Johnson's own service. — CROKER.

⁴ A coarser word is used in the original. Messenger Mounsey, M. D., died at his apartments in Chelsea College, Dec. 26. 1783, at the age of ninety-five. An extraordinary direction in his will may be found in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. 50. p. ii. p. 1183. — MALONE. The direction was, that his body should not suffer any funeral ceremony, but undergo dissection, and after that operation, be thrown into the Thames, or where the surgeon pleased. It is surprising that this coarse and crazy humorist should have been an intimate friend and favourite of the elegant and pious Mrs. Montagu. — CROKER. In the following

company," said Dr. Percy, "and never heard him swear or talk indecently." Mr. Davies, who sat next to Dr. Percy, having after this had some conversation aside with him, made a discovery which, in his zeal to pay court to Dr. Johnson, he eagerly proclaimed aloud from the foot of the table: "Oh, Sir, I have found out a very good reason why Dr. Percy never heard Mounsey swear or talk indecently; for he tells me he never saw him but at the Duke of Northumberland's table." "And so, Sir," said Dr. Johnson loudly to Dr. Percy, "you would shield this man from the charge of swearing and talking indecently, because he did not do so at the Duke of Northumberland's table. Sir, you might as well tell us that you had seen him hold up his hand at the Old Bailey, and he neither swore nor talked indecently; or that you had seen him in the cart at Tyburn, and he neither swore nor talked indecently. And is it thus, Sir, that you presume to controvert what I have related?" Dr. Johnson's animadversion was uttered in such a manner, that Dr. Percy seemed to be displeased, and soon afterwards left the company, of which Johnson did not at that time take any notice.

Swift having been mentioned, Johnson, as usual, treated him with little respect as an author. Some of us endeavoured to support the Dean of St. Patrick's, by various arguments. One, in particular, praised his "Conduct of the Allies." JOHNSON. "Sir, his 'Conduct of the Allies' is a performance of very little ability." "Surely, Sir," said Dr. Douglas, "you must allow it has strong facts." JOHNSON. "Why yes, Sir; but what is that to the merit of the composition? In the Sessions-paper of the Old Bailey there are strong facts. House-breaking is a strong fact; robbery is a strong fact; and murder is a *mighty* strong fact: but is great praise due to the historian of those strong facts? No, Sir, Swift has told what he had to tell distinctly enough, but that is all. He had to count ten, and he has counted it right." Then recollecting that Mr. Davies, by acting as an *informer*, had been the occasion of his talking somewhat too harshly to his friend

Dr. Percy, for which, probably, when the first ebullition was over, he felt some compunction, he took an opportunity to give him a hit: so added, with a preparatory laugh, "Why, Sir, Tom Davies might have written 'The Conduct of the Allies.'" Poor Tom, being thus suddenly dragged into ludicrous notice in presence of the Scottish doctors, to whom he was ambitious of appearing to advantage, was grievously mortified. Nor did his punishment rest here; for upon subsequent occasions, whenever he, "statesman all over,"² assumed a strutting importance, I used to hail him—"the Author of the *Conduct of the Allies*."

When I called upon Dr. Johnson next morning, I found him highly satisfied with his colloquial prowess the preceding evening. "Well," said he, "we had good talk." BOSWELL. "Yes, Sir; you tossed and gored several persons."

The late Alexander Earl of Eglintoun³, who loved wit more than wine, and men of genius more than sycophants, had a great admiration of Johnson; but, from the remarkable elegance of his own manners, was, perhaps, too delicately sensible of the roughness which sometimes appeared in Johnson's behaviour. One evening about this time, when his lordship did me the honour to sup at my lodgings with Dr. Robertson and several other men of literary distinction, he regretted that Johnson had not been educated with more refinement, and lived more in polished society. "No, no, my lord," said Signor Baretti, "do with him what you would, he would always have been a bear." "True," answered the earl, with a smile, "but he would have been a *dancing bear*."

To obviate all the reflections which have gone round the world to Johnson's prejudice, by applying to him the epithet of a *bear*, let me impress upon my readers a just and happy saying of my friend Goldsmith, who knew him well:—"Johnson, to be sure, has a roughness in his manner; but no man alive has a more tender heart. *He has nothing of the bear but his skin*."⁴

strange, and, although it relates to his own body, we may say brutal letter to Mr. Cruickshank, dated May 12. 1787, now in the Museum of the College of Surgeons, Mounsey says:—"Mr. Thomson Foster, surgeon, in Union Court, Broad Street, has promised to open my carcass, and see what is the matter with my heart, arteries, and kidneys. He is gone to Norwich, and may not return before I am [dead]. Will you be so good as to let me send it to you, or, if he comes, will you like to be present at the dissection? Let me see you to-morrow, between eleven and one two, or any day. I am now very ill, and hardly see to scrawl this, and feel as if I should live [but] two days—the sooner the better. I am, though unknown to you, your respectful humble servant, MESSENGER MOUNSEY." His body was accordingly dissected by Mr. Foster, and preparations were deposited in the Museum of St. Thomas's Hospital.—WRIGHT.

¹ My respectable friend, upon reading this passage, observed that he probably must have said not simply "strong facts," but "strong facts well arranged." His Lordship, however, knows too well the value of written documents to insist on setting his recollection against my notes taken at the time. He does not attempt to *traverse the record*. The

fact, perhaps, may have been, either that the additional words escaped me in the noise of a numerous company, or that Dr. Johnson, from his impetuosity, and eagerness to seize an opportunity to make a lively retort, did not allow Dr. Douglas to finish his sentence.—BOSWELL.

² See the hard drawing of him in Churchill's "Rosciad." *Ante*, p. 133.—BOSWELL.

³ Tenth earl, who was shot, in 1769, by Mungo Campbell, whose fowling-piece Lord Eglintoun attempted to seize. To this nobleman Boswell was indebted, as he himself said, for his early introduction to the circle of the great, the gay, and the ingenious. Boswell thus mentions himself in a tale called "The Cub at Newmarket," published in 1762:—

"Lord Eglintoun, who loves, you know,
A little dish of whim or so,
By chance a curious cub had got,
On Scotia's mountains newly caught."—*Gent. Mag.*
—CROKER.

⁴ It was drolly said, in reference to the pensions granted to Doctors Shebbeare and Johnson, that the King had pensioned a *She-bear* and a *He-bear*.—CROKER.

[JOHNSON TO MR. BARNARD.]

"May 28. 1768.

"SIR, — It is natural for a scholar to interest himself in an expedition, undertaken, like yours, for the importation of literature; and therefore, though, having never travelled myself, I am very little qualified to give advice to a traveller; yet, that I may not seem inattentive to a design so worthy of regard, I will try whether the present state of my health will suffer me to lay before you what observation or report have suggested to me, that may direct your inquiries, or facilitate your success. Things of which the mere rarity makes the value, and which are prized at a high rate by a wantonness rather than by use, are always passing from poorer to richer countries; and therefore, though Germany and Italy were principally productive of typographical curiosities, I do not much imagine that they are now to be found there in great abundance. An eagerness for scarce books and early editions, which prevailed among the English about half a century ago, filled our shops with all the splendour and nicety of literature; and when the Harleian Catalogue was published, many of the books were bought for the library of the King of France.

"I believe, however, that by the diligence with which you have enlarged the library under your care, the present stock is so nearly exhausted, that, till new purchases supply the booksellers with new stores, you will not be able to do much more than glean up single books, as accident shall produce them; this, therefore, is the time for visiting the continent.

"What addition you can hope to make by ransacking other countries we will now consider. English literature you will not seek in any place but in England. Classical learning is diffused every where, and is not, except by accident, more copious in one part of the polite world than in another. But every country has literature of its own, which may be best gathered in its native soil. The studies of the learned are influenced by forms of government and modes of religion; and, therefore, those books are necessary and common in some places, which, where different opinions or different manners prevail, are of little use, and for that reason rarely to be found.

"Thus in Italy you may expect to meet with canonists and scholastic divines, in Germany with writers on the feudal laws, and in Holland with civilians. The schoolmen and canonists must not be neglected, for they are useful to many purposes; nor too anxiously sought, for their influence among us is much lessened by the Reformation. Of the canonists at least a few eminent writers may be sufficient. The schoolmen are of more general value. But the feudal and civil law I cannot but wish to see complete. The feudal constitution is the original of the law of property, over all the civilised part of Europe; and the civil law, as it is generally understood to include the law of nations, may be called with great propriety a regal study. Of these books, which have been often published, and diversified by various modes of im-

pression, a royal library should have at least the most curious edition, the most splendid, and the most useful. The most curious edition is commonly the first, and the most useful may be expected among the last. Thus, of Tully's Offices, the edition of Fust is the most curious, and that of Grævius the most useful. The most splendid the eye will discern. With the old printers you are now become well acquainted; if you can find any collection of their productions to be sold, you will undoubtedly buy it; but this can scarcely be hoped, and you must catch up single volumes where you can find them. In every place things often occur where they are least expected. I was shown a Welsh grammar written in Welsh, and printed at Milan, I believe, before any grammar of that language had been printed here. Of purchasing entire libraries, I know not whether the inconvenience may not overbalance the advantage. Of libraries connected with general views, one will have many books in common with another. When you have bought two collections, you will find that you have bought many books twice over, and many in each which you have left at home, and, therefore, did not want; and when you have selected a small number, you will have the rest to sell at a great loss, or to transport hither at perhaps a greater. It will generally be more commodious to buy the few that you want, at a price somewhat advanced, than to encumber yourself with useless books. But libraries collected for particular studies will be very valuable acquisitions. The collection of an eminent civilian, feudist, or mathematician, will perhaps have very few superfluities. Topography or local history prevails much in many parts of the continent. I have been told that scarcely a village of Italy wants its historian. These books may be generally neglected, but some will deserve attention by the celebrity of the place, the eminence of the authors, or the beauty of the sculptures. Sculpture has always been more cultivated among other nations than among us. The old art of cutting on wood, which decorated the books of ancient impression, was never carried here to any excellence; and the practice of engraving on copper, which succeeded, has never been much employed among us in adorning books. The old books with wooden cuts are to be diligently sought; the designs were often made by great masters, and the prints are such as cannot be made by any artist now living. It will be of great use to collect in every place maps of the adjacent country, and plans of towns, buildings, and gardens. By this care you will form a more valuable body of geography than can otherwise be had. Many countries have been very exactly surveyed, but it must not be expected that the exactness of actual mensuration will be preserved, when the maps are reduced by a contracted scale, and incorporated into a general system.

"The king of Sardinia's Italian dominions are not large, yet the maps made of them in the reign of Victor fill two Atlantic folios. This part of your design will deserve particular regard, because, in this, your success will always be proportioned to your diligence. You are too well acquainted with

¹ Mr., afterwards Sir Francis, Barnard, was Librarian to King George III. See *anté*, p. 184. — This is the letter

which, I cannot guess why, Mr. Barnard refused to Boswell after his Majesty had consented to its production. — CHOKER.

literary history not to know that many books derive their value from the reputation of the printers. Of the celebrated printers you do not need to be informed, and if you did, might consult Baillet, Jugemens des Sçavans. The productions of Aldus are enumerated in the Bibliotheca Græca, so that you may know when you have them all; which is always of use, as it prevents needless search. The great ornaments of a library, furnished for magnificence as well as use, are the first editions, of which, therefore, I would not willingly neglect the mention. You know, sir, that the annals of typography begin with the Codex, 1457; but there is great reason to believe, that there are latent, in obscure corners, books printed before it. The secular feast, in memory of the invention of printing, is celebrated in the fortieth year of the century; if this tradition, therefore, is right, the art had in 1457 been already exercised nineteen years.

"There prevails among typographical antiquaries a vague opinion, that the Bible had been printed three times before the edition of 1462, which Calmet calls 'La première édition bien averée.' One of these editions has been lately discovered in a convent, and transplanted into the French king's library. Another copy has likewise been found, but I know not whether of the same impression, or another. These discoveries are sufficient to raise hope and instigate inquiry. In the purchase of old books, let me recommend to you to inquire with great caution, whether they are perfect. In the first edition the loss of a leaf is not easily observed. You remember how near we both were to purchasing a mutilated Missal at a high price.

"All this perhaps you know already, and, therefore, my letter may be of no use. I am, however, desirous to show you, that I wish prosperity to your undertaking. One advice more I will give, of more importance than all the rest, of which I, therefore, hope you will have still less need. You are going into a part of the world divided, as it is said, between bigotry and atheism: such representations are always hyperbolical, but there is certainly enough of both to alarm any mind solicitous for piety and truth; let not the contempt of superstition precipitate you into infidelity, or the horror of infidelity ensnare you in superstition. — I sincerely wish you successful and happy, for I am, Sir, &c.,
SAM. JOHNSON."
— MS.

JOHNSON TO MISS PORTER.

"June 18 1768.

"MY LOVE, — It gives me great pleasure to find that you are so well satisfied with what little things

it has been in my power to send you. I hope you will always employ me in any office that can conduce to your convenience. My health is, I thank God, much better; but it is yet very weak; and very little things put it into a troublesome state; but still I hope all will be well. Pray for me.

"My friends at Lichfield must not think that I forget them. Neither Mrs. Cobb, nor Mrs. Adey, nor Miss Adey, nor Miss Seward, nor Miss Vise, are to suppose that I have lost all memory of their kindness. Mention me to them when you see them. I hear Mr. Vise has been lately very much in danger. I hope he is better.

"When you write again, let me know how you go on, and what company you keep, and what you do all day. I love to think of you, but do not know when I shall see you. Pray, write very often. I am, dearest, your humble servant,
— Pearson MSS. "SAM. JOHNSON."]

In 1769, so far as I can discover, the public was favoured with nothing of Johnson's composition, either for himself or any of his friends.² His "*Meditations*" too strongly prove that he suffered much both in body and mind; yet was he perpetually striving against evil, and nobly endeavouring to advance his intellectual and devotional improvement. Every generous and grateful heart must feel for the distresses of so eminent a benefactor to mankind; and now that his unhappiness is certainly known, must respect that dignity of character which prevented him from complaining.

His Majesty having the preceding year instituted the Royal Academy of Arts in London, Johnson had now the honour of being appointed Professor, in Ancient Literature.³ In the course of the year he wrote some letters to Mrs. Thrale, passed some part of the summer at Oxford and at Lichfield, and when at Oxford he wrote the following letter: —

JOHNSON TO THOMAS WARTON.

"May 31. 1769.

"DEAR SIR, — Many years ago, when I used to read in the library of your College, I promised to recompense the college for that permission, by adding to their books a Baskerville's Virgil. I have now sent it, and desire you to reposit it on the shelves in my name.⁴

"If you will be pleased to let me know when you have an hour of leisure, I will drink tea with you. I am engaged for the afternoon to-

¹ *The Mazarine Bible*, printed by Gutenberg and Faust at Maenz, 1452-53; many copies of it exist in the chief libraries of Europe. — J. M.

² A difference took place in the March of this year between Mr. Thrale and Sir Joseph Mawbey, his colleague in the representation of Southwark, when Sir Joseph endeavoured to defend himself from some anti-popular step he had taken, by inculpating Mr. Thrale. There is an account of the affair in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (vol. xxxix. p. 162), which seems to have been written by Dr. Johnson. The article recommends a recurrence to triennial parliaments, a measure to which Johnson's hatred of the Whig septennial bill would naturally incline him; and as, for Mr. Thrale's sake, he was obliged, by the violence of the times, to adopt some popular topic, he would probably adopt that of triennial parliaments. — CROKER.

³ In which place he has been succeeded by Bennet Langton, Esq. When that truly religious gentleman was elected to

this honorary Professorship, at the same time that Edward Gibbon, Esq., noted for introducing a kind of sneering infidelity into his historical writings, was elected Professor in Ancient History, in the room of Dr. Goldsmith, I observed that it brought to my mind, "Wicked Will Whiston and good Mr. Dilton." — I am now also [1791] of that admirable institution, as Secretary for Foreign Correspondence, by the favour of the Academicians, and the approbation of the sovereign. — BOSWELL.

⁴ It has this inscription in a blank leaf: — "*Hunc librum D. D. Samuel Johnson ex quo hac loci studiis invidum vacaret.*" Of this library, which is an old Gothic room, he was very fond. On my observing to him that some of the modern libraries of the University were more commodious and pleasant for study, as being more spacious and airy, he replied, "Sir, if a man has a mind to *prance*, he must study at Christchurch and All-Souls." — WARTON.

morrow, and on Friday : all my mornings are my own.¹ I am, &c.,
SAM. JOHNSON."

[JOHNSON TO MRS. THRALE.

(Extract.)

"Lichfield, August 14. 1769.

"We passed the night at Coventry ; but came in late and went out early ; and therefore I did not send for my cousin Tom², but I design to make him some amends for the omission.

"Next day we came early to Lucy, who was, I believe, glad to see us. She had saved her best gooseberries upon the tree for me ; and as Steele says, *I was neither too proud nor too wise* to gather them. I have rambled a very little *inter fontes et flumina nota*, but I am not yet well. They have cut down the trees in George Lane. Evelyn, in his book of *Forest Trees*³, tells us of wicked men that cut down trees, and never prospered afterwards ; yet nothing has deterred these audacious aldermen from violating the Hamadryad of George Lane. As an impartial traveller, I must, however, tell that, in Stow Street, where I left a draw-well, I have found a pump, but the lading-well in this ill-fated George Lane lies shamefully neglected.

"I am going to-day or to-morrow to Ashbourne ; but I am at a loss how I shall get back in time to London. Here are only chance coaches, so that there is no certainty of a place. If I do not come, let it not hinder your journey. I can be but a few days behind you ; and I will follow in the Brighthelmstone coach. But I hope to come."

JOHNSON TO MRS. ASTON.

"Brighthelmstone, August 26. 1769.

"MADAM, — I suppose you have received the mill : the whole apparatus seemed to be perfect, except that there is wanting a little tin spout at the bottom, and some ring or knob, on which the bag that catches the meal is to be hung. When these are added, I hope you will be able to grind your own bread, and treat me with a cake made by yourself, of meal from your own corn of your own grinding.

"I was glad, Madam, to see you so well, and hope your health will long increase, and then long continue. I am, Madam, your most obedient servant,
SAM. JOHNSON."]
— *Parker MSS.*

¹ During this visit he seldom or never dined out. He appeared to be deeply engaged in some literary work. Miss Williams was now with him at Oxford. — *WARREN.*

² We shall see more by and bye of poor cousin Tom ; who, Dr. Harwood thought, was the son of his uncle Andrew, of whom he told Mrs. Piozzi that he, for a whole year, kept the ring at Smithfield (where they wrestled and boxed), and never was thrown or conquered. — *CROKER.*

³ Historical Account of the Sacredness and Use of Standing Groves, p. 638. 4to. 1776. — *CROKER.*

⁴ Mr. Boswell, on this occasion, justified Johnson's foresight and prudence, in advising him to "clear his head of Corsica : " unluckily, the advice had no effect, for Boswell made a fool of himself at the Jubilee by sundry enthusiastic freaks ; amongst others, lest he should not be sufficiently distinguished, he wore the words *CORSICA BOSWELL* in large letters round his hat. — *C.*, 1831. There was an absurd print of him, I think in the *London Magazine*, published, no doubt, with his concurrence, in the character of an armed Corsican chief, at the Jubilee *masquerade* on the evening of

CHAPTER XXII.

1769.

Boswell at the Jubilee. — His Account of Corsica. — General Paoli. — Observance of Sunday. — Rousseau and Monboddo. — Love of Singularity. — London Life. — Artemisias. — Second Marriages. — Scotch Gardening. — Vails. — Prior. — Garrick's Poetry. — History. — Whitfield. — The Corsicans. — Good Breeding. — Fate and Free-will. — Goldsmith's Tailor. — The Dunciad. — Dryden. — Congreve. — Sheridan. — Mrs. Montagu's Essay. — Lord Kames. — Burke. — Ballad of Hardyknute. — Fear of Death. — Sympathy with Distress. — Foote. — Buchanan. — Baretti's Trial. — Mandeville.

I CAME to London in the autumn ; and having informed him that I was going to be married in a few months, I wished to have as much of his conversation as I could before engaging in a state of life which would probably keep me more in Scotland, and prevent me seeing him so often as when I was a single man ; but I found he was at Brighthelmstone with Mr. and Mrs. Thrale. I was very sorry that I had not his company with me at the Jubilee, in honour of Shakspeare, at Stratford-upon-Avon, the great poet's native town.⁴ Johnson's connection both with Shakspeare and Garrick founded a double claim to his presence ; and it would have been highly gratifying to Mr. Garrick. Upon this occasion I particularly lamented that he had not that warmth of friendship for his brilliant pupil, which we may suppose would have had a benignant effect on both. When almost every man of eminence in the literary world was happy to partake in this festival of genius, the absence of Johnson could not but be wondered at and regretted. The only trace of him there, was in the whimsical advertisement of a haberdasher, who sold *Shaksperian ribands* of various dyes ; and by way of illustrating their appropriation to the bard, introduced a line from the celebrated Prologue, at the opening of Drury Lane theatre : —

"Each change of many-colour'd life he drew."

the 7th Sept. 1769, in which he wears a cap with the inscription of "*Viva la Liberté!*" — but his friend and admirer, Tom Davies, records that he wore ordinarily the vernacular inscription of "*CORSICA BOSWELL in large letters outside his hat.*" — *Life of Garrick*, ii. 212. Earlier in the year he had visited Ireland, and was no doubt the correspondent who furnished the following paragraph to the *Public Advertiser* of the 7th July, 1769.

"Extract of a letter from Dublin, 8th June.

"James Boswell, Esq., having now visited Ireland, he dined with his Grace the Duke of Leinster, at his seat at Carton. He went also by special invitation, to visit the Lord Lieutenant at his country seat at Leixlip ; to which he was conducted in one of his Excellency's coaches by Lt. Col. Walshe. He dined there, and stayed all night, and next morning came in the coach with his Excellency, to the Phoenix Park, and was present at a review of Sir Joseph Yorke's Dragoons. He also dined with the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor. He is now set out on his return to Scotland." — *CROKER*, 1846.

From Brighthelmstone Dr. Johnson wrote me the following letter; which they who may think that I ought to have suppressed, must have less ardent feelings than I have always avowed.¹

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"Brighthelmstone, Sept. 9. 1769.

"DEAR SIR, — Why do you charge me with unkindness? I have omitted nothing that could do you good, or give you pleasure, unless it be that I have forborne to tell you my opinion of your 'Account of Corsica.' I believe my opinion, if you think well of my judgment, might have given you pleasure; but when it is considered how much vanity is excited by praise, I am not sure that it would have done you good. Your History is like other histories, but your Journal is, in a very high degree, curious and delightful. There is between the history and the journal that difference which there will always be found between notions borrowed from without, and notions generated within. Your history was copied from books; your journal rose out of your own experience and observation. You express images which operated strongly upon yourself, and you have impressed them with great force upon your readers. I know not whether I could name any narrative by which curiosity is better excited, or better gratified.

"I am glad that you are going to be married; and as I wish, you well in things of less importance, wish you well with proportionate ardour in this crisis of your life. What I can contribute to your happiness, I should be very unwilling to withhold; for I have always loved and valued you, and shall love you and value you still more, as you become more regular and useful; effects which a happy marriage will hardly fail to produce.

"I do not find that I am likely to come back very soon from this place. I shall, perhaps, stay a fortnight longer; and a fortnight is a long time to a lover absent from his mistress. Would a fortnight ever have an end? I am, dear Sir, your most affectionate humble servant,
SAM. JOHNSON."

¹ In the Preface to my Account of Corsica, published in 1768, I thus express myself: —

"He who publishes a book, affecting not to be an author, and professing an indifference for literary fame, may possibly impose upon many people such an idea of his consequence as he wishes may be received. For my part, I should be proud to be known as an author, and I have an ardent ambition for literary fame; for, of all possessions, I should imagine literary fame to be the most valuable. A man who has been able to furnish a book, which has been approved by the world, has established himself as a respectable character in distant society, without any danger of having that character lessened by the observation of his weaknesses. To preserve an uniform dignity among those who see us every day, is hardly possible; and to aim at it, must put us under the fetters of perpetual restraint. The author of an approved book may allow his natural disposition an easy play, and yet indulge the pride of superior genius, when he considers that by those who know him only as an author, he never ceases to be respected. Such an author, when in his hours of gloom and discontent, may have the consolation to think, that his writings are, at that very time, giving pleasure to numbers; and such an author may cherish the hope of being remembered after death; which has been a great object to the noblest minds in all ages." — BOSWELL.

² Pascal Paoli was born in 1726, was appointed by his countrymen Chief Magistrate and General in their resistance to the Genoese. He, after an honourable and for a time successful defence, was at last overpowered by the French, and sought refuge in England in 1769, where he resided, till the French revolution seeming to afford an opportunity

After his return to town, we met frequently, and I continued the practice of making notes of his conversation, though not with so much assiduity as I wish I had done. At this time, indeed, I had a sufficient excuse for not being able to appropriate so much time to my journal; for General Paoli², after Corsica had been overpowered by the monarchy of France, was now no longer at the head of his brave countrymen; but, having with difficulty escaped from his native island, had sought an asylum in Great Britain: and it was my duty, as well as my pleasure, to attend much upon him.³ Such particulars of Johnson's conversation at this period as I have committed to writing, I shall here introduce, without any strict attention to methodical arrangement. Sometimes short notes of different days shall be blended together, and sometimes a day may seem important enough to be separately distinguished.

He said, he would not have Sunday kept with rigid severity and gloom, but with a gravity and simplicity of behaviour.⁴

I told him that David Hume had made a short collection of Scotticisms. "I wonder," said Johnson, "that he should find them."⁵

He would not admit the importance of the question concerning the legality of general warrants. "Such a power," he observed, "must be vested in every government, to answer particular cases of necessity; and there can be no just complaint but when it is abused, for which those who administer government must be answerable. It is a matter of such indifference, a matter about which the people care so very little, that were a man to be sent over Britain to offer them an exemption from it at a halfpenny a piece, very few would purchase it." This was a specimen of that laxity of talking, which I had heard him fairly acknowledge; for, surely, while the power of granting

to liberate his country from the yoke of France, he went thither, and was a principal promoter of its short-lived union to the British Crown. When this was dissolved, Paoli returned to England, and resided here till his death in 1807. — CROKER.

² 21st Sept. 1769. General Paoli arrived at Mr. Hutchinson's, in Old Bond Street. 27th Sept. General Paoli was presented to his Majesty at St. James's. — *Ann. Reg.* — Mr. Boswell's ostentatious attendance on General Paoli, which was blazoned in all the newspapers, excited, at the time, a good deal of observation and ridicule. — CROKER.

³ Mrs. Piozzi says, "He ridiculed a friend who, looking out on Streatham Common from our windows one day, lamented the enormous wickedness of the times, because some birdcatchers were busy there one fine Sunday morning. "While half the Christian world is permitted," said he, "to dance and sing, and celebrate Sunday as a day of festivity, how comes your puritanical spirit so offended with frivolous and empty deviations from exactness? Whoever loads life with unnecessary scruples, Sir," continued he, "provokes the attention of others on his conduct, and incurs the censure of singularity without reaping the reward of superior virtue." But though Dr. Johnson may have been induced by a spirit of contradiction or impatience, to say something of the kind here stated by Mrs. Piozzi, it is proper to observe, that he was, both in precept and practice, a decorous and generally a strict, though not a puritanical, observer of the Sabbath. — CROKER.

⁵ The first edition of Hume's History of England was full of Scotticisms, many of which he corrected in subsequent editions. — MALONE.

general warrants was supposed to be legal, and the apprehension of them hung over our heads, we did not possess that security of freedom, congenial to our happy constitution, and which, by the intrepid exertions of Mr. Wilkes, has been happily established.

He said, "The duration of parliament, whether for seven years or the life of the king, appears to me so immaterial, that I would not give half a crown to turn the scale one way or the other. The *habeas corpus* is the single advantage which our government has over that of other countries."¹

On the 30th of September we dined together at the Mitre. I attempted to argue for the superior happiness of the savage life, upon the usual fanciful topics. JOHNSON. "Sir, there can be nothing more false. The savages have no bodily advantages beyond those of civilised men. They have not better health; and as to care or mental uneasiness, they are not above it, but below it, like bears. No, Sir; you are not to talk such paradox: let me have no more on't. It cannot entertain, far less can it instruct. Lord Monboddo, one of your Scotch judges, talked a great deal of such nonsense. I suffered *him*; but I will not suffer *you*." BOSWELL. "But, Sir, does not Rousseau talk such nonsense?" JOHNSON. "True, Sir; but Rousseau *knows* he is talking nonsense, and laughs at the world for staring at him." BOSWELL. "How so, Sir?" JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, a man who talks nonsense so well, must know that he is talking nonsense. But I am *afraid* (chuckling and laughing) Monboddo does *not* know that he is talking nonsense."² BOSWELL. "Is it wrong, then, Sir, to affect singularity, in order to make people stare?" JOHNSON. "Yes, if you do it by propagating error: and, indeed, it is wrong in any way. There is in human nature

a general inclination to make people stare; and every wise man has himself to cure of it, and does cure himself. If you wish to make people stare, by doing better than others, why, make them stare till they stare their eyes out. But consider how easy it is to make people stare, by being absurd. I may do it by going into a drawing-room without my shoes. You remember the gentleman in the 'Spectator,' [No. 576.] who had a commission of lunacy taken out against him for his extreme singularity, such as never wearing a wig, but a night-cap. Now, Sir, abstractedly, the night-cap was best: but, relatively, the advantage was over-balanced by making the boys run after him."³

Talking of a London life, he said, "The happiness of London is not to be conceived but by those who have been in it. I will venture to say, there is more learning and science within the circumference of ten miles from where we now sit, than in all the rest of the kingdom." BOSWELL. "The only disadvantage is the great distance at which people live from one another." JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir; but that is occasioned by the largeness of it, which is the cause of all the other advantages." BOSWELL. "Sometimes I have been in the humour of wishing to retire to a desert." JOHNSON. "Sir, you have desert enough in Scotland."

Although I had promised myself a great deal of instructive conversation with him on the conduct of the married state, of which I had then a near prospect, he did not say much upon that topic. Mr. Seward⁴ heard him once say, that "a man has a very bad chance for happiness in that state, unless he marries a woman of very strong and fixed principles of religion." He maintained to me, contrary to the common notion, that a woman would not

¹ This surely is paradox. See *anté*, p. 197. n. 1., the probable motive of this opinion as to the duration of parliaments: but did he reckon the power of the Commons over the public purse as nothing? and did he calculate how long the *habeas corpus* might exist, if the freedom of the press were destroyed, and the duration of parliaments unlimited? — CROKER.

² His lordship having frequently spoken in an abusive manner of Dr. Johnson, in my company, I, on one occasion, during the lifetime of my illustrious friend, could not refrain from retaliation, and repeated to him this saying. He has since published I don't know how many pages in one of his curious books, attempting, in much anger, but with pitiful effect, to persuade mankind that my illustrious friend was not the great and good man which they esteemed and ever will esteem him to be. — BOSWELL. Sir James Mackintosh told Mr. Markland that Lord Monboddo resented Boswell's account of his visit to Monboddo (*post*, sub Aug. 21. 1773) as a breach of hospitality, and retaliated on him by saying that "though he knew him to be a fool, he believed him to be a gentleman; now he knew that he was not a gentleman, and still a fool." — Boswell may have sometimes trespassed on the confidence of private life, but never with an ungentlemanly motive or feeling; and as to his being a *fool*, the reader finds in his hand a sufficient answer. — CROKER, 1846.

³ Mrs. Piozzi says, "Few people had a more settled reverence for the world than Dr. Johnson, or were less captivated by innovations on the long-received customs of common life. We met a friend driving six very small ponies, and stopped to admire them. 'Why does nobody,' said our Doctor, 'begin the fashion of driving six spavined horses, all spavined of the same leg? it would have a mighty pretty effect, and produce the distinction of doing something worse than the common way.' He hated the way of leaving a

company without taking notice to the lady of the house that he was going; and did not much like any of the contrivances by which ease has been lately introduced into society instead of ceremony, which had more of his approbation. Cards, dress, and dancing, however, all found their advocates in Dr. Johnson, who inculcated, upon principle, the cultivation of those arts, which many a moralist thinks himself bound to reject, and many a Christian holds unfit to be practised. 'No person,' said he, one day, 'goes under-dressed till he thinks himself of consequence enough to forbear carrying the badge of his rank upon his back.' And, in answer to the arguments urged by Puritans, Quakers, &c. against showy decorations of the human figure, I once heard him exclaim, 'Oh, let us not be found, when our Master calls us, ripping the lace off our waistcoats, but the spirit of contention from our souls and tongues! Let us all conform in outward customs, which are of no consequence, to the manners of those whom we live among, and despise such paltry distinctions. Alas! Sir,' continued he, 'a man who cannot get to heaven in a green coat, will not find his way thither the sooner in a grey one.' — CROKER.

⁴ William Seward, Esq. F.R.S., editor of "Anecdotes of some Distinguished Persons, &c." in four volumes, 8vo., well known to a numerous and valuable acquaintance for his literature, love of the fine arts, and social virtues. I am indebted to him for several communications concerning Johnson. — BOSWELL. Mr. Seward was born in London in 1747, the son of a wealthy brewer, partner in the house of Calvert and Seward. He was educated at the Charter House and at Oxford, and died, April 24. 1799. — MALONE. Besides the "Anecdotes," he published "Biographiana," and "Literary Miscellanies." He must not be confounded with the Reverend Mr. Seward, the Canon of Lichfield. — CROKER.

be the worse wife for being learned; in which, from all that I have observed of *Artemisia*¹, I humbly differed from him. That a woman should be sensible and well informed, I allow to be a great advantage; and think that Sir Thomas Overbury, in his rude versification, has very judiciously pointed out that degree of intelligence which is to be desired in a female companion:—

“Give me, next good, an understanding wife,

By nature wise, not learned by much art;
Some knowledge on her side will all my life

More scope of conversation impart;

Besides, her inborne virtue fortifie;

They are most firmly good, who best know why.”²

When I censured a gentleman of my acquaintance for marrying a second time, as it showed a disregard of his first wife, he said, “Not at all, Sir. On the contrary, were he not to marry again, it might be concluded that his first wife had given him a disgust to marriage; but by taking a second wife he pays the highest compliment to the first, by showing that she made him so happy as a married man, that he wishes to be so a second time.” So ingenious a turn did he give to this delicate question. And yet, on another occasion, he owned that he once had almost asked a promise of Mrs. Johnson that she would not marry again, but had checked himself. Indeed I cannot help thinking, that in his case the request would have been unreasonable; for if Mrs. Johnson forgot, or thought it no injury to the memory of her first love—the husband of her youth and the father of her children—to make a second marriage, why should she be precluded from a third, should she be so inclined? In Johnson’s persevering fond appropriation of his *Tetty*, even after her decease, he seems totally to have overlooked the prior claim of the honest Birmingham trader.³ I presume that her having been married before had, at times, given him some uneasiness; for I remember his observing upon the marriage of one of our common friends, “He has done a very foolish thing, Sir; he has married a widow, when he might have had a maid.”

We drank tea with Mrs. Williams. I had last year the pleasure of seeing Mrs. Thrale at Dr. Johnson’s one morning, and had conversation enough with her to admire her talents; and to show her that I was as Johnsonian as herself. Dr. Johnson had probably been kind enough to speak well of me, for this evening he delivered me a very polite card from Mr. Thrale and her, inviting me to Streat-ham.

On the 6th of October I complied with this obliging invitation; and found, at an elegant villa, six miles from town, every circumstance that can make society pleasing. Johnson, though quite at home, was yet looked up to with an awe, tempered by affection, and seemed to be equally the care of his host and hostess. I rejoiced at seeing him so happy.

He played off his wit against Scotland with a good-humoured pleasantry, which gave me, though no bigot to national prejudices, an opportunity for a little contest with him. I having said that England was obliged to us for gardeners, almost all their good gardeners being Scotchmen:—JOHNSON. “Why, Sir, that is because gardening is much more necessary amongst you than with us, which makes so many of your people learn it. It is *all* gardening with you. Things which grow wild here, must be cultivated with great care in Scotland. Pray now (throwing himself back in his chair, and laughing), are you ever able to bring the *sloe* to perfection?”

I boasted that we had the honour of being the first to abolish the unhospitable, troublesome, and ungracious custom of giving vails to servants. JOHNSON. “Sir, you abolished vails, because you were too poor to be able to give them.”

Mrs. Thrale disputed with him on the merit of Prior. He attacked him powerfully; said he wrote of love like a man who had never felt it; his love verses were college verses: and he repeated the song, “Alexis shunn’d his fellow swains,” &c. in so ludicrous a manner, as to make us all wonder how any one could have been pleased with such fantastical stuff. Mrs. Thrale stood to her gun with great courage, in defence of amorous ditties, which Johnson despised, till he at last silenced her by saying, “My dear lady, talk no more of this. Nonsense can be defended but by nonsense.”⁴

Mrs. Thrale then praised Garrick’s talents for light gay poetry; and, as a specimen, repeated his song in “*Florizel and Perdita*,” and dwelt with peculiar pleasure on this line;—

“I’d smile with the simple, and feed with the poor.”

JOHNSON. “Nay, my dear lady, this will never do. Poor David! Smile with the simple!—what folly is that? And who would feed with the poor that can help it? No, no; let me smile with the wise, and feed with the rich.” I repeated this sally to Garrick, and wondered to find his sensibility as a writer not a little irri-

¹ “Though *Artemisia* talks, by fits,
Of councils, classics, fathers, wits;
Reads Malbranche, Boyle, and Locke:
Yet in some things methinks she fails;
’Twere well if she would pare her nails,
And wear a cleaner smock.”—*Pope*.

This was meant for Lady M. W. Montagu.—CROKER.

² “A Wife,” a poem, 1614.—BOSWELL.

³ Yet his inquisitive mind might have been struck by his friend Tom Hervey’s startling application of the scriptural question to Sir Thomas Hanner, relative to the lady who was the cause of their contention:—“*In heaven, whose wife shall she be?*” Luke xx. 33. See *anté*, p. 183. n. 4.—CROKER.

⁴ See *post*, Sept. 23. 1777, his strange defence of Prior’s delicacy.—CROKER.

tated by it. To soothe him, I observed, that Johnson spared none of us; and I quoted the passage in Horace, in which he compares one who attacks his friends for the sake of a laugh to a pushing ox, that is marked by a bunch of hay put upon his horns: *fœnum habet in cornu*." "Ay," said Garrick, vehemently, "he has a whole *mow* of it."

Talking of history, Johnson said, "We may know historical facts to be true, as we may know facts in common life to be true. Motives are generally unknown.¹ We cannot trust to the characters we find in history, unless when they are drawn by those who knew the persons; as those, for instance, by Sallust and by Lord Clarendon."

He would not allow much merit to Whitfield's oratory. "His popularity, Sir," said he, "is chiefly owing to the peculiarity of his manner. He would be followed by crowds were he to wear a night-cap in the pulpit, or were he to preach from a tree."

I know not from what spirit of contradiction he burst out into a violent declamation against the Corsicans, of whose heroism I talked in high terms. "Sir," said he, "what is all this rout about the Corsicans? They have been at war with the Genoese for upwards of twenty years, and have never yet taken their fortified towns. They might have battered down their walls, and reduced them to powder in twenty years. They might have pulled the walls in pieces, and cracked the stones with their teeth in twenty years." It was in vain to argue with him upon the want of artillery: he was not to be resisted for the moment.

On the evening of October 10. I presented Dr. Johnson to General Paoli. I had greatly wished that two men, for whom I had the highest esteem, should meet.² They met with a manly ease, mutually conscious of their own abilities, and of the abilities of each other. The General spoke Italian, and Dr. Johnson English, and understood one another very well, with a little aid of interpretation from me, in which I compared myself to an isthmus which joins two great continents. Upon Johnson's approach, the General said, "From what I have read of your works, Sir, and from what Mr. Boswell has told me of you, I have long held you in great veneration." The General talked of languages being formed on the particular notions and manners of a people, without knowing which, we cannot know the

language. We may know the direct signification of single words; but by these no beauty of expression, no sally of genius, no wit is conveyed to the mind. All this must be by allusion to other ideas. "Sir," said Johnson, "you talk of language, as if you had never done any thing else but study it, instead of governing a nation." The General said, "*Questo è un troppo gran complimento*;" this is too great a compliment. Johnson answered, "I should have thought so, Sir, if I had not heard you talk."³ The General asked him what he thought of the spirit of infidelity which was so prevalent. JOHNSON. "Sir, this gloom of infidelity, I hope, is only a transient cloud passing through the hemisphere⁴, which will soon be dissipated, and the sun break forth with his usual splendour." "You think then," said the General, "that they will change their principles like their clothes." JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, if they bestow no more thought on principles than on dress, it must be so." The General said, that "a great part of the fashionable infidelity was owing to a desire of showing courage. Men who have no opportunities of showing it as to things in this life, take death and futurity as objects on which to display it." JOHNSON. "That is mighty foolish affectation. Fear is one of the passions of human nature, of which it is impossible to divest it. You remember that the Emperor Charles V., when he read upon the tomb-stone of a Spanish nobleman, 'Here lies one who never knew fear,' wittily said, 'Then he never snuffed a candle with his fingers.'"

He talked a few words of French to the General; but finding he did not do it with facility, he asked for pen, ink, and paper, and wrote the following note:—

"*J'ai lu dans la géographie de Lucas de Linda un Pater-noster écrit dans une langue tout-à-fait différente de l'Italienne, et de toutes autres lesquelles se dérivent du Latin. L'auteur l'appelle linguam Corsicæ rusticam: elle a peut-être passé, peu à peu; mais elle a certainement prévalu autrefois dans les montagnes et dans la campagne. Le même auteur dit la même chose en parlant de Sardaigne; qu'il y a deux langues dans l'Isle, une des villes, l'autre de la campagne.*

The General immediately informed him, that the *lingua rustica* was only in Sardinia.⁵

Dr. Johnson went home with me, and drank tea till late in the night. He said, "General

¹ This was what old Sir Robert Walpole probably meant, when his son Horace, wishing to amuse him one evening, after his fall, offered to read him some historical work. "Any thing," said the old statesman, "but history—that *must* be false." Mr. Gibbon says, "Malheureux sort de l'histoire! Les spectateurs sont trop peu instruits, et les acteurs trop intéressés, pour que nous puissions compter sur les récits des uns ou des autres!" (*Misc. Works*, vol. iv. p. 410.)—CROKER.

² Boswell, in his "Journey to Corsica," published in 1768, p. 336., had anticipated this meeting, with apparent satisfaction:—"What an idea," he observes, "may we not form of an interview between such a scholar and philosopher as

Mr. Johnson and such a legislator and general as Paoli!"—MARKLAND.

³ See *anti*, p. 185., the compliment of King George the Third to himself.—CROKER.

⁴ I suppose Johnson said *atmosphere*.—CROKER.

⁵ Bishop Elrington suggested whether it was not possible that a military colony of Jews, transported into Sardinia in the time of Tiberius, may have left some traces of their language there? Tac. An. l. 2. c. 85. Suet. Vit. Tib. c. 36. Joseph. l. 18. c. 3.—CROKER. Sardinia had been, many ages earlier, colonised by Carthage, whose language was near akin to the Hebrew.—LOCKHART.

Paoli had the loftiest port of any man he had ever seen."¹ He denied that military men were always the best bred men. "Perfect good breeding, he observed, consists in having no particular mark of any profession, but a general elegance of manners; whereas, in a military man, you can commonly distinguish the *brand* of a soldier *l'homme d'épée*."²

Dr. Johnson shunned to-night any discussion of the perplexed question of fate and free-will, which I attempted to agitate: "Sir," said he, "we *know* our will is free, and *there's* an end on't."

He honoured me with his company at dinner on the 16th of October, at my lodgings in Old Bond Street, with Sir Joshua Reynolds, Mr. Garrick, Dr. Goldsmith, Mr. Murphy, Mr. Bickerstaff³, and Mr. Thomas Davies. Garrick played round him with a fond vivacity, taking hold of the breasts of his coat, and, looking up in his face with a lively archness, complimented him on the good health which he seemed then to enjoy; while the sage, shaking his head, beheld him with a gentle complacency. One of the company not being come at the appointed hour, I proposed, as usual, upon such occasions, to order dinner to be served; adding, "Ought six people to be kept waiting for one?" "Why, yes," answered Johnson, with a delicate humanity, "if the one will suffer more by your sitting down, than the six will do by waiting." Goldsmith, to divert the tedious minutes, strutted about, bragging of his dress, and I believe was seriously vain of it, for his mind was wonderfully prone to such impressions. "Come, come," said Garrick, "talk no more of that. You are, perhaps, the worst—eh, eh!"—Goldsmith was eagerly attempting to interrupt him, when Garrick went on, laughing ironically, "Nay, you will always *look* like a gentleman; but I am talking of being well or *ill drest*." "Well, let me tell you," said Goldsmith, "when my

tailor brought home my bloom-coloured coat, he said, 'Sir, I have a favour to beg of you. When any body asks you who made your clothes, be pleased to mention John Filby, at the Harrow, in Water Lane.'" JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, that was because he knew the strange colour would attract crowds to gaze at it, and thus they might hear of him, and see how well he could make a coat even of so absurd a colour."⁴

After dinner our conversation first turned upon Pope. Johnson said, his characters of men were admirably drawn, those of women not so well. He repeated to us, in his forcible, melodious manner, the concluding lines of the *Dunciad*.⁵ While he was talking loudly in praise of those lines, one of the company ventured to say, "Too fine for such a poem:—a poem on what?" JOHNSON (with a disdainful look), "Why, on *dunces*. It was worth while being a dunce then. Ah, Sir, hadst thou lived in those days!"⁶ It is not worth while being a dunce now, when there are no wits." Bickerstaff observed, as a peculiar circumstance, that Pope's fame was higher when he was alive than it was then. Johnson said, his Pastorals were poor things, though the versification was fine. He told us, with high satisfaction, the anecdote of Pope's inquiring who was the author of his "London," and saying, he will soon be *déterré*. He observed, that in Dryden's poetry there were passages drawn from a profundity which Pope could never reach. He repeated some fine lines on love, by the former, which I have now forgotten⁷, and gave great applause to the character of Zimri.⁸ Goldsmith said, that Pope's character of Addison showed a deep knowledge of the human heart. Johnson said, that the description of the temple, in "The Mourning Bride,"⁹ was the finest poetical passage he had ever read; he recollected none in Shakspeare equal to it.—"But," said Garrick, all alarmed for

¹ When I saw him some thirty years later, he appeared slightly over the middle size, of a quiet and gentleman-like air and manners; and the most peculiar feature that I remember, was a long broad chin, which gave an air of gravity to his countenance.—CROKER, 1846.

² It was, Johnson said to Mrs. Piozzi, the essence of a gentleman's character to bear the visible mark of no profession whatever.—CROKER.

³ Isaac Bickerstaff, a native of Ireland, the author of "Love in a Village," "Lionel and Clarissa," the "Spoiled Child," and several other theatrical pieces of considerable merit and continued popularity. This unhappy man was obliged to fly the country, on suspicion of a capital crime, on which occasion Mrs. Piozzi relates, that "when Mr. Bickerstaff's flight confirmed the report of his guilt, and Mr. Thrale said, in answer to Johnson's astonishment, that he had long been a suspected man, 'By those who look close to the ground dirt will be seen, Sir,' was the lofty reply: 'I hope I see things from a greater distance.'"—CROKER.

⁴ It is due to Boswell's character for minute accuracy to state that Mr. Prior has found the tailor's bill for this celebrated suit, dated the very same day on which Goldsmith sported it at Boswell's.

⁵ 1769, Oct. 16. Oliver Goldsmith, Dr. to William Filby. To making a half-dress suit of ratteen lined with satin - - - £12 12 0.
To a pair of bloom coloured breeches - - - 1 4 6"
Life of Goldsmith, ii. 232.—CROKER, 1846.

⁶ Mr. Langton informed me that he once related to Johnson (on the authority of Spence) that Pope himself admired

those lines so much, that when he repeated them his voice faltered: "And well it might, Sir," said Johnson, "for they are noble lines."—J. BOSWELL, jun.

⁷ What a lively idea of the tyranny of Johnson's conversation does the word *ventured* give! Boswell was himself the object of this sarcasm. "Boswell lamented that he had not lived in the Augustan age of England, when Pope and others flourished. Sir Joshua Reynolds thought that Boswell had no right to complain, as it were better to be alive than dead. Johnson said, 'No, Sir, Boswell is in the right; as, perhaps, he has lost the opportunity of having his name immortalised in the *Dunciad*.'" *Northcote, Life of Reynolds*.—CROKER.

⁸ Probably that from the Fables which Johnson quotes in the *Life of Dryden*;—

"Love various minds does variously inspire:
It stirs in gentle bosoms gentle fire,
Like that of incense on the altar laid;
But raging flames tempestuous souls invade," &c.

though it is by no means the most beautiful that might be selected."—CROKER.

⁹ The Duke of Buckingham, in "Absalom and Achitophel."
—CROKER.

⁹ "How reverend is the face of this tall pile,
Whose ancient pillars rear their marble heads,
To bear aloft its arch'd and pond'rous roof,
By its own weight made steadfast and unmoveable,
Looking tranquillity!—It strikes an awe
And terror on my aching sight." Act ii. sc. 1.

"the God of his idolatry," "we know not the extent and variety of his powers. We are to suppose there are such passages in his works. Shakspeare must not suffer from the badness of our memories." Johnson, diverted by this enthusiastic jealousy, went on with great ardour: "No, Sir; Congreve has *nature*" (smiling on the tragic eagerness of Garrick); but composing himself, he added, "Sir, this is not comparing Congreve on the whole with Shakspeare on the whole; but only maintaining that Congreve has one finer passage than any that can be found in Shakspeare. Sir, a man may have no more than ten guineas in the world, but he may have those ten guineas in one piece; and so may have a finer piece than a man who has ten thousand pounds: but then he has only one ten-guinea piece.—What I mean is, that you can show me no passage where there is simply a description of material objects, without any intermixture of moral notions¹, which produces such an effect." Mr. Murphy mentioned Shakspeare's description of the night before the battle of Agincourt; but it was observed it had *men* in it. Mr. Davies suggested the speech of Juliet, in which she figures herself awaking in the tomb of her ancestors. Some one mentioned the description of Dover Cliff. JOHNSON. "No, Sir; it should be all precipice,—all vacuum. The crows impede your fall. The diminished appearance of the boats, and other circumstances, are all very good description; but do not impress the mind at once with the horrible idea of immense height. The impression is divided; you pass on by computation from one stage of the tremendous space to another. Had the girl in 'The Mourning Bride' said she could not cast her shoe to the top of one of the pillars in the temple, it would not have aided the idea, but weakened it."²

Talking of a barrister who had a bad utterance, some one (to rouse Johnson) wickedly said, that he was unfortunate in not having

been taught oratory by Sheridan. JOHNSON. "Nay, Sir, if he had been taught by Sheridan, he would have cleared the room." GARRICK. "Sheridan has too much vanity to be a good man."—We shall now see Johnson's mode of *defending* a man; taking him into his own hands, and discriminating. JOHNSON. "No, Sir. There is, to be sure, in Sheridan, something to reprehend and every thing to laugh at; but, Sir, he is not a bad man. No, Sir; were mankind to be divided into good and bad, he would stand considerably within the ranks of good. And, Sir, it must be allowed that Sheridan excels in plain declamation, though he can exhibit no character."

I should, perhaps, have suppressed this disquisition concerning a person of whose merit and worth I think with respect, had he not attacked Johnson so outrageously in his *Life of Swift*, and at the same time, treated us his admirers as a set of pigmies.³ He who has provoked the lash of wit, cannot complain that he smarts from it.

Mrs. Montagu, a lady distinguished for having written an *Essay on Shakspeare*, being mentioned:—REYNOLDS. "I think that essay does her honour." JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir; it does *her* honour, but it would do nobody else honour. I have, indeed, not read it all. But when I take up the end of a web, and find it packthread, I do not expect, by looking further, to find embroidery. Sir, I will venture to say, there is not one sentence of true criticism in her book." GARRICK. "But, Sir, surely it shows how much Voltaire has mistaken Shakspeare, which nobody else has done." JOHNSON. "Sir, nobody else has thought it worth while. And what merit is there in that? You may as well praise a schoolmaster for whipping a boy who has construed ill. No, Sir, there is no real criticism in it: none showing the beauty of thought, as formed on the workings of the human heart."

The admirers of this *Essay*⁴ may be offended

¹ In Congreve's description there seems to be an *intermixture of moral notions*; as the affecting power of the passage arises from the vivid impression of the described objects on the mind of a speaker: "And shoot a chillness," &c.—KEARNEY. So surely are the first words of the speech, "*how reverend*," and, again, "*it strikes an awe*," and, again, "*looking tranquillity*."—CROKER.

² We should have been at a loss to account for all this paradoxical preference of Congreve to Shakspeare, and this total insensibility to, or misrepresentation of, the beautiful description of the cliff, but that Mrs. Piozzi says that Johnson boasted to her how he used to tease Garrick by commendations on the tomb scene in Congreve's *Mourning Bride*, protesting that Shakspeare had, in the same line of excellence, nothing as good: "All which," he would add, "is strictly true; but that is no reason for supposing that Congreve is to stand in competition with Shakspeare; these fellows know not how to blame, or how to commend." He himself does not here show much taste either in his blame or commendation. He surely could not think that "the crows impede the fall." "It should," he says, "be all vacuum"—but how is *vacuum* to be painted but by such circumstances and contrasts as Shakspeare has so admirably introduced? Johnson seems also to have forgotten that this was not really a local picture, but a description from Edgar's memory or imagination of such circumstances as he thought most likely to impose on his blind auditor.—CROKER.

³ "There is a writer, at present of gigantic fame in these days of little men, who has pretended to scratch out a *Life of*

Swift, but so miserably executed as only to reflect back on himself that disgrace, which he meant to throw upon the character of the Dean."—*Sheridan. Life of Swift*. It however should be recollected that Sheridan's just cause of resentment against Johnson occurred many years before the publication of his *Life of Swift*. Johnson was, throughout, the aggressor.—CROKER.

⁴ Of whom, I acknowledge myself to be one, considering it as a piece of the secondary or comparative species of criticism; and not of that profound species which alone Dr. Johnson would allow to be "real criticism." It is, besides, clearly and elegantly expressed, and has done effectually what it professed to do, namely, vindicated Shakspeare from the misrepresentations of Voltaire; and considering how many young people were misled by his witty, though false observations, Mrs. Montagu's *Essay* was of service to Shakspeare with a certain class of readers, and is, therefore, entitled to praise. Johnson, I am assured, allowed the merit which I have stated, saying (with reference to Voltaire), "It is conclusive *ad hominem*."—BOSWELL. Horace Walpole has preserved an admirable reply of hers on the subject of Voltaire. She happened to be present at a sitting of *l'Académie Française*, when a violent invective against Shakspeare by Voltaire was read. Suard, the secretary, said to her, "*Je crois Madame que vous êtes un peu fâchée de ce que vous venez d'entendre*." She replied, with admirable good taste and good manners, "Moi, Monsieur?—Point du tout—Je ne suis pas amie de M. de Voltaire." Lett. to Mann, Dec. 1. 1776.—CROKER.

at the slighting manner in which Johnson spoke of it : but let it be remembered, that he gave his honest opinion unbiassed by any prejudice, or any proud jealousy of a woman intruding herself into the chair of criticism ; for Sir Joshua Reynolds has told me, that when the Essay first came out, and it was not known who had written it, Johnson wondered how Sir Joshua could like it. At this time Sir Joshua himself had received no information concerning the author, except being assured by one of our most eminent literati, that it was clear its author did not know the Greek tragedies in the original. One day at Sir Joshua's table, when it was related that Mrs. Montagu, in an excess of compliment to the author of a modern tragedy¹, had exclaimed, "I tremble for Shakspeare," Johnson said, "When Shakspeare has got — for his rival, and Mrs. Montagu for his defender, he is in a poor state indeed."²

Johnson proceeded: "The Scotchman (Lord Kames) has taken the right method in his 'Elements of Criticism.' I do not mean that he has taught us any thing; but he has told us old things in a new way." MURPHY. "He seems to have read a great deal of French criticism, and wants to make it his own; as if he had been for years anatomising the heart of man, and peeping into every cranny of it." GOLDSMITH. "It is easier to write that book, than to read it." JOHNSON. "We have an example of true criticism in Burke's 'Essay on the Sublime and Beautiful;' and, if I recollect, there is also Du Bos ('Réflexions Critiques sur la Poésie et sur la Peinture'), and Bouhours ('Manière de bien penser dans les Œuvres d'Esprit'), who shows all beauty to depend on truth. There is no great merit in telling how many plays have ghosts in them, and how this ghost is better than that. You must show how terror is impressed on the human heart. In the description of Night in Macbeth, the beetle and the bat detract from

the general idea of darkness — inspissated gloom."³

Politics being mentioned, he said, "This petitioning⁴ is a new mode of distressing government, and a mighty easy one. I will undertake to get petitions either against quarter guineas or half guineas, with the help of a little hot wine. There must be no yielding to encourage this. The object is not important enough. We are not to blow up half a dozen palaces, because one cottage is burning."

The conversation then took another turn. JOHNSON. "It is amazing what ignorance of certain points one sometimes finds in men of eminence. A wit about town, who wrote indecent Latin verses, asked me, how it happened that England and Scotland, which were once two kingdoms, were now one: — and Sir Fletcher Norton did not seem to know that there were such publications as the Reviews."

"The ballad of Hardyknute⁵ has no great merit, if it be really ancient. People talk of nature. But mere obvious nature may be exhibited with very little power of mind."

On Thursday, October 19., I passed the evening with him at his house. He advised me to complete a Dictionary of words peculiar to Scotland, of which I showed him a specimen. "Sir," said he, "Ray (in his 'English Proverbs') has made a collection of north-country words. By collecting those of your country, you will do a useful thing towards the history of the language." He bade me also go on with collections which I was making upon the antiquities of Scotland. "Make a large book; a folio." BOSWELL. "But of what use will it be, Sir?" JOHNSON. "Never mind the use; do it."

I complained that he had not mentioned Garrick in his Preface to Shakspeare; and asked him if he did not admire him. JOHNSON. "Yes, as 'a poor player, who frets and struts his hour upon the stage;' — as a shadow."

¹ Probably Mr. Jephson, the author of "Braganza," which appeared with great and somewhat excessive applause in 1775, to which date this anecdote belongs. — CROKER.

² And yet when Mrs. Montagu showed him some China plates which had once belonged to Queen Elizabeth, he told her, "that they had no reason to be ashamed of their present possessor, who was so little inferior to the first." — PIZZI.

It has been often said, that the coolness between Mrs. Montagu and Dr. Johnson arose out of his treatment of Lord Lyttelton, in the "Lives of the Poets;" but we see that he began to speak disrespectfully of her long before; and, indeed, there is hardly any point of Dr. Johnson's conduct less excusable, and, as far as I can see, less defensible, than the contemptuous way in which he appears to have sometimes spoken of a lady to whom he continued to address such extravagant compliments as that just quoted, and to write such flattering letters as we shall read hereafter. There is some private history in all this, which I am no further able to unravel than by repeating that Boswell himself had a strong dislike to Mrs. Montagu, who, little knowing his real talents, and what a dispenser of fame he was to be, treated him with a distance bordering on contempt. — CROKER.

³ — "Ere the bat bath flown
His cloister'd flight; ere to black Hecat's summons
The shard-borne beetle, with his drowsy hums,
Hath rung night's yawning peal, there shall be done
A deed of dreadful note." — Act iii. sc. 2.

See *anté*, p. 204. n. 2.; but again, I cannot but think that Johnson's criticism is wholly erroneous in fact as well as in taste. *Darkness*, like *vacuum*, only could have been described by circumstances; but, in fact, Shakspeare had no intention to describe darkness — "inspissated gloom," as Johnson absurdly calls it. Macbeth is stating a mere question of time, and instead of saying before morning, more poetically selects the awful images of night. — CROKER.

⁴ A great number of petitions, condemnatory of the proceedings against Mr. Wilkes, and inflamed with all the violence of party, were at this period presented to the King. — CROKER.

⁵ It is unquestionably a modern fiction. It was written by Sir John Bruce of Kinross, and first published at Edinburgh in folio, 1719. See "Percy's Reliques of Ancient English Poetry," vol. ii. pp. 96. 111., fourth edition. — MALONE. Mr. Robert Chambers of Edinburgh, who has favoured me with several notes and corrections, says, that the real author of the ballad was Elizabeth Halket, daughter of Sir Charles Halket, of Pitferrane, Bart., and wife of Sir Henry Waddell, of Fittevie, Bart.: she died about 1727. The reason why Sir John Bruce's name has been mentioned was, probably, that she introduced her ballad to the world by the hands of that gentleman, who was her brother-in-law. — CROKER, 1835.

The ballad of Hardyknute was the first poem I ever read, and it will be the last I shall forget. — Sir WALTER SCOTT.

BOSWELL. "But has he not brought Shakspeare into notice?" JOHNSON. "Sir, to allow that, would be to lampoon the age. Many of Shakspeare's plays are the worse for being acted: *Macbeth*, for instance."¹ BOSWELL. "What, Sir, is nothing gained by decoration and action? Indeed, I do wish that you had mentioned Garrick." JOHNSON. "My dear Sir, had I mentioned him, I must have mentioned many more; Mrs. Pritchard, Mrs. Cibber—nay, and Mr. Cibber too; he too altered Shakspeare." BOSWELL. "You have read his 'Apology,'² Sir?" JOHNSON. "Yes, it is very entertaining. But as for Cibber himself, taking from his conversation all that he ought not to have said, he was a poor creature. I remember when he brought me one of his Odes to have my opinion of it, I could not bear such nonsense, and would not let him read it to the end; so little respect had I for *that great man!* (laughing.) Yet I remember Richardson wondering that I could treat him with familiarity."

I mentioned to him that I had seen the execution of several convicts at Tyburn³, two days before, and that none of them seemed to be under any concern. JOHNSON. "Most of them, Sir, have never thought at all." BOSWELL. "But is not the fear of death natural to man?" JOHNSON. "So much so, Sir, that the whole of life is but keeping away the thoughts of it." He then, in a low and earnest tone, talked of his meditating upon the awful hour of his own dissolution, and in what manner he should conduct himself upon that occasion: "I know not," said he, "whether I should wish to have a friend by me, or have it all between God and myself."

Talking of our feeling for the distresses of others:—JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, there is much noise made about it, but it is greatly exaggerated. No, Sir, we have a certain degree of feeling to prompt us to do good; more than that Providence does not intend. It would be misery to no purpose." BOSWELL. "But suppose now, Sir, that one of your intimate friends were apprehended for an offence for which he might be hanged." JOHNSON. "I should do what I could to bail him, and give him any other assistance: but if he were once fairly hanged, I should not suffer." BOSWELL. "Would you eat your dinner that day,

Sir?" JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir; and eat it as if he were eating with me. Why, there's Baretti, who is to be tried for his life to-morrow, friends have risen up for him on every side; yet if he should be hanged, none of them will eat a slice of pudding the less. Sir, that sympathetic feeling goes a very little way in depressing the mind."

I told him that I had dined lately at Foote's, who showed me a letter which he had received from Tom Davies, telling him that he had not been able to sleep from the concern he felt on account of "*this sad affair of Baretti*," begging of him to try if he could suggest any thing that might be of service; and, at the same time, recommending to him an industrious young man who kept a pickle shop."

JOHNSON. "Ay, Sir, here you have a specimen of human sympathy; a friend hanged, and a cucumber pickled. We know not whether Baretti or the pickle-man has kept Davies from sleep; nor does he know himself.⁴ And as to his not sleeping, Sir; Tom Davies is a very great man; Tom has been upon the stage, and knows how to do those things: I have not been upon the stage, and cannot do those things." BOSWELL. "I have often blamed myself, Sir, for not feeling for others as sensibly as many say they do." JOHNSON. "Sir, don't be duped by them any more. You will find these very feeling people are not very ready to do you good. They *pay* you by *feeling*."⁵

BOSWELL. "Foote has a great deal of humour." JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir." BOSWELL. "He has a singular talent of exhibiting character." JOHNSON. "Sir, it is not a talent, it is a vice; it is what others abstain from. It is not comedy, which exhibits the character of a species, as that of a miser gathered from many misers: it is farce, which exhibits individuals." BOSWELL. "Did not he think of exhibiting you, Sir?" JOHNSON. "Sir, fear restrained him; he knew I would have broken his bones. I would have saved him the trouble of cutting off a leg; I would not have left him a leg to cut off." BOSWELL. "Pray, Sir, is not Foote an infidel?" JOHNSON. "I do not know, Sir, that the fellow is an infidel; but if he be an infidel, he is an infidel as a dog is an infidel; that is to say, he has never thought upon the subject."⁶ BOSWELL. "I suppose,

¹ Again I venture to dissent: from the variety of action and scenery, and the rapid march of events, *Macbeth* seems to be one of Shakspeare's best *acting* plays. — CROKER.

² The Memoirs of himself and of the Stage, which Cibber published under the modest title of an "Apology for his Life." — CROKER.

³ Six unhappy men were executed at Tyburn on Wednesday, the 18th (one day before). It was one of the irregularities of Mr. Boswell's mind to be passionately fond of seeing these melancholy spectacles. Indeed he avows and defends it (in the *Hypochondriac*, No. 68. *Lond. Mag.* 1783) as a natural and irresistible impulse. — CROKER.

⁴ It would seem, however, that Davies's anxiety was more sincere than Johnson thought. He says, in a letter to Granger, "I have been so taken up with a very unlucky accident that befel an intimate friend of mine, that for this

last fortnight I have been able to attend to no business, though ever so urgent." *Granger's Letters*, p. 28. — CROKER.

⁵ See Piozzi's *Anecdotes*, pp. 66. 68. 118. 136., and *ante*, p. 164. n. 1, Johnson's own *agony* at an *anecdote*. — CROKER.

⁶ When Mr. Foote was at Edinburgh, he thought fit to entertain a numerous Scotch company, with a great deal of course jocularly, at the expense of Dr. Johnson, imagining it would be acceptable. I felt this as not civil to me; but sat very patiently till he had exhausted his merriment on that subject; and then observed, that surely Johnson must be allowed to have some sterling wit, and that I had heard him say a very good thing of Mr. Foote himself. "Ah! my old friend Sam," cried Foote, "no man says better things: do let us have it." Upon which I told the above story, which produced a very loud laugh from the company. But I never saw Foote so disconcerted. He looked grave and angry, and

Sir, he has thought superficially, and seized the first notions which occurred to his mind." JOHNSON. "Why then, Sir, still he is like a dog, that snatches the piece next him. Did you never observe that dogs have not the power of comparing? A dog will take a small bit of meat as readily as a large, when both are before him."

"Buchanan," he observed, "has fewer *centos*¹ than any modern Latin poet. He not only had great knowledge of the Latin language, but was a great poetical genius. Both the Scaligers praise him."

He again talked of the passage in Congreve with high commendation, and said, "Shakspeare never has six lines together without a fault.² Perhaps you may find seven: but this does not refute my general assertion. If I come to an orchard, and say there's no fruit here, and then comes a poring man, who finds two apples and three pears, and tells me, 'Sir, you are mistaken, I have found both apples and pears,' I should laugh at him: what would that be to the purpose?"

BOSWELL. "What do you think of Dr. Young's 'Night Thoughts, Sir?' " JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, there are very fine things in them."

BOSWELL. "Is there not less religion in the nation now, Sir, than there was formerly?" JOHNSON. "I don't know, Sir, that there is."

BOSWELL. "For instance, there used to be a chaplain in every great family; which we do not find now." JOHNSON. "Neither do you find any of the state servants which great families used formerly to have. There is a change of modes in the whole department of life."

Next day, October 20., he appeared, for the only time I suppose in his life, as a witness in a court of justice, being called to give evidence to the character of Mr. Baretti, who, having stabbed a man in the street³, was arraigned at the Old Bailey for murder. Never did such a constellation of genius enlighten the awful Sessions-house, emphatically called Justice-hall; Mr. Burke, Mr. Garrick, Mr. Beauchamp, and Dr. Johnson: and undoubtedly their favourable testimony had due weight with the court and jury. Johnson gave his evidence in a slow, deliberate, and distinct manner, which was uncommonly impressive.⁴ It is well known that Mr. Baretti was acquitted.

CHAPTER XXIII.

1769—1770.

"Foote." — *Trade.* — *Mrs. Williams's Tea-table.* — *James Ferguson.* — *Medicated Baths.* — *Population of Russia.* — *Large Farms.* — *Attachment to Soil.* — *Roman Catholic Religion.* — *Conversion to Popery.* — *Fear of Death.* — *Steevens.* — "Tom Tyers." — *Blackmore's "Creation."* — *The Marriage Service.* — "The False Alarm." — *Percival Stockdale.* — *Self-examination.* — *Visit to Lichfield* — and *Ashbourne.* — *Baretti's Travels.* — *Letters to Mrs. Thrale, Warton, &c.*

On the 26th of October, we dined together at the Mitre tavern. I found fault with Foote for indulging his talent of ridicule at the expense of his visitors, which I colloquially termed making fools of his company. JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, when you go to see Foote, you do not go to see a saint: you go to see a man who will be entertained at your house, and then bring you on a public stage; who will entertain you at his house, for the very purpose of bringing you on a public stage. Sir, he does not make fools of his company; they whom he exposes are fools already; he only brings them into action."

Talking of trade, he observed, "It is a mistaken notion that a vast deal of money is brought into a nation by trade. It is not so. Commodities come from commodities; but trade produces no capital accession of wealth. However, though there should be little profit in money, there is a considerable profit in pleasure, as it gives to one nation the productions of another, as we have wines and fruits, and many other foreign articles, brought to us." BOSWELL. "Yes, Sir, and there is a profit in pleasure, by its furnishing occupation to such numbers of mankind." JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, you cannot call that pleasure, to which all are averse, and which none begin but with the hope of leaving off; a thing which men dislike before they have tried it, and when they have tried it." BOSWELL. "But, Sir, the mind must be employed, and we grow weary when idle." JOHNSON. "That is, Sir, because others being busy, we want company;

entered into a serious refutation of the justice of the remark. "What, Sir," said he, "talk thus of a man of liberal education — a man who for years was at the University of Oxford — a man who has added sixteen new characters to the English drama of his country!" — BOSWELL.

¹ A composition formed by joining scraps from other authors." *Johnson's Dictionary.* — CROKER.

² What strange "laxity of talk" all this is from the author of the "Preface to Shakspeare"! I can imagine no better excuse for it, than that he had got into the vein to vex Garrick, (see *anté*, p. 204. n. 2) and that Boswell teased him into a perverse maintenance of his paradox. — CROKER.

³ On the 3d of October, as Baretti was going hastily up the Haymarket, he was accosted by a woman, who behaving with great incendency, he was provoked to give her a blow on the hand: upon which three men immediately interfering, and endeavouring to push him from the pavement, with a view to throw him into a puddle, he was alarmed for his

safety, and rashly struck one of them with a knife (which he constantly wore for the purpose of carving fruit and sweetmeats), and gave him a wound, of which he died the next day. *European Magazine*, vol. xvi. p. 91. — WRIGHT.

⁴ The following is the substance of Dr. Johnson's evidence: — "Dr. J. I believe I began to be acquainted with Mr. Baretti about the year 1753 or 1754. I have been intimate with him. He is a man of literature, a very studious man, a man of great diligence. He gets his living by study. I have no reason to think he was ever disordered with liquor in his life. A man that I never knew to be otherwise than peaceable, and a man that I take to be rather timorous. — Q. Was he addicted to pick up women in the streets? — Dr. J. I never knew that he was. — Q. How is he as to eyesight? Dr. J. He does not see me now, nor do I see him. I do not believe he could be capable of assaulting any body in the street, without great provocation." *Genl. Mag.* — CROKER.

but if we were all idle, there would be no growing weary; we should all entertain one another. There is, indeed, this in trade; — it gives men an opportunity of improving their situation. If there were no trade, many who are poor would always remain poor. But no man loves labour for itself." BOSWELL. "Yes, Sir, I know a person who does." He is a very laborious Judge, and he loves the labour." JOHNSON. "Sir, that is because he loves respect and distinction. Could he have them without labour, he would like it less." BOSWELL. "He tells me he likes it for itself." JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, he fancies so, because he is not accustomed to abstract."

We went home to his house to tea. Mrs. Williams made it with sufficient dexterity, notwithstanding her blindness, though her manner of satisfying herself that the cups were full enough, appeared to me a little awkward; for I fancied she put her finger down a certain way, till she felt the tea touch it.² In my first elation at being allowed the privilege of attending Dr. Johnson at his late visits to this lady, which was like being *è secretioribus consiliis*, I willingly drank cup after cup, as if it had been the Heliconian spring. But as the charm of novelty went off, I grew more fastidious; and besides, I discovered that she was of a peevish temper.

There was a pretty large circle this evening. Dr. Johnson was in very good humour, lively, and ready to talk upon all subjects. Mr. Ferguson, the self-taught philosopher³, told him of a new-invented machine which went without horses⁴: a man who sat in it turned a handle, which worked a spring that drove it forward. "Then, Sir," said Johnson, "what is gained is, the man has his choice whether he will move himself alone, or himself and the machine too." Dominicetti⁵ being mentioned, he would not allow him any merit. "There is nothing in all this boasted system. No, Sir; medicated baths can be no better than warm water: their only effect can be that of tepid moisture." One of the company took the other side, maintaining that medicines of various sorts, and some too of most powerful effect, are introduced into the human frame by the medium of the pores; and, therefore, when warm water is impregnated with salutiferous substances, it may produce great effects as a bath. This appeared to me very satisfactory. Johnson did not answer it; but talking for victory, and

determined to be master of the field, he had recourse to the device which Goldsmith imputed to him in the witty words of one of Cibber's comedies: "There is no arguing with Johnson; for when his pistol misses fire, he knocks you down with the but-end of it." He turned to the gentleman⁶, "Well, Sir, go to Dominicetti, and get thyself fumigated; but be sure that the steam be directed to thy head, for that is the *peccant part*." This produced a triumphant roar of laughter from the motley assembly of philosophers, printers, and dependents, male and female.

I know not how so whimsical a thought came into my mind, but I asked, "If, Sir, you were shut up in a castle, and a new-born child with you, what would you do?" JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, I should not much like my company." BOSWELL. "But would you take the trouble of rearing it?" He seemed, as may well be supposed, unwilling to pursue the subject: but upon my persevering in my question, replied, "Why yes, Sir, I would; but I must have all conveniences. If I had no garden, I would make a shed on the roof, and take it there for fresh air. I should feed it, and wash it much, and with warm water to please it, not with cold water to give it pain." BOSWELL. "But, Sir, does not heat relax?" JOHNSON. "Sir, you are not to imagine the water is to be very hot. I would not *coddle* the child. No, Sir, the hardy method of treating children does no good. I'll take you five children from London, who shall cuff five Highland children. Sir, a man bred in London will carry a burthen, or run, or wrestle, as well as a man brought up in the hardest manner in the country." BOSWELL. "Good living, I suppose, makes the Londoners strong." JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, I don't know that it does. Our chairmen from Ireland, who are as strong men as any, have been brought up upon potatoes. Quantity makes up for quality." BOSWELL. "Would you teach this child that I have furnished you with, any thing?" JOHNSON. "No, I should not be apt to teach it." BOSWELL. "Would not you have a pleasure in teaching it?" JOHNSON. "No, Sir, I should not have a pleasure in teaching it." BOSWELL. "Have you not a pleasure in teaching men? There I have you. You have the same pleasure in teaching men, that I should have in teaching children." JOHNSON. "Why, something about that."

BOSWELL. "Do you think, Sir, that what

¹ His father, Lord Auchinlech. — CROKER.

² I have since had reason to think that I was mistaken; for I have been informed by a lady, who was long intimate with her, and likely to be a more accurate observer of such matters, that she had acquired such a niceness of touch, as to know, by the feeling on the *outside* of the cup, how near it was to being full. — BOSWELL.

³ James Ferguson was born in Bamff, in 1710, of very poor parents. While tending his master's sheep, he acquired a knowledge of the stars, and constructed a celestial globe. This attracted the notice of some gentlemen, who procured him further instructions. At length, he went to Edinburgh, where he drew portraits in miniature at a small price; and this profession he pursued afterwards, when he resided in Bolt Court. His mathematical and miscellaneous works

are comprised in ten volumes. He died Nov. 16. 1776. — WRIGHT.

⁴ "The very ingenious Mr. Patence, of Bolt Court, has constructed a phaeton which goes without horses, and is built on a principle different from any thing of the kind hitherto attempted." *London Chron.* Sept. 11. 1769. — WRIGHT.

⁵ Dominicetti was an Italian quack, who made a considerable noise about this time, by the use of medicated baths, which were established in 1765 in Cheney Walk, Chelsea. In 1782 he became a bankrupt. — CROKER.

⁶ Mr. Boswell himself. Mr. Chalmers told me that Boswell's mode of relating Johnson's wit, without confessing that he himself was the object of it, was well understood, and much laughed at, on the first publication of his work. — CROKER.

is called natural affection is born with us? It seems to me to be the effect of habit, or of gratitude for kindness. No child has it for a parent whom it has not seen." JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, I think there is an instinctive natural affection in parents towards their children."

Russia being mentioned as likely to become a great empire, by the rapid increase of population:—JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, I see no prospect of their propagating more. They can have no more children than they can get. I know of no way to make them breed more than they do. It is not from reason and prudence that people marry, but from inclination. A man is poor: he thinks, 'I cannot be worse, and so I'll e'en take Peggy.'" BOSWELL. "But have not nations been more populous at one period than another?" JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir; but that has been owing to the people being less thinned at one period than another, whether by emigrations, war, or pestilence, not by their being more or less prolific. Births at all times bear the same proportion to the same number of people." BOSWELL. "But, to consider the state of our own country;—does not throwing a number of farms into one hand hurt population?" JOHNSON. "Why no, Sir; the same quantity of food being produced, will be consumed by the same number of mouths, though the people may be disposed of in different ways. We see, if corn be dear, and butchers' meat cheap, the farmers all apply themselves to the raising of corn, till it becomes plentiful and cheap, and then butchers' meat becomes dear; so that an equality is always preserved. No, Sir, let fanciful men do as they will, depend upon it, it is difficult to disturb the system of life." BOSWELL. "But, Sir, is it not a very bad thing for landlords to oppress their tenants, by raising their rents?" JOHNSON. "Very bad. But, Sir, it never can have any general influence; it may distress some individuals. For, consider this: landlords cannot do without tenants. Now tenants will not give more for land, than land is worth. If they can make more of their money by keeping a shop, or any other way, they'll do it, and so oblige landlords to let land come back to a reasonable rent, in order that they may get tenants. Land, in England, is an article of commerce. A tenant who pays his landlord his rent, thinks himself no more obliged to him, than you think yourself obliged to a man in whose shop you buy a piece of goods. He knows the landlord does not let him have his land for less than he can get from others, in the same manner as the shopkeeper sells his goods. No shopkeeper sells a yard of riband for sixpence when sevenpence is the current price." BOSWELL. "But, Sir, is it not better that tenants should be dependent on landlords?" JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, as there are many more tenants than landlords, perhaps, strictly speaking, we should

wish not. But, if you please, you may let your lands cheap, and so get the value, part in money and part in homage. I should agree with you in that." BOSWELL. "So, Sir, you laugh at schemes of political improvement." JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, most schemes of political improvement are very laughable things."

He observed, "Providence has wisely ordered that the more numerous men are, the more difficult it is for them to agree in any thing, and so they are governed. There is no doubt, that if the poor should reason, 'We'll be the poor no longer, we'll make the rich take their turn,' they could easily do it, were it not that they can't agree. So the common soldiers, though so much more numerous than their officers, are governed by them for the same reason."

He said, "Mankind have a strong attachment to the habitations to which they have been accustomed. You see the inhabitants of Norway do not with one consent quit it, and go to some part of America, where there is a mild climate, and where they may have the same produce from land, with the tenth part of the labour. No, Sir; their affection for their old dwellings, and the terror of a general change, keep them at home. Thus, we see many of the finest spots in the world thinly inhabited, and many rugged spots well inhabited."

"The London Chronicle," which was the only newspaper he constantly took in, being brought, the office of reading it aloud was assigned to me. I was diverted by his impatience. He made me pass over so many parts of it, that my task was very easy. He would not suffer one of the petitions to the King about the Middlesex election to be read.

I had hired a Bohemian as my servant while I remained in London; and being much pleased with him, I asked Dr. Johnson whether his being a Roman Catholic should prevent my taking him with me to Scotland. JOHNSON. "Why no, Sir. If he has no objection, you can have none." BOSWELL. "So, Sir, you are no great enemy to the Roman Catholic religion." JOHNSON. "No more, Sir, than to the Presbyterian religion." BOSWELL. "You are joking." JOHNSON. "No, Sir, I really think so. Nay, Sir, of the two, I prefer the Popish."¹ BOSWELL. "How so, Sir?" JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, the Presbyterians have no church, no apostolical ordination." BOSWELL. "And do you think that absolutely essential, Sir?" JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, as it was an apostolical institution, I think it is dangerous to be without it. And, Sir, the Presbyterians have no public worship: they have no form of prayer in which they know they are to join. They go to hear a man pray, and are to judge whether they will join with him." BOSWELL. "But, Sir, their doctrine is the same with that

¹ See *anté*, p. 76. n. 1.—C.

of the Church of England. Their confession of faith, and the thirty-nine articles, contain the same points, even the doctrine of predestination." JOHNSON. "Why yes, Sir; predestination was a part of the clamour of the times, so it is mentioned in our articles, but with as little positiveness as could be." BOSWELL. "Is it necessary, Sir, to believe all the thirty-nine articles?" JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, that is a question which has been much agitated. Some have thought it necessary that they should all be believed; others have considered them to be only articles of peace¹, that is to say, you are not to preach against them." BOSWELL. "It appears to me, Sir, that predestination, or what is equivalent to it, cannot be avoided, if we hold an universal prescience in the Deity." JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, does not God every day see things going on without preventing them?" BOSWELL. "True, Sir; but if a thing be *certainly* foreseen, it must be fixed, and cannot happen otherwise; and if we apply this consideration to the human mind, there is no free will, nor do I see how prayer can be of any avail." He mentioned Dr. Clarke, and Bishop Bramhall on Liberty and Necessity, and bid me read South's Sermons on Prayer; but avoided the question which has excruciated philosophers and divines, beyond any other. I did not press it further, when I perceived that he was displeased, and shrunk from any abridgment of an attribute usually ascribed to the Divinity, however irreconcilable in its full extent with the grand system of moral government. His supposed orthodoxy here cramped the vigorous powers of his understanding. He was confined by a chain which early imagination and strong habit made him think massy and strong, but which, had he ventured to try, he could at once have snapt asunder.²

I proceeded: "What do you think, Sir, of Purgatory, as believed by the Roman Catholics?" JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, it is a very harmless doctrine. They are of opinion that the generality of mankind are neither so obstinately wicked as to deserve everlasting punishment, nor so good as to merit being admitted into the society of blessed spirits; and therefore that God is graciously pleased to allow of a middle state, where they may be purified by certain degrees of suffering. You see, Sir, there is nothing unreasonable in this."

¹ Dr. Simon Patrick (afterwards Bishop of Ely) thus expresses himself on this subject, in a letter to the learned Dr. John Mapletot, dated Feb. 8. 1682:—

"I always took the 'Articles' to be only articles of communion; and so Bishop Bramhall expressly mentions against the Bishop of Chalcedon; and I remember well, that Bishop Sanderson, when the King was first restored, received the subscription of an acquaintance of mine, which he declared was not to them as articles of faith but peace. I think you need make no scruple of the matter, because all that I know so understand the meaning of subscription, and upon other terms would not subscribe." — MALONE.

² The solution is to be found in what Boswell states as the difficulty. All eternity is present to the Deity, and his prescience foresees what man will have chosen, though man

BOSWELL. "But then, Sir, their masses for the dead?" JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, if it be once established that there are souls in purgatory, it is as proper to pray for *them*, as for our brethren of mankind who are yet in this life."

BOSWELL. "The idolatry of the mass?"

JOHNSON. "Sir, there is no idolatry in the mass. They believe God to be there, and they adore him." BOSWELL. "The worship of saints?"

JOHNSON. "Sir, they do not worship saints; they invoke them; they only ask their prayers. I am talking all this time of the *doctrines* of the Church of Rome. I grant you that, in *practice*, purgatory is made a lucrative imposition, and that the people do become idolatrous as they recommend themselves to the tutelary protection of particular saints.³ I think their giving the sacrament only in one kind is criminal, because it is contrary to the express institution of Christ, and I wonder how the Council of Trent admitted it."

BOSWELL. "Confession?" JOHNSON. "Why, I don't know but that is a good thing. The Scripture says, 'Confess your faults one to another,' and the priests confess as well as the laity. Then it must be considered that their absolution is only upon repentance, and often upon penance also. You think your sins may be forgiven without penance, upon repentance alone."

I thus ventured to mention all the common objections against the Roman Catholic church, that I might hear so great a man upon them. What he said is here accurately recorded. But it is not improbable that, if one had taken the other side, he might have reasoned differently.

I must however mention, that he had a respect for "*the old religion*," as the mild Melancthon called that of the Roman Catholic church, even while he was exerting himself for its reformation in some particulars. Sir William Scott informs me, that he heard Johnson say, "A man who is converted from Protestantism to Popery, may be sincere: he parts with nothing: he is only superadding to what he already had. But a convert from Popery to Protestantism gives up so much of what he has held as sacred as any thing that he retains—there is so much *laceration of mind* in such a conversion—that it can hardly be sincere and lasting."⁴ The truth of this reflection may be confirmed by many

feels that he is free to choose. What Cowley says of Heaven, is equally true of this world, in the eye of Providence:—

"Nothing there is to come, and nothing past;
But an eternal Now doth always last!"

This is one of the mysteries which, though *above* human reason, is in no degree *contrary* to it. — CROKER, 1846.

³ They are sometimes rather ridiculous than idolatrous. I have now before me a Roman Catholic Prayer-book, printed at Ghent so lately as 1823, in which there is a prayer to the Virgin, addressing her as "*Ma divine Princesse*," and another to St. Joseph, as "*Mon aimable patron*." — CROKER.

⁴ Bishop Elrington expressed his surprise, that Johnson should have forgotten Latimer, Ridley, Hooper, and *all those of all nations* who have renounced popery. — CROKER.

and eminent instances, some of which will occur to most of my readers.¹

When we were alone, I introduced the subject of death, and endeavoured to maintain that the fear of it might be got over. I told him that David Hume said to me, he was no more uneasy to think he should *not be* after this life, than that he *had not been* before he began to exist. JOHNSON. "Sir, if he really thinks so, his perceptions are disturbed; he is mad: if he does not think so, he lies. He may tell you, he holds his finger in the flame of a candle without feeling pain; would you believe him? When he dies, he at least gives up all he has."

BOSWELL. "Foote, Sir, told me, that when he was very ill he was not afraid to die." JOHNSON. "It is not true, Sir.² Hold a pistol to Foote's breast, or to Hume's breast, and threaten to kill them; and you'll see how they behave." BOSWELL. "But may we not fortify our minds for the approach of death?"

— Here I am sensible I was in the wrong, to bring before his view what he ever looked upon with horror; for although, when in a celestial frame of mind, in his "Vanity of Human Wishes," he has supposed death to be "kind Nature's signal for retreat" from this state of being to "a happier seat," his thoughts upon this awful change were in general full of dismal apprehensions. His mind resembled the vast amphitheatre, the Coliseum at Rome. In the centre stood his judgment, which, like a mighty gladiator, combated those apprehensions that, like the wild beasts of the *arena*, were all around in cells, ready to be let out upon him. After a conflict, he drives them back into their dens; but not killing them, they were still assailing him. To my question, whether we might not fortify our minds for the approach of death, he answered, in a passion, "No, Sir, let it alone. It matters not how a man dies, but how he lives. The act of dying is not of importance, it lasts so short a time." He added (with an earnest look), "A man knows it must be so, and submits. It will do him no good to whine."

¹ I do not understand this allusion. I am not aware of "many and eminent instances" of persons converted from popery to protestantism relapsing either into superstition or infidelity. I suspect that Mr. Boswell, who often alludes to Mr. Gibbon's vacillation, really meant *him* in this passage, though his conversion from Protestantism to Popery and back again, which had ended in infidelity, does not exactly fit the case put by Johnson. — CROKER.

² Foote's statement did not merit so flat a contradiction: it is confirmed by those who have had the best means of speaking to the fact. Sir Henry Hallford felt surprised that of the great number he has attended, "so few have appeared reluctant to die," adding, "many, we may easily suppose, have manifested this willingness to die, from an impatience of suffering, or from that passive indifference, which is sometimes the result of debility and extreme bodily pain." *Essays*, p. 69. — MARKLAND. There is a distinction, which neither Johnson nor Mr. Markland seem to have made, — between a violent and premature death, always terrible; and one coming gradually in the course of nature, under which the exhausted frame and weary spirit sink without reluctance. — CROKER, 1846.

³ George Steevens, Esq., who, in the next year, became

I attempted to continue the conversation. He was so provoked, that he said, — "Give us no more of this;" and was thrown into such a state of agitation, that he expressed himself in a way that alarmed and distressed me; showed an impatience that I should leave him, and when I was going away, called to me sternly, "Don't let us meet to-morrow."

I went home exceedingly uneasy. All the harsh observations which I had ever heard made upon his character crowded into my mind; and I seemed to myself like the man who had put his head into the lion's mouth a great many times with perfect safety, but at last had it bit off.

Next morning [27th October], I sent him a note, stating that I might have been in the wrong, but it was not intentionally; he was therefore, I could not help thinking, too severe upon me. That notwithstanding our agreement not to meet that day, I would call on him in my way to the city, and stay five minutes by my watch. "You are," said I, "in my mind, since last night, surrounded with cloud and storm. Let me have a glimpse of sunshine, and go about my affairs in serenity and cheerfulness."

Upon entering his study, I was glad that he was not alone, which would have made our meeting more awkward. There were with him, Mr. Steevens³ and Mr. Tyers⁴, both of whom I now saw for the first time. My note had, on his own reflection, softened him, for he received me very complacently; so that I unexpectedly found myself at ease, and joined in the conversation.

He said, the critics had done too much honour to Sir Richard Blackmore, by writing so much against him. That, in his "Creation," he had been helped by various wits, a line by Phillips and a line by Tickell; so that by their aid, and that of others, the poem had been made out.⁵

I defended Blackmore's supposed lines, which have been ridiculed as absolute nonsense: —

"A painted vest Prince Vortiger had on,
Which from a naked Piet his grandsire won."⁶

associated with Johnson in the edition of Shakespeare, which goes by their joint names. Mr. Steevens was born in 1736, and died at Hampstead in 1800. A cynical disposition and a strong turn for literary deceptions, more ingenious than candid or creditable, rendered him unpopular with his acquaintance, as we shall have occasion to notice in the sequel. — CROKER.

⁴ For an account of "Tom Tyers," as Johnson always called him, see *post*, April 17. 1778.

⁵ Johnson himself has vindicated Blackmore upon this very point. See the *Lives of the Poets*, vol. iii. p. 75. 8vo., 1791. — J. BOSWELL, jun.

⁶ A correspondent of the *European Magazine*, April, 1792, has completely exposed the mistake of ascribing these lines to Blackmore, notwithstanding that Sir Richard Steele, in "The Spectator," [No. 43.] mentions them as written by the author of "The British Princes," the Hon. Edward Howard. The correspondent above-mentioned, shows this mistake to be so inveterate, that not only I defended the lines as Blackmore's, in the presence of Dr. Johnson, without any contradiction or doubt of their authenticity, but that the Rev. Mr. Whitaker has asserted in print, that he understands they were *suppressed* in the late editions of

I maintained it to be a poetical conceit. A Pict being painted, if he is slain in battle, and a vest is made of his skin, it is a painted vest won from him, though he was naked.

Johnson spoke unfavourably of a certain pretty voluminous author, saying, "He used to write anonymous books, and then other books commending those books, in which there was something of rascality."¹

I whispered him, "Well, Sir, you are now in good humour." JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir." I was going to leave him, and had got as far as the staircase. He stopped me, and smiling, said, "Get you gone *in*;" a curious mode of inviting me to stay, which I accordingly did for some time longer.

This little incidental quarrel and reconciliation, which, perhaps, I may be thought to have detailed too minutely, must be esteemed as one of many proofs which his friends had, that though he might be charged with *bad humour* at times, he was always a *good-natured* man; and I have heard Sir Joshua Reynolds, a nice and delicate observer of manners, particularly remark, that when upon any occasion Johnson had been rough to any person in company, he took the first opportunity of reconciliation, by drinking to him, or addressing his discourse to him; but if he found his dignified indirect overtures sullenly neglected, he was quite indifferent, and considered himself as having done all that he ought to do, and the other as now in the wrong.

Being to set out for Scotland on the 10th of November, I wrote to him at Streatham, begging that he would meet me in town on the 9th; but if this should be very inconvenient to him, I would go thither. His answer was as follows:—

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"Nov. 9. 1769.

"DEAR SIR, — Upon balancing the inconveniences of both parties, I find it will less incommodate you to spend your night here, than me to come to town. I wish to see you, and am ordered by the lady of this house to invite you hither. Whether you can come or not, I shall not have any occasion of writing to you again before your marriage, and therefore tell you now, that with

Blackmore "After all," says this intelligent writer, "it is not unworthy of particular observation, that these lines, so often quoted, do not exist either in Blackmore or Howard." In "The British Princes," 8vo. 1669, now before me, p. 96., they stand thus:—

"A vest as admired Vortiger had on,
Which from this Island's foes his grandsire won,
Whose artful colour pass'd the Tyrian dye,
Obliged to triumph in this legacy."

It is probable, I think, that some wag, in order to make Howard still more ridiculous than he really was, has formed the couplet as it now circulates. — BOSWELL.
¹ Mr. Chalmers supposed that this was Dr. Hill, who used to play such tricks, not only anonymously, but under false names, such as *Dr. Crine*, *Dr. Uvedale*, and many others. Smollett has also been surmised; and as Boswell had certainly no tenderness for *Hill's* character (see *anté*, p. 186.), the suppression of the name has been thought to favour this latter

great sincerity I wish you happiness. I am, dear Sir, your most affectionate humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

I was detained in town till it was too late on the 9th, so went to him early in the morning of the 10th of November. "Now," said he, "that you are going to marry, do not expect more from life than life will afford. You may often find yourself out of humour, and you may often think your wife not studious enough to please you; and yet you may have reason to consider yourself as upon the whole very happily married."

Talking of marriage in general, he observed, "Our marriage service is too refined. It is calculated only for the best kind of marriages: whereas, we should have a form for matches of convenience, of which there are many."² He agreed with me that there was no absolute necessity for having the marriage ceremony performed by a regular clergyman, for this was not commanded in Scripture.

I was volatile enough to repeat to him a little epigrammatic song of mine³, on matrimony, which Mr. Garrick had, a few days before, procured to be set to music by the very ingenious Mr. Dibdin.

A Matrimonial Thought.

"In the blithe days of honey-moon,
With Kate's allurements smitten,
I loved her late, I loved her soon,
And called her dearest kitten.

"But now my kitten's grown a cat,
And cross like other wives;
Oh! by my soul, my honest Mat,
I fear she has nine lives."

My illustrious friend said, "It is very well, Sir; but you should not swear." Upon which I altered "Oh! by my soul," to "Alas, alas!"

He was so good as to accompany me to London, and see me into the post-chaise which was to carry me on my road to Scotland. And sure I am, that however inconsiderable many of the particulars recorded at this time may appear to some, they will be esteemed by the best part of my readers as genuine traits of his character, contributing together to give a full, fair, and distinct view of it.

opinion. I, however, doubt both guesses, but can make no better. — CROKER.

² It may be suspected that Mr. Boswell, in transcribing for the press, at the interval of twenty-five years, his original note, may have misrepresented Dr. Johnson's opinion. There are, no doubt, marriages of convenience, but such often turn out to be very happy marriages — nay, Johnson himself thought they might be the happiest (March 22. 1777). Moreover, one would ask, how is the marriage ceremony too *refined*? It seems more open to a contrary criticism. Nor, finally, can I believe that Johnson agreed in Boswell's *Scottish* views of a secular ceremony, and above all for the absurd reason stated — for it is not "*commanded in Scripture*," that any ceremony should be performed by a regular clergyman; and, again; if there were two services, who would ever consent to be married by that which implied some degree of degradation, or at least of inferiority? — CROKER.

³ Mr. Boswell used (as did also his eldest son, Sir Alexander) to sing in convivial society songs of his own composition. — CROKER.

In 1770, he published a political pamphlet, entitled "The False Alarm," intended to justify the conduct of the ministry and their majority in the House of Commons, for having virtually assumed it as an axiom, that the expulsion of a member of parliament was equivalent to exclusion, and thus having declared Colonel Luttrell to be duly elected for the county of Middlesex, notwithstanding Mr. Wilkes had a great majority of votes. This being justly considered as a gross violation of the right of election, an alarm for the constitution extended itself all over the kingdom. To prove this alarm to be false, was the purpose of Johnson's pamphlet; but even his vast powers were inadequate to cope with constitutional truth and reason, and his argument failed of effect; and the House of Commons have since expunged the offensive resolution from their Journals. That the House of Commons might have expelled Mr. Wilkes repeatedly, and as often as he should be re-chosen, was not denied; but incapacitation cannot be but by an act of the whole legislature. It was wonderful to see how a prejudice in favour of government in general and an aversion to popular clamour, could blind and contract such an understanding as Johnson's, in this particular case; yet the wit, the sarcasm, the eloquent vivacity which this pamphlet displayed, made it be read with great avidity¹ at the time, and it will ever be read with pleasure, for the sake of its composition. That it endeavoured to infuse a narcotic indifference, as to public concerns, into the minds of the people, and that it broke out sometimes into an extreme coarseness of contemptuous abuse, is but too evident.

It must not, however, be omitted, that when the storm of his violence subsides, he takes a fair opportunity to pay a grateful compliment to the King, who had rewarded his merit:—"These low-born rulers have endeavoured, surely without effect, to alienate the affections of the people from the only King who for almost a century has much appeared to desire, or much endeavoured to deserve them." And, "Every honest man must lament, that the faction has been regarded with frigid neutrality by the Tories, who being long accustomed to signalise their principles by opposition to the Court, do not yet consider, that they have at last a King who knows not the name of party, and who wishes to be the common father of all his people."²

To this pamphlet, which was at once discovered to be Johnson's, several answers came out, in which care was taken to remind the

public of his former attacks upon government, and of his now being a pensioner, without allowing for the honourable terms upon which Johnson's pension was granted and accepted, or the change of system which the British court had undergone upon the accession of his present Majesty. He was, however, soothed in the highest strain of panegyric, in a poem called "The Remonstrance," by the Rev. Mr. Stockdale³, to whom he was, upon many occasions, a kind protector.

The following admirable minute made by him, describes so well his own state, and that of numbers to whom self-examination is habitual, that I cannot omit it:—

"June 1. 1770. Every man naturally persuades himself that he can keep his resolutions, nor is he convinced of his imbecility but by length of time and frequency of experiment. This opinion of our own constancy is so prevalent, that we always despise him who suffers his general and settled purpose to be overpowered by an occasional desire. They, therefore, whom frequent failures have made desperate, cease to form resolutions; and they who are become cunning, do not tell them. Those who do not make them are very few, but of their effect little is perceived; for scarcely any man persists in a course of life planned by choice, but as he is restrained from deviation by some external power. He who may live as he will, seldom lives long in the observation of his own rules. I never yet saw a regular family, unless it were that of Mrs. Harriot's, nor a regular man, except Mr. ———⁴, whose exactness I know only by his own report, and Psalmanazer, whose life was, I think, uniform." [Pr. and Med. p. 100.]

Of this year I have obtained the following letters:

JOHNSON TO DR. FARMER.

"Johnson's Court, March 21. 1770.

"SIR, — As no man ought to keep wholly to himself any possession that may be useful to the public, I hope you will not think me unreasonably intrusive, if I have recourse to you for such information as you are more able to give me than any other man.

"In support of an opinion which you have already placed above the need of any more support, Mr. Steevens, a very ingenious gentleman, lately of King's College, has collected an account of all the translations which Shakspeare might have seen and used. He wishes his catalogue to be perfect, and therefore entreats that you will favour him by the insertion of such additions as the accuracy of your inquiries has enabled you to make. To this request, I take the liberty of adding my own solicitation.

¹ "The False Alarm" was published by T. Cadell, in the Strand, Jan. 16. 1770; a second edition appeared Feb. 6., and a third, March 13. — WRIGHT.

² "This," says Mrs. Piozzi, "his first and favourite pamphlet, was written at our house, between eight o'clock on Wednesday night and twelve o'clock on Thursday night: we read it to Mr. Thrale, when he came very late home from the House of Commons." Boswell, it must be remembered, was a *Wilkite*. — CROKER.

³ The Rev. Percival Stockdale, whose strange and rambling "Autobiography" was published in 1808; he was the author of several bad poems, and died in 1810, at the age of 75. He was Johnson's neighbour for some years, both in Johnson's Court and Bolt Court. — CROKER.

⁴ The name in the original manuscript is, as Dr. Hall informed me, *Campbell*. The Scotch non juring Bishop Campbell was probably the person meant. See an account of this gentleman, *post*, Oct. 25. 1773. — CROKER.

"We have no immediate use for this catalogue, and therefore do not desire that it should interrupt or hinder your more important employments. But it will be kind to let us know that you receive it. I am, Sir &c.,
SAM. JOHNSON."

[JOHNSON TO MISS PORTER.]

"May 1. 1770.

"DEAREST MADAM, — Among other causes that have hindered me from answering your last kind letter, is a tedious and painful rheumatism, that has afflicted me for many weeks, and still continues to molest me. I hope you are well, and will long keep your health and your cheerfulness.

"One reason why I delayed to write was, my uncertainty how to answer your letter. I like the thought of giving away the money very well; but when I consider that Tom Johnson is my nearest relation, and that he is now old and in great want; that he was my playfellow in childhood, and has never done any thing to offend me; I am in doubt, whether I ought not rather give it him than any other.

"Of this, my dear, I would have your opinion. I would willingly please you, and I know that you will be pleased best with what you think right. Tell me your mind, and do not learn of me to neglect writing; for it is a very sorry trick, though it be mine.

"Your brother is well; I saw him to-day, and thought it long since I saw him before: it seems he has called often, and could not find me. I am, my dear, your affectionate humble servant,
— Pearson MSS. SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO MISS PORTER.

"London, May 29. 1770.

"MY DEAREST DEAR, — I am very sorry that your eyes are bad; take great care of them, especially by candlelight. Mine continue pretty good, but they are sometimes dim. My rheumatism grows gradually better. I have considered your letter, and am willing that the whole money should go where you, my dear, originally intended. I hope to help Tom some other way. So that matter is over.

"Dr. Taylor has invited me to pass some time with him at Ashbourne; if I come, you may be sure that I shall take you and Lichfield in my way. When I am nearer coming, I will send you word.

"Of Mr. Porter I have seen very little, but I know not that it is his fault, for he says that he often calls, and never finds me; I am sorry for it, for I love him. Mr. Mathias has lately had a great deal of money left him, of which you have probably heard already. I am, my dearest, your most affectionate servant,
SAM. JOHNSON."
— Pearson MSS.

JOHNSON TO THOMAS WARTON.

"London, June 23. 1770.

"DEAR SIR, — The readiness with which you were pleased to promise me some notes on Shakspeare, was a new instance of your friendship. I shall not hurry you; but am desired by Mr. Steevens, who helps me in this edition, to let you know, that we shall print the tragedies first, and shall therefore want first the notes which belong to them. We think not to incommode the readers with a supplement; and therefore, what we cannot put into its proper place, will do us no good. We shall not begin to print before the end of six weeks, perhaps not so soon. I am, &c.,

"SAM JOHNSON."¹

[JOHNSON TO MRS. THRALE.]

(Extracts.)

"Lichfield, July 7. 1770.

"I thought I should have heard something to-day about Streatham; but there is no letter; and I need some consolation, for rheumatism is come again, though in a less degree than formerly. I reckon to go next week to Ashbourne, and will try to bring you the dimensions of the great bull. The skies and the ground are all so wet, that I have been very little abroad: and Mrs. Aston is from home, so that I have no motive to walk; when she is at home, she lives on the top of Stow-hill, and I commonly climb up to see her once a day. There is nothing there now but the empty nest. To write to you about Lichfield is of no use, for you never saw Stowpool, nor Borowcop-hill. I believe you may find Borow or Borough-cop-hill in my Dictionary, under cop or cob. Nobody here knows what the name imports."

"Lichfield, July 11. 1770.

"Mr. Greene², the apothecary, has found a book which tells who paid levies in our parish, and how much they paid, above an hundred years ago. Do you not think we study this book hard? Nothing is like going to the bottom of things. Many families that paid the parish rates are now extinct, like the race of Hercules. *Pulvis et umbra sumus*. What is nearest us touches us most. The passions rise higher at domestic than at imperial tragedies. I am not wholly unaffected by the revolutions in Sadler Street³; nor can forbear to mourn, when old names vanish away, and new come into their place."

"Ashbourne, July 20. 1770.

"I came hither on Wednesday, having staid one night at a lodge in the forest of Nedewood. Dr. Taylor's is a very pleasant house, with a lawn and a lake, and twenty deer and five fawns upon the lawn. Whether I shall by any light see Matlock I do not yet know.

"That Baret's book, ["Travels through Spain, Portugal, and France,"] would please you all, I make no doubt. I know not whether the world has ever seen such travels before. Those whose

¹ About the end of June he made a visit to the midland counties; some account of which, extracted from his letters to Mrs. Thrale, I have placed in the text, and shall continue to make similar extracts where necessary to fill up *lacune* in Mr. Boswell's narrative — the *dates* will be sufficient reference to the originals. — CROKER, 1846.

² See *post*, March 23. 1776. — C.

³ At the corner of which stood his own house. I have satisfied myself on the spot that Michael Johnson's *encroachment* in Sadler Street, (*anté*, p. 4. n. 2.) for which he paid two shillings and sixpence a year, and a lease of which was renewed to his son, was most probably a shop bow-window, which jutted out into Sadler Street. — CROKER.

lot it is to ramble can seldom write, and those who know how to write very seldom ramble. If Sidney had gone, as he desired, the great voyage with Drake, there would probably have been such a narrative as would have equally satisfied the poet and the philosopher."

"Ashbourne, July 23. 1770.

"I have seen the great bull¹, and very great he is. I have seen likewise his heir apparent, who promises to inherit all the bulk and all the virtues of his sire. I have seen the man who offered an hundred guineas for the young bull, while he was yet little better than a calf. Matlock, I am afraid, I shall not see, but I purpose to see Dovedale; and, after all this seeing, I hope to see you."]

JOHNSON TO JOSEPH WARTON.

"Sept. 21. 1770.

"DEAR SIR, — I am revising my edition of Shakspeare, and remember that I formerly misrepresented your opinion of Lear. Be pleased to write the paragraph as you would have it, and send it. If you have any remarks of your own upon that or any other play, I shall gladly receive them. Make my compliments to Mrs. Warton. I sometimes think of wandering for a few days to Winchester, but am apt to delay. I am, Sir, your most humble servant,
SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO FRANCIS BARBER,

At Mrs. Clapp's, Bishop-Stortford.

"London, Sept. 25. 1770.

"DEAR FRANCIS, — I am at last sat down to write to you, and should very much blame myself for having neglected you so long, if I did not impute that and many other failings to want of health. I hope not to be so long silent again. I am very well satisfied with your progress, if you can really perform the exercises which you are set; and I hope Mr. Ellis does not suffer you to impose on him, or on yourself. Make my compliments to Mr. Ellis, and to Mrs. Clapp, and Mr. Smith.

"Let me know what English books you read for your entertainment. You can never be wise unless you love reading. Do not imagine that I shall forget or forsake you; for if, when I examine you, I find that you have not lost your time, you shall want no encouragement from yours affectionately,
"SAM JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO FRANCIS BARBER.

"December 7. 1770.

"DEAR FRANCIS, — I hope you mind your business. I design you shall stay with Mrs. Clapp

these holidays. If you are invited out you may go, if Mr. Ellis gives leave. I have ordered you some clothes, which you will receive, I believe, next week. My compliments to Mrs. Clapp, and to Mr. Ellis, and to Mr. Smith, &c. — I am your affectionate,
SAM. JOHNSON."

CHAPTER XXIV.

1770.

Dr. Maxwell's Collectanea. — *Johnson's Politics, and general Mode of Life.* — *Opulent Tradesmen.* — *London.* — *Black-letter Books.* — *"Anatomy of Melancholy."* — *Government of Ireland.* — *Love.* — *Jacob Behmen.* — *Established Clergy.* — *Dr. Priestley.* — *Blank Verse.* — *French Novels.* — *Père Boscovich.* — *Lord Lyttelton's Dialogues.* — *Ossian.* — *The Poetical Cobbler.* — *Boetius.* — *National Debt.* — *Mallet.* — *Marriage.* — *Foppery.* — *Gilbert Cooper.* — *Homer.* — *Gregory Sharpe.* — *Poor of England.* — *Corn Laws.* — *Dr. Broune.* — *Mr. Burke.* — *Economy.* — *Fortune-hunters.* — *Orchards.* — *Irish Clergy.*

DURING this year there was a total cessation of all correspondence between Dr. Johnson and me, without any coldness on either side, but merely from procrastination, continued from day to day; and, as I was not in London, I had no opportunity of enjoying his company and recording his conversation. To supply this blank, I shall present my readers with some *Collectanea*, obligingly furnished to me by the Rev. Dr. Maxwell², of Falkland, in Ireland, some time assistant preacher at the Temple, and for many years the social friend of Johnson, who spoke of him with a very kind regard.

Collectanea.

"My acquaintance with that great and venerable character commenced in the year 1754. I was introduced to him by Mr. Grierson³, his Majesty's printer at Dublin, a gentleman of uncommon learning, and great wit and vivacity. Mr. Grierson died in Germany, at the age of twenty-seven. Dr. Johnson highly respected his abilities, and often observed, that he possessed more extensive knowledge than any man of his years he had ever known. His industry was equal to his talents; and he par-

¹ Dr. Taylor had a remarkably fine breed of cattle; and an one bull, in particular, was of celebrated size and beauty. — CROKER.

² Dr. William Maxwell was the son of Dr. John Maxwell, Archdeacon of Downe, in Ireland, and cousin of the Honourable Henry Maxwell, Bishop of Dromore in 1765, and of Meath in 1766, from whom he obtained preferment; but having a considerable property of his own, he resigned the living when, as it is said, his residence was insisted on; and he fixed himself in Bath, where he died, so late as 1818, at the age of 87. Dr. Maxwell was deservedly proud of his acquaintance with Johnson, and had caught something of his style of conversation. Some of his anecdotes are trifling, others obscure, some misprinted, and several, I suspect, misstated; which is not surprising, as they seem to have been

written for Mr. Boswell's publication from memory, a great many years after the events. — CROKER.

³ Son of the learned Mrs. Grierson, who was patronised by the late Lord Granville, and was the editor of several of the classics. — BOSWELL. Her edition of Tacitus, with the notes of Ryebus, in three volumes, 8vo. 1730, was dedicated, in very elegant Latin (from her own pen), to John, Lord Carteret (afterwards Earl Granville), by whom she was patronised during his residence in Ireland as Lord Lieutenant between 1724 and 1730. — MALONE. Lord Carteret gave her family the lucrative patent office of king's printer in Ireland, still enjoyed by her descendants. She was very handsome, as well as learned. — CROKER. The patent has just expired — P. CUNNINGHAM, 1846.

ticularly excelled in every species of philological learning, and was, perhaps, the best critic of the age he lived in.

"I must always remember with gratitude my obligation to Mr. Grierson, for the honour and happiness of Dr. Johnson's acquaintance and friendship, which continued uninterrupted and undiminished to his death: a connection that was at once the pride and happiness of my life.

"What pity it is, that so much wit and good sense as he continually exhibited in conversation, should perish unrecorded! Few persons quitted his company without perceiving themselves wiser and better than they were before. On serious subjects he flashed the most interesting conviction upon his auditors; and upon lighter topics, you might have supposed — *Albano musas de monte locutas*.

"Though I can hope to add but little to the celebrity of so exalted a character, by any communications I can furnish, yet, out of pure respect to his memory, I will venture to transmit to you some anecdotes concerning him, which fell under my own observation. The very *minutiæ* of such a character must be interesting, and may be compared to the filings of diamonds.

"In politics he was deemed a Tory, but certainly was not so in the obnoxious or party sense of the term; for while he asserted the legal and salutary prerogatives of the crown, he no less respected the constitutional liberties of the people. Whiggism, at the time of the Revolution, he said, was accompanied with certain principles; but latterly, as a mere party distinction under Walpole and the Pelhams, was no better than the politics of stock-jobbers, and the religion of infidels.

"He detested the idea of governing by parliamentary corruption, and asserted most strenuously, that a prince steadily and conspicuously pursuing the interests of his people could not fail of parliamentary concurrence. A prince of ability, he contended, might and should be the directing soul and spirit of his own administration; in short, his own minister, and not the mere head of a party: and then, and not till then, would the royal dignity be sincerely respected.

"Johnson seemed to think, that a certain degree of crown influence over the Houses of Parliament, (not meaning a corrupt and shameful dependence) was very salutary, nay, even necessary, in our mixed government. 'For,' said he, 'if the members were under no crown influence, and disqualified from receiving any gratification from Court, and resembled, as they possibly might, Pym and Haslerig, and other stubborn and sturdy members of the Long Parliament, the wheels of government would be totally obstructed. Such men would oppose, merely to show their power, from envy, jealousy, and perversity of disposition; and, not gaining themselves, would hate and oppose all who did: not loving the person of the prince, and conceiving they owed him little gratitude, from the mere spirit of insolence and contradiction, they would oppose and thwart him upon all occasions.'

"The inseparable imperfection annexed to all human governments consisted, he said, in not being able to create a sufficient fund of virtue and prin-

ciple to carry the laws into due and effectual execution. Wisdom might plan, but virtue alone could execute. And where could sufficient virtue be found? A variety of delegated, and often discretionary, powers must be entrusted somewhere; which, if not governed by integrity and conscience, would necessarily be abused, till at last the constable would sell his for a shilling.

"This excellent person was sometimes charged with abetting slavish and arbitrary principles of government. Nothing, in my opinion, could be a grosser calumny and misrepresentation; for how can it be rationally supposed, that he should adopt such pernicious and absurd opinions, who supported his philosophical character with so much dignity, was extremely jealous of his personal liberty and independence, and could not brook the smallest appearance of neglect or insult, even from the highest personages?

"But let us view him in some instances of more familiar life.

"His general mode of life, during my acquaintance, seemed to be pretty uniform. About twelve o'clock I commonly visited him, and frequently found him in bed, or declaiming over his tea, which he drank very plentifully. He generally had a levee of morning visitors, chiefly men of letters; Hawkesworth, Goldsmith, Murphy, Langton, Steevens, Beaclerk, &c. &c., and sometimes learned ladies; particularly I remember a French lady¹ of wit and fashion doing him the honour of a visit. He seemed to me to be considered as a kind of public oracle, whom every body thought they had a right to visit and consult; and doubtless they were well rewarded. I never could discover how he found time for his compositions. He declaimed all the morning, then went to dinner at a tavern, where he commonly stayed late, and then drank his tea at some friend's house, over which he loitered a great while, but seldom took supper. I fancy he must have read and wrote chiefly in the night, for I can scarcely recollect that he ever refused going with me to a tavern, and he often went to Ranelagh, which he deemed a place of innocent recreation.

"He frequently gave all the silver in his pocket to the poor, who watched him between his house and the tavern where he dined. He walked the streets at all hours, and said he was never robbed, for the rogues knew he had little money, nor had the appearance of having much.

"Though the most accessible and communicative man alive, yet when he suspected he was invited to be exhibited, he constantly spurned the invitation.

"Two young women from Staffordshire visited him when I was present, to consult him on the subject of Methodism, to which they were inclined. 'Come,' said he, 'you pretty fools, dine with Maxwell and me at the Mitre, and we will talk over that subject;' which they did, and after dinner he took one of them upon his knee, and fondled her for half an hour together.

"Upon a visit to me at a country lodging near Twickenham, he asked what sort of society I had there. I told him, but indifferent; as they chiefly consisted of opulent traders, retired from business. He said, he never much liked that class of people; 'For, Sir,' said he, 'they have lost the civility of tradesmen, without acquiring the manners of gentlemen.'

¹ No doubt Madame de Boufflers. See *post*, sub an. 1775. — CROKER.

"Johnson was much attached to London: he observed, that a man stored his mind better there, than any where else; and that in remote situations a man's body might be feasted, but his mind was starved, and his faculties apt to degenerate, from want of exercise and competition. 'No place,' he said, 'cured a man's vanity or arrogance, so well as London; for as no man was either great or good *per se*, but as compared with others not so good or great, he was sure to find in the metropolis many his equals, and some his superiors.' He observed, that a man in London was in less danger of falling in love indiscreetly, than any where else; for there the difficulty of deciding between the conflicting pretensions of a vast variety of objects, kept him safe. He told me, that he had frequently been offered country preferment¹, if he would consent to take orders; but he could not leave the improved society of the capital, or consent to exchange the exhilarating joys and splendid decorations of public life, for the obscurity, insipidity, and uniformity of remote situations.

"Speaking of Mr. Harte², Canon of Windsor, and writer of 'The History of Gustavus Adolphus,' he much commended him as a scholar, and a man of the most companionable talents he had ever known. He said, the defects in his History proceeded not from imbecility, but from foppery.

"He loved, he said, the old black-letter books; they were rich in matter, though their style was inelegant; wonderfully so, considering how conversant the writers were with the best models of antiquity.

"Burton's 'Anatomy of Melancholy,' he said, was the only book that ever took him out of bed two hours sooner than he wished to rise.³

"He frequently exhorted me to set about writing a History of Ireland; and archly remarked, there had been some good Irish writers, and that one Irishman might at least aspire to be equal to another. He had great compassion for the miseries and distresses of the Irish nation, particularly the Papists; and severely reprobated the barbarous debilitating policy of the British government, which, he said, was the most detestable mode of persecution. To a gentleman who hinted such policy might be necessary to support the authority of the English government, he replied by saying, 'Let the authority of the English government perish, rather than be maintained by iniquity. Better would it be to restrain the turbulence of the natives by the authority of the sword, and to make them amenable to law and justice by an effectual and vigorous police, than to grind them to powder by all manner of disabilities and incapacities. 'Better,' said he, 'to hang or drown people at once, than by an unrelenting persecution to beggar and starve them.'

The moderation and humanity of the present times have, in some measure, justified the wisdom of his observations.

"Dr. Johnson was often accused of prejudices, nay, antipathy, with regard to the natives of Scotland. Surely, so illiberal a prejudice never entered his mind⁴: and it is well known, many natives of that respectable country possessed a large share in his esteem: nor were any of them ever excluded from his good offices, as far as opportunity permitted. True it is, he considered the Scotch, nationally, as a crafty, designing people, eagerly attentive to their own interest, and too apt to overlook the claims and pretensions of other people. 'While they confine their benevolence, in a manner, exclusively to those of their own country, they expect to share in the good offices of other people. Now,' said Johnson, 'this principle is either right or wrong; if right, we should do well to imitate such conduct; if wrong, we cannot too much detest it.'

"Being solicited to compose a funeral sermon for the daughter of a tradesman, he naturally enquired into the character of the deceased; and being told she was remarkable for her humility and condescension to inferiors, he observed, that those were very laudable qualities, but it might not be so easy to discover who the lady's inferiors were.

"Of a certain player⁵ he remarked, that his conversation usually threatened and announced more than it performed; that he fed you with a continual renovation of hope, to end in a constant succession of disappointment.

"When exasperated by contradiction, he was apt to treat his opponents with too much acrimony: as, 'Sir, you don't see your way through that question:' — 'Sir, you talk the language of ignorance.' On my observing to him, that a certain gentleman had remained silent the whole evening, in the midst of a very brilliant and learned society, 'Sir,' said he, 'the conversation overflowed, and drowned him.'

"His philosophy, though austere and solemn, was by no means morose and cynical, and never blunted the laudable sensibilities of his character, or exempted him from the influence of the tender passions. Want of tenderness, he always alleged, was want of parts; and was no less a proof of stupidity than depravity.

"Speaking of Mr. Hanway, who published 'An Eight Days' Journey from London to Portsmouth,' 'Jonas,' said he, acquired some reputation by travelling abroad⁶, but lost it all by travelling at home.'

"Of the passion of love he remarked, that its violence and ill effects were much exaggerated; for who knows any real sufferings on that head, more than from the exorbitancy of any other passion?

"He much commended 'Law's Serious Call,'⁷ which, he said, was the finest piece of hortatory

¹ I suspect "*frequently*" to be an error — the offer of the living of Langton (*ante*, p. 105, and 160.) is the only one mentioned by Boswell. — CROKER, 1846.

² Walter Harte, born about 1707, A. M. of St. Mary Hall, in Oxford, was tutor to Lord Chesterfield's natural son, Mr. Stanhope, and was, by his Lordship's interest, made Canon of Windsor: he died in 1774. See more of Harte, *post*, March 30, 1781. — CROKER.

³ "Burton's 'Anatomy of Melancholy' is the most amusing and instructive medley of quotations and classical anecdotes I ever perused. If the reader has patience to go through his volumes, he will be more improved for literary conversation than by the perusal of any twenty other works with which I am acquainted." — *Byron*, vol. i. p. 144. — WRIGHT.

⁴ Dr. Maxwell was mistaken, and would assuredly not have made such a statement after the publication of this work. Boswell himself confesses the antipathy, but it would be curious to know when it became so strong, and what its cause was, for one would have expected a directly contrary result from the Jacobite principles of his father and himself. — CROKER.

⁵ No doubt Mr. Sheridan. — CROKER.

⁶ He had published "An Account of the British Trade over the Caspian Sea, with Travels through Russia, Persia, Germany, and Holland." These travels contain very curious details of the then state of Persia. — CROKER.

⁷ See *ante*, p. 15.

theology in any language. 'Law,' said he, 'fell latterly into the reveries of Jacob Behmen¹, whom Law alleged to have been somewhat in the same state with St. Paul, and to have seen *unutterable things*. Were it even so,' said Johnson, 'Jacob would have resembled St. Paul still more, by not attempting to utter them.'

"He observed, that the established clergy in general did not preach plain enough; and that polished periods and glittering sentences flew over the heads of the common people without any impression upon their hearts. Something might be necessary, he observed, to excite the affections of the common people, who were sunk in languor and lethargy, and therefore he supposed that the new concomitants of Methodism might probably produce so desirable an effect. The mind, like the body, he observed, delighted in change and novelty, and, even in religion itself, courted new appearances and modifications. Whatever might be thought of some Methodist teachers, he said he could scarcely doubt the sincerity of that man, who travelled nine hundred miles in a month, and preached twelve times in a week; for no adequate reward, merely temporal, could be given for such indefatigable labour.

"Of Dr. Priestley's theological works, he remarked, that they tended to unsettle every thing, and yet settled nothing.

"He was much affected by the death of his mother, and wrote to me to come and assist him to compose his mind; which, indeed, I found greatly agitated. He lamented that all serious and religious conversation was banished from the society of men, and yet great advantages might be derived from it. All acknowledged, he said, what hardly any body practised, the obligations we were under of making the concerns of eternity the governing principles of our lives. Every man, he observed, at last wishes for retreat: he sees his expectations frustrated in the world, and begins to wean himself from it, and to prepare for everlasting separation.

"He observed, that the influence of London now extended every where, and that from all manner of communication being opened, there shortly would be no remains of the ancient simplicity, or places of cheap retreat to be found.

"He was no admirer of blank verse, and said it always failed, unless sustained by the dignity of the subject. In blank verse, he said, the language suffered more distortion, to keep it out of prose, than any inconvenience or limitation to be apprehended from the shackles and circumspection of rhyme.

"He reproved me once for saying grace without

mention of the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and hoped in future I would be more mindful of the apostolical injunction.²

"He refused to go out of a room before me at Mr. Langton's house, saying he hoped he knew his rank better than to presume to take place of a doctor in divinity. I mention such little anecdotes merely to show the peculiar turn and habit of his mind.

"He used frequently to observe, that there was more to be endured than enjoyed, in the general condition of human life; and frequently quoted those lines of Dryden;—

'Strange cozenage! none would live past years again,
Yet all hope pleasure from what still remain.'³

For his part, he said, he never passed that week in his life which he would wish to repeat, were an angel to make the proposal to him.

"He was of opinion, that the English nation cultivated both their soil and their reason better than any other people; but admitted that the French, though not the highest, perhaps, in any department of literature, yet in every department were very high. Intellectual pre-eminence, he observed, was the highest superiority; and that every nation derived their highest reputation from the splendour and dignity of their writers. Voltaire, he said, was a good narrator, and that his principal merit consisted in a happy selection and arrangement of circumstances.

"Speaking of the French novels, compared with Richardson's, he said, they might be pretty baubles, but a wren was not an eagle.

"In a Latin conversation with the Père Boscovich⁴, at the house of Mrs. Cholmondely, I heard him maintain the superiority of Sir Isaac Newton over all foreign philosophers⁵, with a dignity and eloquence that surprised that learned foreigner. It being observed to him, that a rage for every thing English prevailed much in France after Lord Chat-ham's glorious war, he said, he did not wonder at it, for that we had drubbed those fellows into a proper reverence for us, and that their national petulance required periodical chastisement.

"Lord Lyttelton's *Dialogues*⁶ he deemed a nugatory performance. 'That man,' said he, 'sat down to write a book, to tell the world what the world had all his life been telling him.'

"Somebody observing that the Scotch Highlanders, in the year 1745, had made surprising efforts, considering their numerous wants and disadvantages; 'Yes, Sir,' said he, 'their wants were numerous: but you have not mentioned the greatest of them all—the want of law.'⁷

¹ A German fanatic, born near Gölitz, in Upper Lusatia, in 1575. He wrote a multitude of religious works, all very mystical. He probably was deranged, and died in an ecstatic vision in 1624. Mr. Law passed many of the latter years of his life in translating Behmen's works, four volumes of which were published after Mr. Law's death.—CROKER.

² Alluding, I suppose, to Ephesians, ch. v. ver. 20.—"Giving thanks always for all things unto God and the Father, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ." But many devout people think that, becoming as general thanksgiving at meals may be, the special introduction of the awful name of "our Lord Jesus Christ" under such circumstances as must inevitably attend the beginning and end of a dinner is far from edifying. It is, I believe, a modern addition to the older forms of domestic grace; and, after all, may it not be doubted whether that text of Scripture was meant to enjoin any special ceremony at meals?—1831. 1846. CROKER.

³ Aurenzgebe, act iv. sc. 1. The reply of Nourmahal I never heard anybody mention except Dr. Johnson. *Davies' Dram. Misc.*, vol. iii. p. 160.—P. CUNNINGHAM.

⁴ See post, Dec. 1775, where Mr. Murphy states that this

or a similar conversation took place in the house of Dr. Douglas, Bishop of Salisbury.—CROKER.

⁵ In a Discourse by Sir William Jones, addressed to the Asiatic Society, February 24. 1755, is the following passage:—"One of the most sagacious men in this age, who continues, I hope, to improve and adorn it, Samuel Johnson, remarked, in my hearing, that if Newton had flourished in ancient Greece, he would have been worshipped as a divinity."—MALONE.

⁶ Johnson may have thought and spoken slightly of Lyttelton and his works, but scarcely in these terms. He could not have stated as censure what would be in truth the highest praise of such a work,—that it was the result of an accurate observation of mankind.—CROKER.

⁷ It is not clear what was meant. Law, abstractedly, would be one of the least wants of an invading army. Johnson, perhaps, meant either that they had not the law on their side, or that they had not legal means of enforcing discipline. I have before (p. 54. n. 2.) expressed my suspicion, that Johnson had received some personal affront or injustice from the Scotch in 1745: but how or where he could have come across them, I cannot conjecture.—CROKER.

"Speaking of the *inward light*, to which some Methodists pretended, he said, it was a principle utterly incompatible with social or civil security. 'If a man,' said he, 'pretends to a principle of action of which I can know nothing, nay, not so much as that he has it, but only that he pretends to it; how can I tell what that person may be prompted to do? When a person professes to be governed by a written ascertained law, I can then know where to find him.'

"The poem of Fingal, he said, was a mere unconnected rhapsody, a tiresome repetition of the same images. 'In vain shall we look for the *lucidus ordo*, where there is neither end nor object, design or moral, *nec certa recurrit imago*.'

"Being asked by a young nobleman, what was become of the gallantry and military spirit of the old English nobility, he replied, 'Why, my lord, I'll tell you what is become of it: it is gone into the city to look for a fortune.'

"Speaking of a dull, tiresome fellow, whom he chanced to meet, he said, 'That fellow seems to me to possess but one idea, and that is a wrong one.'

"Much inquiry having been made concerning a gentleman, who had quitted a company where Johnson was, and no information being obtained, at last Johnson observed, that 'he did not care to speak ill of any man behind his back, but he believed the gentleman was an *attorney*.'

"He spoke with much contempt of the notice taken of Woodhouse, the poetical shoemaker.² He said, it was all vanity and childishness; and that such objects were, to those who patronised them, mere mirrors of their own superiority. 'They had better,' said he, 'furnish the man with good implements for his trade, than raise subscriptions for his poems. He may make an excellent shoemaker, but can never make a good poet. A schoolboy's exercise may be a pretty thing for a schoolboy; but it is no treat for a man.'³

"Speaking of Boetius, who was the favourite writer of the middle ages, he said, it was very surprising that, upon such a subject, and in such a situation, he should be *magis philosophus quam Christianus*.

"Speaking of Arthur Murphy, whom he very much loved, 'I don't know,' said he, 'that Arthur can be classed with the very first dramatic writers; yet at present I doubt much whether we have any thing superior to Arthur.'

"Speaking of the national debt, he said, 'it was an idle dream to suppose that the country could sink under it. Let the public creditors be ever so clamorous, the interest of millions must ever prevail over that of thousands.'⁴

¹ Did he not vary the phrase, and say *sed* instead of *nec*, for he had just before imputed as blame, that there was a tiresome recurrence of the same images? — CROKER.

² See *ante*, p. 170. n. 3. There is an account of this poetical prodigy, as he was called, in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1774, p. 289. He was brought into notice by Shenstone. — CROKER.

³ I suspect 'no treat' to be a misprint — perhaps for 'nothing'. — CROKER.

⁴ He meant evidently that if the interest of *millions* — the country at large — required that the national debt should be sponged off, it would prevail over the interest of *thousands* — the holders of stock. — CROKER.

⁵ Dr Benjamin Kennicott, born in 1718, A. M., and Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, in 1750, and D.D. in 1760, — having distinguished himself by a learned dissertation on the state of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, was, about 1759, persuaded by Archbishop Secker, and encouraged

"Of Dr. Kennicott's Collations⁵, he observed, that 'though the text should not be much mended thereby, yet it was no small advantage to know that we had as good a text as the most consummate industry and diligence could procure.'

"Johnson observed, 'that so many objections might be made to every thing, that nothing could overcome them but the necessity of doing something. No man would be of any profession, as simply opposed to not being of it; but every one must do something.'

"He remarked, that a London parish was a very comfortable thing: for the clergyman seldom knew the face of one out of ten of his parishioners.

"Of the late Mr. Mallet he spoke with no great respect: said, he was ready for any dirty job; that he had wrote against Byng at the instigation of the ministry, and was equally ready to write for him, provided he found his account in it.

"A gentleman who had been very unhappy in marriage, married immediately after his wife died: Johnson said, it was the triumph of hope over experience.

"He observed, that a man of sense and education should meet⁶ a suitable companion in a wife. It was a miserable thing when the conversation could only be such as, whether the mutton should be boiled or roasted, and probably a dispute about that.

"He did not approve of late marriages, observing that more was lost in point of time, than compensated for by any possible advantages. Even ill-assorted marriages were preferable to cheerless celibacy.

"Of old Sheridan he remarked, that he neither wanted parts nor literature; but that his vanity and Quixotism obscured his merits.

"He said, foppery was never cured; it was the bad stamina of the mind, which, like those of the body, were never rectified: once a coxcomb, and always a coxcomb.

"Being told that Gilbert Cooper called him the Caliban of literature. 'Well,' said he, 'I must dub him the Punchinello.'⁷

"Speaking of the old Earl of Cork and Orrery, he said, 'That man spent his life in catching at an object (literary eminence), which he had not power to grasp.'

"To find a substitution for violated morality, he said, was the leading feature in all perversions of religion.

"He often used to quote, with great pathos, those fine lines of Virgil: —

'Optima quæque dies miseris mortalibus ævi
Prima fugit; subeunt morbi, tristisque senectus,
Et labor, et duræ rapit inclementia mortis.'⁸

by a large subscription, to undertake a collation of all the Hebrew MSS. of the Old Testament. The first volume of his learned labour was, however, not published till 1776; and the second, with a general dissertation, completed the work in 1783. He was Radcliffe librarian, and canon of Christ Church; in which cathedral he was buried in 1783. — CROKER.

⁶ Perhaps a misprint for '*seek*'. — CROKER.

⁷ John Gilbert Cooper, Esq., author of a good deal of prose and verse, but best known as the author of a *Life of Socrates*, and a consequent dispute with Bishop Warburton. Cooper was in person short and squab; hence Johnson's allusion to *Punch*. He died in 1769. — CROKER.

⁸ In youth alone unhappy mortals live.
But ah! the mighty bliss is fugitive.
Discoloured sickness, anxious labours come,
And age and death's inevitable doom.

Geor. iii. 68. — Dryden. — C.

character. We must not examine matters too deeply. No, Sir, a *fallible being will fail somewhere.*'

"Talking of the Irish clergy, he said, 'Swift was a man of great parts, and the instrument of much good to his country. Berkeley was a profound scholar, as well as a man of fine imagination; but Usher,' he said, 'was the great luminary of the Irish church: and a greater,' he added, 'no church could boast of; at least in modern times.'

"We dined *tête-à-tête* at the Mitre, as I was preparing to return to Ireland, after an absence of many years. I regretted much leaving London, where I had formed many agreeable connections: 'Sir,' said he, 'I don't wonder at it: no man, fond of letters, leaves London without regret. But remember, Sir, you have seen and enjoyed a great deal;—you have seen life in its highest decorations, and the world has nothing new to exhibit. No man is so well qualified to leave public life as he who has long tried it and known it well. We are always hankering after untried situations, and imagining greater felicity from them than they can afford. No, Sir, knowledge and virtue may be acquired in all countries, and your local consequence will make you some amends for the intellectual gratifications you relinquish.' Then he quoted the following lines with great pathos:—

"He who has early known the pomps of state,
(For things unknown 't is ignorance to condemn;)

And having view'd the gaudy bait,
Can boldly say, the trifle I condemn;
With such a one contented could I live,
Contented could I die.'

"He then took a most affecting leave of me; said, he knew it was a point of duty that called me away. — 'We shall all be sorry to lose you,' said he: '*laudo tamen.*'"

¹ Being desirous to trace these verses to the fountain head, after having in vain turned over several of our elder poets with the hope of lighting on them, I applied to Dr. Maxwell, now resident at Bath, for the purpose of ascertaining their author: but that gentleman could furnish no aid on this occasion. At length the lines have been discovered by the author's second son, Mr. James Boswell, in the London Magazine for July 1732, where they form part of a poem on Retirement, there published anonymously, but in fact (as he afterwards found) copied, with some slight variations, from one of Walsh's smaller poems, entitled "The Retirement;" and they exhibit another proof of what has been elsewhere observed by the author of the work before us, that Johnson retained in his memory fragments of obscure or neglected poetry. In quoting verses of that description, he appears by a slight deviation to have sometimes given them a moral turn, and to have dexterously adapted them to his own sentiments, where the original had a very different tendency. Thus, in the present instance (as Mr. J. Boswell observes to me), "the author of the poem above mentioned exhibits himself as having retired to the country, to avoid the vain follies of a town life,—ambition, avarice, and the pursuit of pleasure, contrasted with the enjoyments of the country, and the delightful conversation that the brooks, &c. furnish; which he holds to be infinitely more pleasing and instructive than any which towns afford. He is then led to consider the weakness of the human mind, and, after lamenting that he (the writer,) who is neither enslaved by avarice, ambition, or pleasure, has yet made himself a slave to *love*, he thus proceeds:—

'If this dire passion never will be gone,
If beauty always must my heart enthrall,
O, rather let me be confined by *one*,
Than madly thus become a slave to all:

'One who has early known the pomp of state
(For things unknown 't is ignorance to condemn),
And, after having view'd the gaudy bait,
Can coldly say, the trifle I condemn;

CHAPTER XXV.

1771.

"Pamphlet on Falkland's Islands." — George Grenville. — Junius. — Design of bringing Johnson into Parliament. — Mr. Strahan. — Lord North. — Mr. Flood. — Boswell's Marriage. — Visit to Lichfield and Ashbourne. — Dr. Beattie. — Lord Monboddo. — St. Kilda. — Scots Church. — Second Sight. — The Thirty-nine Articles. — Thirtieth of January. — Royal Marriage Act. — Old Families. — Mimichry. — Foote. — Mr. Peyton. — Origin of Languages. — Irish and Gaelic. — Flogging at Schools. — Lord Mansfield. — Sir Gilbert Elliot.

IN 1771 he published another political pamphlet, entitled "Thoughts on the late Transactions respecting Falkland's Islands," in which, upon materials furnished to him by ministry, and upon general topics, expanded in his rich style, he successfully endeavoured to persuade the nation that it was wise and laudable to suffer the question of right to remain undecided, rather than involve our country in another war. It has been suggested by some, with what truth I shall not take upon me to decide, that he rated the consequence of those islands to Great Britain too low. But however this may be, every humane mind must surely applaud the earnestness with which he averted the calamity of war; a calamity so dreadful, that it is astonishing how civilised, nay, Christian nations, can deliberately continue to renew it. His description of its miseries, in

'In her blest arms contented could I live,
Contented could I die. But O, my mind,
Imaginary scenes of bliss deceive
With hopes of joys impossible to find.'

Another instance of Johnson's retaining in his memory verses by obscure authors is given *post*, Aug. 27. 1773.

In the autumn of 1782, when he was at Brighthelmston, he frequently accompanied Mr. Philip Metcalfe in his chaise, to take the air; and the conversation in one of their excursions happening to turn on a celebrated historian, [no doubt Gibbon], since deceased, he repeated, with great precision, some verses, as very characteristic of that gentleman. These furnish another proof of what has been above observed; for they are found in a very obscure quarter, among some anonymous poems appended to the second volume of a collection frequently printed by Lintot, under the title of "Pope's Miscellanies:—"

"See how the wand'ring Danube flows,
Realms and religions parting;
A friend to all true Christian foes,
To Peter, Jack, and Martin:

"Now Protestant, and Papist now,
Not constant long to either,
At length an infidel does grow,
And ends his journey neither.

"Thus many a youth I've known set out,
Half Protestant, half Papist,
And rambling long the world about,
Turn infidel or atheist."

In reciting these verses, I have no doubt that Johnson substituted some word for *infidel* [perhaps *Musliman*] in the second stanza, to avoid the disagreeable repetition of the same expression. — MALONE.

this pamphlet, is one of the finest pieces of eloquence in the English language. Upon this occasion, too, we find Johnson lashing the party in opposition with unbounded severity, and making the fullest use of what he ever reckoned a most effectual argumentative instrument,—contempt. His character of their very able mysterious champion, Junius, is executed with all the force of his genius, and finished with the highest care. He seems to have exulted in sallying forth to single combat against the boasted and formidable hero, who bade defiance to “principalities and powers, and the rulers of this world.”¹

This pamphlet, it is observable, was softened in one particular, after the first edition; for the conclusion of Mr. George Grenville’s character stood thus: “Let him not, however, be depreciated in his grave. He had powers not universally possessed: could he have enforced payment of the Manilla ransom, *he could have counted it.*” Which, instead of retaining its sly sharp point, was reduced to a mere flat unmeaning expression, or, if I may use the word,—*truism*: “He had powers not universally possessed: and if he sometimes erred, he was likewise sometimes right.”

JOHNSON TO LANGTON.

“March 20. 1771.

“DEAR SIR, — After much lingering of my own, and much of the ministry, I have, at length, got out my paper. But delay is not yet at an end. Not many had been dispersed, before Lord North ordered the sale to stop. His reasons I do not distinctly know. You may try to find them in the perusal. Before his order, a sufficient number were dispersed to do all the mischief, though, perhaps, not to make all the sport that might be expected from it.

“Soon after your departure, I had the pleasure

¹ He often (says Mrs. Piozzi) delighted his imagination with the thoughts of having destroyed Junius. One day I had received a remarkably fine Stilton cheese as a present from some person who had packed and directed it carefully, but without mentioning whence it came. Mr. Thrale, desirous to know who they were obliged to, asked every friend as they came in, but nobody owned it. “Depend upon it, Sir,” says Johnson, “it was sent by *Junius*.” — CROKER.

² Probably a canal, in which Mr. Langton was, and his family is, I believe, still interested. What the danger was is not now recollected. — CROKER.

³ Mr. Langton married, May 24. 1770, Jane Lloyd, widow of John, eighth Earl of Rothes, who died in 1767. — MALONE. It was, Mr. Chalmers told me, a saying about that time, “*Married a Countess Dowager of Rothes!*” *Why, every body marries a Countess Dowager of Rothes!*” And there were, in fact, about 1772, three ladies of that name married to second husbands. Mary Lloyd, married to Mr. Langton; Jane Maitland, widow of John, ninth Earl of Rothes, married the Honourable P. Maitland, seventh son of the sixth Earl of Lauderdale; and Lady Jane Leslie, Countess of Rothes, widow of John Raymond Evelyn, Esq., remarried to Sir Lucas Pepys. — CROKER.

⁴ The Hermit of Warkworth; London, 1771, 4to. — P. CUNNINGHAM.

⁵ Robert Nugent, an Irish gentleman, who married the sister and heiress of Secretary Craggs. He was created, in 1767, Baron Nugent and Viscount Clare, and in 1777, Earl Nugent. His only daughter married the first Marquis of Buckingham, on whose second son the title of Baron Nugent devolved. Lord Nugent wrote some odes and light pieces, which had some merit and a great vogue. He died in 1788. Goldsmith addressed to him his lively verses called “*The Haunch of Venison.*” The characters exhibited in this piece

of finding all the danger past with which your navigation was threatened.” I hope nothing happens at home to abate your satisfaction; but that Lady Rothes³, and Mrs. Langton and the young ladies, are all well.

“I was last night at the Club. Dr. Percy has written a long ballad⁴ in many *fits*; it is pretty enough. He has printed, and will soon publish it. Goldsmith is at Bath, with Lord Clare.⁵ At Mr. Thrale’s, where I am now writing, all are well. I am, dear Sir, your most humble servant,

“SAM. JOHNSON.”⁶

Mr. Strahan, the printer, who had been long in intimacy with Johnson, in the course of his literary labours, who was at once his friendly agent in receiving his pension for him, and his banker in supplying him with money when he wanted it; who was himself now a member of parliament, and who loved much to be employed in political negotiation; thought he should do eminent service, both to government and Johnson, if he could be the means of his getting a seat in the House of Commons. With this view, he wrote a letter to one of the Secretaries of the Treasury⁷, of which he gave me a copy in his own handwriting, which is as follows:—

MR. STRAHAN TO —.

“New Street, March 30. 1771.

“SIR, — You will easily recollect, when I had the honour of waiting upon you some time ago, I took the liberty to observe to you, that Dr. Johnson would make an excellent figure in the House of Commons, and heartily wished he had a seat there. My reasons are briefly these:

“I know his perfect good affection to his Majesty and his government, which I am certain he wishes to support by every means in his power.

“He possesses a great share of manly, nervous, and ready eloquence; is quick in discerning the

are very comic, and were no doubt drawn from nature; but Goldsmith ought to have confessed that he had borrowed the idea and some of the details from Boileau. — CROKER.

⁶ One evening, in the oratorio season of 1771, Mr. Johnson went with Mrs. Thrale to Covent Garden; and though he was for the most part an exceeding bad playhouse companion, as his person drew people’s eyes upon the box, and the loudness of his voice made it difficult to hear anybody but himself, he sat surprisingly quiet, and she flattered herself that he was listening to the music. When they got home, however, he repeated these verses, which he said he had made at the oratorio:—

IN THEATRO.

Tertii verso quater orbe lustris,
Quid theatrales tibi, Crispe, pompæ!
Quam dect canos male litteratos

Sera voluptas!

Tene mulceri fidibus canoris?
Tene cantorum modulis stupere?
Tene per pietas, oculis elegante,

Currere formas?

Inter equales, sine felle liber,
Codices, veri studiosus, inter,
Rectius vives: is quisque carpat
Gaudia gratus.

Lusibus gaudet puer otiosis,
Luxus oblectat juvenem theatri,
At sen, fluxo sapienter uti

Tempore restat. — CROKER.

⁷ The secretaries of the Treasury, at this time, were Sir Grey Cooper and James West, Esq. — CROKER.

strength and weakness of an argument; can express himself with clearness and precision, and fears the face of no man alive.

"His known character, as a man of extraordinary sense and unimpeached virtue, would secure him the attention of the House, and could not fail to give him a proper weight there.

"He is capable of the greatest application, and can undergo any degree of labour, where he sees it necessary, and where his heart and affections are strongly engaged. His Majesty's ministers might therefore securely depend on his doing, upon every proper occasion, the utmost that could be expected from him. They would find him ready to vindicate such measures as tended to promote the stability of government, and resolute and steady in carrying them into execution. Nor is any thing to be apprehended from the supposed impetuosity of his temper. To the friends of the king you will find him a lamb, to his enemies a lion.

"For these reasons I humbly apprehend that he would be a very able and useful member. And I will venture to say, the employment would not be disagreeable to him; and knowing, as I do, his strong affection to the king, his ability to serve him in that capacity, and the extreme ardour with which I am convinced he would engage in that service, I must repeat, that I wish most heartily to see him in the House.

"If you think this worthy of attention, you will be pleased to take a convenient opportunity of mentioning it to Lord North. If his lordship should happily approve of it, I shall have the satisfaction of having been, in some degree, the humble instrument of doing my country, in my opinion, a very essential service. I know your good-nature, and your zeal for the public welfare, will plead my excuse for giving you this trouble. I am, with the greatest respect, Sir, your most obedient and humble servant,

"WILLIAM STRAHAN."

This recommendation, we know, was not effectual; but how, or for what reason, can only be conjectured.¹ It is not to be believed that Mr. Strahan would have applied, unless Johnson had approved of it. I never heard him mention the subject; but at a later period of his life, when Sir Joshua Reynolds told him that Mr. Edmund Burke had said, that if he had come early into parliament, he certainly would have been the greatest speaker that ever was there, Johnson exclaimed, "I should like to try my hand now."

¹ Hawkins tells us that Mr. Thrale made a like attempt. "Mr. Thrale, a man of slow conceptions, but of a sound judgment, entertained a design of bringing Johnson into parliament. We must suppose that he had previously determined to furnish him with a legal qualification, and Johnson, it is certain, was willing to accept the trust. Mr. Thrale had two meetings with the minister, who, at first, seemed inclined to find him a seat; but, whether upon conversation he doubted his fitness for his purpose, or that he thought himself in no need of his assistance, the project failed. Johnson was a little soured at this disappointment: he spoke of Lord North in terms of severity."

Lord Stowell told me, that it was understood amongst Johnson's friends that "Lord North was afraid that Johnson's *help* (as he himself said of Lord Chesterfield's) might have been sometimes *embarrassing*." "He perhaps thought, and not unreasonably," added Lord Stowell, "that, like the elephant in the battle, he was quite as likely to trample down his friends as his foes." This, and perhaps some dissatis-

It has been much agitated among his friends and others, whether he would have been a powerful speaker in parliament, had he been brought in when advanced in life. I am inclined to think that his extensive knowledge, his quickness and force of mind, his vivacity and richness of expression, his wit and humour, and above all, his poignancy of sarcasm, would have had a great effect in a popular assembly; and that the magnitude of his figure, and striking peculiarity of his manner, would have aided the effect. But I remember it was observed by Mr. Flood, that Johnson, having been long used to sententious brevity, and the short flights of conversation, might have failed in that continued and expanded kind of argument, which is requisite in stating complicated matters in public speaking; and, as a proof of this, he mentioned the supposed speeches in parliament written by him for the magazine, none of which, in his opinion, were at all like real debates. The opinion of one who was himself so eminent an orator, must be allowed to have great weight. It was confirmed by Sir William Scott [Lord Stowell], who mentioned, that Johnson had told him that he had several times tried to speak in the Society of Arts and Sciences, but "had found he could not get on."² From Mr. William Gerard Hamilton I have heard, that Johnson, when observing to him that it was prudent for a man who had not been accustomed to speak in public, to begin his speech in as simple a manner as possible, acknowledged that he rose in that society to deliver a speech which he had prepared; "but," said he, "all my flowers of oratory forsook me." I however cannot help wishing, that he *had* "tried his hand" in Parliament; and I wonder that ministry did not make the experiment.

I at length renewed a correspondence which had been too long discontinued:—

BOSWELL TO JOHNSON.

"Edinburgh, April 18. 1771.

MY DEAR SIR,—I can now fully understand those intervals of silence in your correspondence with me, which have often given me anxiety and uneasiness; for although I am conscious that my veneration and love for Mr. Johnson have never in

faction with Lord North, concerning the Falkland Islands pamphlet, may, as Hawkins suggests, have given Johnson that dislike that he certainly felt towards Lord North.

—CROKER.

² Dr. Kippis, however, (*Biog. Brit. art.* "J. Gilbert Cooper," p. 266. n. new edit.) says, that he "once heard Dr. Johnson speak in the Society of Arts and Manufactures, upon a subject relative to mechanics, with a propriety, perspicuity, and energy, which excited general admiration." —MALONE. I cannot give credit to Dr. Kippis's account against Johnson's own statement, vouched by Lord Stowell and Mr. Hamilton; but even if we could, one speech in the Society of Arts was notest of what Johnson might have been able to do in parliament; and it may be suspected that, at the age of sixty-two, he, with all his talents, would have failed to acquire that peculiar tact and dexterity, without which even great abilities do not succeed in that very fastidious assembly. —CROKER.

the least abated, yet I have deferred for almost a year and a half to write to him."

In the subsequent part of this letter, I gave him an account of my comfortable life as a married man¹ and a lawyer in practice at the Scotch bar; invited him to Scotland, and promised to attend him to the Highlands and Hebrides.

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"London, June 20. 1771.

"DEAR SIR,—If you are now able to comprehend that I might neglect to write without diminution of affection, you have taught me, likewise, how that neglect may be uneasily felt without resentment. I wished for your letter a long time, and when it came, it amply recompensed the delay. I never was so much pleased as now with your account of yourself; and sincerely hope, that between public business, improving studies, and domestic pleasures, neither melancholy nor caprice will find any place for entrance. Whatever philosophy may determine of material nature, it is certainly true of intellectual nature, that it *abhors a vacuum*: our minds cannot be empty; and evil will break in upon them, if they are not pre-occupied by good. My dear Sir, mind your studies, mind your business, make your lady happy, and be a good Christian. After this,

"——— *tristitiam et metus*

" *Trades protervis in mare Creticum*

" *Perture ventis.*"²

"If we perform our duty, we shall be safe and steady, 'Sive per,' &c. whether we climb the Highlands, or are tossed among the Hebrides; and I hope the time may come when we may try our powers both with cliffs and water. I see but little of Lord Elibank³, I know not why; perhaps by my own fault. I am this day going into Staffordshire and Derbyshire for six weeks.⁴ I am, dear Sir, your most affectionate and most humble servant,
SAM. JOHNSON."

[JOHNSON TO MRS. THRALE.

(Extract.)

"Lichfield, June 22. 1771.

"Last night I came safe to Lichfield; this day I was visited by Mrs. Cobb. This afternoon I went to Mrs. Ashton, where I found Miss T[urton], and waited on her home. Miss T[urton] wears spectacles, and can hardly climb the stiles. I was not tired at all, either last night or to-day.

Miss Porter is very kind to me. Her dog and cats are all well.

"Ashbourne, July 3. 1771.

"Last Saturday I came to Ashbourne—Ashbourne in the Peak. Let not the barren name of the Peak terrify you; I have never wanted strawberries and cream. The great bull has no disease but age. I hope in time to be like the great bull."

"Ashbourne, July 7. 1771.

"Poor Dr. Taylor is ill, and under my government: you know that the art of government is learned by obedience; I hope I can govern very tolerably. The old rheumatism is come again into my face and mouth, but nothing yet to the lumbago; however, having so long thought it gone, I do not like its return. Miss Porter was much pleased to be mentioned in your letter, and is sure that I have spoken better of her than she deserved. She holds that both Frank and his master are much improved. The master, she says, is not half so *lounging* and *untidy* as he was; there was no such thing last year as getting him off his chair."

"Ashbourne, July 8. 1771.

"Dr. Taylor is better, and is gone out in the chaise. My rheumatism is better too. I would have been glad to go to Hagley, in compliance with Mr. Lyttelton's⁵ kind invitation, for, beside the pleasure of his company, I should have had the opportunity of recollecting past times, and wandering *per montes notos*⁶ et *flumina nota*, of recalling the images of sixteen, and reviewing my conversations with poor Ford.⁷ But this year will not bring this gratification within my power. I promised Taylor a month. Every thing is done here to please me; and his health is a strong reason against desertion."

JOHNSON TO REYNOLDS,

In Leicester Fields.

"Ashbourne, July 17. 1771.

"DEAR SIR,—When I came to Lichfield, I found that my portrait⁸ had been much visited, and much admired. Every man has a lurking wish to appear considerable in his native place; and I was pleased with the dignity conferred by such a testimony of your regard.

"Be pleased, therefore to accept the thanks of, Sir, your most obliged, and most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON.

"Compliments to Miss Reynolds."

BOSWELL TO JOHNSON.

"Edinburgh, July 27. 1771.

"MY DEAR SIR,—The bearer of this, Mr. Beattie, professor of moral philosophy at Aberdeen,

¹ Mr. Boswell had married, in November, 1769, Miss Margaret Montgomerie, of the family of the Montgomeries of Lainslaw, who were baronets, and claimed the peerage of Lyle. Dr. Johnson says of this lady to Mrs. Thrale, in a letter from Auchinleck, August 23. 1773:—"Mrs. B. has the mien and manner of a gentlewoman, and such a person and mind as would not in any place either be admired or condemned. She is in a proper degree inferior to her husband: she cannot rival him, nor can he ever be ashamed of her."—CROKER.

² "— All grief and care
Give to the wanton winds to bear
Far to the Cretan sea."—Hor. l. 26.—CROKER.

³ Patrick Murray, fifth Lord Elibank. He had been in the army, and served as a colonel in the expedition against

Carthage in 1740. He was a man of wit and talents, and wrote some tracts relative to the statistics and history of Scotland. He died in 1778, at. 75.—CROKER.

⁴ I have here extracted as usual some account of his summer excursion from the letters to Mrs. Thrale.

⁵ The uncle of Lord Lyttelton, who lived near Hagley.—CROKER.

⁶ Thus in Mrs. Piozzi's book.—CROKER.

⁷ Cornelius Ford, son of Dr. Joseph Ford, her eldest uncle.—J. M.

⁸ The second portrait of Johnson, painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds; with his arms raised and his hands bent. It was at this time, it is believed, in the possession of Miss Lucy Porter.—MALONE. It is now the property of the Duke of Sutherland.—CROKER.

is desirous of being introduced to your acquaintance. His genius and learning, and labours in the service of virtue and religion, render him very worthy of it; and as he has a high esteem of your character, I hope you will give him a favourable reception. I ever am, &c.,
JAMES BOSWELL."

[JOHNSON TO MRS. THRALE.

(Extract.)

"Lichfield, Saturday, Aug. 3. 1771.

"Having stayed my month with Taylor, I came away on Wednesday, leaving him, I think, in a disposition of mind not very uncommon, at once weary of my stay, and grieved at my departure. My purpose was to have made haste to you and Streatham; and who would have expected that I should have been stopped by Lucy? Hearing me give Francis orders to take our places, she told me that I should not go till after next week. I thought proper to comply; for I was pleased to find that I could please, and proud of showing you that I do not come an universal outcast. Lucy is likewise a very peremptory maiden; and if I had gone without permission, I am not very sure that I might have been welcome at another time.]"

JOHNSON TO LANGTON,

At Langton.

"August 29. 1771.

"DEAR SIR,—I am lately returned from Staffordshire and Derbyshire. The last letter mentions two others which you have written to me since you received my pamphlet. O these two I never had but one, in which you mentioned a design of visiting Scotland, and, in consequence, put my journey to Langton out of my thoughts. My summer wanderings are now over, and I am engaging in a very great work, the revision of my Dictionary; from which I know not, at present, how to get loose. If you have observed, or been told, any errors or omissions, you will do me a great favour by letting me know them.

"Lady Rothes, I find, has disappointed you and herself. Ladies will have these tricks. The Queen and Mrs. Thrale, both ladies of experience, yet both missed their reckoning this summer. I hope, a few months will recompense your uneasiness.

"Please to tell Lady Rothes how highly I value the honour of her invitation, which it is my purpose to obey as soon as I have disengaged myself. In the mean time I shall hope to hear often of her ladyship, and every day better news and better, till I hear that you have both the happiness, which to both is very sincerely wished, by, Sir, your most affectionate and most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

In October I again wrote to him, thanking him for his last letter, and his obliging reception of Mr. Beattie; informing him that I had been at Alnwick lately, and had good accounts of him from Dr. Percy.¹

[JOHNSON TO GARRICK.

"Streatham, Dec. 12. 1771.

"DEAR SIR,—I have thought upon your epitaph², but without much effect. An epitaph is no easy thing.

"Of your three stanzas, the third is utterly unworthy of you. The first and third together give no discriminative character. If the first alone were to stand, Hogarth would not be distinguished from any other man of intellectual eminence. Suppose you worked upon something like this:

"The Hand of Art here torpid lies

That traced the essential form of Grace;

Here Death has closed the curious eyes

That saw the manners in the face.

"If Genius warm thee, Reader, stay,

If Merit touch thee, shed a tear;

Be Vice and Dulness far away!

Great Hogarth's honour'd dust is here."

"In your second stanza, *pictured morals* is a beautiful expression, which I would wish to retain; but *learn* and *mourn* cannot stand for rhymes. *Art* and *nature* have been seen together too often. In the first stanza is *feeling*, in the second *feel*. *Feeling* for *tenderness* or *sensibility* is a word merely colloquial, of late introduction, not yet sure enough of its own existence to claim a place upon a stone. *If thou hast neither*, is quite prose, and prose of the familiar kind. Thus easy is it to find faults, but it is hard to make an Epitaph.

"When you have reviewed it, let me see it again: you are welcome to any help that I can give, on condition that you make my compliments to Mrs. Garrick. I am, dear Sir, your most, &c.,
—MS. "SAM. JOHNSON."]

In his religious record of this year we observe that he was better than usual, both in body and mind, and better satisfied with the regularity of his conduct. But he is still "trying his ways" too rigorously. He charges himself with not rising early enough; yet he mentions what was surely a sufficient excuse for this, supposing it to be a duty seriously required, as he all his life appears to have thought it:—"One great hindrance is want of rest; my nocturnal complaints grow less trouble-

provement, of Garrick's,—who, however, took Johnson's advice in suppressing an introductory stanza, and certainly adopted some others of his suggestions. The epitaph finally appeared in Chiswick Church in this shape:—

Farewell, great painter of mankind,

Who reached the noblest point of art;

Whose pictured morals charm the mind,

And through the eye correct the heart.

If genius fire thee, Reader, stay;

If nature touch thee, drop a tear;

If neither move thee, turn away,

For Hogarth's honoured dust lies here!

CROKER.

¹ In October, 1771, John Bell, Esq. of Hertfordshire, a gentleman with whom he had maintained a long and strict friendship, had the misfortune to lose his wife, and wished Johnson, from the outlines of her character, which he should give him, and his own knowledge of her worth, to compose a monumental inscription for her: he returned the husband thanks for the confidence he placed in him, and acquitted himself of the task in a fine eulogium, now to be seen in the parish church of Watford in Hertfordshire.—*Hawkins. See post, 246.*—CROKER.

² On Hogarth, for his tomb in Chiswick Churchyard. This answers Mrs. Piozzi's question (*anté*, p. 42. n. 6.) why Garrick's epitaph on Hogarth was preferred to Johnson's. Johnson's stanzas (Mrs. Piozzi gives but one) were, it seems, only an alteration, and not always, I think, an im-

some towards morning; and I am tempted to repair the deficiencies of the night." [*Pr. and Med.* p. 104.] Alas! how hard would it be, if this indulgence were to be imputed to a sick man as a crime. In his retrospect on the following Easter-eve, he says, "When I review the last year, I am able to recollect so little done, that shame and sorrow, though perhaps too weakly, come upon me." [p. 109.] Had he been judging of any one else in the same circumstances, how clear would he have been on the favourable side. How very difficult, and in my opinion almost constitutionally impossible, it was for him to be raised early, even by the strongest resolutions, appears from a note in one of his little paper-books (containing words arranged for his Dictionary), written, I suppose, about 1753:—"I do not remember that, since I left Oxford, I ever rose early by mere choice, but once or twice at Edial, and two or three times for the Rambler."¹ I think he had fair ground enough to have quieted his mind on the subject, by concluding that he was physically incapable of what is at best but a commodious regulation.

In 1772 he was altogether quiescent as an author; but it will be found, from the various evidences which I shall bring together, that his mind was acute, lively, and vigorous.

JOHNSON TO REYNOLDS.

"Feb. 27. 1772.

"DEAR SIR,—Be pleased to send to Mr. Banks, whose place of residence I do not know, this note, which I have sent open, that, if you please, you may read it. When you send it, do not use your own seal. I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO MR. BANKS.

"Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, Feb. 27. 1772.

"Perpetua amabit bis terrâ præmia lactis
Hæc habet altrici Capra secunda Jovis."²

"SIR,—I return thanks to you and to Dr. Solander, for the pleasure which I received in yesterday's conversation. I could not recollect a motto for your Goat, but have given her one. You, Sir, may perhaps have an epic poem from some happier pen than, Sir, your most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

BOSWELL TO JOHNSON.

"MY DEAR SIR,—It is hard that I cannot prevail on you to write to me oftener. But I am convinced that it is in vain to expect from you a private correspondence with any regularity. I must, therefore, look upon you as a fountain of wisdom, from whence few rills are communicated to

a distance, and which must be approached at its source, to partake fully of its virtues.

"I am coming to London soon, and am to appear in an appeal from the Court of Session in the House of Lords. A schoolmaster in Scotland was, by a court of inferior jurisdiction, deprived of his office, for being somewhat severe in the chastisement of his scholars. The Court of Session, considering it to be dangerous to the interest of learning and education, to lessen the dignity of teachers, and make them afraid of too indulgent parents, instigated by the complaints of their children, restored him. His enemies have appealed to the House of Lords, though the salary is only twenty pounds a year. I was counsel for him here. I hope there will be little fear of a reversal: but I must beg to have your aid in my plan of supporting the decree. It is a general question, and not a point of particular law. I am, &c.,

"JAMES BOSWELL."

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"March 15. 1772.

"DEAR SIR,—That you are coming so soon to town I am very glad; and still more glad that you are coming as an advocate. I think nothing more likely to make your life pass happily away, than that consciousness of your own value, which eminence in your profession will certainly confer. If I can give you any collateral help, I hope you do not suspect that it will be wanting. My kindness for you has neither the merit of singular virtue, nor the reproach of singular prejudice. Whether to love you be right or wrong, I have many on my side: Mrs. Thrale loves you, and Mrs. Williams loves you, and, what would have inclined me to love you, if I had been neutral before, you are a great favourite of Dr. Beattie.

"Of Dr. Beattie I should have thought much, but that his lady puts him out of my head; she is a very lovely woman.

"The ejection which you come hither to oppose, appears very cruel, unreasonable, and oppressive. I should think there could not be much doubt of your success.

"My health grows better, yet I am not fully recovered. I believe it is held, that men do not recover very fast after threescore. I hope yet to see Beattie's college: and have not given up the western voyage. But however all this may be or not, let us try to make each other happy when we meet, and not refer our pleasure to distant times or distant places.

"How comes it that you tell me nothing of your lady? I hope to see her some time, and till then shall be glad to hear of her. I am, dear Sir, &c.,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO LANGTON,

At Langton.

"March 14. 1772.

"DEAR SIR,—I congratulate you and Lady Rothes on your little man, and hope you will all be

¹ And "for the Rambler," it could hardly have been "by mere choice." — CROKER.

² Thus translated by a friend:—

"In fame scarce second to the nurse of Jove,
This Goat, who twice the world had traversed round,

Deserving both her master's care and love,
Ease and perpetual pasture now has found." — BOSWELL.

The goat was one which had circumnavigated the world with Sir Joseph Banks, but neither the original or the translation will add much to the poetical fame of Mr. Boswell's friends. The Latin seems particularly stiff and poor. — CROKER.

many years happy together. Poor Miss Langton can have little part in the joy of her family. She this day called her aunt Langton to receive the sacrament with her; and made me talk yesterday on such subjects as suit her condition. It will probably be her *viaticum*. I surely need not mention again that she wishes to see her mother. I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

[JOHNSON TO MISS LANGTON.]

"London, April 17. 1771 [2].¹

"MADAM, — If I could have flattered myself that my letters could have given pleasure, or have alleviated pain, I should not have omitted to write to a lady to whom I do sincerely wish every increase of pleasure, and every mitigation of uneasiness.

"I knew, dear Madam, that a very heavy affliction had fallen upon you; but it was one of those which the established course of nature makes necessary, and to which kind words give no relief. Success is, on these occasions, to be expected only from time.

"Your censure of me, as deficient in friendship, is therefore too severe. I have neither been unfriendly, nor intentionally uncivil. The notice with which you have honoured me, I have neither forgotten, nor remembered without pleasure. The calamity of ill health, your brother will tell you that I have had, since I saw you, sufficient reason to know and to pity. But this is another evil against which we can receive little help from one another. I can only advise you, and I advise you with great earnestness, to do nothing that may hurt you, and to reject nothing that may do you good. To preserve health is a moral and religious duty: for health is the basis of all social virtues; we can be useful no longer than while we are well.

"If the family knows that you receive this letter, you will be pleased to make my compliments. I flatter myself with the hopes of seeing Langton after Lady Rothes's recovery; and then I hope that you and I shall renew our conferences, and that I shall find you willing as formerly to talk and to hear; and shall be again admitted to the honour of being, Madam, your most obedient and most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.]

— *Gent. Mag.* vol. lxx. p. 915.

On the 21st of March, I was happy to find myself again in my friend's study, and was glad to see my old acquaintance, Mr. Francis Barber, who was now returned home. Dr. Johnson received me with a hearty welcome; saying, "I am glad you are come, and glad you are come upon such an errand:" (alluding to

the cause of the schoolmaster.) BOSWELL. "I hope, Sir, he will be in no danger. It is a very delicate matter to interfere between a master and his scholars: nor do I see how you can fix the degree of severity that a master may use."

JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, till you can fix the degree of obstinacy and negligence of the scholars, you cannot fix the degree of severity of the master. Severity must be continued until obstinacy be subdued, and negligence be cured." He mentioned the severity of Hunter, his own master. "Sir," said I, "Hunter is a Scotch name: so it should seem this schoolmaster who beat you so severely was a Scotchman. I can now account for your prejudice against the Scotch." JOHNSON. "Sir, he was not Scotch; and, abating his brutality, he was a very good master."

We talked of his two political pamphlets, "The False Alarm," and "Thoughts concerning Falkland's Islands." JOHNSON. "Well, Sir, which of them did you think the best?" BOSWELL. "I liked the second best." JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, I liked the first best; and Beattie liked the first best. Sir, there is a subtlety of disquisition in the first, that is worth all the fire of the second." BOSWELL. "Pray, Sir, is it true that Lord North paid you a visit, and that you got two hundred a year in addition to your pension?" JOHNSON. "No, Sir. Except what I had from the bookseller, I did not get a farthing by them. And, between you and me, I believe Lord North is no friend to me."² BOSWELL. "How so, Sir?" JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, you cannot account for the fancies of men. Well, how does Lord Elibank? and how does Lord Monboddo?" BOSWELL. "Very well, Sir. Lord Monboddo³ still maintains the superiority of the savage life." JOHNSON. "What strange narrowness of mind now is that, to think the things we have not known, are better than the things which we have known." BOSWELL. "Why, Sir, that is a common prejudice." JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir, but a common prejudice should not be found in one whose trade it is to rectify error."

A gentleman having come in who was to go as a mate in the ship along with Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, Dr. Johnson asked what were the names of the ships destined for the expedition.⁴ The gentleman answered, they were once to be called the Drake and the Raleigh, but now they were to be called the Resolution and the Adventure. JOHNSON.

¹ This letter is dated 1771; but by the allusion to "Lady Rothes's recovery," it seems to be subsequent to March, 1772. — CROKER.

² Another motive for the dislike of Lord North which Johnson frequently exhibited. See *ante*, p. 223. n. 1. — CROKER.

³ James Burnet, born at the family seat of Monboddo, in 1714, called to the Scottish bar in 1738, and advanced to be a Lord of Session, on the death of his relation Lord Mitton, in 1767, by the title of Lord Monboddo, was, in private life, as well as in his literary career, a humorist; the learning and acuteness of his various works are obscured by his love of

singularity and paradox. He died of a paralytic stroke, at his house in Edinburgh, May 26. 1799. — CROKER.

He was a devout believer in the virtues of the heroic ages, and the deterioration of civilised mankind; a great contemner of luxuries, inasmuch that he never used a wheel-carriage. It should be added, that he was a gentleman of the most amiable disposition, and the strictest honour and integrity. — WALTER SCOTT.

⁴ There was no person in the capacity of *mate* in either of these ships. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander did not go with this expedition. The reason which they alleged for abandoning the intention will be found in the Annual Register for 1772, p. 108. — CROKER.

"Much better; for had the Raleigh¹ returned without going round the world, it would have been ridiculous. To give them the names of the Drake and the Raleigh was laying a trap for satire." BOSWELL. "Had not you some desire to go upon this expedition, Sir?" JOHNSON. "Why yes, but I soon laid it aside. Sir, there is very little of intellectual, in the course. Besides, I see but at a small distance. So it was not worth my while to go to see birds fly, which I should not have seen fly; and fishes swim, which I should not have seen swim."

The gentleman being gone, and Dr. Johnson having left the room for some time, a debate arose between the Rev. Mr. Stockdale and Mrs. Desmoulins, whether Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander were entitled to any share of glory from their expedition. When Dr. Johnson returned to us, I told him the subject of their dispute. JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, it was properly for botany that they went out: I believe they thought only of 'culling of simples.'"

I thanked him for showing civilities to Beattie. "Sir," said he, "I should thank you. We all love Beattie. Mrs. Thrale says, if ever she has another husband, she'll have Beattie. He sunk upon us² that he was married; else we should have shown his lady more civilities. She is a very fine woman. But how can you show civilities to a nonentity? I did not think he had been married. Nay, I did not think about it one way or other; but he did not tell us of his lady till late."

He then spoke of St. Kilda, the most remote of the Hebrides. I told him, I thought of buying it. JOHNSON. "Pray do, Sir. We will go and pass a winter amid the blasts there. We shall have fine fish, and we will take some dried tongues with us, and some books. We will have a strong built vessel, and some Orkney men to navigate her. We must build a tolerable house: but we may carry with us a wooden house ready made, and requiring nothing but to be

put up. Consider, Sir, by buying St. Kilda, you may keep the people from falling into worse hands. We must give them a clergyman, and he shall be one of Beattie's choosing. He shall be educated at Marischal College. I'll be your Lord Chancellor, or what you please." BOSWELL. "Are you serious, Sir, in advising me to buy St. Kilda? for if you should advise me to go to Japan, I believe I should do it." JOHNSON. "Why yes, Sir, I am serious." BOSWELL. "Why then, I'll see what can be done."

I gave him an account of the two parties in the church of Scotland, those for supporting the rights of patrons, independent of the people, and those against it. JOHNSON. "It should be settled one way or other. I cannot wish well to a popular election of the clergy, when I consider that it occasions such animosities, such unworthy courting of the people, such slanders between the contending parties, and other disadvantages. It is enough to allow the people to remonstrate against the nomination of a minister for solid reasons." (I suppose he meant heresy or immorality.)

He was engaged to dine abroad, and asked me to return to him in the evening, at nine, which I accordingly did.

We drank tea with Mrs. Williams, who told us a story of second sight, which happened in Wales, where she was born. He listened to it very attentively, and said he should be glad to have some instances of that faculty well authenticated. His elevated wish for more and more evidence for spirit, in opposition to the groveling belief of materialism, led him to a love of such mysterious disquisitions. He again justly observed, that we could have no certainty of the truth of supernatural appearances, unless something was told us which we could not know by ordinary means, or something done which could not be done but by supernatural power³; that Pharaoh in reason and justice required such evidence from Moses; nay, that

¹ I suspect that *Raleigh* is here an error of Mr. Boswell's pen, for *Drake*: Johnson knew very well that it was Drake, and not Raleigh, that went round the world. *Ante*, p. 215. — CROKER.

²

Dr. Beattie to Mr. Boswell.

"Edinburgh, May 3. 1792.

"My dear Sir. — As I suppose your great work will soon be reprinted, I beg leave to trouble you with a remark on a passage of it, in which I am a little misrepresented. Be not alarmed; the misrepresentation is not imputable to you. Not having the book at hand, I cannot specify the page, but I suppose you will easily find it. Dr. Johnson says, speaking of Mrs. Thrale's family, 'Dr. Beattie *sunk upon us* that he was married, or words to that purpose.' I am not sure that I understand *sunk upon us*, which is a very uncommon phrase: but it seems to me to imply, (and others, I find, have understood it in the same sense,) *studiously concealed from us his being married*. Now, Sir, this was by no means the case. I could have no motive to conceal a circumstance, of which I never was nor can be ashamed; and of which Dr. Johnson seemed to think, when he afterwards became acquainted with Mrs. Beattie, that I had, as was true, reason to be proud. So far was I from concealing her, that my wife had at that time almost as numerous an acquaintance in London as I had myself; and was, not very long after, kindly invited and elegantly entertained at Streatham by Mr. and Mrs. Thrale. My request, therefore, is, that you would

rectify this matter in your new edition. You are at liberty to make what use you please of this letter. My best wishes ever attend you and your family. Believe me to be, with the utmost regard and esteem, dear Sir, &c.,

"J. BEATTIE."

I have, from my respect for my friend Dr. Beattie, and regard to his extreme sensibility, inserted the foregoing letter, though I cannot but wonder at his considering as any imputation a phrase commonly used among the best friends. — BOSWELL. There was a cause for this "extreme sensibility," which Boswell probably did not know or had forgotten. Dr. Beattie was conscious that there was something that might give a colour to such an imputation. It became known, shortly after the date of this letter, that the mind of poor Mrs. Beattie had become deranged, and she passed the last years of her life in confinement. — CROKER.

³ This is the true distinction; and if Johnson had on all occasions abided by this text, he would have escaped the ridicule and regret which he often occasioned by the appearance, if not the reality, of superstitious credulity. When he said, "that all ages and all nations" believe in these supernatural manifestations (*ante*, p. 116.); and again, "that they are so frequent that they cannot be called fortuitous," (*ante*, p. 175.) he should have given us the instances in which any thing was clearly and undoubtedly done, which could only have been done by supernatural power. *Appearances*, without supernatural facts, are nothing; they may be dreams, or disease. Every one sees

our Saviour said, "If I had not done among them the works which none other man did, they had not had sin." He had said in the morning, that "Macaulay's History of St. Kilda" was very well written, except some foppery about liberty and slavery. I mentioned to him that Macaulay told me, he was advised to leave out of his book the wonderful story that upon the approach of a stranger all the inhabitants catch cold¹; but that it had been so well authenticated, he determined to retain it. JOHNSON. "Sir, to leave things out of a book, merely because people tell you they will not be believed, is meanness. Macaulay acted with more magnanimity."

We talked of the Roman Catholic religion, and how little difference there was in essential matters between ours and it. JOHNSON. "True, Sir; all denominations of Christians have really little difference in point of doctrine, though they may differ widely in external forms. There is a prodigious difference between the external form of one of your Presbyterian churches in Scotland, and the church in Italy; yet the doctrine taught is essentially the same."

I mentioned the petition to parliament for removing the subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles.² JOHNSON. "It was soon thrown out. Sir, they talk of not making boys at the University subscribe to what they do not understand; but they ought to consider, that our Universities were founded to bring up members for the Church of England, and we must not supply our enemies with arms from our arsenal. No, Sir, the meaning of subscribing is, not that they fully understand all the articles, but that they will adhere to the church of England. Now take it in this way, and suppose that they should only subscribe their adherence to the church of England, there would be still the same difficulty; for still the young men would be subscribing to what they do not understand. For if you should ask them, what do you mean by the church of England? Do you know in what it differs from the Presbyterian church? from the

Romish church? from the Greek church? from the Coptic church? they could not tell you. So, Sir, it comes to the same thing."

BOSWELL. "But, would it not be sufficient to subscribe the Bible?" JOHNSON. "Why no, Sir; for all sects will subscribe the Bible; nay, the Mahometans will subscribe the Bible; for the Mahometans acknowledge Jesus Christ, as well as Moses, but maintain that God sent Mahomet as a still greater prophet than either."

I mentioned the motion which had been made in the House of Commons, to abolish the fast of the 30th of January.³ JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, I could have wished that it had been a temporary act, perhaps, to have expired with the century. I am against abolishing it; because that would be declaring it wrong to establish it; but I should have no objection to make an act, continuing it for another century, and then letting it expire."

He disapproved of the Royal Marriage bill; "because," said he, "I would not have the people think that the validity of marriage depends on the will of man, or that the right of a king depends on the will of man. I should not have been against making the marriage of any of the royal family without the approbation of king and parliament, highly criminal."⁴

In the morning we had talked of old families, and the respect due to them. JOHNSON. "Sir, you have a right to that kind of respect, and are arguing for yourself. I am for supporting the principle, and am disinterested in doing it, as I have no such right." BOSWELL. "Why, Sir, it is one more incitement to a man to do well." JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir, and it is a matter of opinion, very necessary to keep society together. What is it but opinion, by which we have a respect for authority, that prevents us, who are the rabble, from rising up and pulling down you who are gentlemen from your places, and saying, 'We will be gentlemen in our turn?' Now,

visions in his sleep, and every body knows that the sick see them in their paroxysms; and there are, we are told, some cases (such as that of Nicolai, the Berlin bookseller), in which persons, awake and not otherwise disordered in mind, have "thick-coming fancies," and see what, if real, would be supernatural; but where, we must again ask, is there, in the profane history of the world, one well-attested supernatural fact? — CROKER.

¹ See *anté*, p. 191. — C.
² This was a petition drawn up by Mr. Francis Blackburn, who, though an archdeacon of the Church of England, had published several works against her discipline and peculiar doctrines: the petition was presented on the 6th of February, and, after an animated debate, rejected (not being even allowed to lie on the table) by 217 voices against 71. Mr. Gibbon thus notices this debate, in a letter to Lord Sheffield: — "I congratulate you on the late victory of our dear mamma, the Church of England. She had, last Thursday (Feb. 6.), 71 rebellious sons, who pretended to set aside her will, on account of insanity; but 217 worthy champions, headed by Lord North, Burke, Hans Stanley, Charles Fox, Godfrey Clarke, &c., supported the validity of it with infinite humour. By the by, Charles Fox prepared himself for that holy war; by passing twenty-two hours in the pious exercise of hazard; his devotion only cost him 50*l.* per hour, in all 11,000*l.*" *Misc. Works*, vol. ii. p. 74. The argument against subscrip-

tion, which seemed to make most effect in the House, was the requiring it from every youth entering the University, of whatever age, or intended for whatever profession. To this point Johnson's observation particularly alludes. — CROKER.

³ Dr. Nowell had preached, as usual, before the House on the 30th of January, and had been thanked for his sermon. Some days afterwards, Mr. Thomas Townshend complained of certain unconstitutional passages in the sermon; and on the 21st of February, after a debate, the thanks were ordered to be expunged from the Journals; and on the 2d of March, Mr. Frederic Montagu moved for leave to bring in a bill to repeal the observance of that day altogether. This motion was rejected by 125 to 97. — CROKER.

⁴ It is not very easy to understand Dr. Johnson's objection as above stated. Does not the validity of all marriages "depend on the will of man?" that is, are there not in all civilised nations certain legal forms and conditions, requisite to constitute a marriage? And if it be competent to the legislature to make an act highly criminal, does not that imply a competency to forbid it altogether? I do not understand what "the right of a king" has to do with this marriage act, which went rather to increase than to diminish "the right of the king" over his family. Unless indeed, as Mr. Lockhart suggests, Johnson might have been thinking of the *divine* right of kings. — CROKER.

Sir, that respect for authority is much more easily granted to a man whose father has had it, than to an upstart, and so society is more easily supported." BOSWELL. "Perhaps, Sir, it might be done by the respect belonging to office, as among the Romans, where the dress, the *toga*, inspired reverence." JOHNSON. "Why, we know very little about the Romans. But, surely, it is much easier to respect a man who has always had respect, than to respect a man who we know was last year no better than ourselves, and will be no better next year. In republics there is no respect for authority, but a fear of power." BOSWELL. "At present, Sir, I think riches seem to gain most respect." JOHNSON. "No, Sir, riches do not gain hearty respect; they only procure external attention. A very rich man, from low beginnings, may buy his election in a borough; but, *ceteris paribus*, a man of family will be preferred. People will prefer a man for whose father their fathers have voted, though they should get no more money, or even less. That shows that the respect for family is not merely fanciful, but has an actual operation. If gentlemen of family would allow the rich upstarts to spend their money profusely, which they are ready enough to do, and not vie with them in expense, the upstarts would soon be at an end, and the gentlemen would remain; but if the gentlemen will vie in expense with the upstarts, which is very foolish, they must be ruined."¹

I gave him an account of the excellent mimicry of a friend² of mine in Scotland; observing, at the same time, that some people thought it a very mean thing. JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, it is making a very mean use of man's powers. But to be a good mimic, requires great powers; great acuteness of observation, great retention of what is observed, and great pliancy of organs, to represent what is observed. I remember a lady of quality in this town, Lady ———³, who was a wonderful mimic, and used to make me laugh immoderately. I have heard she is

now gone mad." BOSWELL. "It is amazing how a mimic can not only give you the gestures and voice of a person whom he represents, but even what a person would say on any particular subject." JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, you are to consider, that the manner and some particular phrases of a person do much to impress you with an idea of him, and you are not sure that he would say what the mimic says in his character." BOSWELL. "I don't think Foote a good mimic, Sir." JOHNSON. "No, Sir; his imitations are not like. He gives you something different from himself; but not the character which he means to assume. He goes out of himself, without going into other people. He cannot take off any person unless he is strongly marked, such as George Faulkner.⁴ He is like a painter who can draw the portrait of a man who has a wen upon his face, and who therefore is easily known. If a man hops upon one leg, Foote can hop upon one leg. But he has not that nice discrimination which your friend seems to possess. Foote is, however, very entertaining with a kind of conversation between wit and buffoonery."

On Monday, March 23., I found him busy, preparing a fourth edition of his *folio* Dictionary. Mr. Peyton, one of his original amanuenses, was writing for him. I put him in mind of a meaning of the word *side*, which he had omitted, viz. relationship; as father's side, mother's side. He inserted it. I asked him, if *humiliating* was a good word. He said, he had seen it frequently used, but he did not know it to be legitimate English. He would not admit *civilization*, but only *civility*. With great deference to him I thought *civilization*, from *to civilize*, better in the sense opposed to *barbarity*, than *civility*; as it is better to have a distinct word for each sense, than one word with two senses, which *civility* is, in his way of using it.⁵

He seemed also to be intent on some sort of chemical operation. I was entertained by observing how he contrived to send Mr. Peyton⁶ on an errand, without seeming to degrade

¹ Mrs. Piozzi says, that though a man of obscure birth himself, Dr. Johnson's partiality to people of family was visible on every occasion; his zeal for subordination warm even to bigotry; his hatred to innovation, and reverence for the old feudal times, apparent, whenever any possible manner of showing them occurred. — CROKER.

² This friend, as Sir James Mackintosh informed me, was Mr. Cullen, advocate, son of the celebrated physician, afterwards a judge, by the name of Lord Cullen. — CROKER, 1835.

³ The melancholy circumstance stated as to the lady, prevents my attempting to fill up this blank — which, however, an attentive reader will probably be able, at least as to the family name, to do for himself. — CROKER.

⁴ The printer of the Dublin Journal. "In his portraits of Faulkner, Foote found the only sitter whom his extravagant pencil could not caricature; for he had a solemn intrepidity of egotism, and a daring contempt of absurdity, that fairly outaced imitation. George prosecuted Foote for lampooning him on the Dublin stage; his counsel, the prime-serjeant, compared him to Socrates, and his libeller to Aristophanes; this, I believe, was all George got by his course of law. He died in 1775." *Cumberland*. — CROKER.

⁵ *Civilization* has been introduced into Todd's edition of

the Dictionary; but he gives no older authorities than Robertson and Warton. — LOCKHART.

⁶ See *anté*, p. 57. Of the death of this poor labourer in literature, of whom Mrs. Piozzi says that he had considerable talents, and knew many modern languages, Johnson gave himself the following pathetic account, in a letter to her: —

"1st April, 1776.

"Poor Peyton expired this morning. He probably — during many years, for which he sat starving by the bed of a wife, not only useless but almost motionless, condemned by poverty to personal attendance, and by the necessity of such attendance chained down to poverty — he probably thought often how lightly he should tread the path of life without his burthen. Of this thought the admission was unavoidable, and the indulgence might be forgiven to frailty and distress. His wife died at last, and before she was buried, he was seized by a fever, and is now going to the grave.

"Such miscarriages, when they happen to those on whom many eyes are fixed, fill histories and tragedies; and tears have been shed for the sufferings, and wonder excited by the fortitude, of those who neither did nor suffered more than Peyton." *Letters*, vol. i. p. 312. — CROKER.

him : — "Mr. Peyton, Mr. Peyton, will you be so good as to take a walk to Temple-Bar? You will there see a chemist's shop, at which you will be pleased to buy for me an ounce of oil of vitriol; not spirit of vitriol, but oil of vitriol. It will cost three half-pence." Peyton immediately went, and returned with it, and told him it cost but a penny.

I then reminded him of the Schoolmaster's cause, and proposed to read to him the printed papers concerning it. "No, Sir," said he, "I can read quicker than I can hear." So he read them to himself.

After he had read for some time, we were interrupted by the entrance of Mr. Kristrom, a Swede, who was tutor to some young gentlemen in the city. He told me, that there was a very good History of Sweden by Daline. Having at the time an intention of writing the history of that country, I asked Dr. Johnson whether one might write a history of Sweden without going thither. "Yes, Sir," said he, "one for common use."

We talked of languages. Johnson observed, that Leibnitz had made some progress in a work tracing all languages up to the Hebrew. "Why, Sir," said he, "you would not imagine that the French *jour*, day, is derived from the Latin *dies*, and yet nothing is more certain; and the intermediate steps are very clear. From *dies*, comes *diurnus*. *Diu* is, by inaccurate ears, or inaccurate pronunciation, easily confounded with *giu*; then the Italians form a substantive of the ablative of an adjective, and thence *giurno*, or, as they make it, *giorno*: which is readily contracted into *giour*, or *jour*."¹ He observed, that the Bohemian language was true Slavonic. The Swede said, it had some similarity with the German. JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, to be sure, such parts of Slavonia as confine with Germany will borrow German words; and such parts as confine with Tartary will borrow Tartar words."

He said, he never had it properly ascertained that the Scotch Highlanders and the Irish understood each other.² I told him that my cousin, Colonel Graham, of the Royal Highlanders, whom I met at Drogheda, told me they did. JOHNSON. "Sir, if the Highlanders understood Irish, why translate the New Testament into Erse, as was lately done at

Edinburgh, when there is an Irish translation?" BOSWELL. "Although the Erse and Irish are both dialects of the same language, there may be a good deal of diversity between them, as between the different dialects in Italy." The Swede went away, and Mr. Johnson continued his reading of the papers. I said, "I am afraid, Sir, it is troublesome." "Why, Sir," said he, "I do not take much delight in it; but I'll go through it."

We went to the Mitre, and dined in the room where he and I first supped together. He gave me great hopes of my cause. "Sir," said he, "the government of a schoolmaster is somewhat of the nature of military government; that is to say, it must be arbitrary, — it must be exercised by the will of one man, according to particular circumstances. You must show some learning upon this occasion. You must show, that a schoolmaster has a prescriptive right to beat; and that an action of assault and battery cannot be admitted against him unless there is some great excess, some barbarity. This man has maimed none of his boys. They are all left with the full exercise of their corporeal faculties. In our schools in England, many boys have been maimed; yet I never heard of an action against a schoolmaster on that account. Puffendorff, I think, maintains the right of a schoolmaster to beat his scholars."³

CHAPTER XXVI.

1772.

Sir A. Macdonald. — Choice of Chancellors. — Lord Coke. — Lord Mansfield. — Scotch Accent. — Pronunciation. — Etymology. — Disembodied Spirits. — Ghost Stories. — Mrs. Veal. — Gray, Mason, and Ahenside. — Swearing. — Warton's Essay on Pope. — Pantheon. — Luxury. — Inequality of Livings. — Hon. Thomas Erskine. — Fielding and Richardson. — Corial's Crudities. — Gaming. — Earl of Buchan. — Attachment in Families. — Feudal System. — Cave's Ghost Story. — Witches.

On Saturday, March 27., I introduced to him Sir Alexander Macdonald⁴, with whom

¹ Thus *Journal* assuredly comes from *dies*, without having a single letter in common. — CROKER.

² In Mr. Anderson's Historical Sketches of the Native Irish, we find the following observations: —

"The Irish and Gaelic languages are the same, and formerly what was spoken in the Highlands of Scotland was generally called *Irish*. Those who have attended to the subject must have observed, that the word *Irish* was gradually changed into *Erse*, denoting the language that is now generally called *Gaelic*." Mr. Anderson states that, when he was in Galway, in Ireland, in 1814, he found a vessel there from Lewis, one of the Hebrides, the master of which remarked to him that the people here spoke *curious Gaelic*, but he understood them easily, and commerce is actually carried on between the Highlanders and the Irish, through the medium of their common language. — p. 133.

My friend, Colonel Meyrick Shawe, told me from his own experience, that "were it not for the difference of pro-

nunciation, the Irish and the Highlanders would be perfectly intelligible to each other; and even with that disadvantage, they become so in a short time. The Scotch, as is natural from their position, have many Pictish and other foreign words. The Irish have no Pictish words, but many Latin."

Sir Walter Scott also informed me, that "there is no doubt the languages are the same, and the difference in pronunciation and construction not very considerable. The *Erse* or *Earish* is the *Irish*; and the race called *Scots* came originally from Ulster." — CROKER.

³ Puffendorff states that "tutors and schoolmasters have a right to the moderate use of gentle discipline over their pupils." — viii. 3—10.; adding, rather superfluously, Grotius's caveat, that "it shall not extend to a power of death." In our common law courts there have been several instances of action even for over-severity: there can be no doubt of the right of action in a case of maiming. — CROKER.

⁴ Next brother of Sir James Macdonald, whom Mr. Bos-

he had expressed a wish to be acquainted. He received him very courteously.

Sir Alexander observed, that the Chancellors in England are chosen from views much inferior to the office, being chosen from temporary political views. JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, in such a government as ours, no man is appointed to an office because he is the fittest for it, nor hardly in any other government; because there are so many connections and dependencies to be studied. A despotic prince may choose a man to an office merely because he is the fittest for it. The king of Prussia may do it." SIR A. "I think, Sir, almost all great lawyers, such at least as have written upon law, have known only law, and nothing else." JOHNSON. "Why no, Sir; Judge Hale was a great lawyer, and wrote upon law; and yet he knew a great many other things, and has written upon other things. Selden too."

SIR A. "Very true, Sir; and Lord Bacon. But was not Lord Coke a mere lawyer?" JOHNSON. "Why, I am afraid he was; but he would have taken it very ill if you had told him so. He would have prosecuted you for scandal." BOSWELL. "Lord Mansfield is not a mere lawyer." JOHNSON. "No, Sir. I never was in Lord Mansfield's company; but Lord Mansfield was distinguished at the University. Lord Mansfield, when he first came to town, 'drank champagne with the wits,' as Prior says. He was the friend of Pope."¹ SIR A. "Barristers, I believe, are not so abusive now as they were formerly.² I fancy they had less law long ago, and so were obliged to take to abuse, to fill up the time. Now they have such a number of precedents, they have no occasion for abuse." JOHNSON. "Nay, Sir, they had more law long ago than they have now. As to precedents, to be sure they will increase in course of time; but the more precedents there are, the less occasion is there for law; that is to say, the less occasion is there for investigating principles." SIR A. "I have been correcting several Scotch accents in my friend Boswell. I doubt, Sir, if any Scotchman ever attains to a perfect English pronunciation." JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, few of them do, because they do not persevere after acquiring a certain

degree of it. But, Sir, there can be no doubt that they may attain to a perfect English pronunciation, if they will. We find how near they come to it; and certainly, a man who conquers nineteen parts of the Scottish accent, may conquer the twentieth. But, Sir, when a man has got the better of nine tenths he grows weary, he relaxes his diligence, he finds he has corrected his accent so far as not to be disagreeable, and he no longer desires his friends to tell him when he is wrong; nor does he choose to be told. Sir, when people watch me narrowly, and I do not watch myself, they will find me out to be of a particular county. In the same manner, Dunning³ may be found out to be a Devonshire man. So most Scotchmen may be found out. But, Sir, little aberrations are of no disadvantage. I never caught Mallet in a Scotch accent; and yet Mallet, I suppose, was past five-and-twenty before he came to London."

Upon another occasion I talked to him on this subject, having myself taken some pains to improve my pronunciation, by the aid of the late Mr. Love⁴, of Drury Lane theatre, when he was a player at Edinburgh, and also of old Mr. Sheridan. Johnson said to me, "Sir, your pronunciation is not offensive." With this concession I was pretty well satisfied; and let me give my countrymen of North Britain an advice not to aim at absolute perfection in this respect; not to speak *High English*, as we are apt to call what is far removed from the *Scotch*, but which is by no means *good English*, and makes "the fools who use it" truly ridiculous. Good English is plain, easy, and smooth in the mouth of an unaffected English gentleman. A studied and factitious pronunciation, which requires perpetual attention, and imposes perpetual constraint, is exceedingly disgusting. A small intermixture of provincial peculiarities may, perhaps, have an agreeable effect, as the notes of different birds concur in the harmony of the grove, and please more than if they were all exactly alike. I could name some gentlemen of Ireland⁵, to whom a slight proportion of the accent and recitative of that country is an advantage. The same observation will apply to the gentlemen of

well calls the Marcellus of Scotland, and whom the concurrent testimony of his contemporaries proves to have been a very extraordinary young man. He died at Rome in 1766. (See *post*, Sept. 5. 1773.) Sir Alexander succeeded his brother as eighth Baronet, and was created an Irish Baron, by the title of Lord Macdonald, in 1776. The late Chief Baron of the Exchequer, Sir Archibald Macdonald, was their youngest brother. We shall see more of Sir Alexander under the year 1773, during the Tour to the Hebrides.—CROKER.

¹ He was one of his executors. The large space which (thanks to Mr. Boswell) Dr. Johnson occupies in our estimate of the society of his day, makes it surprising that he should never have been in company with Lord Mansfield; but Boswell was disposed to overrate the extent and rank of Johnson's acquaintance. It is proper here to correct an error relative to Lord Mansfield and Dr. Johnson, which has found its way into print. In Miss Hawkins's *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 218., she gives the following anecdote, on the authority of her brother, who states that, "calling upon Dr. Johnson shortly after the death of Lord Mansfield, and mentioning the

event, Johnson answered, 'Ah, sir; there was little learning, and less virtue.'" It happens, unluckily for the accuracy of this anecdote, that Lord Mansfield survived Dr. Johnson above eight years.—CROKER.

² The general tone of society is probably improved in this respect, and there is certainly a marked amendment in forensic manners since the times Sir Alexander Macdonald alluded to.—CROKER.

³ John Dunning, born in 1731, one of the most successful lawyers of his time, and an active politician. He attached himself to Lord Shelburn, and was created Lord Ashburton during his short administration. He died in 1783.—CROKER.

⁴ Love was an assumed name. He was the son of Mr. Dance, the architect. He resided many years at Edinburgh as manager of the theatre; he removed, in 1762, to Drury Lane, and died in 1771. He wrote some theatrical pieces of no reputation.—CROKER.

⁵ Mr. Boswell probably included, in this observation, Mr. Burke; who, to the last, retained more of the Irish accent than was agreeable to English ears.—CROKER.

Scotland. I do not mean that we should speak as broad as a certain prosperous member of parliament from that country¹; though it has been well observed, that "it has been of no small use to him, as it rouses the attention of the House by its uncommonness; and is equal to tropes and figures in a good English speaker." I would give as an instance of what I mean to recommend to my countrymen, the pronunciation of the late Sir Gilbert Elliot²; and may I presume to add that of the present Earl of Marchmont³, who told me with great good humour, that the master of a shop in London, where he was not known, said to him, "I suppose, Sir, you are an American." "Why so, Sir?" said his Lordship. "Because, Sir," replied the shopkeeper, "you speak neither English nor Scotch, but something different from both, which I conclude is the language of America."

BOSWELL. "It may be of use, Sir, to have a Dictionary to ascertain the pronunciation." JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, my Dictionary shows you the accent of words, if you can but remember them." BOSWELL. "But, Sir, we want marks to ascertain the pronunciation of the vowels. Sheridan, I believe, has finished such a work." JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, consider how much easier it is to learn a language by the ear, than by any marks. Sheridan's Dictionary may do very well; but you cannot always carry it about with you: and, when you want the word, you have not the Dictionary. It is like a man who has a sword that will not draw. It is an admirable sword, to be sure: but while your enemy is cutting your throat, you are unable to use it. Besides, Sir, what entitles Sheridan to fix the pronunciation of English? He has, in the first place, the disadvantage of being an Irishman; and if he says he will fix it after the example of the best company, why, they differ among themselves. I remember an instance: when I published the plan for my Dictionary, Lord Chesterfield told me that the word *great* should be pronounced so as to rhyme to *state*; and Sir William Yonge⁴ sent me word that it should be pronounced so as to rhyme to *seat*, and that none but an Irishman would pronounce it *gruit*. Now, here were two men of the highest rank, the one the best speaker in the House of Lords,

the other the best speaker in the House of Commons, differing entirely."

I again visited him at night. Finding him in a very good humour, I ventured to lead him to the subject of our situation in a future state, having much curiosity to know his notions on that point. JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, the happiness of an unembodied spirit will consist in a consciousness of the favour of God, in the contemplation of truth, and in the possession of felicitating ideas." BOSWELL. "But, Sir, is there any harm in our forming to ourselves conjectures as to the particulars of our happiness, though the Scripture has said but very little on the subject? 'We know not what we shall be.'" JOHNSON. "Sir, there is no harm. What philosophy suggests to us on this topic is probable: what Scripture tells us is certain. Dr. Henry More⁵ has carried it as far as philosophy can. You may buy both his theological and philosophical works, in two volumes folio, for about eight shillings." BOSWELL. "One of the most pleasing thoughts is, that we shall see our friends again." JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir; but you must consider, that when we are become purely rational, many of our friendships will be cut off. Many friendships are formed by a community of sensual pleasures: all these will be cut off. We form many friendships with bad men, because they have agreeable qualities, and they can be useful to us; but, after death, they can no longer be of use to us. We form many friendships by mistake, imagining people to be different from what they really are. After death, we shall see every one in a true light. Then, Sir, they talk of our meeting our relations; but then all relationship is dissolved; and we shall have no regard for one person more than another, but for their real value. However, we shall either have the satisfaction of meeting our friends, or be satisfied without meeting them." BOSWELL. "Yet, Sir, we see in Scripture, that Dives still retained an anxious concern about his brethren." JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, we must either suppose that passage to be metaphorical, or hold, with many divines and all the Purgatorians, that departed souls do not all at once arrive at the utmost perfection of which they are capable." BOSWELL. "I think, Sir, that is a very rational supposition." JOHNSON. "Why yes, Sir; but

¹ Mr. Dundas, successively Lord Advocate, Secretary of State, First Lord of the Admiralty, and Viscount Melville, whose accent and many of whose phrases were to the last peculiarly national. See *post*, sub Sept. 29. 1777.—CROKER.

² The third Baronet, father of the first Lord Minto; a gentleman of distinction in the political, and not unknown in the poetical, world: he died in 1777. Is it not, however, rather *Hibernian* to recommend as a model of pronunciation one who is already dead — *ignotum per ignotius*? — CROKER. Sir Gilbert Elliot wrote the beautiful pastoral ballad quoted in the notes to the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, "My sheep I neglected," &c.—LOCKHART.

³ Hugh, fourth Earl of Marchmont, the friend and executor of Pope; born in 1708, died in 1794.—CROKER.

⁴ Sir William Yonge, Secretary at War in Sir Robert

Walpole's administration, and therefore very odious to Pope, who makes frequent depreciating allusions to him. He died in 1755.—The pronunciation is now settled beyond question in Lord Chesterfield's way.—CROKER.

⁵ Called the Platonist, on account of his voluminous efforts to blend the Platonic philosophy with Christianity. He, Van Helmont, and Valentine Greatrakes, all mystics in their several professions, were patronised by Anne Finch, Lady Conway, (herself a mystic,) and all resided for some time in her house at Ragley, where there is a portrait of Van Helmont, and where were found, by Horace Walpole, several letters of Dr. More.—CROKER.

⁶ Bishop Hall, in his Epistle, "discoursing of the different degrees of heavenly glory, and of our mutual knowledge of each other above," holds the affirmative on both these questions.—MALONE.

we do not know it is a true one. There is no harm in believing it: but you must not compel others to make it an article of faith; for it is not revealed." BOSWELL. "Do you think, Sir, it is wrong in a man who holds the doctrine of Purgatory, to pray for the souls of his deceased friends?" JOHNSON. "Why no, Sir."

BOSWELL. "I have been told, that in the liturgy of the episcopal church of Scotland, there was a form of prayer for the dead." JOHNSON. "Sir, it is not in the liturgy which Laud framed for the episcopal church of Scotland: if there is a liturgy older than that, I should be glad to see it." BOSWELL. "As to our employment in a future state, the sacred writings say little. The Revelation, however, of St. John gives us many ideas, and particularly mentions music." JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, ideas must be given you by means of something which you know: and as to music, there are some philosophers and divines who have maintained, that we shall not be spiritualised to such a degree, but that something of matter, very much refined, will remain. In that case, music may make a part of our future felicity."

BOSWELL. "I do not know whether there are any well-attested stories of the appearance of ghosts. You know there is a famous story of the appearance of Mrs. Veal, prefixed to 'Drelincourt on Death.'" JOHNSON. "I believe, Sir, that is given up.¹ I believe the woman declared upon her death-bed that it was a lie." BOSWELL. "This objection is made against the truth of ghosts appearing: that if they are in a state of happiness, it would be a punishment to them to return to this world; and if they are in a state of misery, it would be giving them a respite." JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, as the happiness or misery of embodied² spirits does not depend upon place, but is intellectual, we cannot say that they are less happy or less miserable by appearing upon earth."

We went down between twelve and one to Mrs. Williams's room, and drank tea. I mentioned that we were to have the Remains of Mr. Gray, in prose and verse, published by Mr. Mason. JOHNSON. "I think we have had enough of Gray. I see they have published a splendid edition of Akenside's works. One bad ode may be suffered; but a number of them together makes one sick." BOSWELL. "Akenside's distinguished poem is his 'Pleasures of Imagination;' but for my part, I never could admire it so much as most people do." JOHNSON. "Sir, I could not read it through." BOSWELL. "I have read it through; but I did not find any great power in it."

I mentioned Elwal, the heretic, whose trial³ Sir John Pringle had given me to read. JOHN-

SON. "Sir, Mr. Elwal was, I think, an iron-monger at Wolverhampton; and he had a mind to make himself famous, by being the founder of a new sect, which he wished much should be called *Elwallians*. He held, that every thing in the Old Testament that was not typical, was to be of perpetual observance; and so he wore a riband in the plaits of his coat, and he also wore a beard. I remember I had the honour of dining in company with Mr. Elwal. There was one Barter, a miller, who wrote against him; and you had the controversy between Mr. Elwal and Mr. Barter. To try to make himself distinguished, he wrote a letter to King George the Second, challenging him to dispute with him, in which he said, 'George, if you be afraid to come by yourself, to dispute with a poor old man, you may bring a thousand of your *black-guards* with you; and if you should still be afraid, you may bring a thousand of your *red guards*.' The letter had something of the impudence of Junius to our present King. But the men of Wolverhampton were not so inflammable as the common council of London; so Mr. Elwal failed in his scheme of making himself a man of great consequence."

On Tuesday, March 31., he and I dined at General Paoli's. A question was started, whether the state of marriage was natural to man. JOHNSON. "Sir, it is so far from being natural for a man and woman to live in a state of marriage, that we find all the motives which they have for remaining in that connection, and the restraints which civilised society imposes to prevent separation, are hardly sufficient to keep them together." The General said, that in a state of nature a man and woman uniting together would form a strong and constant affection, by the mutual pleasure each would receive; and that the same causes of dissension would not arise between them, as occur between husband and wife in a civilised state. JOHNSON. "Sir, they would have dissensions enough, though of another kind. One would choose to go a hunting in this wood, the other in that; one would choose to go a fishing in this lake, the other in that; or, perhaps, one would choose to go a hunting, when the other would choose to go a fishing; and so they would part. Besides, Sir, a savage man and a savage woman meet by chance; and when the man sees another woman that pleases him better, he will leave the first."

We then fell into a disquisition, whether there is any beauty independent of utility. The General maintained there was not. Dr. Johnson maintained that there was; and he instanced a coffee cup which he held in his hand, the painting of which was of no real use,

¹ This fiction is known to have been invented by Daniel Defoe, and was added to the second edition of the English translation of Drelincourt's work (which was originally written in French), to make it sell. The first edition had it not. — MALONE.

² Should not this be "disembodied"? — CROKER.

³ "The Triumph of Truth; being an Account of the Trial of E. Elwal for Heresy and Blasphemy, &c. Lond." This is rather the rambling declamation of an enthusiast, than the account of a trial. — CROKER.

as the cup would hold the coffee equally well if plain; yet the painting was beautiful.

We talked of the strange custom of swearing in conversation. The General said, that all barbarous nations swore from a certain violence of temper, that could not be confined to earth, but was always reaching at the powers above. He said, too, that there was greater variety of swearing, in proportion as there was a greater variety of religious ceremonies.

Dr. Johnson went home with me to my lodgings in Conduit Street and drank tea, previous to our going to the Pantheon, which neither of us had seen before.

He said, "Goldsmith's Life of Parnell is poor; not that it is poorly written, but that he had poor materials; for nobody can write the life of a man, but those who have eat and drunk and lived in social intercourse with him."

I said, that if it was not troublesome and presuming too much, I would request him to tell me all the little circumstances of his life; what schools he attended, when he came to Oxford, when he came to London, &c. &c. He did not disapprove of my curiosity as to these particulars; but said, "They'll come out by degrees, as we talk together."

He censured Ruffhead's Life of Pope²; and said, "he knew nothing of Pope, and nothing of poetry." He praised Dr. Joseph Warton's Essay on Pope; but said, "he supposed we should have no more of it, as the author had not been able to persuade the world to think of Pope as he did." BOSWELL. "Why, Sir, should that prevent him from continuing his work? He is an ingenious counsel, who has made the most of his cause: he is not obliged to gain it." JOHNSON. "But, Sir, there is a difference, when the cause is of a man's own making."

We talked of the proper use of riches. JOHNSON. "If I were a man of a great estate, I would drive all the rascals whom I did not like out of the county, at an election."

I asked him, how far he thought wealth should be employed in hospitality. JOHNSON.

"You are to consider that ancient hospitality, of which we hear so much, was in an uncommercial country, when men, being idle, were glad to be entertained at rich men's tables. But in a commercial country, a busy country, time becomes precious, and therefore hospitality is not so much valued. No doubt there is still room for a certain degree of it; and a man has a satisfaction in seeing his friends eating and drinking around him. But promiscuous hospitality is not the way to gain real influence. You must help some people at table before others; you must ask some people how they like their wine oftener than others. You therefore offend more people than you please. You are like the French statesman³, who said, when he granted a favour, '*J'ai fait dix mécontents et un ingrat.*' Besides, Sir, being entertained ever so well at a man's table, impresses no lasting regard or esteem. No, Sir, the way to make sure of power and influence is, by lending money confidentially to your neighbours at a small interest, or perhaps at no interest at all, and having their bonds in your possession." BOSWELL. "May not a man, Sir, employ his riches to advantage, in educating young men of merit?" JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir, if they fall in your way; but if it be understood that you patronise young men of merit, you will be harassed with solicitations. You will have numbers forced upon you, who have no merit; some will force them upon you from mistaken partiality; and some from downright interested motives, without scruple; and you will be disgraced."

"Were I a rich man, I would propagate all kinds of trees that will grow in the open air. A greenhouse is childish. I would introduce foreign animals into the country; for instance, the rein-deer."⁴

The conversation now turned on critical subjects. JOHNSON. "Bayes, in '*The Rehearsal*,' is a mighty silly character. If it was intended to be like a particular man, it could only be diverting while that man was remembered. But I question whether it was meant for Dryden, as has been reported; for we

¹ Mrs. Piozzi says, "When, on the 18th of July, 1773, I happened to allude to his future biographer, 'And who will be my biographer,' said he, 'do you think?'" Goldsmith, no doubt, replied, "and he will do it the best among us." "The dog would write it best, to be sure," replied he; "but his particular malice towards me, and general disregard for truth, would make the book useless to all, and injurious to my character." "Oh! as to that," said I, "we should all fasten upon him, and force him to do you justice; but the worst is, the Doctor does not *know* your life; nor can I tell, indeed, who does, except Dr. Taylor of Ashbourne." "Why, Taylor," said he, "is better acquainted with my *heart* than any man or woman now alive; and the history of my Oxford exploits lies all between him and Adams; but Dr. James knows my very early days better than he. After my coming to London to drive the world about a little, you must all go to Jack Hawkesworth for anecdotes: I lived in great familiarity with him (though I think there was not much affection) from the year 1753 till the time Mr. Thrale and you took me up. I intend, however, to disappoint the rogues, and either make you write the Life, with Taylor's intelligence; or, which is better, do it myself, after outliving you all. I am now,

added he, 'keeping a diary, in hopes of using it for that purpose some time.'"

I suspect that there is here a good deal of error; the allusion to Oxford exploits (as well as the story of the *shoes, ante*, p. 18.) seems inconsistent with the evidence of the books of Pembroke and Christ Church Colleges, that Johnson had left Oxford before Taylor came thither. There is also manifest inconsistency in the reference to Hawkesworth for his *early* London life, with the statement, that their intimacy began in 1753, when Johnson had been already sixteen years in London. — CROKER.

² Owen Ruffhead was born in 1723, and died in 1769; in which year his "Life of Pope" was published. The materials were supplied by Dr. Warburton, who corrected the proof sheets. — WRIGHT.

³ This "French statesman" was Louis the Fourteenth. — LOCKHART.

⁴ This project has since been realised. Sir Henry Liddel, who made a spirited tour into Lapland, brought two reindeer to his estate in Northumberland, where they bred; but the race has unfortunately perished. — BOSWELL.

know some of the passages said to be ridiculed were written since the Rehearsal: at least a passage mentioned in the Preface is of a later date.¹ I maintained that it had merit as a general satire on the self-importance of dramatic authors. But even in this light he held it very cheap.

We then walked to the Pantheon. The first view of it did not strike us so much as Ranelagh², of which he said, the *coup d'œil* was the finest thing he had ever seen." The truth is, Ranelagh is of a more beautiful form; more of it, or rather indeed the whole *rotunda*, appears at once, and it is better lighted. However, as Johnson observed, we saw the Pantheon in time of mourning, when there was a dull uniformity; whereas we had seen Ranelagh when the view was enlivened with a gay profusion of colours. Mrs. Bosville³, of Gunthwait, in Yorkshire, joined us, and entered into conversation with us. Johnson said to me afterwards, "Sir, this is a mighty intelligent lady."

I said there was not half a guinea's worth of pleasure in seeing this place. JOHNSON. "But, Sir, there is half a guinea's worth of inferiority to other people in not having seen it." BOSWELL. "I doubt, Sir, whether there are many happy people here." JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir, there are many happy people here. There are many people here who are watching hundreds, and who think hundreds are watching them."

Happening to meet Sir Adam Ferguson⁴, I presented him to Dr. Johnson. Sir Adam expressed some apprehension that the Pantheon would encourage luxury. "Sir," said Johnson, "I am a great friend to public amusements; for they keep people from vice. You now," addressing himself to me, "would have been with a wench, had you not been here. Oh! I forgot you were married."

Sir Adam suggested, that luxury corrupts a people, and destroys the spirit of liberty. JOHNSON. "Sir, that is all visionary. I would not give half a guinea to live under one form of government rather than another. It is of

no moment to the happiness of an individual, Sir, the danger of the abuse of power is nothing to a private man. What Frenchman is prevented from passing his life as he pleases?"⁵

SIR ADAM. "But, Sir, in the British constitution it is surely of importance to keep up a spirit in the people, so as to preserve a balance against the crown." JOHNSON. "Sir, I perceive you are a vile Whig.⁶ Why all this childish jealousy of the power of the crown? The crown has not power enough. When I say that all governments are alike, I consider that in no government power can be abused long. Mankind will not bear it. If a sovereign oppresses his people to a great degree, they will rise and cut off his head. There is a remedy in human nature against tyranny, that will keep us safe under every form of government. Had not the people of France thought themselves honoured in sharing in the brilliant actions of Louis XIV., they would not have endured him; and we may say the same of the King of Prussia's people." Sir Adam introduced the ancient Greeks and Romans. JOHNSON. "Sir, the mass of both of them were barbarians. The mass of every people must be barbarous where there is no printing, and consequently knowledge is not generally diffused. Knowledge is diffused among our people by the newspapers." Sir Adam mentioned the orators, poets, and artists of Greece. JOHNSON. "Sir, I am talking of the mass of the people. We see even what the boasted Athenians were. The little effect which Demosthenes' orations had upon them shows that they were barbarians."

Sir Adam was unlucky in his topics; for he suggested a doubt of the propriety of bishops having seats in the House of Lords. JOHNSON. "How so, Sir? Who is more proper for having the dignity of a peer, than a bishop, provided a bishop be what he ought to be? and if improper bishops be made, that is not the fault of the bishops, but of those who make them."

¹ Dr. Johnson seems to have meant the address to the reader, with a key, which has been prefixed to the later editions; he did not know, it appears, that several additions were made to "The Rehearsal," after the first edition. The ridicule on the passages here alluded to is found among those additions. — MALONE. Bayes was perhaps originally sketched for Sir William Davenant, as the brown paper patch on his nose indicates, but there is no doubt that the finished picture was meant for Dryden — *he himself complains bitterly that it was so*; and Johnson, better informed when he came to write Dryden's Life, expressly says, that "he was characterised under the name of Bayes in 'The Rehearsal.'" — CROKER.

² Ranelagh, so called because its site was that of a villa of Viscount Ranelagh, near Chelsea, was a place of entertainment, of which the principal room was a *Rotunda* of great dimensions, with an orchestra in the centre, and tiers of boxes all round. The chief amusement was *promenading*, as it was called, round and round the circular area below, and taking refreshments in the boxes, while the orchestra executed different pieces of music. The *Pantheon*, in Oxford Street, was built in 1772, after Wyatt's designs, as a kind of *town Ranelagh*, but partook more of the shape of a theatre (to the purposes of which it was sometimes applied). Both these places had a considerable vogue for a time, but are now almost forgotten: the last appearance (if one may use the expression) of Ranelagh was at the installation ball of the

Knights of the Bath, in 1803, when I saw it, as I have described, very brilliant in company, but somewhat faded in its own decorations. It has since been razed to the ground, and no vestige of that once fairy palace remains. The original Pantheon was burned down in 1792, but was rebuilt on a more moderate scale, and used to be heard of as the scene of an occasional masquerade or concert; but it has not been opened, it is believed, for the last twenty years. — CROKER. In 1834, the building was converted into a bazaar. — VIGNOT.

³ Diana Wentworth, wife of Godfrey Bosville, Esq., of Gunthwait, whose daughter had married, in 1768, Sir Alexander (afterwards created Lord) Macdonald. — CROKER.

⁴ Sir Adam Ferguson of Kelkerran, Bart., member of Parliament for Ayrshire from 1774 to 1780. — CROKER.

⁵ This again is "laxity of talk." If a Frenchman had written any thing like Johnson's "Norfolk Prophecy," or talked of Louis XV. as Johnson did of George the Second, he would have been either forced to fly, or would have expiated his indiscretion in the Bastille: poor Marmontel was, we know, sent to the Bastille for repeating the parody of a few lines in a play, at which a lord of the bedchamber happened to be offended. — CROKER.

⁶ These words must have been accompanied and softened by some jocular expression of countenance or intonation of voice; for, rude as Johnson often was, it is hardly conceivable that he should have seriously said such a thing to a gentleman whom he saw for the first time. — CROKER.

On Sunday, April 5., after attending divine service at St. Paul's church, I found him alone. Of a schoolmaster¹ of his acquaintance, a native of Scotland, he said, "He has a great deal of good about him; but he is also very defective in some respects. His inner part is good, but his outer part is mighty awkward. You in Scotland do not attain that nice critical skill in languages, which we get in our schools in England. I would not put a boy to him, whom I intended for a man of learning. But for the sons of citizens, who are to learn a little, get good morals, and then go to trade, he may do very well."

I mentioned a cause in which I had appeared as counsel at the bar of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, where a *Probationer* (as one licensed to preach, but not yet ordained, is called) was opposed in his application to be inducted, because it was alleged that he had been guilty of fornication five years before. JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, if he has repented, it is not a sufficient objection. A man who is good enough to go to heaven, is good enough to be a clergyman." This was a humane and liberal sentiment. But the character of a clergyman is more sacred than that of an ordinary Christian. As he is to instruct with authority, he should be regarded with reverence, as one upon whom divine truth has had the effect to set him above such transgressions, as men less exalted by spiritual habits, and yet upon the whole not to be excluded from heaven, have been betrayed into by the predominance of passion. That clergymen may be considered as sinners in general, as all men are, cannot be denied; but this reflection will not counteract their good precepts so much, as the absolute knowledge of their having been guilty of certain specific immoral acts. I told him, that by the rules of the Church of Scotland, in their "Book of Discipline," if a *scandal*, as it is called, is not prosecuted for five years, it cannot afterwards be proceeded upon, "unless it be of a *heinous nature*, or again become flagrant;" and that hence a question arose, whether fornication was a sin of a heinous nature; and that I had maintained, that it did not deserve that epithet, inasmuch as it was not one of those sins which argue very great depravity of heart: in short, was not, in the general acceptance of mankind, a heinous sin. JOHNSON. "No, Sir, it is not a heinous sin." A heinous sin is that for which a man is punished with

death or banishment." BOSWELL. "But, Sir, after I had argued that it was not a heinous sin, an old clergyman rose up, and repeating the text of scripture denouncing judgment against whoremongers, asked, whether, considering this, there could be any doubt of fornication being a heinous sin." JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, observe the word *whoremonger*. Every sin, if persisted in, will become heinous. Whoremonger is a dealer in whores, as ironmonger is a dealer in iron. But as you don't call a man an ironmonger for buying and selling a penknife; so you don't call a man a whoremonger for getting one wench with child."²

I spoke of the inequality of the livings of the clergy in England, and the scanty provisions of some of the curates. JOHNSON. "Why yes, Sir; but it cannot be helped. You must consider, that the revenues of the clergy are not at the disposal of the state, like the pay of an army. Different men have founded different churches; and some are better endowed, some worse. The state cannot interfere and make an equal division of what has been particularly appropriated. Now when a clergyman has but a small living, or even two small livings, he can afford very little to the curate."

He said, he went more frequently to church when there were prayers only, than when there was also a sermon, as the people required more an example for the one than the other; it being much easier for them to hear a sermon, than to fix their minds on prayer.

On Monday, April 6., I dined with him at Sir Alexander Macdonald's, where was a young officer in the regimentals of the Scots Royal, who talked with a vivacity, fluency, and precision so uncommon, that he attracted particular attention. He proved to be the Honourable Thomas Erskine, youngest brother to the Earl of Buchan, who has since risen into such brilliant reputation at the bar in Westminster Hall.³

Fielding being mentioned, Johnson exclaimed, "He was a blockhead;" and upon my expressing my astonishment at so strange an assertion, he said, "What I mean by his being a blockhead is, that he was a barren rascal." BOSWELL. "Will you not allow, Sir, that he draws very natural pictures of human life?" JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, it is of very low life. Richardson used to say, that had he not known who Fielding was, he should have believed he

¹ Mr. Elphinstone: see *anté*, p. 65. n. 4. — CROKER.

² It must not be presumed that Dr. Johnson meant to give any countenance to licentiousness, though in the character of an advocate he made a just and subtle distinction between occasional and habitual transgression. — BOSWELL. I confess that I could have wished that Boswell had not repeated this loose talk. Johnson's coarse illustration does little credit to the philologist, and none at all to the moralist, and could hardly have been his real opinion. — CROKER.

³ Born in 1743; entered the navy as a midshipman in 1761, and the army as an ensign in the Royals in 1768. He was called to the bar in 1779; appointed a King's counsel in 1783; and, in 1806, Lord Chancellor of England, and created

a baron by the title of Lord Erskine, soon after which time my acquaintance with him began. He died in 1823. Neither his conversation (even to the last remarkable for fluency and vivacity, though certainly not for *precision*) nor his parliamentary speeches ever bore any proportion to the extraordinary force and brilliancy of his forensic eloquence. Those who only knew him in private, or in the House of Commons, had some difficulty in believing the effect he produced at the bar. During the last years of his life, his conduct was eccentric, to a degree that justified a suspicion, and even a hope, that his understanding was impaired. — CROKER.

was an ostler. Sir, there is more knowledge of the heart in one letter of Richardson's, than in all 'Tom Jones.'¹ I, indeed, never read 'Joseph Andrews.'² **ERSKINE.** "Surely, Sir, Richardson is very tedious." **JOHNSON.** "Why, Sir, if you were to read Richardson for the story, your impatience would be so much fretted that you would hang yourself. But you must read him for the sentiment, and consider the story as only giving occasion to the sentiment." I have already given my opinion of Fielding; but I cannot refrain from repeating here my wonder at Johnson's excessive and unaccountable depreciation of one of the best writers that England has produced. "Tom Jones" has stood the test of public opinion with such success, as to have established its great merit, both for the story, the sentiments, and the manners, and also the varieties of diction, so as to leave no doubt of its having an animated truth of execution throughout.

A book of travels, lately published under the title of *Coriat Junior*, and written by Mr. Paterson³, was mentioned. Johnson said, this book was in imitation of Sterne⁴, and not of Coriat, whose name Paterson had chosen as a whimsical one. "Tom Coriat," said he, "was a humorist about the court of James the First. He had a mixture of learning, of wit, and of buffoonery. He first travelled through Europe, and published his travels.⁵ He afterwards travelled on foot through Asia, and had made many remarks; but he died at Mandoa, and his remarks were lost."

We talked of gaming, and animadverted on it with severity. **JOHNSON.** "Nay, gentlemen, let us not aggravate the matter. It is not roguery to play with a man who is ignorant of the game, while you are master of it, and so win his money; for he thinks he can play better than you, as you think you can play better than he; and the superior skill carries it." **ERSKINE.** "He is a fool, but you are not a rogue." **JOHNSON.** "That's much about the truth, Sir. It must be considered, that a man who only does what every one of the society to which he belongs would do, is not a dishonest man. In the republic of Sparta it was agreed, that stealing was not

dishonourable if not discovered. I do not commend a society where there is an agreement that what would not otherwise be fair, shall be fair; but I maintain, that an individual of any society, who practises what is allowed, is not a dishonest man." **BOSWELL.** "So then, Sir, you do not think ill of a man who wins perhaps forty thousand pounds in a winter?" **JOHNSON.** "Sir, I do not call a gamester a dishonest man; but I call him an unsocial man, an unprofitable man. Gaming is a mode of transferring property without producing any intermediate good. Trade gives employment to numbers, and so produces intermediate good."

Mr. Erskine told us that, when he was in the island of Minorca, he not only read prayers, but preached two sermons to the regiment.⁶ He seemed to object to the passage in scripture, where we are told that the angel of the Lord smote in one night forty thousand Assyrians.⁷ "Sir," said Johnson, "you should recollect that there was a supernatural interposition; they were destroyed by pestilence. You are not to suppose that the angel of the Lord went about and stabbed each of them with a dagger, or knocked them on the head, man by man."

After Mr. Erskine was gone, a discussion took place, whether the present Earl of Buchan, when Lord Cardross, did right to refuse to go secretary of the embassy to Spain, when Sir James Gray, a man of inferior rank, went ambassador. Dr. Johnson said, that perhaps in point of interest he did wrong; but in point of dignity he did well. Sir Alexander insisted that he was wrong; and said that Mr. Pitt intended it as an advantageous thing for him. "Why, Sir," said Johnson, "Mr. Pitt might think it an advantageous thing for him to make him a vintner, and get him all the Portugal trade: but he would have demeaned himself strangely, had he accepted of such a situation. Sir, had he gone secretary while his inferior was ambassador, he would have been a traitor to his rank and family."⁸

I talked of the little attachment which subsisted between near relations in London. "Sir," said Johnson, "in a country so commercial as ours, where every man can do for himself, there is not so much occasion for that

pany, and often repeated it, boasting that he had been a sailor, a soldier, a lawyer, and a parson. The latter he affected to think the greatest of his efforts, and to support that opinion would quote the prayer for the *clergy* in the liturgy, from the expression of which he would (in no commendable spirit of jocularity) infer, that the enlightening them was one of the "greatest marvels" which could be worked. — **CROKER.**

⁶ One hundred and eighty-five thousand. See Isaiah, xxxvii. 36, and 2 Kings, xix. 35. — **MALONE.**

⁷ If this principle were to be admitted, the young nobility would be excluded from all the professions; for the superiors in the profession would frequently be their inferiors in personal rank. Would Johnson have dissuaded Lord Cardross from entering on the military profession, because at his outset he must have been commanded by a person inferior in personal rank? This, if ever it was a subject of real doubt, is no longer so, and young men of the highest rank think it no degradation to enter into the junior ranks of the military, naval, and diplomatic and official professions. — **CROKER.**

¹ Johnson's severity against Fielding did not arise from any viciousness in his style, but from his loose life, and the profligacy of almost all his male characters. Who would venture to read one of his novels aloud to modest women? — **BURNEY.**

² Mr. Samuel Paterson, eminent for his knowledge of books. — **BOSWELL.** He was the son of a woollen-draper; he kept a bookseller's shop, chiefly for old books, and was afterwards an auctioneer; but seems to have been unsuccessful in all his attempts at business. He made catalogues of several celebrated libraries. He died in 1802, *ætat.* 77. — **CROKER.**

³ Mr. Paterson, in a pamphlet, produced some evidence to show that his work was written before Sterne's "Sentimental Journey" appeared. — **BOSWELL.**

⁴ Under the title of "*Crudities*," hastily gobbled up in France, Savoy, Italy, Rhetia, Helvetia, &c." Coriat was born in 1677, educated at Westminster school and Oxford, and died in 1617, at *Surat*, after he had left *Mandoa*. — **CROKER.**

⁵ Lord Erskine was fond of this anecdote. He told it to me the first time that I had the honour of being in his com-

attachment. No man is thought the worse of here, whose brother was hanged.¹ In uncommercial countries, many of the branches of a family must depend on the stock; so, in order to make the head of the family take care of them, they are represented as connected with his reputation, that, self-love being interested, he may exert himself to promote their interest. You have, first, large circles, or clans; as commerce increases, the connection is confined to families; by degrees, that too goes off, as having become unnecessary, and there being few opportunities of intercourse. One brother is a merchant in the city, and another is an officer in the guards: how little intercourse can these two have!"

I argued warmly for the old feudal system. Sir Alexander opposed it, and talked of the pleasure of seeing all men free and independent. JOHNSON. "I agree with Mr. Boswell, that there must be high satisfaction in being a feudal lord; but we are to consider, that we ought not to wish to have a number of men unhappy for the satisfaction of one." I maintained that numbers, namely, the vassals or followers, were not unhappy; for that there was a reciprocal satisfaction between the lord and them, he being kind in his authority over them, they being respectful and faithful to him.

On Thursday, April 9., I called on him to beg he would go and dine with me at the Mitre tavern. He had resolved not to dine at all this day. I know not for what reason; and I was so unwilling to be deprived of his company, that I was content to submit to suffer a want, which was at first somewhat painful; but he soon made me forget it: and a man is always pleased with himself when he finds his intellectual inclinations predominate.

He observed, that to reason philosophically on the nature of prayer, was very unprofitable.

Talking of ghosts, he said, he knew one friend, who was an honest man and a sensible man, who told him he had seen a ghost; old Mr. Edward Cave, the printer at St. John's Gate. He said, Mr. Cave did not like to talk of it, and seemed to be in great horror whenever it was mentioned. BOSWELL. "Pray, Sir, what did he say was the appearance?" JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, something of a shadowy being."

I mentioned witches, and asked him what they properly meant. JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, they properly mean those who make use of the aid of evil spirits." BOSWELL. "There is no doubt, Sir, a general report and belief of their having existed." JOHNSON. "You have not only the general report and belief, but you have many voluntary solemn confessions." He did not affirm any thing positively upon a subject which it is the fashion of the times to laugh at as a matter of absurd credulity. He only seemed willing, as a candid inquirer after truth, however strange and inexplicable, to show that he understood what might be urged for it.²

CHAPTER XXVII.

1772—1773.

Armorial Bearings. — *Duelling.* — *Prince Eugene.* — *Siege of Belgrade.* — *Friendships.* — *Goldsmith's Natural History.* — *Story of Prendergast.* — *Expulsion of Methodists from Oxford.* — "In Vino Veritas." — *Education of the People.* — *Sense of Touch in the Blind.* — *Theory of Sounds.* — *Taste in the Arts.* — *Francis Osborne's Works.* — *Country Gentlemen.* — *Long Stories.* — *Beattie and Robertson.* — *Advice to Authors.* — *Climate.* — *Walpole and Pitt.* — *Vicious Intramission.* — *Beattie's Essay.* — *Visit to Lichfield and Ashbourne.*

On Friday, April 10., I dined with him at General Oglethorpe's, where we found Dr. Goldsmith.

Armorial bearings having been mentioned, Johnson said, they were as ancient as the siege of Thebes, which he proved by a passage in one of the tragedies of Euripides.³

I started the question, whether duelling was consistent with moral duty. The brave old general fired at this, and said, with a lofty air, 'Undoubtedly a man has a right to defend his honour.' GOLDSMITH (turning to me). "I ask you first, Sir, what would you do if you were affronted?" I answered, I should think it necessary to fight. "Why then," replied Goldsmith, "that solves the

¹ It is scarcely worth remarking, that Johnson would assuredly not have volunteered this allusion if there had been any colour for Miss Seward's calumny, *anté*, p. 4. n. 3. — CROKER.

² See this curious question treated by him with most acute ability, *post*, Aug. 16. 1773. — BOSWELL.

³ The passage to which Johnson alluded is to be found (as I conjecture) in the "Phœnissæ," l. 1120.

Καὶ πρῶτα μὲν παρθένῳ, κ. τ. λ.

Ὁ τῆς κυνέου Παρθενόπαιος ἄγωνος,

ΕΠΙΣΗΜ' ἰκνῶν Οἰκεῖον ἐν μέσῳ στήθεϊ.

J. BOSWELL, Jun.

The meaning is, that "Parthenopæus had, in the centre of his shield, the domestic sign — *Atalanta killing the Ætolian*

boar;" but this, admitting that the story of Atalanta was the "armorial bearing" of Parthenopæus, would only prove them to be as ancient as *Euripides*, who flourished (422 A.C.) 800 years after the siege of Thebes (1225 A.C.). Homer, whom the chronologists place 500 years before Euripides, describes a sculptured shield; and there can be little doubt that very soon after ingenuity had made a shield, taste would begin to decorate it. The words "domestic sign" are certainly very curious, yet probably mean no more than that he bore on his shield the representation of a family story. The better opinion seems to be, that it was not till the visor concealed the face of the warrior, that the ornaments of the shields and crests became distinctive of individuals and families in that peculiar manner which we understand by the terms "armorial bearings." — CROKER.

question." JOHNSON. "No, Sir, it does not solve the question. It does not follow, that what a man would do is therefore right." I said, I wished to have it settled, whether duelling was contrary to the laws of Christianity. Johnson immediately entered on the subject, and treated it in a masterly manner; and, so far as I have been able to recollect, his thoughts were these: "Sir, as men become in a high degree refined, various causes of offence arise; which are considered to be of such importance, that life must be staked to atone for them, though in reality they are not so. A body that has received a very fine polish may be easily hurt. Before men arrive at this artificial refinement, if one tells his neighbour—he lies, his neighbour tells him—he lies; if one gives his neighbour a blow, his neighbour gives him a blow; but in a state of highly polished society, an affront is held to be a serious injury. It must, therefore, be resented, or rather a duel must be fought upon it; as men have agreed to banish from society one who puts up with an affront without fighting a duel. Now, Sir, it is never unlawful to fight in self-defence. He, then, who fights a duel, does not fight from passion against his antagonist, but out of self-defence; to avert the stigma of the world, and to prevent himself from being driven out of society. I could wish there was not that superfluity of refinement; but while such notions prevail, no doubt a man may lawfully fight a duel."

"Let it be remembered, that this justification is applicable only to the person who receives an affront. All mankind must condemn the aggressor."¹

The General told us, that, when he was a very young man, I think only fifteen, serving under Prince Eugene of Savoy, he was sitting in a company at table with a prince of Wirtemberg. The prince took up a glass of wine, and, by a fillip, made some of it fly in Oglethorpe's face. Here was a nice dilemma. To have challenged him instantly, might have fixed a quarrelsome character upon the young soldier: to have taken no notice of it, might

have been considered as cowardice. Oglethorpe, therefore, keeping his eye upon the prince, and smiling all the time, as if he took what his highness had done in jest, said "*Mon Prince,—*" (I forget the French words he used; the purport however was) "That's a good joke; but we do it much better in England;" and threw a whole glass of wine in the prince's face. An old general, who sat by, said, "*Il a bien fait, mon prince, vous l'avez commencé:*" and thus all ended in good humour."

Dr. Johnson said, "Pray, General, give us an account of the siege of Belgrade."² Upon which the general, pouring a little wine upon the table, described every thing with a wet finger: "Here we were; here were the Turks," &c. &c. Johnson listened with the closest attention.

³ A question was started, how far people who disagree in a capital point can live in friendship together. Johnson said they might. Goldsmith said they could not, as they had not the *idem velle atque idem nolle*—the same likings and the same aversions. JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, you must shun the subject as to which you disagree. For instance, I can live very well with Burke: I love his knowledge, his genius, his diffusion, and affluence of conversation; but I would not talk to him of the Rockingham party."³ GOLDSMITH. "But, Sir, when people live together who have something as to which they disagree, and which they want to shun, they will be in the situation mentioned in the story of Bluebeard: 'You may look into all the chambers but one.' But we should have the greatest inclination to look into that chamber, to talk of that subject." JOHNSON (with a loud voice). "Sir, I am not saying that you could live in friendship with a man from whom you differ as to some point; I am only saying that I could do it. You put me in mind of Sappho in Ovid."⁴

Goldsmith told us, that he was now busy in writing a Natural History⁵; and, that he might have full leisure for it, he had taken lodgings at a farmer's house, near to the six mile-stone, on the Edgeware-road, and had carried down his books in two returned post-

¹ The frequent disquisitions on this subject bring painfully to recollection the death of Mr. Boswell's eldest son, Sir Alexander, who was killed in a duel, arising from a political dispute, on the 26th of March, 1822, by Mr. Stuart, of Dunearn. See post, 24th Oct. 1775.—CROKER. This conversation on duelling was quoted on Mr. Stuart's trial by his counsel.—LOCKHART.

² By the Turks, in 1739.—CROKER.

³ Of which Mr. Burke was a zealous member.—CROKER.
⁴ Mr. Malone and Mr. James Boswell, junior, both consider Boswell's statement as obscure, and endeavour severally to explain the allusion to Sappho. Malone thinks it refers to the expression, "*omnique à parte placebam*," Ovid. Epist. Sapp. ad Phaonem, l. 51. Boswell junior rather conjectures that the passage was l. 45;—

"Si, nisi quæ facie poterit te digna videri,
Nulla futura tua est; nulla futura tua est;"

and adds, "The lines which I have quoted are thus expanded in Pope's Paraphrase;" which, to say the truth, I suspect was at this moment more in Johnson's recollection than the original:—

"If to no charms thou wilt thy heart resign
But such as merit, such as equal thine,
By none, alas! by none, thou canst be moved,
Phaon alone by Phaon must be loved."

I cannot, however, see how either of these quotations, nor indeed any thing else in the epistle to Phaon, would explain the allusion. Boswell's would at best liken Goldsmith to Phaon, not to Sappho; and would be a compliment, not a rebuff. Perhaps the meaning may be, "You are as unreasonable as Sappho, whom nothing could please while one object was wanting."

"— cui placuisse laborem?
Ille mei cultus unicus auctor abest." l. 15.

"For whom should Sappho use such arts as these?
He's gone whom only she desired to please."

Pope.

This is a strained explanation: but it is the best I can give.—CROKER.

⁵ Published, in 1774, in eight volumes, 8vo, under the title of a "History of the Earth and of Animated Nature."—CROKER.

chaises. He said, he believed the farmer's family thought him an odd character, similar to that in which the *Spectator* appeared to his landlady and her children: he was *The Gentleman*. Mr. Mickle¹, the translator of "*The Lusiad*," and I, went to visit him at this place a few days afterwards. He was not at home; but, having a curiosity to see his apartment, we went in, and found curious scraps of descriptions of animals, scrawled upon the wall with a black-lead pencil.

The subject of ghosts being introduced, Johnson repeated what he had told me of a friend of his [Cave], an honest man, and a man of sense, having asserted to him that he had seen an apparition. Goldsmith told us, he was assured by his brother, the Reverend Mr. Goldsmith, that he also had seen one. General Ogleshorpe told us, that Prendergast, an officer in the Duke of Marlborough's army, had mentioned to many of his friends, that he should die on a particular day; that upon that day a battle took place with the French; that after it was over, and Prendergast was still alive, his brother officers, while they were yet in the field, jestingly asked him, where was his prophecy now? Prendergast gravely answered, "I shall die, notwithstanding what you see." Soon afterwards, there came a shot from a French battery, to which the orders for a cessation of arms had not yet reached, and he was killed upon the spot. Colonel Cecil, who took possession of his effects, found in his pocket-book the following solemn entry:—

[Here the date.] "Dreamt—or ———"²
Sir John Friend meets me:" (here the very day on which he was killed was mentioned.)

Prendergast had been connected with Sir John Friend, who was executed for high treason. General Ogleshorpe said, he was with Colonel Cecil, when Pope came and inquired into the truth of this story, which made a great noise at the time, and was then confirmed by the colonel.

On Saturday, April 11., he appointed me to come to him in the evening, when he should be at leisure to give me some assistance for the defence of *Hastie*, the schoolmaster of Campbelltown, for whom I was to

appear in the House of Lords. When I came, I found him unwilling to exert himself. I pressed him to write down his thoughts upon the subject. He said, "There's no occasion for my writing: I'll talk to you." He was, however, at last prevailed on to dictate to me, while I wrote.³

"This, Sir," said he, "you are to turn in your mind, and make the best use of it you can in your speech."

Of our friend Goldsmith he said, "Sir, he is so much afraid of being unnoticed, that he often talks merely lest you should forget that he is in the company." BOSWELL. "Yes, he stands forward." JOHNSON. "True, Sir; but if a man is to stand forward, he should wish to do it, not in an awkward posture, not in rags, not so as that he shall only be exposed to ridicule." BOSWELL. "For my part, I like very well to hear honest Goldsmith talk away carelessly." JOHNSON. "Why, yes, Sir; but he should not like to hear himself."

On Tuesday, April 14., the decree of the court of sessions in the Schoolmaster's cause was reversed in the House of Lords, after a very eloquent speech by Lord Mansfield, who showed himself an adept in school discipline, but I thought was too rigorous towards my client. On the evening of the next day I supped with Dr. Johnson, at the Crown and Anchor tavern, in the Strand, in company with Mr. Langton and his brother-in-law, Lord Binning.⁴ I repeated a sentence of Lord Mansfield's speech, of which, by the aid of Mr. Longlands, the solicitor on the other side, who obligingly allowed me to compare his note with my own, I have a full copy:—"My Lords, severity is not the way to govern either boys or men." "Nay," said Johnson, "it is the way to *govern* them. I know not whether it be the way to *mend* them."

I talked of the recent⁵ expulsion of six students from the University of Oxford, who were methodists, and would not desist from publicly praying and exhorting. JOHNSON. "Sir, that expulsion was extremely just and proper. What have they to do at an uni-

¹ William Julius Mickle, the son of a Scotch clergyman, was born at Langholm, Dumfriesshire, in 1734. He lived the life that poets lived in those days; that is, in difficulties and distress, till 1779, when, being appointed secretary to Commodore Johnson, he realised by prize agencies a moderate competence. He retired to Forest Hill, near Oxford, where he died in 1788. His translation of the *Lusiad* is still in some repute: and his ballad of "Cumnor Hall" suggested "Kenilworth" to Scott; but his other works are almost all forgotten. — CROKER.

² Here was a blank, which may be filled up thus:—"was told by an apparition;" the writer being probably uncertain whether he was asleep or awake, when his mind was impressed with the solemn presentiment with which the fact afterwards happened so wonderfully to correspond. — BOSWELL.

³ Lord Hardinge, when Secretary at War, informed me, that it appears that Colonel Sir Thomas Prendergast, of the twenty-second foot, was killed at Malplaquet, August 31. 1709; but no trace can be found of any Colonel Cecil in the army at that period. The well-known Jacobite, Colonel

William Cecil, who was sent to the Tower in 1744, could hardly have been, in 1709, of the age, rank, and station which Ogleshorpe's anecdote seems to imply. Is it not very strange, if this story made so great a noise, we should read of it no where else? and, as so much curiosity was excited, that the paper should not have been preserved, or, at least, so generally shown as to be mentioned by some other witness? — CROKER.

⁴ This, and some similar law arguments, which would very much interrupt the narrative, will be found collected in the Appendix. — CROKER.

⁵ Charles, Lord Binning, afterwards eighth Earl of Haddington, was the son of Mary Holt, who, by a first marriage with Mr. Lloyd, was the mother of Lady Rothes, Mr. Langton's wife. Lord Haddington died in 1828. — CROKER.

⁶ Not very recent, if he alluded to six members of St. Edmund Hall, who were expelled, May 1768. See *Gen. Mag.*, vol. xxxviii, p. 225. But probably Boswell, writing, or at least publishing, at an interval of twenty years, thought that 1768 was, in 1772, recent. — CROKER.

versity, who are not willing to be taught, but will presume to teach? Where is religion to be learnt but at an university? Sir, they were examined, and found to be mighty ignorant fellows." BOSWELL. "But, was it not hard, Sir, to expel them; for I am told they were good beings?" JOHNSON. "I believe they might be good beings; but they were not fit to be in the University of Oxford. A cow is a very good animal in the field; but we turn her out of a garden." Lord Elibank used to repeat this as an illustration uncommonly happy.

Desirous of calling Johnson forth to talk, and exercise his wit, though I should myself be the object of it, I resolutely ventured to undertake the defence of convivial indulgence in wine, though he was not to-night in the most genial humour. After urging the common plausible topics, I at last had recourse to the maxim, *in vino veritas*, a man who is well warmed with wine will speak truth. JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, that may be an argument for drinking if you suppose men in general to be liars. But, Sir, I would not keep company with a fellow who lies as long as he is sober, and whom you must make drunk before you can get a word of truth out of him."¹

Mr. Langton told us he was about to establish a school upon his estate; but it had been suggested to him, that it might have a tendency to make the people less industrious. JOHNSON. "No, Sir; while learning to read and write is a distinction, the few who have that distinction may be the less inclined to work; but when every body learns to read and write, it is no longer a distinction. A man who has a laced waistcoat is too fine a man to work; but if every body had laced waistcoats, we should have people working in laced waistcoats. There are no people whatever more industrious, none who work more, than our manufacturers; yet they have all learnt to read and write. Sir, you must not neglect doing a thing immediately good, from fear of remote evil; from fear of its being abused. A man who has candles may sit up too late, which he would not do if he had not candles; but nobody will deny that the art of making candles, by which light is continued to us beyond the time that the sun gives us light, is a valuable art, and ought to be preserved." BOSWELL. "But, Sir, would it not be better to follow nature, and go to bed and rise just as nature gives us light or withholds it?" JOHNSON. "No, Sir; for then we should have no kind of

equality in the partition of our time between sleeping and waking. It would be very different in different seasons and in different places. In some of the northern parts of Scotland how little light is there in the depth of winter!"

We talked of Tacitus, and I hazarded an opinion that, with all his merit for penetration, shrewdness of judgment, and terseness of expression, he was too compact, too much broken into hints, as it were, and, therefore, too difficult to be understood. To my great satisfaction, Dr. Johnson sanctioned this opinion. "Tacitus, Sir, seems to me rather to have made notes for an historical work, than to have written a history."²

At this time, it appears, from his "Prayers and Meditations," that he had been more than commonly diligent in religious duties, particularly in reading the Holy Scriptures. It was Passion Week, that solemn season which the Christian world has appropriated to the commemoration of the mysteries of our redemption, and during which, whatever embers of religion are in our breasts, will be kindled into pious warmth.

I paid him short visits both on Friday and Saturday; and, seeing his large folio Greek Testament before him, beheld him with a reverential awe, and would not intrude upon his time. While he was thus employed to such good purpose, and while his friends in their intercourse with him constantly found a vigorous intellect and a lively imagination, it is melancholy to read in his private register, "My mind is unsettled and my memory confused. I have of late turned my thoughts with a very useless earnestness upon past incidents. I have yet got no command over my thoughts: an unpleasing incident is almost certain to hinder my rest." [p. 111.] What philosophic heroism was it in him to appear with such manly fortitude to the world, while he was inwardly so distressed! We may surely believe that the mysterious principle of being "made perfect through suffering," was to be strongly exemplified in him.

On Sunday, April 19., being Easter-day, General Paoli and I paid him a visit before dinner. We talked of the notion that blind persons can distinguish colours by the touch. Johnson said, that Professor Saunderson³ mentions his having attempted to do it, but that he found he was aiming at an impossibility; that, to be sure, a difference in the surface makes the difference of colours; but that difference is so fine, that it is not sensible to the

¹ Mrs. Piozzi, in her "Anecdotes," p. 261., has given an erroneous account of this incident, as of many others. She pretends to relate it from recollection, as if she herself had been present: when the fact is, that it was communicated to her by me. She has represented it as a personality, and the true point has escaped her. — BOSWELL. He misrepresents the lady more than she the anecdote; it is either way but a trifle, and only worth notice as marking Boswell's jealousy of Mrs. Piozzi's book. — CROKER.

² It is remarkable that Lord Monboddo, whom, on account of his resembling Dr. Johnson in some particulars, Foote called an Elzevir edition of him, has, by coincidence, made the very same remark. — *Origin and Progress of Language*, vol. iii. 2d edit. p. 219. — BOSWELL. See post, Aug. 21. 1773. — C.

³ Nicholas Saunderson, Professor of Mathematics in the University of Cambridge, died April 19. 1739. He had lost his sight by the small-pox when two years old. — WRIGHT.

touch. The General mentioned jugglers and fraudulent gamesters, who could know cards by the touch. Dr. Johnson said, "The cards used by such persons must be less polished than ours commonly are."

We talked of sounds. The General said, there was no beauty in a simple sound, but only in an harmonious composition of sounds. I presumed to differ from this opinion, and mentioned the soft and sweet sound of a fine woman's voice. JOHNSON. "No, Sir, if a serpent or a toad uttered it, you would think it ugly." BOSWELL. "So you would think, Sir, were a beautiful tune to be uttered by one of those animals." JOHNSON. "No, Sir, it would be admired. We have seen fine fiddlers whom we liked as little as toads" (laughing).

Talking on the subject of taste in the arts, he said, that difference of taste was, in truth, difference of skill. BOSWELL. "But, Sir, is there not a quality called taste, which consists merely in perception or in liking? for instance, we find people differ much as to what is the best style of English composition. Some think Swift's the best; others prefer a fuller and grander way of writing." JOHNSON. "Sir, you must first define what you mean by style, before you can judge who has a good taste in style, and who has a bad. The two classes of persons whom you have mentioned, don't differ as to good and bad. They both agree that Swift has a good neat style; but one loves a neat style, another loves a style of more splendour. In like manner, one loves a plain coat, another loves a laced coat; but neither will deny that each is good in its kind."¹

While I remained in London this spring, I was with him at several other times, both by himself and in company. I dined with him one day at the Crown and Anchor tavern, in the Strand, with Lord Elibank, Mr. Langton, and Dr. Vansittart, of Oxford.² Without specifying each particular day, I have preserved the following memorable things.

I regretted the reflection, in his preface to Shakspeare, against Garrick, to whom we cannot but apply the following passage:—"I

collated such copies as I could procure, and wished for more, but have not found the collectors of these rarities very communicative." I told him, that Garrick had complained to me of it, and had vindicated himself by assuring me, that Johnson was made welcome to the full use of his collection, and that he left the key of it with a servant, with orders to have a fire and every convenience for him. I found Johnson's notion was, that Garrick wanted to be courted for them, and that, on the contrary, Garrick should have courted him, and sent him the plays of his own accord. But, indeed, considering the slovenly and careless manner in which books were treated by Johnson, it could not be expected that scarce and valuable editions should have been lent to him.³

A gentleman⁴ having, to some of the usual arguments for drinking, added this:—"You know, Sir, drinking drives away care, and makes us forget whatever is disagreeable. Would not you allow a man to drink for that reason?" JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir, if he sat next you."

I expressed a liking for Mr. Francis Osbourne's⁵ works, and asked him what he thought of that writer. He answered, "A conceited fellow. Were a man to write so now, the boys would throw stones at him." He, however, did not alter my opinion of a favourite author, to whom I was first directed by his being quoted in "The Spectator,"⁶ and in whom I have found much shrewd and lively sense, expressed, indeed, in a style somewhat quaint; which, however, I do not dislike. His book has an air of originality. We figure to ourselves an ancient gentleman talking to us.

When one of his friends endeavoured to maintain that a country gentleman might contrive to pass his life very agreeably, "Sir," said he, "you cannot give me an instance of any man who is permitted to lay out his own time, contriving not to have tedious hours." This observation, however, is equally applicable to gentlemen who live in cities⁷, and are of no profession.

He said, "There is no permanent national

¹ The following meditations, made about this period, are very interesting sketches of his feelings:—

"April 26. I was some way hindered from continuing this contemplation in the usual manner, and therefore try, at the distance of a week, to review the last [Easter] Sunday.

"I went to church early, having first, I think, used my prayer. When I was there, I had very little perturbation of mind. During the usual time of meditation, I considered the Christian duties under the three principles of soberness, righteousness, and godliness; and purposed to forward godliness by the *annual perusal of the Bible*; righteousness by *settling something for charity*, and soberness by *early hours*. I commended, as usual, with preface of permission, and, I think, mentioned Bathurst. I came home, and found Paoli and Boswell waiting for me. What devotions I used after my return home, I do not distinctly remember. I went to prayers in the evening; and, I think, entered late.

"On Good Friday, I paid Peyton, without requiring work. "It is a comfort to me, that, at last, in my sixty-third year, I have attained to know, even thus hastily, confusedly, and imperfectly, what my Bible contains.

"Having missed church in the morning (April 26.), I went this evening, and afterwards sat with Southwell." *Pr. and Med.* pp. 115, 117, 118. — CROKER.

² Robert Vansittart, LL.D. See p. 117. n. 4. — CROKER.

³ Cooke in his *Life of Foote* records an instance of Johnson's treating Garrick's library very roughly — opening the books so wide as to crack the backs, and throwing them on the floor, to poor Garrick's very natural displeasure. No portion of Johnson's character is so painful to a general admirer as his treatment of Garrick. — CROKER.

⁴ I believe Boswell himself. — CROKER.

⁵ Of the family of the Osbornes of Chicksands, in Bedfordshire. The work by which he is now best known is his "Historical Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth and King James," written in a very acrimonious spirit. He had attached himself to the Pembroke family; and, like Earl Philip, whom Walpole designates by the too gentle appellation of *memorable simpleton*, joined the Parliamentarians. He died in 1659. — CROKER.

⁶ No. 150. Osbourne advises his son to appear, in his habit, rather above than below his fortune; and tells him that he will find a handsome suit of clothes always procures some additional respect. — WRIGHT.

⁷ Not quite: men who live in cities have theatres, clubs, and all the variety of public and private society within easier reach. — CROKER.

character: it varies according to circumstances. Alexander the Great swept India¹; now the Turks sweep Greece."

A learned gentleman [*Dr. Vansittart*], who, in the course of conversation, wished to inform us of this simple fact, that the counsel upon the circuit of Shrewsbury were much bitten by fleas, took, I suppose, seven or eight minutes in relating it circumstantially. He in a plenitude of phrase told us, that large bales of woollen cloth were lodged in the town-hall; that by reason of this, fleas nestled there in prodigious numbers; that the lodgings of the counsel were near the town-hall; and that those little animals moved from place to place with wonderful agility. Johnson sat in great impatience till the gentleman had finished his tedious narrative, and then burst out (playfully however), "It is a pity, Sir, that you have not seen a lion; for a flea has taken you such a time, that a lion must have served you a twelvemonth."²

He would not allow Scotland to derive any credit from Lord Mansfield; for he was educated in England. "Much," said he, "may be made of a Scotchman, if he be caught young."

Talking of a modern historian and a modern moralist, he said, "There is more thought in the moralist than in the historian. There is but a shallow stream of thought in history." BOSWELL. "But, surely, Sir, an historian has reflection?" JOHNSON. "Why, yes, Sir; and so has a cat when she catches a mouse for her kitten: but she cannot write like [*Beattie*]; neither can [*Robertson*]."³

He said, "I am very unwilling to read the manuscripts of authors, and give them my opinion. If the authors who apply to me have money, I bid them boldly print without a name; if they have written in order to get money, then to go to the booksellers and make the best bargain they can." BOSWELL. "But, Sir, if a bookseller should bring you a manuscript to look at?" JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, I would desire the bookseller to take it away."

I mentioned a friend of mine⁴ who had resided long in Spain, and was unwilling to return to Britain. JOHNSON. "Sir, he is attached to some woman." BOSWELL. "I rather believe, Sir, it is the fine climate which keeps him there." JOHNSON. "Nay, Sir, how can you talk so? What is *climate* to happiness? Place me in the heart of Asia; should I not be exiled? What proportion does climate bear to the complex system of human life? You may advise me to go to live at Bologna to eat

sausages. The sausages there are the best in the world; they lose much by being carried."

On Saturday, May 9., Mr. Dempster and I had agreed to dine by ourselves at the British Coffee-house. Johnson, on whom I happened to call in the morning, said he would join us; which he did, and we spent a very agreeable day, though I recollect but little of what passed.

He said, "Walpole was a minister given by the King to the people: Pitt was a minister given by the people to the King,—as an adjunct."

"The misfortune of Goldsmith in conversation is this: he goes on without knowing how he is to get off. His genius is great, but his knowledge is small. As they say of a generous man, it is a pity he is not rich, we may say of Goldsmith, it is a pity he is not knowing. He would not keep his knowledge to himself."

Before leaving London this year, I consulted him upon a question purely of Scotch law. It was held of old, and continued for a long period to be an established principle in that law, that whoever intermeddled with the effects of a person deceased, without the interposition of legal authority to guard against embezzlement, should be subjected to pay all the debts of the deceased, as having been guilty of what was technically called *vicious intromission*. The court of session had gradually relaxed the strictness of this principle, where the interference proved had been inconsiderable. In a case⁵ which came before that court the preceding winter, I had laboured to persuade the judge to return to the ancient law. It was my own sincere opinion, that they ought to adhere to it; but I had exhausted all my powers of reasoning in vain. Johnson thought as I did; and, in order to assist me in my application to the Court for a revision and alteration of the judgment, he dictated to me the following Argument. [See Appendix.]

With such comprehension of mind, and such clearness of penetration, did he thus treat a subject altogether new to him, without any other preparation than my having stated to him the arguments which had been used on each side of the question. His intellectual powers appeared with peculiar lustre, when tried against those of a writer of such fame as Lord Kames, and that, too, in his Lordship's own department.

¹ This seems somewhat obscure, but the meaning, I suppose, is, that Greece, which formerly sent forth the conquerors of Asia, had sunk to be the province of an Asiatic empire. — CROKER.

² Mrs. Piozzi, to whom I told this anecdote, has related it as if the gentleman had given "the natural history of the mouse." *Anecdotes*, p. 191. — BOSWELL. The "learned gentleman" was certainly Dr. Vansittart, as is proved by two passages in the correspondence between Mrs. Thrale and Dr. Johnson, July and August, 1773. She writes to the Dr. in Scotland, "I have seen the man that saw the mouse," &c.

Johnson replies, "Poor V. —, &c.; he is a good man, and, when his mind is composed, a man of parts." This proves the identity of the person, and also that Johnson himself sanctioned Mrs. Piozzi's version of the story — *mouse versus flea*. — CROKER.

³ The historian and the moralist, whose names Mr. Boswell had left in blank, are Doctors Robertson and Beattie. — CROKER.

⁴ Probably Mr. Boswell's brother David. See *post*, April 29, 1780. — CROKER.

⁵ Wilson against Smith and Armour. — BOSWELL.

This masterly argument, after being prefaced and concluded with some sentences of my own, and garnished with the usual formularies, was actually printed and laid before the lords of session, but without success. My respected friend Lord Hailes, however, one of that honourable body, had critical sagacity enough to discover a more than ordinary hand in the *petition*. I told him Dr. Johnson had favoured me with his pen. His lordship, with wonderful acumen, pointed out exactly where his composition began, and where it ended. But, that I may do impartial justice, and conform to the great rule of courts, *Scum cuique tribuito*, I must add, that their lordships in general, though they were pleased to call this "a well-drawn paper," preferred the former very inferior petition, which I had written: thus confirming the truth of an observation made to me by one of their number, in a merry mood:—"My dear Sir, give yourself no trouble in the composition of the papers you present to us; for, indeed, it is casting pearls before swine."¹

I renewed my solicitations that Dr. Johnson would this year accomplish his long-intended visit to Scotland.

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"August 13. 1772.

"DEAR SIR,—The regret has not been little with which I have missed a journey so pregnant with pleasing expectations, as that in which I could promise myself not only the gratification of curiosity, both rational and fanciful, but the delight of seeing those whom I love and esteem. But such has been the course of things, that I could not come; and such has been, I am afraid, the state of my body, that it would not well have seconded my inclination. My body, I think, grows better, and I refer my hopes to another year; for I am very sincere in my design to pay the visit, and take the ramble. In the mean time, do not omit any opportunity of keeping up a favourable opinion of me in the minds of any of my friends. Beattie's book² is, I believe, every day more liked; at least, I like it more, as I look more upon it.

"I am glad if you got credit by your cause; and am yet of opinion that our cause was good, and that the determination ought to have been in your favour. Poor Hastie [the Schoolmaster], I think, had but his deserts.

"You promised to get me a little Pindar: you may add to it a little Anacreon.

"The leisure which I cannot enjoy, it will be a pleasure to hear that you employ upon the antiquities of the feudal establishment. The whole system of ancient tenures is gradually passing away; and

I wish to have the knowledge of it preserved adequate and complete; for such an institution makes a very important part of the history of mankind. Do not forget a design so worthy of a scholar who studies the law of his country, and of a gentleman who may naturally be curious to know the condition of his own ancestors. I am, dear Sir, yours with great affection,
SAM. JOHNSON."

BOSWELL TO JOHNSON.

"Edinburgh, Dec. 25. 1772.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I was much disappointed that you did not come to Scotland last autumn. However, I must own that your letter prevents me from complaining; not only because I am sensible that the state of your health was but too good an excuse, but because you write in a strain which shows that you have agreeable views of the scheme which we have so long proposed.

"I communicated to Beattie what you said of his book in your last letter to me. He writes to me thus:—"You judge very rightly in supposing that Dr. Johnson's favourable opinion of my book must give me great delight. Indeed, it is impossible for me to say how much I am gratified by it; for there is not a man upon earth whose good opinion I would be more ambitious to cultivate. His talents and his virtues I reverence more than any words can express. The extraordinary civilities (the paternal attentions I should rather say), and the many instructions I have had the honour to receive from him, will to me be a perpetual source of pleasure in the recollection,—

*'Dum memor ipse mei, dum spiritus hos reget artus.'*³

"I had still some thoughts, while the summer lasted, of being obliged to go to London on some little business; otherwise I should certainly have troubled him with a letter several months ago, and given some vent to my gratitude and admiration. This I intend to do as soon as I am left a little at leisure. Meantime, if you have occasion to write to him, I beg you will offer him my most respectful compliments, and assure him of the sincerity of my attachment and the warmth of my gratitude."

"I am, &c.,

JAMES BOSWELL."

[JOHNSON TO MRS. THRALE.⁴

(Extracts.)

"Lichfield, Oct. 19. 1772. — I set out on Thursday night, at nine, and arrived at Lichfield on Friday night, at eleven, no otherwise incommoded than with want of sleep, which, however, I enjoyed very comfortably the first night. I think a stage coach is not the worst bed.

"Ashbourne, Nov. 4. 1772 — Since I came to Ashbourne I have been out of order. I was well at Lichfield. You know sickness will drive me to you; so, perhaps, you very heartily wish me better:

¹ This application of the scriptural phrase was not very becoming, but the meaning was correct: the facts and the law only ought to be considered by the judge—the verbal decorations of style should be of no weight. It is probable that the judge who used it was bantering Boswell on some pleading in which there was, perhaps, more ornament than substance.—CROKER.

² "Essay on Truth," of which a third edition was published in 1772.—CROKER.

³ "While memory lasts and life inspires my frame."—

ÆN. iv. 336. Yet it seems that Boswell had allowed Johnson's kind letter of the 13th August to remain above four months unanswered.—CROKER.

⁴ It appears from the extracts of his letters to Mrs. Thrale, which I have given in the text, that in the autumn of this year Johnson again visited Lichfield and Ashbourne, where he was somewhat indisposed; and on his return to town had a fit of the gout, accompanied by a cough, which gave him more trouble.—CROKER.

but you know likewise that health will not hold me away.

"Ashbourne, Nov. 27. 1772. — If you are so kind as to write to me on Saturday, the day on which you will receive this, I shall have it before I leave Ashbourne. I am to go to Lichfield on Wednesday, and purpose to find my way to London through Birmingham and Oxford. I was yesterday at Chatsworth. It is a very fine house. I wish you had been with me to see it; for then, as we are apt to want matter of talk, we should have gained something new to talk on. They complimented me with playing the fountain, and opening the cascade. But I am of my friend's opinion, that, when one has seen the ocean, cascades are but little things.]"

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1773.

George Steevens. — Goldsmith and Evans. — *Dalrymple's History*. — *Action in Speaking*. — *Ches-terfield and Tyrawley*. — *The Spectator*. — *Sir Andrew Freeport*. — *Burnet's Own Times*. — *Good Friday*. — *Easter Day*. — *A Dinner at Johnson's*. — *Wages to Women Servants*. — *Keeping a Journal*. — *Luxury*. — *Equality*. — *The Stuarts*. — *Law Reports*. — *"The Gentle Shepherd."* — *Whigs and Tories*. — *Sterne*. — *Charles Townshend*. — *"Happy Revolution."* — *"She Stoops to Conquer"*. — *Short-Hand*. — *Dedications*. — *James Harris*. — *The Fiddle*. — *Duelling*. — *Lord Chatham's Verses to Garrick*. — *Savage Life*. — *Suicide*. — *Budgell*. — *The Douglas Cause*.

In 1773¹, his only publication was an edition of his folio Dictionary, with additions and corrections; nor did he, so far as is known, furnish any productions of his fertile pen to any of his numerous friends or dependants, except the Preface* to his old amanuensis Macbean's "Dictionary of Ancient Geography." His Shakspeare, indeed, which had been received with high approbation by the public, and gone through several editions, was this year republished by George Steevens, Esq., a gentleman not only deeply skilled in ancient learning, and of very extensive reading in English literature, especially the early writers, but at the same time of acute discernment and elegant taste.

It is almost unnecessary to say, that by his great and valuable additions to Dr. Johnson's work, he justly obtained considerable reputation: —

"Divisum imperium cum Jove Cæsar habet."

[JOHNSON TO MRS. THRALE.

(Extracts.)

"Tuesday, Jan. 26. 1773.

"Last night was very tedious, and this day makes no promises of much ease. However, I have this day put on my shoe, and hope that gout is gone. I shall have only the cough to contend with; and I doubt whether I shall get rid of that without change of place. I caught cold in the coach as I went away, and am disordered by very little things. Is it accident or age?"

"Feb. 19. 1773.

"I think I am better, but cannot say much more than that I think so. I was yesterday with Miss Lucy Southwell and Mrs. Williams, at Mr. Southwell's.² Miss Frances Southwell is not well. I have an invitation to dine at Sir Joshua Reynolds's on Tuesday. May I accept it?"

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"London, Feb. 22. 1773.

"DEAR SIR, — I have read your kind letter much more than the elegant Pindar which it accompanied. I am always glad to find myself not forgotten; and to be forgotten by you would give me great uneasiness. My northern friends have never been unkind to me: I have from you, dear Sir, testimonies of affection, which I have not often been able to excite; and Dr. Beattie rates the testimony which I was desirous of paying to his merit, much higher than I should have thought it reasonable to expect.

"I have heard of your masquerade.³ What says your synod to such innovations? I am not studiously scrupulous, nor do I think a masquerade either evil in itself, or very likely to be the occasion of evil; yet, as the world thinks it a very licentious relaxation of manners, I would not have been one of the *first* masquers in a country where no masquerade had ever been before.⁴

"A new edition of my great Dictionary is printed, from a copy which I was persuaded to revise; but, having made no preparation, I was able to do very little. Some superfluities I have expunged, and some faults I have corrected, and here and there have scattered a remark; but the main fabric of the work remains as it was. I had looked very little into it since I wrote it; and, I think, I found it full as often better, as worse, than I expected.

¹ He, however, wrote, or partly wrote, an Epitaph on Mrs. Bell, wife of his friend John Bell, Esq., brother of the Rev. Dr. Bell, Prebendary of Westminster, which is printed in his works. It is in English prose, and has so little of his manner, that I did not believe he had any hand in it, till I was satisfied of the fact by the authority of Mr. Bell. — *Boswell*. See *anté*, p. 225. — C.

² Dr. Johnson's early friend, Mr. Edmond Southwell, third son of the first Lord Southwell, born in 1708, had died in the preceding November, aged 67: the Mr. Southwell here mentioned was, probably, Thomas Arthur, afterwards the fourth Lord and second Viscount. (See *anté*, p. 123.)

The two ladies mentioned were, probably, daughters of the first lord: Frances, born in 1708, and Lucy, born in 1710. — CROKER.

³ Given by a lady at Edinburgh. — *Boswell*.

⁴ There had been masquerades in Scotland; but not for a very long time. — *Boswell*. This masquerade was given on the 15th of January, by the Countess Dowager of Fife. Johnson had no doubt seen an account of it in the Gentleman's Magazine for January, where it is said to have been the first masquerade ever seen in Scotland. Mr. Boswell himself appeared in the character of a Dumb Conjuror. — CROKER.

"Baretti and Davies¹ have had a furious quarrel; a quarrel, I think, irreconcilable. Dr. Goldsmith has a new comedy, which is expected in the spring. No name is yet given it. The chief diversion arises from a stratagem by which a lover is made to mistake his future father-in-law's house for an inn. This, you see, borders upon farce. The dialogue is quick and gay, and the incidents are so prepared as not to seem improbable."

"I am sorry that you lost your cause of Intromission, because I yet think the arguments on your side unanswerable. But you seem, I think, to say that you gained reputation even by your defeat; and reputation you will daily gain, if you keep Lord Auchinleck's precept in your mind, and endeavour to consolidate in your mind a firm and regular system of law, instead of picking up occasional fragments.

"My health seems in general to improve; but I have been troubled for many weeks with a vexatious catarrh, which is sometimes sufficiently distressful. I have not found any great effects from bleeding and physic; and am afraid that I must expect help from brighter days and softer air.

"Write to me now and then; and whenever any good befalls you, make haste to let me know it; for no one will rejoice at it more than, dear Sir, your most humble servant, SAM. JOHNSON.

"You continue to stand very high in the favour of Mrs. Thrale."

While a former edition of my work was passing through the press, I was unexpectedly favoured with a packet from Philadelphia, from Mr. James Abercrombie, a gentleman of that country, who is pleased to honour me with very high praise of my "Life of Dr. Johnson." To have the fame of my illustrious friend, and his faithful biographer, echoed from the New World, is extremely flattering; and my grateful acknowledgments shall be wafted across the Atlantic. Mr. Abercrombie has politely conferred on me a considerable additional obligation, by transmitting to me copies of two letters from Dr. Johnson to American gentlemen. "Gladly, Sir," says he, "would I have lent you the originals; but being the only relics of the kind in America, they are considered by the possessors of such inestimable value, that no possible consideration would induce them to part with them. In some future publication of yours relative to that great and good man, they may perhaps be thought worthy of insertion."

JOHNSON TO MR. B—D.²

"Johnson's Court, March 4. 1773.

"Sir,—That in the hurry of a sudden departure you should yet find leisure to consult my convenience, is a degree of kindness, and an instance of regard, not only beyond my claims, but above my expectation. You are not mistaken in supposing that I set a high value on my American friends, and that you should confer a very valuable favour upon me by giving me an opportunity of keeping myself in their memory.

"I have taken the liberty of troubling you with a packet, to which I wish a safe and speedy conveyance, because I wish a safe and speedy voyage to him that conveys it. I am, Sir, your most humble servant,
SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO REV. MR. WHITE.³

"Johnson's Court, March 4. 1773.

"DEAR SIR,—Your kindness for your friends accompanies you across the Atlantic. It was long since observed by Horace, that no ship could leave care behind: you have been attended in your voyage by other powers,—by benevolence and constancy; and I hope care did not often show her face in their company.

"I received the copy of *Rasselas*. The impression is not magnificent, but it flatters an author, because the printer seems to have expected that it would be scattered among the people. The little book has been well received, and is translated into Italian, French, German, and Dutch. It has now one honour more by an American edition.

"I know not that much has happened since your departure that can engage your curiosity. Of all public transactions the whole world is now informed by the newspapers. Opposition seems to despond; and the dissenters, though they have taken advantage of unsettled times, and a government much enfeebled, seem not likely to gain any immunities.

"Dr. Goldsmith has a new comedy in rehearsal at Covent Garden, to which the manager predicts ill success.⁴ I hope he will be mistaken. I think it deserves a very kind reception.

"I shall soon publish a new edition of my large Dictionary. I have been persuaded to revise it, and have mended some faults, but added little to its usefulness.

"No book has been published since your departure, of which much notice is taken. Faction only fills the town with pamphlets, and greater subjects are forgotten in the noise of discord.

"Thus have I written, only to tell you how little I have to tell. Of myself I can only add, that

into the *Rights of the British Colonies*" was republished in London in 1770.—CROKER.

² Afterwards Dr. White, and Bishop of the Episcopal Church in Pennsylvania. During his first visit to England in 1771, as a candidate for holy orders, he was several times in company with Dr. Johnson, who expressed a wish to see the edition of *Rasselas*, which Dr. White told him had been printed in America. Dr. White, on his return, immediately sent him a copy.—CROKER.

³ Colman thought so ill of it, that when, at one of the last rehearsals, Mrs. Reynolds and some other ladies objected to one of Tony Lumpkin's sallies, he exclaimed, "Pshaw! of what consequence is a squib, when we have been sitting for two hours on a barrel of gunpowder?"—CROKER.

¹ Davies was the publisher of Baretti's *Travels*; and this was probably a quarrel between author and publisher.—CROKER.

² "She Stoops to Conquer, or the Mistakes of a Night," was performed, for the first time, at Covent Garden, on the 15th of March. Mr. Prior, in his *Life of Goldsmith*, tells us that something like the main incident had happened to the Author himself in early life,—and the farcical trick of driving Mrs. Hardcastle round her own house, while she fancied she was going a journey, was actually practised by Sheridan on Madame de Genlis.—CROKER.

³ This gentleman, who now resides in America, in a public character of considerable dignity, desired that his name might not be transcribed at full length.—BOSWELL. Probably a Mr. Richard Bland, of Virginia, whose "Inquiry

having been afflicted many weeks with a very troublesome cough, I am now recovered.

"I take the liberty which you give me of troubling you with a letter, of which you will please to fill up the direction. I am, Sir, your most humble servant,
SAM. JOHNSON."

[JOHNSON TO W. S. JOHNSON, LL.D.,

Stratford, Connecticut.

"Johnson's Court, March 4. 1773.

"SIR, — Of all those whom the various accidents of life have brought within my notice, there is scarce any man whose acquaintance I have more desired to cultivate than yours. I cannot indeed charge you with neglecting me, yet our mutual inclination could never gratify itself with opportunities. The current of the day always bore us away from one another, and now the Atlantic is between us.

"Whether you carried away an impression of me as pleasing as that which you left me of yourself, I know not; if you did, you have not forgotten me, and will be glad that I do not forget you. Merely to be remembered is indeed a barren pleasure, but it is one of the pleasures which is more sensibly felt as human nature is more exalted.

"To make you wish that I should have you in my mind, I would be glad to tell you something which you do not know; but all public affairs are printed; and as you and I have no common friend, I can tell you no private history.

"The government, I think, grow stronger; but I am afraid the next general election will be a time of uncommon turbulence, violence, and outrage.

"Of literature no great product has appeared, or is expected; the attention of the people has for some years been otherwise employed.

"I was told a day or two ago of a design which must excite some curiosity. Two ships are in preparation, which are under the command of Captain Constantine Phipps, to explore the northern ocean; not to seek the north-east or the north-west passage, but to sail directly north, as near the pole as they can go. They hope to find an open ocean, but I suspect it is one mass of perpetual congelation. I do not much wish well to discoveries, for I am always afraid they will end in conquest and robbery.

"I have been out of order this winter, but am grown better. Can I never hope to see you again, or must I be always content to tell you that in

another hemisphere I am, Sir, your most humble servant?
SAM. JOHNSON."

— *Gent. Mag.*

JOHNSON TO MRS. THRALE.

(*Extract.*)

"March 25. 1773.

"Did not I tell you that I had written to Boswell? He has answered my letter. I am going this evening to put young Otway to school with Mr. Elphinston.

"*Colman*¹ is so distressed with abuse about his play, that he has solicited Goldsmith to take him off the rack of the newspapers. *Mickle*² is preparing a whole pamphlet against *Garrick*³, and *Garrick* is, I suppose, collecting materials to confute *Mickle*.

Jennens⁴ has published *Hamlet*, but without a preface, and *Steevens* declares his intention of letting him pass the rest of his life in peace. Here is news."

On Saturday, April 3., the day after my arrival in London this year, I went to his house late in the evening, and sat with Mrs. Williams till he came home. I found in the *London Chronicle*, Dr. Goldsmith's apology to the public for beating Evans, a bookseller, on account of a paragraph⁵ in a newspaper published by him, which Goldsmith thought impertinent to him and to a lady of his acquaintance. The apology was written so much in Dr. Johnson's manner, that both Mrs. Williams and I supposed it to be his; but when he came home, he soon undeceived us. When he said to Mrs. Williams, "Well, Dr. Goldsmith's *manifesto* has got into your paper;" I asked him if Dr. Goldsmith had written it, with an air that made him see I suspected it was his, though subscribed by Goldsmith. JOHNSON. "Sir, Dr. Goldsmith would no more have asked me to write such a thing as that for him, than he would have asked me to feed him with a spoon, or to do any thing else that denoted his imbecility. I as much believe that he wrote it, as if I had seen him do it. Sir, had he shown it to any one friend, he would not have been allowed to publish it. He has, indeed, done it very well; but it is a foolish thing well done. I suppose he has been so much elated with the success of his new comedy, that he has thought every thing that concerned him must be of

¹ The late Winfane Samuel Johnson of Connecticut. This gentleman spent several years in England about the middle of the last century. He received the degree of Doctor of Civil Law from the University of Oxford; and this circumstance, together with the accidental similarity of name, recommended him to the acquaintance of Dr. Samuel Johnson. Two letters passed between them, after the American Dr. Johnson had returned to his native country; of which, however, this is the only one remaining.—*Gent. Mag.*—CROKER. He died 1819.

² The play in question was Goldsmith's new comedy, "She Stoops to Conquer." Johnson calls it "*Colman's Play*," because Colman was the manager of Covent Garden Theatre, where it had been produced (15th March) contrary to the wishes of the manager, who thought it very ill adapted for success on the stage. The piece, however, was completely successful; and some of the friends of Goldsmith, and some of the small wits about town, filled the newspapers with verses to Colman, which would appear to have annoyed the manager so much, that he, as Johnson says, solicited Gold-

smith "to take him off the rack of the newspapers." Some of the squibs have been reprinted by Prior in his *Life of Goldsmith*.—P. CUNNINGHAM.

³ See Garrick's letter to Boswell, *post*, Oct. 23. 1773: the quarrel was on the subject of the "Siege of Marseilles."—CROKER.

⁴ Charles Jennens, of Gopsal, Esq., a man of large fortune, but questionable taste, mediated an edition of Shakespeare, and published two or three plays as specimens. Something in his preface to *King Lear* stirred up the rivalry and bile of Steevens, who for some time persecuted the old amateur with a malignity more personal than critical, but accepted, it appears, the publication of *Hamlet without a preface*, as a peace-offering; but Jennens did not long enjoy this tranquillity, for he died the same year.—CROKER.

⁵ The offence given was a long abusive letter in the *London Packet*. A particular account of this transaction, and Goldsmith's Vindication (for such it was, rather than an Apology), may be found in the *Life* of that poet, prefixed to his *Miscellaneous Works*.—MALONE.

importance to the public." BOSWELL. "I fancy, Sir, this is the first time that he has been engaged in such an adventure." JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, I believe it is the first time he has *beat*¹, he may have *been beaten* before. This, Sir, is a new plume to him."

I mentioned Sir John Dalrymple's "Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland," and his discoveries to the prejudice of Lord Russell and Algernon Sidney. JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, every body who had just notions of government thought them rascals before. It is well that all mankind now see them to be rascals."

BOSWELL. "But, Sir, may not those discoveries be true without their being rascals?" JOHNSON. "Consider, Sir; would any of them have been willing to have had it known that they intrigued with France? Depend upon it, Sir, he who does what he is afraid should be known, has something rotten about him. This Dalrymple seems to be an honest fellow; for he tells equally what makes against both sides. But nothing can be poorer than his mode of writing, it is the mere bouncing of a school-boy: Great He! but greater She! and such stuff."²

I could not agree with him in this criticism; for though Sir John Dalrymple's style is not regularly formed in any respect, and one cannot help smiling sometimes at his affected *grandiloquence*, there is in his writing a pointed vivacity, and much of a gentlemanly spirit.

At Mr. Thrale's, in the evening, he repeated his usual paradoxical declamation against action in public speaking. "Action can have no effect upon reasonable minds. It may augment noise, but it never can enforce argument. If you speak to a dog, you use action; you hold up your hand thus, because he is a brute; and in proportion as men are removed from brutes, action will have the less influence upon them." MRS. THRALE. "What then, Sir, becomes of Demosthenes' saying? 'Action, action, action!'" JOHNSON. "Demosthenes, Madam, spoke to an assembly of brutes; to a barbarous people."³

I thought it extraordinary, that he should deny the power of rhetorical action upon human nature, when it is proved by innumerable facts in all stages of society. Reasonable beings are

not solely reasonable. They have fancies which may be pleased, passions which may be roused.

Lord Chesterfield being mentioned, Johnson remarked, that almost all of that celebrated nobleman's witty sayings were puns. He, however, allowed the merit of good wit to his lordship's saying of Lord Tyrawley⁴ and himself, when both very old and infirm: "Tyrawley and I have been dead these two years; but we don't choose to have it known."

He talked with approbation of an intended edition of "The Spectator," with notes; two volumes of which had been prepared by a gentleman eminent in the literary world⁵, and the materials which he had collected for the remainder had been transferred to another hand. He observed, that all works which describe manners, require notes in sixty or seventy years, or less; and told us, he had communicated all he knew that could throw light upon "The Spectator." He said, "Addison had made his Sir Andrew Freeport a true Whig, arguing against giving charity to beggars, and throwing out other such ungracious sentiments; but that he had thought better, and made amends by making him found an hospital for decayed farmers." He called for the volume of "The Spectator" in which that account is contained, and read it aloud to us. He read so well, that every thing acquired additional weight and grace from his utterance.

The conversation having turned on modern imitations of ancient ballads, and some one having praised their simplicity, he treated them with that ridicule which he always displayed when that subject was mentioned.⁶

He disapproved of introducing scripture phrases into secular discourse. This seemed to me a question of some difficulty. A scripture expression may be used, like a highly classical phrase, to produce an instantaneous strong impression; and it may be done without being at all improper. Yet I own there is danger, that applying the language of our sacred book to ordinary subjects may tend to lessen our reverence for it. If therefore it be introduced at all, it should be with very great caution.

On Thursday, April 8., I sat a good part of the evening with him, but he was very silent.

¹ Mr. Chalmers, in the article "Goldsmith," in the *Biog. Dict.*, states, on the authority of Evans, that he had beaten Goldsmith, and not Goldsmith him; and Mr. Prior, who seldom concedes anything to Goldsmith's disparagement, produces the recollections of Harris the bookseller, late of St. Paul's Church Yard, who was Evans's shopman, and present at the fray, which gave Goldsmith rather the worst of it. Goldsmith alleged in defence of his proceeding, that the article was disrespectful to a young lady—one of the Miss Hornecks (*ante*, p. 138. n. 2.); but the allusion to her was very slight, and hardly disrespectful. Goldsmith was obliged to compromise the assault by paying 50*l.* to a Welsh charity. — CROKER.

² A bombastic ode of Oldham's on Ben Jonson, begins thus: "GREAT THOU!" which perhaps his namesake remembered. — MALONE. Mr. Malone's note is absurd. Johnson, as Mr. Hallam observed to me, clearly meant Dalrymple's description of the parting of Lord and Lady Russell:—"He great in this last act of his life, but she greater." — CROKER, 1835.

³ Johnson might have better replied, that Demosthenes never used this term in our sense, here alluded to, of theatrical *gesture*—he probably meant energy. Somewhat like Danton's requisite for a revolutionary leader, "de l'audace, encore de l'audace, toujours de l'audace." — CROKER.

⁴ James O'Hara, Lord Tyrawley, a general officer, was born in 1690, and died July 13. 1773. His name, I fear, was meant to fill a blank in Pope's satire—

"— or lewd T—g's crew." — CROKER.

⁵ Mr. Chalmers (who, himself, has performed this task) informs me, that the first of these gentlemen was Dr. Percy, and the second Dr. John Calder, of whom some account will be found, *Gent. Mag.* vol. lxxxv. p. 564. — CROKER.

⁶ Boswell, good-naturedly reluctant to publish Johnson's frequent ridicule on Bishop Percy (who was still alive), here suppressed details, which however may be sufficiently guessed at from what we shall see subsequently, *post*, March 21. 1776, and April, 1778. — CROKER.

He said, "Burnet's 'History of his own Times' is very entertaining. The style, indeed, is mere chit-chat. I do not believe that Burnet intentionally lied; but he was so much prejudiced, that he took no pains to find out the truth. He was like a man who resolves to regulate his time by a certain watch; but will not inquire whether the watch is right or not."

Though he was not disposed to talk, he was unwilling that I should leave him; and when I looked at my watch, and told him it was twelve o'clock, he cried, "What's that to you and me?" and ordered Frank to tell Mrs. Williams that we were coming to drink tea with her, which we did. It was settled that we should go to church together next day.

On the 9th of April, being Good Friday, I breakfasted with him on tea and cross-buns; *Doctor Levett*, as Frank called him, making the tea. He carried me with him to the church of St. Clement Danes, where he had his seat; and his behaviour was, as I had imaged to myself, solemnly devout. I never shall forget the tremulous earnestness with which he pronounced the awful petition in the Litany: "In the hour of death, and at the day of judgment, good Lord deliver us."

We went to church both in the morning and evening. In the interval between the two services we did not dine; but he read in the Greek New Testament, and I turned over several of his books.

In Archbishop Laud's Diary, I found the following passage, which I read to Dr. Johnson:—

"1623. February 1., Sunday. I stood by the most illustrious Prince Charles¹, at dinner. He was then very merry, and talked occasionally of many things with his attendants. Among other things, he said, that if he were necessitated to take any particular profession of life, he could not be a lawyer, adding his reasons: 'I cannot,' saith he, 'defend a bad, nor yield in a good cause.'"

JOHNSON. "Sir, this is false reasoning; because every cause has a bad side: and a lawyer is not overcome, though the cause which he has endeavoured to support be determined against him."

I told him that Goldsmith had said to me a few days before, "As I take my shoes from the shoemaker, and my coat from the tailor, so I take my religion from the priest." I regretted this loose way of talking. JOHNSON. "Sir, he knows nothing; he has made up his mind about nothing."

To my great surprise he asked me to dine

with him on Easter Day. I never supposed that he had a dinner at his house; for I had not then heard of any one of his friends having been entertained at his table. He told me, "I generally have a meat pie on Sunday: it is baked at a public oven, which is very properly allowed, because one man can attend it; and thus the advantage is obtained of not keeping servants from church to dress dinners."

April 11., being Easter Sunday, after having attended divine service at St. Paul's, I repaired to Dr. Johnson's. I had gratified my curiosity much in dining with JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU, while he lived in the wilds of Neuchâtel: I had as great a curiosity to dine with DR. SAMUEL JOHNSON, in the dusky recess of a court in Fleet Street. I supposed we should scarcely have knives and forks, and only some strange, uncouth, ill-drest dish: but I found every thing in very good order. We had no other company but Mrs. Williams and a young woman whom I did not know. As a dinner here was considered as a singular phenomenon, and as I was frequently interrogated on the subject, my readers may perhaps be desirous to know our bill of fare. Foote, I remember, in allusion to Francis, the *negro*, was willing to suppose that our repast was *black broth*. But the fact was, that we had a very good soup, a boiled leg of lamb and spinach, a veal pie², and a rice pudding.

Of Dr. John Campbell, the author, he said, "He is a very inquisitive and a very able man, and a man of good religious principles, though I am afraid he has been deficient in practice. Campbell is radically right; and we may hope that in time there will be good practice."³

He owned that he thought Hawkesworth was one of his imitators, but he did not think Goldsmith was. Goldsmith, he said, had great merit. BOSWELL. "But, Sir, he is much indebted to you for his getting so high in the public estimation." JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, he has, perhaps, got *sooner* to it by his intimacy with me."

Goldsmith, though his vanity often excited him to occasional competition, had a very high regard for Johnson, which he had at this time expressed in the strongest manner in the Dedication of his comedy, entitled, "She Stoops to Conquer."⁴

Johnson observed, that there were very few books printed in Scotland before the union. He had seen a complete collection of them in the possession of the Hon. Archibald Campbell, a non-juring bishop.⁵ I wish this collection had been kept entire. Many of them are in

¹ Afterwards Charles I.—BOSWELL.

² Boswell does not say whether the pie had the extraordinary addition of "plums and sugar," which Mrs. Piozzi tells us were ingredients in Dr. Johnson's veal pies.—CROKER.

³ See *anté*, p. 140.—C.

⁴ "By inscribing this slight performance to you, I do not mean so much to compliment you as myself. It may do me some honour to inform the public, that I have lived many

years in intimacy with you. It may serve the interests of mankind also to inform them, that the greatest wit may be found in a character, without impairing the most unaffected piety."—BOSWELL.

⁵ See an account of this learned and respectable gentleman, and of his curious work on the "Middle State," *post*, Oct. 25. 1773.—BOSWELL. And 9th June, 1784.—C.

the library of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh. I told Dr. Johnson that I had some intention to write the life of the learned and worthy Thomas Ruddiman. He said, "I should take pleasure in helping you to do honour to him. But his farewell letter to the Faculty of Advocates, when he resigned the office of their librarian, should have been in Latin."

I put a question to him upon a fact in common life, which he could not answer, nor have I found any one else who could. What is the reason that women servants, though obliged to be at the expense of purchasing their own clothes, have much lower wages than men servants, to whom a great proportion of that article is furnished, and when in fact our female house-servants work much harder than the male?¹

He told me that he had twelve or fourteen times attempted to keep a journal of his life, but never could persevere. He advised me to do it. "The great thing to be recorded," said he, "is the state of your own mind; and you should write down every thing that you remember, for you cannot judge at first what is good or bad; and write immediately while the impression is fresh, for it will not be the same a week afterwards."

I again solicited him to communicate to me the particulars of his early life. He said, "You shall have them all for twopence. I hope you shall know a great deal more of me before you write my Life." He mentioned to me this day many circumstances, which I wrote down when I went home, and have interwoven in the former part of this narrative.²

On Tuesday, April 13., he and Dr. Goldsmith and I dined at General Oglethorpe's. Goldsmith expatiated on the common topic, that the race of our people was degenerated, and that this was owing to luxury. JOHNSON. "Sir, in the first place, I doubt the fact.³ I believe there are as many tall men in England now, as ever there were. But, secondly, supposing the stature of our people to be diminished, that is not owing to luxury; for, Sir,

consider to how very small a proportion of our people luxury can reach. Our soldiery, surely, are not luxurious, who live on sixpence a day; and the same remark will apply to almost all the other classes. Luxury, so far as it reaches the poor, will do good to the race of people; it will strengthen and multiply them. Sir, no nation was ever hurt by luxury; for, as I said before, it can reach but to a very few. I admit that the great increase of commerce and manufactures hurts the military spirit of a people; because it produces a competition for something else than martial honours, — a competition for riches. It also hurts the bodies of the people; for you will observe, there is no man who works at any particular trade, but you may know him from his appearance to do so. One part or the other of his body being more used than the rest, he is some degree deformed: but, Sir, that is not luxury. A tailor sits cross-legged; but that is not luxury."

GOLDSMITH. "Come, you're just going to the same place by another road." JOHNSON. "Nay, Sir, I say that is not *luxury*. Let us take a walk from Charing Cross to White-chapel, through, I suppose, the greatest series of shops in the world; what is there in any of these shops (if you except gin-shops) that can do any human being any harm?" GOLDSMITH. "Well, Sir, I'll accept your challenge. The very next shop to Northumberland House is a pickle-shop." JOHNSON. "Well, Sir; do we not know that a maid can in one afternoon make pickles sufficient to serve a whole family for a year? nay, that five pickle-shops can serve all the kingdom? Besides, Sir, there is no harm done to any body by the making of pickles, or the eating of pickles."

We drank tea with the ladies; and Goldsmith sang Tony Lumpkin's song in his comedy, "She Stoops to Conquer," and a very pretty one, to an Irish tune, which he had designed for Miss Harcastle; but as Mrs. Bulkeley, who played the part, could not sing, it was left out. He afterwards wrote it down for me, by which means it was preserved, and now appears amongst his poems.⁴ Dr. Johnson,

¹ There is a greater variety of employment for men, than for women: therefore the demand raises the price. — KEARNEY. And there is more speciality, and generally greater difficulty and responsibility, in the duties of the men. — CROKER.

² The following is his own minute but not uninteresting memorandum of this day: —

"April 11. 1773. I had more disturbance in the night than has been customary for some weeks past. I rose before nine in the morning, and prayed and drank tea. I came, I think, to church in the beginning of the prayers. I did not distinctly hear the Psalms, and found that I had been reading the Psalms for Good Friday. I went through the Litany, after a short disturbance, with tolerable attention.

"After sermon, I perused my prayer in the pew, then went nearer the altar, and being introduced into another pew, used my prayer again, and recommended my relations, with Bathurst and [Miss] Boothby, then my wife again by herself. Then I went nearer the altar, and read the collects chosen for meditation. I prayed for Salusbury, [Mrs. Thrale's mother, then languishing with an illness of which she soon died] and, I think, the Thrales. I then communicated with calmness, used the collect for Easter Day, and returning to the first pew, prayed my prayer the third time. I came home again; used my prayer and the Easter Collect. Then went

into the study to Boswell, and read the Greek Testament. Then dined, and when Boswell went away, ended the four first chapters of St. Matthew, and the Beatitudes of the fifth. I then went to Evening Prayers, and was composed. I gave the pew-keepers each five shillings and three-pence. — *Prayers and Meditations*. Quarter guineas of 5s. 3d. were at that time in circulation. — CROKER.

³ There seems no reason whatever to believe the fact: old coffins and old armour do not designate a taller race of men. Pope tells us that Colley Cibber obtained King Edward's armour from the Tower, and wore it in a theatrical procession; and I have never seen any ancient armour of extraordinary size. The doors, windows, and ceilings of old houses are not loftier than those of modern days. Other animals, too, cannot have degenerated in size by the *luxury of man*; and they seem, by all evidence, to have borne in old times the same proportion to the human figure that they now bear. — CROKER.

⁴ The humours of Ballamagairy. — BOSWELL. This air, which is essentially low comic, would have been very ill suited to the character of *Miss Harcastle*, even as the *Chambermaid*. It was long after more appropriately employed by Colman for *Looney Macdoutler* in his farce of "The Wags of Windsor." Mr. Moore has since tried to bring it

in his way home, stopped at my lodgings in Piccadilly, and sat with me, drinking tea a second time, till a late hour.

I told him that Mrs. Macaulay said, she wondered how he could reconcile his political principles with his moral: his notions of inequality and subordination with wishing well to the happiness of all mankind, who might live so agreeably, had they all their portions of land, and none to domineer over another. JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, I reconcile my principles very well, because mankind are happier in a state of inequality and subordination. Were they to be in this pretty state of equality, they would soon degenerate into brutes; they would become Monboddo's nation; their tails would grow. Sir, all would be losers, were all to work for all: they would have no intellectual improvement. All intellectual improvement arises from leisure; all leisure arises from one working for another."

Talking of the family of Stuart, he said, "It should seem that the family at present on the throne has now established as good a right as the former family, by the long consent of the people; and that to disturb this right might be considered as culpable. At the same time I own, that it is a very difficult question, when considered with respect to the house of Stuart. To oblige people to take oaths as to the disputed right, is wrong. I know not whether I could take them; but I do not blame those who do." So conscientious and so delicate was he upon this subject, which has occasioned so much clamour against him.

Talking of law cases, he said, "The English reports, in general, are very poor; only the half of what has been said is taken down; and of that half, much is mistaken. Whereas, in Scotland, the arguments on each side are deliberately put in writing, to be considered by the court. I think a collection of your cases upon subjects of importance, with the opinions of the Judges upon them, would be valuable."

On Thursday, April 15., I dined with him and Dr. Goldsmith at General Paoli's. We found here Signor Martinelli¹ of Florence, author of a History of England in Italian, printed at London.

I spoke of Allan Ramsay's "Gentle Shepherd," in the Scottish dialect, as the best pastoral that had ever been written; not only abounding with beautiful rural imagery, and just and pleasing sentiments, but being a real picture of manners; and I offered to teach Dr. Johnson to understand it. "No, Sir," said he, "I

won't learn it. You shall retain your superiority by my not knowing it."

This brought on a question whether one man is lessened by another's acquiring an equal degree of knowledge with him. Johnson asserted the affirmative. I maintained that the position might be true in those kinds of knowledge which produce wisdom, power, and force, so as to enable one man to have the government of others; but that a man is not in any degree lessened by others knowing as well as he what ends in mere pleasure:—"eating fine fruits, drinking delicious wines, reading exquisite poetry."

The General observed, that Martinelli was a Whig. JOHNSON. "I am sorry for it. It shows the spirit of the times: he is obliged to temporise." BOSWELL. "I rather think, Sir, that Toryism prevails in this reign." JOHNSON. "I know not why you should think so, Sir. You see your friend Lord Lyttelton, a nobleman, is obliged in his History (of Henry II.) to write the most vulgar Whiggism."

An animated debate took place whether Martinelli should continue his History of England to the present day. GOLDSMITH. "To be sure he should." JOHNSON. "No, Sir; he would give great offence. He would have to tell of almost all the living great what they do not wish told." GOLDSMITH. "It may, perhaps, be necessary for a native to be more cautious; but a foreigner who comes among us without prejudice, may be considered as holding the place of a judge, and may speak his mind freely." JOHNSON. "Sir, a foreigner, when he sends a work from the press, ought to be on his guard against catching the error and mistaken enthusiasm of the people among whom he happens to be." GOLDSMITH. "Sir, he wants only to sell his history, and to tell truth; one an honest, the other a laudable motive." JOHNSON. "Sir, they are both laudable motives. It is laudable in a man to wish to live by his labours; but he should write so as he may live by them, not so as he may be knocked on the head. I would advise him to be at Calais before he publishes his history of the present age. A foreigner who attaches himself to a political party in this country, is in the worst state that can be imagined: he is looked upon as a mere intermeddler. A native may do it from interest." BOSWELL. "Or principle." GOLDSMITH. "There are people who tell a hundred political lies every day, and are not hurt by it. Surely, then, one may tell truth with safety." JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, in the first place, he who tells a hundred lies has

into good company, in the ninth number of his Irish Melodies. The words, too, which Mr. Boswell preserved, might have been lost without any injury to Goldsmith's fame.

"Ah, me! when shall I marry me;

Lovers are plenty; but fail to relieve me;

He, fond youth, that could carry me,

Offers to love, but means to deceive me," &c.—CROKER.

¹ Vincenzo Martinelli instructed many of our nobility in his native idiom. His History of England, in two quarto volumes, is a mere compilation from Rapin. An octavo volume of his "Lettere Familiare" is rather amusing, for the complacency of the writer respecting his own importance, and the narratives of his visits to various noblemen, whose names spangle his pages.—CROKER.

disarmed the force of his lies. But, besides; a man had rather have a hundred lies told of him, than one truth which he does not wish should be told." GOLDSMITH. "For my part, I'd tell truth, and shame the devil." JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir; but the devil will be angry. I wish to shame the devil as much as you do, but I should choose to be out of the reach of his claws." GOLDSMITH. "His claws can do you no harm, when you have the shield of truth."

It having been observed that there was little hospitality in London: JOHNSON. "Nay, Sir, any man who has a name, or who has the power of pleasing, will be very generally invited in London. The man Sterne, I have been told, has had engagements for three months." GOLDSMITH. "And a very dull fellow." JOHNSON. "Why, no, Sir."¹

Martinelli told us, that for several years he lived much with Charles Townshend², and that he ventured to tell him he was a bad joker. JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, thus much I can say upon the subject. One day he and a few more agreed to go and dine in the country, and each of them was to bring a friend in his carriage with him. Charles Townshend asked Fitzherbert to go with him, but told him, "You must find somebody to bring you back; I can only carry you there." Fitzherbert did not much like this arrangement. He however consented, observing sarcastically, 'It will do very well; for then the same jokes will serve you in returning as in going.'"

An eminent public character³ being mentioned: JOHNSON. "I remember being present when he showed himself to be so corrupted, or at least something so different from what I think right, as to maintain, that a member of parliament should go along with his party, right or wrong. Now, Sir, this is so remote from native virtue, from scholastic virtue, that a good man must have undergone a great change before he can reconcile himself to such a doctrine. It is maintaining that you may lie to the public; for you lie when you call that right which you think wrong, or the reverse. A friend of ours, who is too much an echo of that gentleman, observed, that a man who does

not stick uniformly to a party, is only waiting to be bought. Why then, said I, he is only waiting to be what that gentleman is already."

We talked of the king's coming to see Goldsmith's new play [She Stoops to Conquer.]—"I wish he would," said Goldsmith: adding, however, with an affected indifference, "Not that it would do me the least good." JOHNSON. "Well, then, Sir, let us say it would do *him* good (laughing). No, Sir, this affection will not pass;—it is mighty idle. In such a state as ours, who would not wish to please the chief magistrate?" GOLDSMITH. "I do wish to please him. I remember a line in Dryden,—

'And every poet is the monarch's friend.'

It ought to be reversed." JOHNSON. "Nay, there are finer lines in Dryden on this subject:—

'For colleges on bounteous Kings depend,
And never rebel was to arts a friend.'

General Paoli observed, that successful rebels might. MARTINELLI. "Happy rebellions." GOLDSMITH. "We have no such phrase." GENERAL PAOLI. "But have you not the *thing*?" GOLDSMITH. "Yes; all our *happy* revolutions. They have hurt our constitution, and will hurt it, till we mend it by another HAPPY REVOLUTION."—I never before discovered that my friend Goldsmith had so much of the old prejudice in him.

General Paoli, talking of Goldsmith's new play, said, "*Il a fait un compliment très-gracieux à une certaine grande dame*;" meaning a duchess of the first rank.⁴

I expressed a doubt whether Goldsmith intended it, in order that I might hear the truth from himself. It, perhaps, was not quite fair to endeavour to bring him to a confession, as he might not wish to avow positively his taking part against the Court. He smiled and hesitated. The General at once relieved him, by this beautiful image: "*Monsieur Goldsmith est comme la mer, qui jette des perles et beaucoup d'autres belles choses, sans s'en appercevoir*." GOLDSMITH. "*Très-bien dit, et très-élégamment*."

A person was mentioned, who it was said could take down in short-hand the speeches in

¹ Sterne, as may be supposed, was no great favourite with Lord Johnson; and a lady once ventured to ask him how he liked Yorick's sermons: "I know nothing about them, Madam," was his reply. But some time afterwards, forgetting himself, he severely censured them, and the lady very aptly retorted, "I understood you to say, Sir, that you had never read them." "No, madam, I did read them, but it was in a stage-coach. I should never have deigned even to look at them had I been *à large*."—*Craddock's Mem.* p. 208.—CROKER.

² The Right Hon. Charles Townshend, brother of the first Marquis Townshend, whose great but eccentric talents have been so celebrated by Horace Walpole and immortalized by Burke. He died Sep. 4. 1767.—CROKER.

³ "This is an instance," as Sir James Mackintosh observed to me, "which proves that the task of elucidating Boswell has not been undertaken too soon." Sir James, Lord Wellesley, Mr. Chalmers, and I doubted, at first, whether the "eminent public character" was not Mr. Fox, and the friend of Johnson's, "too much the echo" of the former, Mr. Burke; but we finally agreed that Mr. Burke and Sir Joshua Reynolds were meant; the designation of *eminent*

public character was, in 1773, more appropriate to Burke than to Fox. Mr. Fox, too, had lately changed his party, while Burke always maintained (see *post*, 15th August, 1773), and was, indeed, the first who, in his "Thoughts on the Present Discontents," openly avowed and advocated the principle of inviolable adherence to political connections, "putting," as Mr. Prior says, "to silence the hitherto common reproach applied to most public characters of being party-men."—*Life of Burke*, vol. i. p. 232. This supposition being correct, the other was no doubt Sir Joshua Reynolds.—CROKER.

⁴ The lady was Anne Luttrell, sister of Lord Carhampton, widow of Mr. Horton, whose marriage with the Duke of Cumberland had recently made a great noise, and was marked with the severe disapprobation of the king. The "*compliment*" no doubt was Hastings's speech to Miss Neville, in the second act, when he proposes to her to fly "to France, where, even among slaves, the laws of marriage are respected." The audience the first night applied this to the Duke of Cumberland, who happened to be present, with a burst of applause: but this, though it could not have pleased the king, did not prevent his ordering the play on its tenth night.—CROKER.

parliament with perfect exactness. JOHNSON. "Sir, it is impossible. I remember one Angel, who came to me to write for him a preface or dedication to a book upon short-hand, and he professed to write as fast as a man could speak. In order to try him, I took down a book, and read while he wrote; and I favoured him, for I read more deliberately than usual. I had proceeded but a very little way, when he begged I would desist, for he could not follow me." Hearing now for the first time of this preface or dedication, I said, "What an expense, Sir, do you put us to in buying books, to which you have written prefaces or dedications."¹ JOHNSON. "Why, I have dedicated to the royal family all round; that is to say, to the last generation of the royal family." GOLDSMITH. "And perhaps, Sir, not one sentence of wit in a whole dedication." JOHNSON. "Perhaps not, Sir." BOSWELL. "What then is the reason for applying to a particular person to do that which any one may do as well?" JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, one man has greater readiness at doing it than another."

"I spoke of Mr. Harris², of Salisbury, as being a very learned man, and in particular an eminent Grecian. JOHNSON. "I am not sure of that. His friends give him out as such, but I know not who of his friends are able to judge of it." GOLDSMITH. "He is what is much better: he is a worthy humane man." JOHNSON. "Nay, Sir, that is not to the purpose of our argument: that will as much prove that he can play upon the fiddle as well as Giardini, as that he is an eminent Grecian." GOLDSMITH. "The greatest musical performers have but small emoluments. Giardini, I am told, does not get above seven hundred a year." JOHNSON. "That is indeed but little for a man to get, who does best that which so many endeavour to do. There is nothing, I think, in which the power of art is shown so much as in playing on the fiddle. In all other things we can do something at first. Any man will forge a bar of iron, if you give him a hammer; not so well as a smith, but tolerably. A man will saw a piece of wood, and make a box, though a clumsy one; but give him a fiddle and a fiddlestick, and he can do nothing."

On Monday, April 19., he called on me with Mrs. Williams, in Mr. Strahan's coach, and carried me out to dine with Mr. Elphinston, at his academy at Kensington. A printer having

acquired a fortune sufficient to keep his coach, was a good topic for the credit of literature. Mrs. Williams said, that another printer, Mr. Hamilton³, had not waited so long as Mr. Strahan, but had kept his coach several years sooner. JOHNSON. "He was in the right. Life is short. The sooner that a man begins to enjoy his wealth, the better."

Mr. Elphinston talked of a new book that was much admired, and asked Dr. Johnson if he had read it. JOHNSON. "I have looked into it." "What," said Elphinston, "have you not read it through?" Johnson, offended at being thus pressed, and so obliged to own his cursory mode of reading, answered tartly, "No, Sir; do you read books through?"

He this day again defended duelling, and put his argument upon what I have ever thought the most solid basis; that if public war be allowed to be consistent with morality, private war must be equally so. Indeed we may observe what strained arguments are used to reconcile war with the Christian religion. But, in my opinion, it is exceedingly clear that duelling, having better reasons for its barbarous violence, is more justifiable than war, in which thousands go forth without any cause of personal quarrel, and massacre each other.

On Wednesday, April 21., I dined with him at Mr. Thrale's. A gentleman attacked Garrick for being vain. JOHNSON. "No wonder, Sir, that he is vain; a man who is perpetually flattered in every mode that can be conceived. So many bellows have blown the fire, that one wonders he is not by this time become a cinder." BOSWELL. "And such bellows too! Lord Mansfield with his cheeks like to burst: Lord Chatham like an *Æolus*.⁴ I have read such notes from them to him, as were enough to turn his head." JOHNSON. "True. When he whom every body else flatters, flatters me, I then am truly happy." MRS. THRALE. "The sentiment is in Congreve, I think." JOHNSON. "Yes, Madam, in 'The Way of the World':—

"If there's delight in love, 'tis when I see
That heart which others bleed for, bleed for me."

No, Sir, I should not be surprised though Garrick chained the ocean and lashed the winds." BOSWELL. "Should it not be, Sir, lashed the ocean and chained the winds?" JOHNSON. "No, Sir; recollect the original:—

¹ Mr. Boswell does not include this dedication of "*Angel's Stenography*," published in 1758, in his list of Johnson's compositions. — CROKER.

² James Harris, Esq., father of the first Earl of Malmesbury, was born in 1709, and died in 1780. In 1801, his son published a magnificent edition of his works in two volumes quarto. — WUICOTT. Johnson had a strong prejudice against Mr. Harris: I know not why. Of the Dedication to his "*Hermes*," Mrs. Piozzi heard Johnson observe, that, though but fourteen lines long, there were six grammatical faults in it. And see *post*, 2d Nov. 1773, where he calls him "a coxcomb." — CROKER.

³ The Hamiltons were respectable publishers for three generations. — CROKER.

⁴ Lord Chatham addressed to him, while on a visit at Mount Edgumbe, the pretty lines:—

"Leave, Garrick, leave the landscape, proudly gay,
Docks, forts, and navies, bright'ning all the bay;
To my plain roof repair, primeval seat!
Yet there no wonders your quick eye can meet,
Save should you deem it wonderful to find
Ambition cured, and an unpassion'd mind . . .
Come, then, immortal spirit of the stage,
Great nature's proxy, glass of every age,
Come, taste the simple life of patriarchs old,
Who, rich in rural peace, ne'er thought of pomp or gold."
— CROKER.

*'In Corum atque Eurum solitus sævire flagellis
Barbarus, Æolio nunquam hoc in carcere passos,
Ipsum compedibus qui vinxerat Ennosigæum.'*¹

This does very well, when both the winds and the sea are personified, and mentioned by their mythological names, as in Juvenal; but when they are mentioned in plain language, the application of the epithets suggested by me is the most obvious; and accordingly my friend himself, in his imitation of the passage which describes Xerxes, has—

"The waves he lashes, and enchains the wind."²

The modes of living in different countries, and the various views with which men travel in quest of new scenes, having been talked of, a learned gentleman³ who holds a considerable office in the law, expatiated on the happiness of a savage life; and mentioned an instance of an officer who had actually lived for some time in the wilds of America, of whom, when in that state, he quoted this reflection with an air of admiration, as if it had been deeply philosophical: "Here am I, free and unrestrained, amidst the rude magnificence of Nature, with this Indian woman by my side, and this gun, with which I can procure food when I want it: what more can be desired for human happiness?" It did not require much sagacity to foresee that such a sentiment would not be permitted to pass without due animadversion. JOHNSON. "Do not allow yourself, Sir, to be imposed upon by such gross absurdity. It is sad stuff; it is brutish. If a bull could speak, he might as well exclaim,—Here am I with this cow and this grass; what being can enjoy greater felicity?"

We talked of the melancholy end of a gentleman⁴ who had destroyed himself. JOHNSON. "It was owing to imaginary difficulties in his affairs, which, had he talked of with any friend, would soon have vanished." BOSWELL. "Do you think, Sir, that all who commit suicide are mad?" JOHNSON. "Sir, they are often not universally disordered in their intellects, but one passion presses so upon them, that they yield to it, and commit suicide, as a passionate man will stab another." He added, "I have often thought, that after a man has taken the resolution to kill himself, it is not courage in him to do any thing, however des-

perate, because he has nothing to fear." GOLDSMITH. "I don't see that." JOHNSON. "Nay, but, my dear Sir, why should you not see what every one else sees?" GOLDSMITH. "It is for fear of something that he has resolved to kill himself: and will not that timid disposition restrain him?" JOHNSON. "It does not signify that the fear of something made him resolve; it is upon the state of his mind, after the resolution is taken, that I argue. Suppose a man, either from fear, or pride, or conscience, or whatever motive, has resolved to kill himself; when once the resolution is taken, he has nothing to fear. He may then go and take the king of Prussia by the nose, at the head of his army. He cannot fear the rack, who is resolved to kill himself.⁵ When Eustace Budgel⁶ was walking down to the Thames, determined to drown himself, he might, if he pleased, without any apprehension of danger, have turned aside, and first set fire to St. James's Palace."

[JOHNSON TO GOLDSMITH.]

"April 23. 1773.

"Sir, — I beg that you will excuse my absence to the Club; I am going this evening to Oxford."

"I have another favour to beg. It is that I may be considered as proposing Mr. Boswell for a candidate of our society, and that he may be considered as regularly nominated. I am, Sir, your most humble servant,
SAM. JOHNSON."

On Tuesday, April 27., Mr. Beaucherk and I called on him in the morning. As we walked up Johnson's Court, I said, "I have a veneration for this court;" and was glad to find that Beaucherk had the same reverential enthusiasm. We found him alone. We talked of Mr. Andrew Stuart's elegant and plausible Letters to Lord Mansfield⁷: a copy of which had been sent by the author to Dr. Johnson. JOHNSON. "They have not answered the end. They have not been talked of; I have never heard of them. This is owing to their not being sold. People seldom read a book which is given to them; and few are given. The way to spread a work is to sell it at a low price. No man will send to buy a thing that costs even sixpence, without an intention to read it." BOSWELL. "May it not be doubted, Sir, whether it be proper to publish letters, arraigning the

¹ "The proud Barbarian, whose impatient ire
Chastised the winds that disobeyed his nod
With stripes, ne'er suffered from the Æolian God,
Fetter'd the Shaker of the sea and land." JUV. x. 182.
Gifford. — CROKER.

² So also Butler, Hudibras, p. ii. c. i. v. 845. — :

"A Persian Emperor whipt his grannam,
The sea, his mother Venus came on." — MALONE.

³ I presume Mr., afterwards Sir W. W. Pepps, a Master in Chancery, a frequent visitor at Streatham, but between whom and Johnson there was not much good will. — CROKER.

⁴ The gentleman here meant was, no doubt, Johnson's friend, William Fitzherbert, Esq., Member for Derby, who terminated his own existence in January, 1772. — CROKER, 1835.

⁵ This goes far beyond Johnson's original thesis, and is undoubtedly erroneous. Suicide is often attempted to avoid an ignominious death, and would be, no doubt, still more frequently to avoid torture. — CROKER.

⁶ A friend and relative of Addison's, who drowned himself [in 1737] to escape a prosecution on account of forging the will of Dr. Tindal, in which Budgel had provided himself with a legacy of 2000*l*. To this Pope alludes : —

"Let Budgell charge low Grub Street on his quill,
And write whate'er he please — except my will!"

— CROKER.

⁷ Boswell makes no mention of this excursion, which, I suppose, did not take place, as Boswell saw him in London on the 27th, and Johnson attended Boswell's election at the Club on the 30th. — CROKER.

⁸ On the Douglas cause, in 1773. — CROKER.

ultimate decision of an important cause by the supreme judicature of the nation?" JOHNSON. "No, Sir, I do not think it was wrong to publish these letters. If they are thought to do harm, why not answer them? But they will do no harm. If Mr. Douglas be indeed the son of Lady Jane, he cannot be hurt: if he be not her son, and yet has the great estate of the family of Douglas, he may well submit to have a pamphlet against him by Andrew Stuart. Sir, I think such a publication does good, as it does good to show us the possibilities of human life. And, Sir, you will not say that the Douglas cause was a cause of easy decision, when it divided your Court as much as it could do, to be determined at all. When your judges are seven and seven, the casting vote of the president must be given on one side or other; no matter, for my argument, on which; one or the other *must* be taken; as when I am to move, there is no matter which leg I move first. And then, Sir, it was otherwise determined here. No, Sir, a more dubious determination of any question cannot be imagined."¹

He said, "Goldsmith should not be for ever attempting to shine in conversation: he has not temper for it, he is so much mortified when he fails. Sir, a game of jokes is composed partly of skill, partly of chance; a man may be beat at times by one who has not the tenth part of his wit. Now Goldsmith's putting himself against another, is like a man laying a hundred to one, who cannot spare the hundred. It is not worth a man's while. A man should not lay a hundred to one, unless he can easily spare it, though he has a hundred chances for him: he can get but a guinea, and may lose a hundred. Goldsmith is in this state. When he contends, if he gets the better, it is a very little addition to a man of his literary reputation: if he does not get the better, he is miserably vexed."

Johnson's own superlative powers of wit set him above any risk of such uneasiness. Garrick had remarked to me of him, a few days before, "Rabelais and all other wits are nothing compared with him. You may be diverted by them; but Johnson gives you a forcible hug, and shakes laughter out of you, whether you will or no."

Goldsmith, however, was often very fortunate in his witty contests, even when he entered the lists with Johnson himself. Sir Joshua Reynolds was in company with them one day, when Goldsmith said, that he thought he could write a good fable, mentioned the simplicity which that kind of composition requires, and observed, that in most fables the animals intro-

duced seldom talk in character. "For instance," said he, "the fable of the little fishes, who saw birds fly over their heads, and, envying them, petitioned Jupiter to be changed into birds. The skill," continued he, "consists in making them talk like little fishes." While he indulged himself in this fanciful reverie, he observed Johnson shaking his sides, and laughing. Upon which he smartly proceeded, "Why, Dr. Johnson, this is not so easy as you seem to think: for if you were to make little fishes talk, they would talk like WHALES."

Johnson, though remarkable for his great variety of composition, never exercised his talents in fable, except we allow his beautiful [fairy] tale [*the Fountains*] published in Mrs. Williams's Miscellanies to be of that species. I have, however, found among his manuscript collections the following sketch of one:

"Glow-worm² lying in the garden saw a candle in a neighbouring palace, — and complained of the littleness of its own light; — another observed — wait a little; — soon dark, — have outlasted πoλλα [many] of these glaring lights, which are only brighter as they haste to nothing."

On Thursday, April 29., I dined with him at General Oglethorpe's, where were Sir Joshua Reynolds, Mr. Langton, Dr. Goldsmith, and Mr. Thrale. I was very desirous to get Dr. Johnson absolutely fixed in his resolution to go with me to the Hebrides this year; and I told him that I had received a letter from Dr. Robertson, the historian, upon the subject, with which he was much pleased, and now talked in such a manner of his long intended tour, that I was satisfied he meant to fulfil his engagement.

The custom of eating dogs at Otaheite being mentioned, Goldsmith observed, that this was also a custom in China; that a dog-butcher is as common there as any other butcher; and that when he walks abroad all the dogs fall on him. JOHNSON. "That is not owing to his killing dogs, Sir. I remember a butcher at Lichfield, whom a dog that was in the house where I lived, always attacked. It is the smell of carnage which provokes this, let the animals he has killed be what they may." GOLDSMITH. "Yes, there is a general abhorrence in animals at the signs of massacre. If you put a tub full of blood into a stable, the horses are like to go mad." JOHNSON. "I doubt that." GOLDSMITH. "Nay, Sir, it is a fact well authenticated." THRALE. "You had better prove it before you put it into your book on natural history. You may do it in your stable if you will." JOHNSON. "Nay, Sir, I

¹ I regretted that Dr. Johnson never took the trouble to study a question which interested nations. He would not even read a pamphlet which I wrote upon it, entitled, "The Essence of the Douglas Cause;" which, I have reason to flatter myself, had considerable effect in favour of Mr. Douglas; of whose legitimate filiation I was then, and am still, firmly convinced. Let me add, that no fact can be more

respectably ascertained, than by the judgment of the most august tribunal in the world; a judgment in which Lord Mansfield and Lord Camden united in 1769, and from which only five of a numerous body entered a protest. — BOSWELL.

² It has already been observed [*ante*, p. 46.] that one of his first Essays was a Latin poem on a Glow-worm; but whether it be any where extant, has not been ascertained. — MALONE.

would not have him prove it. If he is content to take his information from others, he may get through his book with little trouble, and without much endangering his reputation. But if he makes experiments for so comprehensive a book as his, there would be no end to them; his erroneous assertions would then fall upon himself; and he might be blamed for not having made experiments as to every particular."

The character of Mallet having been introduced, and spoken of slightly by Goldsmith;—JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, Mallet had talents enough to keep his literary reputation alive as long as he himself lived; and that, let me tell you, is a good deal." GOLDSMITH. "But I cannot agree that it was so. His literary reputation was dead long before his natural death. I consider an author's literary reputation to be alive only while his name will insure a good price for his copy from the booksellers. I will get you (to Johnson) a hundred guineas for any thing whatever that you shall write, if you put your name to it."

Dr. Goldsmith's new play, "She Stoops to Conquer," being mentioned;—JOHNSON. "I know of no comedy for many years that has so much exhilarated an audience, that has answered so much the great end of comedy—making an audience merry."

Goldsmith having said, that Garrick's compliment to the Queen, which he introduced into the play of "The Chances," which he had altered and revised this year, was mean and gross flattery!;—JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, I would not write, I would not give solemnly under my hand, a character beyond what I thought really true; but a speech on the stage, let it flatter ever so extravagantly, is formular. It has always been formular to flatter kings and queens; so much so, that even in our church-service we have 'our most religious king,' used indiscriminately, whoever is king. Nay, they even flatter themselves;—'we have been graciously pleased to grant.' No modern flattery, however, is so gross as that of the Augustan age, where the emperor was deified;—'*Præsens Divus habebitur Augustus*.'¹ And as to meanness"—(rising into warmth)—"how is it mean in a player,—a showman,—a fellow who exhibits himself for a shilling, to flatter his queen? The attempt, indeed, was dangerous; for if it had missed, what became of Garrick, and what became of the queen? As Sir William Temple says of a great general, it is necessary not only that his designs be formed in a masterly manner, but that they should be attended with

success. Sir, it is right, at a time when the royal family is not generally liked, to let it be seen that the people like at least one of them." SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS. "I do not perceive why the profession of a player should be despised; for the great and ultimate end of all the employments of mankind is to produce amusement. Garrick produces more amusement than any body." BOSWELL. "You say, Dr. Johnson, that Garrick exhibits himself for a shilling. In this respect he is only on a footing with a lawyer, who exhibits himself for his fee, and even will maintain any nonsense or absurdity, if the case require it. Garrick refuses a play or a part which he does not like: a lawyer never refuses." JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, what does this prove? only that a lawyer is worse. Boswell is now like Jack in 'The Tale of a Tub,'² who, when he is puzzled by an argument, hangs himself. He thinks I shall cut him down, but I'll let him hang"—(laughing vociferously). SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS. "Mr. Boswell thinks that the profession of a lawyer being unquestionably honourable, if he can show the profession of a player to be more honourable, he proves his argument."

CHAPTER XXIX.

1773.

Dinner at Beauclerk's. — Boswell elected of the Club. — Goldsmith in Company, and in his Study. — His Roman History. — "Talking for Victory." — Pilgrim's Progress. — Monuments in St. Paul's. — Pope. — Milton. — "The Whole Duty of Man." — Puns. — Lay Patronage. — The Bread Tree. — Savage Life. — Reasoning of Brutes. — Toleration. — Martyrdom. — Doctrine of the Trinity. — Government of Ireland. — Invocation of Saints. — "Goldy." — Literary Property. — State of Nature. — Male Succession. — Influence of the Seasons on the Mind. — Projected Visit to the Hebrides.

On Friday, April 30., I dined with him at Mr. Beauclerk's, where were Lord Charlemont, Sir Joshua Reynolds, and some more members of the LITERARY CLUB, whom he had obligingly invited to meet me, as I was this evening to be balloted for as candidate for admission into that distinguished society. Johnson had done me the honour to propose me, and Beauclerk was very zealous for me.

Goldsmith being mentioned;—JOHNSON. "It is amazing how little Goldsmith knows. He

¹ DON JOHN. "Ay, but when things are at the worst they'll mend: example does every thing, and the fair sex will certainly grow better, whenever the greatest is the best woman in the kingdom." Act v. sc. 2. — WRIGHT.

² "—so shall Augustus be, Though still on earth, proclaimed a Deity." Hor. Od. iii. v. 2. — CROKER.

³ The allusion is not to the Tale of a Tub, but to the History of John Bull, part iv. chap. ii.; where however Jack does not hang himself for any such reason; but the misrepresentation turned the laugh against Boswell, and that was all Johnson cared for. — LOCKHART.

seldom comes where he is not more ignorant than any one else." SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS. "Yet there is no man whose company is more liked." JOHNSON. "To be sure, Sir. When people find a man of the most distinguished abilities as a writer, their inferior while he is with them, it must be highly gratifying to them. What Goldsmith comically says of himself is very true,—he always gets the better when he argues alone; meaning, that he is master of a subject in his study, and can write well upon it; but when he comes into company, grows confused, and unable to talk. Take him as a poet, his 'Traveller' is a very fine performance; ay, and so is his 'Deserted Village,' were it not sometimes too much the echo of his 'Traveller.' Whether, indeed, we take him as a poet,—as a comic writer,—or as an historian, he stands in the first class." BOSWELL. "An historian! My dear Sir, you surely will not rank his compilation of the Roman History with the works of other historians of this age?" JOHNSON. "Why, who are before him?" BOSWELL. "Hume,—Robertson,—Lord Lyttelton." JOHNSON (his antipathy to the Scotch beginning to rise). "I have not read Hume; but, doubtless, Goldsmith's History is better than the *verbiage* of Robertson, or the foppery of Dalrymple." BOSWELL. "Will you not admit the superiority of Robertson, in whose History¹ we find such penetration, such painting?" JOHNSON. "Sir, you must consider how that penetration and that painting are employed. It is not history, it is imagination. He who describes what he never saw, draws from fancy. Robertson paints minds as Sir Joshua paints faces in a history-piece: he imagines an heroic countenance. You must look upon Robertson's work as romance, and try it by that standard. History it is not. Besides, Sir, it is the great excellence of a writer to put into his book as much as his book will hold. Goldsmith has done this in his History. Now Robertson might have put twice as much into his book. Robertson is like a man who has packed gold in wool: the wool takes up more room than the gold. No, Sir; I always thought Robertson would be crushed by his own weight,—would be buried under his own ornaments. Goldsmith tells you shortly all you want to know: Robertson detains you a great deal too long. No man will read Robertson's cumbrous detail a second time; but Goldsmith's plain

narrative will please again and again. I would say to Robertson what an old tutor of a college said to one of his pupils: 'Read over your compositions, and wherever you meet with a passage which you think is particularly fine, strike it out.' Goldsmith's abridgement is better than that of Lucius Florus or Eutropius; and I will venture to say, that if you compare him with Vertot, in the same places of the Roman History, you will find that he excels Vertot. Sir, he has the art of compiling, and of saying every thing he has to say in a pleasing manner. He is now writing a Natural History, and will make it as entertaining as a Persian tale."

I cannot dismiss the present topic without observing, that it is probable that Dr. Johnson, who owned that he often "talked for victory," rather urged plausible objections to Dr. Robertson's excellent historical works, in the ardour of contest, than expressed his real and decided opinion; for it is not easy to suppose, that he should so widely differ from the rest of the literary world.²

JOHNSON. "I remember once being with Goldsmith in Westminster Abbey. While we surveyed the Poets' Corner, I said to him,

'*Forsitan et nostrum nomen miscbitur istis.*'"³

When we got to Temple Bar he stopped me, pointed to the heads⁴ upon it, and slyly whispered me,

'*Forsitan et nostrum nomen miscbitur istis.*'"⁵

Johnson praised John Bunyan highly. "His 'Pilgrim's Progress' has great merit, both for invention, imagination, and the conduct of the story; and it has had the best evidence of its merit, the general and continued approbation of mankind. Few books, I believe, have had a more extensive sale. It is remarkable, that it begins very much like the poem of Dante; yet there was no translation of Dante when Bunyan wrote. There is reason to think that he had read Spenser."

A proposition which had been agitated, that monuments to eminent persons should, for the time to come, be erected in St. Paul's church, as well as in Westminster Abbey, was mentioned; and it was asked, who should be honoured by having his monument first erected there. Somebody suggested Pope. JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, as Pope was a Roman Catholic, I would not have his to be first. I think Milton's rather should have the precedence.⁶ I think

¹ Robertson's Charles V. and Goldsmith's Roman History were both published in 1769. — WRIGHT.

² See *anté*. Mr. Boswell's friendship for both Johnson and Robertson is here sorely perplexed — but there seems no ground for doubting that 'his real and decided opinion' of Robertson's works was very low — he, on every occasion, repeats it with contemptuous consistency. — CROKER.

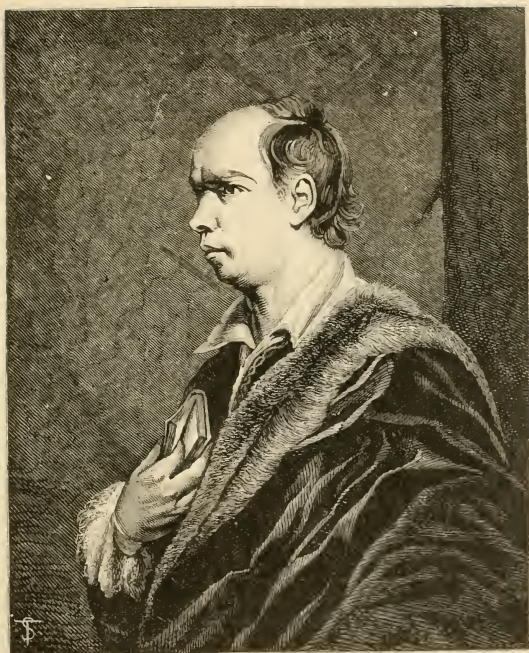
³ And our name may, perhaps, be mixed with theirs! *Ovid. de Art. Amand. l. iii. v. 339.* — C.

⁴ The heads of Messrs. Fletcher and Townley, executed on the 31st July, 1746, for the rebellion of 1745, were placed on Temple Bar: whether the heads of the rebels of 1715 remained there, or whether others were afterwards added, I do not know. — CROKER.

⁵ In allusion to Dr. Johnson's supposed political principles,

and perhaps his own. — BOSWELL. Goldsmith was certainly not a *Jacobite*, though he was a *Tory*. In a letter to Langton (Sept. 7. 1771) he says of some criticisms on his *History of England*: "However, they set me down as an ardent *Tory*, and consequently an honest man." — *Prior's Life*, ii. 330. — CROKER, 1846.

⁶ Here is another instance of his high admiration of Milton as a poet, notwithstanding his just abhorrence of that sour republican's political principles. His candour and discrimination are equally conspicuous. Let us hear no more of his "injustice to Milton." — BOSWELL. A monument to Milton in St. Paul's Cathedral would, as Dr. Hall observes, be the more appropriate from his having received his early education in the adjoining school. — CROKER.



OLIVER GOLDSMITH

(From the Painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds)

London : John Murray, Albemarle Street

more highly of him now than I did at twenty. There is more thinking in him and in Butler, than in any of our poets."

Some of the company expressed a wonder why the author of so excellent a book as "The Whole Duty of Man" should conceal himself.¹ JOHNSON. "There may be different reasons assigned for this, any one of which would be very sufficient. He may have been a clergyman, and may have thought that his religious counsels would have less weight when known to come from a man whose profession was theology. He may have been a man whose practice was not suitable to his principles, so that his character might injure the effect of his book, which he had written in a season of penitence. Or he may have been a man of rigid self-denial, so that he would have no reward for his pious labours while in this world, but refer it all to a future state."

The gentlemen went away to their club, and I was left at Beauclerk's till the fate of my election should be announced to me. I sat in a state of anxiety which even the charming conversation of Lady Di Beauclerk could not entirely dissipate. In a short time I received the agreeable intelligence that I was chosen. I hastened to the place of meeting, and was introduced to such a society as can seldom be found. Mr. Edmund Burke, whom I then saw for the first time, and whose splendid talents had long made me ardently wish for his acquaintance; Dr. Nugent, Mr. Garrick, Dr. Goldsmith, Mr. (afterwards Sir William) Jones, and the company with whom I had dined. Upon my entrance, Johnson placed himself behind a chair, on which he leaned as on a desk or pulpit, and with humorous formality gave me a *charge*, pointing out the conduct expected from me as a good member of this club.

Goldsmith produced some very absurd verses which had been publicly recited to an audience for money. JOHNSON. "I can match this non-

sense. There was a poem called 'Eugenio,' which came out some years ago, and concludes thus:—

'And now, ye trifling, self-assuming elves,
Brimful of pride, of nothing, of yourselves,
Survey Eugenio, view him o'er and o'er,
Then sink into yourselves, and be no more.'"

Nay, Dryden, in his poem on the Royal Society³, has these lines:—

'Then we upon our globe's last verge shall go,
And see the ocean leaning on the sky;
From thence our rolling neighbours we shall know,
And on the lunar world securely pry.'"

Talking of puns, Johnson, who had a great contempt for that species of wit, deigned to allow that there was one good pun in "Menagiana," I think on the word *corps*.⁴

Much pleasant conversation passed, which Johnson relished with great good humour. But his conversation alone, or what led to it, or was interwoven with it, is the business of this work.

On Saturday, May 1., we dined by ourselves at our old rendezvous, the Mitre tavern. He was placid, but not much disposed to talk. He observed, that "the Irish mix better with the English than the Scotch do; their language is nearer to English; as a proof of which, they succeed very well as players, which Scotchmen do not. Then, Sir, they have not that extreme nationality which we find in the Scotch. I will do you, Boswell, the justice to say, that you are the most *unscottified* of your countrymen. You are almost the only instance of a Scotchman that I have known, who did not at every other sentence bring in some other Scotchman."⁵

We drank tea with Mrs. Williams. I introduced a question which has been much agitated in the church of Scotland, whether the claim of lay-patrons to present ministers to parishes be well founded; and supposing it to be well

¹ In a manuscript in the Bodleian Library several circumstances are stated, which strongly incline me to believe that Dr. Accepted Frewen, Archbishop of York, was the author of this work. — MALONE.

See, on the subject of the author of this celebrated and excellent work, *Gent. Mag.* vol. xxiv. p. 26., and Ballard's *Memoirs of Learned Ladies*, p. 300. The late eccentric but learned Dr. Barrett, of Trinity College, Dublin, believed, I know not on what evidence, that Dr. Chapel, formerly provost of that college, was the author. — CROKER.

² Dr. Johnson's memory here was not perfectly accurate: "Eugenio" does not conclude thus. There are eight more lines after the last of those quoted by him; and the passage which he meant to recite is as follows:—

"Say now, ye fluttering, poor assuming elves,
Stark full of pride, of folly, of—yourselves;
Say, where's the wretch of all your impious crew
Who dares confront his character to view?
Behold Eugenio, &c. &c."

Mr. Reed informs me that the author of Eugenio, Thomas Beech, a wine-merchant at Wrexham in Denbighshire, soon after its publication, viz. May 17. 1737, cut his own throat; and that it appears by Swift's works, that the poem had been shown to him, and received some of his corrections. Johnson had read "Eugenio" on his first coming to town, for we see it mentioned in one of his letters to Mr. Cave, which has been inserted in this work. — BOSWELL. One wonders at

the patience and good nature with which Swift read and corrected this stupid poem. — CROKER.

³ There is no such poem;—the lines are part of an allusion to the Royal Society, in the *Annus Mirabilis*, stanza 164. — CROKER.

⁴ I formerly thought that I had perhaps mistaken the word, and imagined it to be *corps*, from its similarity of sound to the real one. For an accurate and shrewd unknown gentleman, to whom I am indebted for some remarks on my work, observes on this passage:—"Q. if not on the word, *fort*? A vociferous French preacher said of Bourdaloue, 'Il prêche fort bien, et moi bien fort.'—*Menagiana*. See also *Anecdotes Littéraires*, art. Bourdaloue." But my ingenious and obliging correspondent, Mr. Abercrombie of Philadelphia, has pointed out to me the following passage; which renders the preceding conjecture unnecessary, and confirms my original statement:—

"Madame de Bourdonne, chanoinesse de Remiremont, venoit d'entendre un discours plein de feu et d'esprit, mais fort peu solide, et très-irrégulier. Une de ses amies, qui y prenoit intérêt pour l'orateur, lui dit en sortant, 'Eh bien, Madame, que vous semble-t-il de ce que vous venez d'entendre? Qu'il y a d'esprit?'—'Il y a tant,' répondit Madame de Bourdonne, 'que je n'y ai pas vu de *corps*.'"
Menagiana, tome ii. p. 64. — BOSWELL.

⁵ Boswell confesses that Garrick used to rally him on his nationality, and there are abundant instances in these volumes to show that he was not exempt from that amiable prejudice. — CROKER.

founded, whether it ought to be exercised without the concurrence of the people? That church is composed of a series of judicatures: a presbytery, a synod, and finally, a general assembly; before all of which this matter may be contended: and in some cases the presbytery having refused to induct or *settle*, as they call it, the person presented by the patron, it has been found necessary to appeal to the General Assembly. He said, I might see the subject well treated in the "Defence of Pluralities;" and although he thought that a patron should exercise his right with tenderness to the inclinations of the people of a parish, he was very clear as to his right. Then, supposing the question to be pleaded before the General Assembly, he dictated to me what follows.¹ [See APPENDIX.]

Though I present to my readers Dr. Johnson's masterly thoughts on the subject, I think it proper to declare, that notwithstanding I am myself a lay patron, I do not entirely subscribe to his opinion.

On Friday, May 7, I breakfasted with him at Mr. Thrale's in the Borough. While we were alone, I endeavoured as well as I could to apologise for a lady² who had been divorced from her husband by act of parliament. I said that he had used her very ill, had behaved brutally to her, and that she could not continue to live with him without having her delicacy contaminated; that all affection for him was thus destroyed; that the essence of conjugal union being gone, there remained only a cold form, a mere civil obligation; that she was in the prime of life, with qualities to produce happiness; that these ought not to be lost; and, that the gentleman on whose account she was divorced had gained her heart while thus unhappily situated. Seduced, perhaps, by the charms of the lady in question, I thus attempted to palliate what I was sensible could not be justified; for when I had finished my harangue, my venerable friend gave me a proper check:—"My dear Sir, never accustom your mind to mingle virtue and vice. The woman's a —, and there's an end on't."³

He described the father⁴ of one of his friends thus:—"Sir, he was so exuberant a talker at public meetings, that the gentlemen of his

county were afraid of him. No business could be done for his declamation."

He did not give me full credit when I mentioned that I had carried on a short conversation by signs with some Esquimaux, who were then in London, particularly with one of them, who was a priest. He thought I could not make them understand me. No man was more incredulous as to particular facts which were at all extraordinary; and therefore no man was more scrupulously inquisitive, in order to discover the truth.

I dined with him this day at the house of my friends, Messieurs Edward and Charles Dilly, booksellers in the Poultry: there were present, their elder brother Mr. Dilly of Bedfordshire, Dr. Goldsmith, Mr. Langton, Mr. Claxton⁵, Rev. Dr. Mayo, a dissenting minister, the Rev. Mr. Toplady⁶, and my friend the Rev. Mr. Temple.⁷

Hawkesworth's compilation of the Voyages to the South Sea being mentioned;—JOHNSON. "Sir, if you talk of it as a subject of commerce, it will be gainful; if as a book that is to increase human knowledge, I believe there will not be much of that. Hawkesworth can tell only what the voyagers have told him; and they have found very little, only one new animal, I think." BOSWELL. "But many insects, Sir." JOHNSON. "Why Sir, as to insects, Ray reckons of British insects twenty thousand species. They might have staid at home and discovered enough in that way."

Talking of birds, I mentioned Mr. Daines Barrington's ingenious Essay against the received notion of their migration. JOHNSON. "I think we have as good evidence for the migration of woodcocks as can be desired. We find they disappear at a certain time of the year, and appear again at a certain time of the year; and some of them, when weary in their flight, have been known to alight on the rigging of ships far out at sea." One of the company observed, that there had been instances of some of them found in summer in Essex. JOHNSON. "Sir, that strengthens our argument *Exemptio probat regulam*. Some being found, shows that, if all remained, many would be found. A few sick or lame ones may be found." GOLDSMITH. "There is a partial mi-

¹ This question has been still more seriously debated in our own day, and is not at all, I fear, satisfactorily settled. — CROKER, 1846.

² No doubt Lady Diana Spencer, daughter of Charles Duke of Marlborough, born in 1734, married in 1757 to Viscount Bolingbroke, from whom she was divorced in 1768, and married immediately after Mr. Topham Beauclerk. All that Johnson says is very true; but he would have been better entitled to hold such high language if he had not *practically* waived his right by living in that lady's private society. He should either, as a strict moralist, have refused her his countenance, or, as a man of honour and gratitude, been silent as to her frailties. It was not fair to enjoy her society, and disparage her character. — CROKER.

³ "One evening," says Mrs. Piozzi, "in the rooms at Brighton, he fell into a comical discussion with Lord Bolingbroke, that lady's first husband: happening to sit by him, he chose to harangue very loudly about the nature, and use, and abuse of *divorces*. Many people gathered round them to hear what was said, and when my husband called him away, and told him to *whom* he had been talking, he

received an answer which I will not venture to write down. Something, no doubt, equivalent to what Boswell repeats in the text. — CROKER.

⁴ Old Mr. Langton. — CROKER.

⁵ I suppose John Claxton, Esq. F.A.S., author of a paper in the *Archæologia*. — CROKER.

⁶ A. M. Toplady, Vicar of Broad Hembury, in Devon, author of *Historic Proof of the Doctrinal Calvinism of the Church of England*, and many works of the same Calvinist principle: he died in 1778, at 38. — CROKER.

⁷ In his letter to Mrs. Thrale, 20th May, 1775, he says, "dined yesterday in a large company at a Dissenting book seller's, and disputed against *toleration* with one Dr. Mayer. This must have been the dinner noted in the text, but I can not reconcile the dates, and the mention of the death of Queen of Denmark, which happened on the 10th May, 1775, ascertains that the date of the letter is correct. Boswell who made many of his notes on mere scraps, and in a very confused way, must, I think, have misdated and misplaced his note of this conversation."

gration of the swallows; the stronger ones migrate, the others do not."

BOSWELL. "I am well assured that the people of Otaheite, who have the bread tree, the fruit of which serves them for bread, laughed heartily when they were informed of the tedious process necessary with us to have bread; plowing, sowing, harrowing, reaping, threshing, grinding, baking." JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, all ignorant savages will laugh when they are told of the advantages of civilised life. Were you to tell men who live without houses, how we pile brick upon brick, and rafter upon rafter, and that after a house is raised to a certain height, a man tumbles off a scaffold, and breaks his neck; he would laugh heartily at our folly in building; but it does not follow that men are better without houses. No, Sir, (holding up a slice of a good loaf), this is better than the bread tree."

He repeated an argument which is to be found in his "Rambler," against the notion that the brute creation is endowed with the faculty of reason: "Birds build by instinct; they never improve; they build their first nest as well as any one they ever build." GOLDSMITH. "Yet we see, if you take away a bird's nest with the eggs in it, she will make a slighter nest and lay again." JOHNSON. "Sir, that is because at first she has full time, and makes her nest deliberately. In the case you mention she is pressed to lay, and must therefore make her nest quickly, and consequently it will be slight." GOLDSMITH. "The nidification of birds is what is least known in natural history, though one of the most curious things in it."

I introduced the subject of toleration.¹ JOHNSON. "Every society has a right to preserve public peace and order, and therefore has a good right to prohibit the propagation of opinions which have a dangerous tendency. To say the *magistrate* has this right, is using an inadequate word: it is the *society* for which the magistrate is agent.² He may be morally or theologically wrong in restraining the propagation of opinions which he thinks dangerous, but he is politically right." MAYO. "I am of opinion, Sir, that every man is entitled to liberty of conscience in religion; and that the magistrate cannot restrain that right" JOHNSON. "Sir, I agree with you. Every man has a right to liberty of conscience, and with that the magistrate cannot interfere. People confound liberty of thinking with liberty of talking; nay, with liberty of preaching. Every man has a physical right to think as he pleases; for it cannot be discovered how he thinks. He has not a moral right, for he ought to inform himself, and think justly. But, Sir, no member of a society has a right to *teach* any doctrine contrary to what the society holds to

be true. The magistrate, I say, may be wrong in what he thinks: but while he thinks himself right, he may and ought to enforce what he thinks." MAYO. "Then, Sir, we are to remain always in error, and truth never can prevail; and the magistrate was right in persecuting the first Christians." JOHNSON. "Sir, the only method by which religious truth can be established is by martyrdom. The magistrate has a right to enforce what he thinks; and he who is conscious of the truth has a right to suffer. I am afraid there is no other way of ascertaining the truth, but by persecution on the one hand and enduring it on the other." GOLDSMITH. "But how is a man to act, Sir? Though firmly convinced of the truth of his doctrine, may he not think it wrong to expose himself to persecution? Has he a right to do so? Is it not, as it were, committing voluntary suicide?" JOHNSON. "Sir, as to voluntary suicide, as you call it, there are twenty thousand men in an army who will go without scruple to be shot at, and mount a breach for fivepence a day." GOLDSMITH. But have they a moral right to do this?" JOHNSON. "Nay, Sir, if you will not take the universal opinion of mankind, I have nothing to say. If mankind cannot defend their own way of thinking, I cannot defend it. Sir, if a man is in doubt whether it would be better for him to expose himself to martyrdom or not, he should not do it. He must be convinced that he has a delegation from heaven." GOLDSMITH. "I would consider whether there is the greater chance of good or evil upon the whole. If I see a man who has fallen into a well, I would wish to help him out; but if there is a greater probability that he shall pull me in, than that I shall pull him out, I would not attempt it. So, were I to go to Turkey, I might wish to convert the grand signior to the Christian faith; but when I considered that I should probably be put to death without effectuating my purpose in any degree, I should keep myself quiet." JOHNSON. "Sir, you must consider that we have perfect and imperfect obligations. Perfect obligations, which are generally not to do something, are clear and positive; as, 'Thou shalt not kill.' But charity, for instance, is not definable by limits. It is a duty to give to the poor; but no man can say how much another should give to the poor, or when a man has given too little to save his soul. In the same manner it is a duty to instruct the ignorant, and of consequence to convert infidels to Christianity; but no man in the common course of things is obliged to carry this to such a degree as to incur the danger of martyrdom, as no man is obliged to strip himself to the shirt in order to give charity. I have said, that a man must be per-

¹ I may take this occasion for noticing that of which we meet so many instances — Boswell's perverse, but for us fortunate, inclination to introduce subjects that he hoped would produce difference and debate. — CROKER.

² This is the *rationale* of the interference of the magistrate in any case. — CROKER, 1846.

sueded that he has a particular delegation from heaven." GOLDSMITH. "How is this to be known? Our first reformers, who were burnt for not believing bread and wine to be Christ —" JOHNSON (interrupting him). "Sir, they were not burnt for not believing bread and wine to be Christ, but for insulting those who did believe it.¹ And, Sir, when the first reformers began, they did not intend to be martyred: as many of them ran away as could." BOSWELL. "But, Sir, there was your countryman Elwal², who you told me challenged King George with his black-guards, and his red-guards." JOHNSON. "My countryman, Elwal, Sir, should have been put in the stocks — a proper pulpit for him; and he'd have had a numerous audience. A man who preaches in the stocks will always have hearers enough." BOSWELL. "But Elwal thought himself in the right." JOHNSON. "We are not providing for mad people; there are places for them in the neighbourhood" (meaning Moorfields). MAYO. "But, Sir, is it not very hard that I should not be allowed to teach my children what I really believe to be the truth?" JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, you might contrive to teach your children *extrâ scandalum*; but, Sir, the magistrate, if he knows it, has a right to restrain you. Suppose you teach your children to be thieves?" MAYO. "This is making a joke of the subject." JOHNSON. "Nay, Sir, take it thus: — that you teach them the community of goods; for which there are as many plausible arguments as for most erroneous doctrines. You teach them that all things at first were in common, and that no man had a right to any thing but as he laid his hands upon it; and that this still is, or ought to be, the rule amongst mankind. Here, Sir, you sap a great principle in society, — property. And don't you think the magistrate would have a right to prevent you? Or, suppose you should teach your children the notion of the Adamites, and they should run naked into the streets, would not the magistrate have a right to flog 'em into their doublets?" MAYO. "I think the magistrate has no right to interfere till there is some overt act?" BOSWELL. "So, Sir, though he sees an enemy to the state charging a blunderbuss, he is not to interfere till it is fired off!" MAYO. "He must be sure of its direction against the state." JOHNSON. "The magistrate is to judge of that. He has no right to restrain your thinking, because the evil centres in yourself. If a man were sitting at

this table, and chopping off his fingers, the magistrate, as guardian of the community, has no authority to restrain him, however he might do it from kindness as a parent. — Though, indeed, upon more consideration, I think he may; as it is probable, that he who is chopping off his own fingers, may soon proceed to chop off those of other people.³ If I think it right to steal Mr. Dilly's plate, I am a bad man; but he can say nothing to me. If I make an open declaration that I think so, he will keep me out of his house. If I put forth my hand, I shall be sent to Newgate. This is the gradation of thinking, preaching, and acting: if a man thinks erroneously, he may keep his thoughts to himself, and nobody will trouble him; if he preaches erroneous doctrine, society may expel him; if he acts in consequence of it, the law takes place, and he is hanged." MAYO. "But, Sir, ought not Christians to have liberty of conscience?" JOHNSON. "I have already told you so, Sir? You're coming back to where you were." BOSWELL. "Dr. Mayo is always taking a return post-chaise, and going the stage over again. He has it at half-price." JOHNSON. "Dr. Mayo, like other champions for unlimited toleration, has got a set of words.⁴ Sir, it is no matter, politically, whether the magistrate be right or wrong. Suppose a club were to be formed, to drink confusion to King George the Third, and a happy restoration to Charles the Third, this would be very bad with respect to the state; but every member of that club must either conform to its rules, or be turned out of it. Old Baxter, I remember, maintains, that the magistrate should 'tolerate all things that are tolerable.' This is no good definition of toleration upon any principle; but it shows that he thought some things were not tolerable." TOPLADY. "Sir, you have untwisted this difficult subject with great dexterity."

During this argument, Goldsmith sat in restless agitation, from a wish to get in and shine. Finding himself excluded, he had taken his hat to go away, but remained for some time with it in his hand, like a gamester, who, at the close of a long night, lingers for a little while, to see if he can have a favourable opening to finish with success. Once, when he was beginning to speak, he found himself overpowered by the loud voice of Johnson, who was at the opposite end of the table, and did not perceive Goldsmith's attempt. Thus disappointed of his wish to obtain the attention of

¹ This seems to be altogether contrary to the fact. The first reformers, whether of Germany or England, were certainly not burned for insulting individuals: they were burned for heresy; and abominable as that was, it was less indelensible than what Johnson is said to have stated, that they were burned for *insulting* individuals; but, indeed, I can hardly doubt that Boswell's note of this rapid discussion at a dinner table was very imperfect. — CROKER, 1831. 1846.

² See *anté*, p. 234. — C.

³ The Magistrate might for better reasons: either suspecting insanity; or, because he that mutilates himself becomes a burden upon others; or, because no citizen of a state has a right to disable himself from the performance of his active duties. — CROKER.

⁴ Dr. Mayo's calm temper and steady perseverance, rendered him an admirable subject for the exercise of Dr. Johnson's powerful abilities. He never flinched; but, after reiterated blows, remained seemingly unmoved as at the first. The scintillations of Johnson's genius flashed every time he was struck, without his receiving any injury. Hence he obtained the epithet of *The Literary Anvil*. — BOSWELL. Boswell talks as if these encounters were so frequent as to have obtained Dr. Mayo a distinctive epithet; but it is certain that Johnson had never seen him before this day, when he did not even know his name; and I cannot trace that he met him more than once again. — CROKER.

the company, Goldsmith in a passion threw down his hat, looking angrily at Johnson, and exclaiming in a bitter tone, "*Take it.*" When Toplady was going to speak, Johnson uttered some sound, which led Goldsmith to think that he was beginning again, and taking the words from Toplady. Upon which, he seized this opportunity of venting his own envy and spleen, under the pretext of supporting another person: "Sir," said he to Johnson, "the gentleman has heard you patiently for an hour: pray allow us now to hear him." JOHNSON (sternly). "Sir, I was not interrupting the gentleman. I was only giving him a signal of my attention. Sir, you are impertinent." Goldsmith made no reply, but continued in the company for some time.

A gentleman present¹ ventured to ask Dr. Johnson if there was not a material difference as to toleration of opinions which lead to action, and opinions merely speculative; for instance, would it be wrong in the magistrate to tolerate those who preach against the doctrine of the Trinity? Johnson was highly offended, and said, "I wonder, Sir, how a gentleman of your piety can introduce this subject in a mixed company." He told me afterwards, that the impropriety was, that perhaps some of the company might have talked on the subject in such terms as might have shocked him; or he might have been forced to appear in their eyes a narrow-minded man. The gentleman, with submissive deference, said, he had only hinted at the question from a desire to hear Dr. Johnson's opinion upon it. JOHNSON. "Why then, Sir, I think that permitting men to preach any opinion contrary to the doctrine of the established church, tends, in a certain degree, to lessen the authority of the church, and, consequently, to lessen the influence of religion." "It may be considered," said the gentleman, "whether it would not be politic to tolerate in such a case." JOHNSON. "Sir, we have been talking of *right*: this is another question. I think it is *not* politic to tolerate in such a case."

Though he did not think it fit that so awful a subject should be introduced in a mixed company, and therefore at this time waved the theological question; yet his own orthodox belief in the sacred mystery of the Trinity is evinced beyond doubt, by the following passage in his private devotions:—

"O Lord, hear my prayer, for Jesus Christ's sake; to whom with thee and the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God, be all honour and glory, world without end. Amen." [*Pr. and Med.*, p. 40.]

BOSWELL. "Pray, Mr. Dilly, how does Dr. Leland's² '*History of Ireland*' sell?" JOHNSON (bursting forth with a generous indig-

nation). "The Irish are in a most unnatural state; for we see there the minority prevailing over the majority. There is no instance, even in the ten persecutions, of such severity as that which the Protestants of Ireland have exercised against the Catholics. Did we tell them we have conquered them, it would be above board: to punish them by confiscation and other penalties, as rebels, was monstrous injustice. King William was not their lawful sovereign³: he had not been acknowledged by the parliament of Ireland, when they appeared in arms against him."

I here suggested something favourable of the Roman Catholics. TOPLADY. "Does not their invocation of saints suppose omnipresence in the saints?" JOHNSON. "No, Sir; it supposes only pluri-presence⁴; and when spirits are divested of matter, it seems probable that they should see with more extent than when in an embodied state. There is, therefore, no approach to an invasion of any of the divine attributes, in the invocation of saints. But I think it is will-worship, and presumption. I see no command for it, and therefore think it is safer not to practise it."

He and Mr. Langton and I went together to the Club, where we found Mr. Burke, Mr. Garrick, and some other members, and amongst them our friend Goldsmith, who sat silently brooding over Johnson's reprimand to him after dinner. Johnson perceived this, and said aside to some of us,—"I'll make Goldsmith forgive me;" and then called to him in a loud voice, "Dr. Goldsmith,—something passed to-day where you and I dined: I ask your pardon." Goldsmith answered placidly, "It must be much from you, Sir, that I take ill." And so at once the difference was over, and they were on as easy terms as ever, and Goldsmith rattled away as usual.

In our way to the Club to-night, when I regretted that Goldsmith would, upon every occasion, endeavour to shine, by which he often exposed himself, Mr. Langton observed, that he was not like Addison, who was content with the fame of his writings, and did not aim also at excellency in conversation, for which he found himself unfit: and that he said to a lady who complained of his having talked little in company, "Madam, I have but nine-pence in ready money, but I can draw for a thousand pounds." I observed that Goldsmith had a great deal of gold in his cabinet, but, not content with that, was always taking out his purse. JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir, and that so often an empty purse!"

Goldsmith's incessant desire of being conspicuous in company was the occasion of his sometimes appearing to such disadvantage as one should hardly have supposed possible in a

¹ Mr. Langton. See *post*, Aug. 22. 1773. — CROKER.

² See *antiq.* p. 168, n. 2. His *History of Ireland*, in three vols. 4to., was published in 1773. — WRIGHT.

³ We must not forget that Johnson had, in his earlier life, been not merely a Tory but a Jacobite. — CROKER.

⁴ Surely it implies omnipresence in the same way that prayers to the Deity imply omnipresence. And, after all, what is the difference, to our bounded reason, between *pluri*-presence and *omni*-presence? — CROKER.

man of his genius. When his literary reputation had risen deservedly high, and his society was much courted, he became very jealous of the extraordinary attention which was every where paid to Johnson. One evening, in a circle of wits, he found fault with me for talking of Johnson as entitled to the honour of unquestionable superiority. "Sir," said he, "you are for making a monarchy of what should be a republic."¹

He was still more mortified, when, talking in a company with fluent vivacity, and, as he flattered himself, to the admiration of all who were present, a German who sat next him, and perceived Johnson rolling himself as if about to speak, suddenly stopped him, saying, "Stay, stay — Tector Shonson is going to say something." This was, no doubt, very provoking, especially to one so irritable as Goldsmith, who frequently mentioned it with strong expressions of indignation.

It may also be observed, that Goldsmith was sometimes content to be treated with an easy familiarity, but upon occasions would be consequential and important. An instance of this occurred in a small particular. Johnson had a way of contracting the names of his friends: as, Beauclerk, Beau; Boswell, Bozzy; Langton, Lanky; Murphy, Mur; Sheridan, Sherry. I remember one day, when Tom Davies was telling that Dr. Johnson said, "We are all in labour for a name to *Goldy's* play," Goldsmith seemed displeased that such a liberty should be taken with his name, and said, "I have often desired him not to call me *Goldy*." Tom was remarkably attentive to the most minute circumstance about Johnson. I recollect his telling me once, on my arrival in London, "Sir, our great friend has made an improvement on his appellation of old Mr. Sheridan: he calls him now *Sherry derry*."

JOHNSON TO THE REV. MR. BAGSHAW²,

At Bromley.

"May 8. 1773.

SIR, — I return you my sincere thanks for your additions to my Dictionary; but the new edition has been published some time, and therefore I cannot now make use of them. Whether I shall ever revise it more, I know not. If many readers had

been as judicious, as diligent, and as communicative as yourself, my work had been better. The world must at present take it as it is. I am, Sir, your most obliged and most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

On Sunday, May 8.³ I dined with Johnson at Mr. Langton's with Dr. Beattie and some other company. He descanted on the subject of literary property. "There seems," said he, "to be in authors a stronger right of property than that by occupancy; a metaphysical right, a right, as it were, of creation, which should from its nature be perpetual; but the consent of nations is against it; and indeed reason and the interests of learning are against it; for were it to be perpetual, no book, however useful, could be universally diffused amongst mankind, should the proprietor take it into his head to restrain its circulation. No book could have the advantage of being edited with notes, however necessary to its elucidation, should the proprietor perversely oppose it. For the general good of the world, therefore, whatever valuable work has once been created by an author, and issued out by him, should be understood as no longer in his power, but as belonging to the public; at the same time the author is entitled to an adequate reward. This he should have by an exclusive right to his work for a considerable number of years."

He attacked Lord Monboddo's strange speculation on the primitive state of human nature; observing, "Sir, it is all conjecture about a thing useless, even were it known to be true. Knowledge of all kinds is good. Conjecture, as to things useful, is good; but conjecture as to what it would be useless to know, such as whether men went upon all four, is very idle."

On Monday, May 9.⁴ as I was to set out on my return to Scotland next morning, I was desirous to see as much of Dr. Johnson as I could. But I first called on Goldsmith to take leave of him. The jealousy and envy, which though possessed of many most amiable qualities, he frankly avowed, broke out violently at this interview.⁵ Upon another occasion when Goldsmith confessed himself to be of an envious disposition, I contended with Johnson that we ought not to be angry with him, he was so candid in owning it. "Nay, Sir," said

¹ It has been stated in some of the numerous fables and forgeries published in honour of Buonaparte, that, repressing the flattery of one of his literary courtiers, he should have said, "Pour Dieu, laissez-nous au moins la république des lettres." But this is undoubtedly false, and, instead of being said by, it was said of, him. Perhaps, after all, the French story may be but a version of this *bon mot* of Goldsmith. — CROKER.

² The Rev. Thomas Bagshaw, M. A., who died on the 20th of November, 1787, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, chaplain of Bromley College, in Kent, and rector of Southfleet. He had resigned the cure of Bromley parish some time before his death. For this, and another letter from Dr. Johnson in 1784, to the same truly respectable man, I am indebted to Dr. John Loveday, of the Commons, a son of the late learned and pious John Loveday, Esq., of Caversham, in Berkshire, who obligingly transcribed them for me from the originals in his possession. The worthy

gentleman, having retired from business, now lives in Warwickshire. The world has been lately obliged to him as the editor of the late Rev. Dr. Townson's excellent work modestly entitled "A Discourse on the Evangelical History from the Interment to the Ascension of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ;" to which is prefixed a truly interesting and pleasing account of the author, by the Rev. Mr. Ralph Churton. — BOSWELL. Dr. John Loveday died March 4. 1869, in his sixty-sixth year. *Gent. Mag.*, May 1820. — CROKER.

³ Misdate for the 9th. — CROKER.

⁴ Misdate for 10th. — CROKER.

⁵ I wonder why Boswell so often displays a malevolence feeling towards Goldsmith? Rivalry for Johnson's good graces, perhaps. — WALTER SCOTT. Or antagonism between the Scotch and the Irish? or, more probably, because the were both obtrusive, meddling, and vain, and so jostled each other. I should have been more surprised if they had had mutual liking. — CROKER, 1846.

Johnson, "we must be angry that a man has such a superabundance of an odious quality, that he cannot keep it within his own breast, but it boils over." In my opinion, however, Goldsmith had not more of it than other people have, but only talked of it freely.

He now seemed very angry that Johnson was going to be a traveller; said "he would be a dead weight for me to carry, and that I should never be able to lug him along through the Highlands and Hebrides." Nor would he patiently allow me to enlarge upon Johnson's wonderful abilities; but exclaimed, "Is he like Burke, who winds into a subject like a serpent?" "But," said I, "Johnson is the Hercules who strangled serpents in his cradle."

I dined with Dr. Johnson at General Paoli's. He was obliged, by indisposition, to leave the company early; he appointed me, however, to meet him in the evening at Mr. (now Sir Robert) Chambers's, in the Temple, where he accordingly came, though he continued to be very ill. Chambers, as is common on such occasions, prescribed various remedies to him. JOHNSON (fretted by pain). "Pr'ythee don't tease me. Stay till I am well, and then you shall tell me how to cure myself." He grew better, and talked with a noble enthusiasm of keeping up the representation of respectable families. His zeal on this subject was a circumstance in his character exceedingly remarkable, when it is considered that he himself had no pretensions to blood. I heard him once say, "I have great merit in being zealous for subordination and the honours of birth; for I can hardly tell who was my grandfather." He maintained the dignity and propriety of male succession, in opposition to the opinion of one of our friends¹, who had that day employed Mr. Chambers to draw his will, devising his estate to his three sisters, in preference to a remote heir male. Johnson called them "three doudies," and said, with as high a spirit as the boldest baron in the most perfect days of the feudal system, "An ancient estate should always go to males. It is mighty foolish to let a stranger have it because he marries your daughter, and takes your name. As for an estate newly acquired by trade, you may give it, if you will, to the dog *Towser*, and let him keep his own name."

I have known him at times exceedingly diverted at what seemed to others a very small sport. He now laughed immoderately, without any reason that we could perceive, at our friend's making his will: called him the *testator*.

and added, "I dare say he thinks he has done a mighty thing. He won't stay till he gets home to his seat in the country, to produce this wonderful deed: he'll call up the landlord of the first inn on the road; and, after a suitable preface upon mortality and the uncertainty of life, will tell him that he should not delay in making his will; and here, Sir, will he say, is my will, which I have just made, with the assistance of one of the ablest lawyers in the kingdom; and he will read it to him (laughing all the time). He believes he has made this will; but he did not make it; you, Chambers, made it for him. I trust you have had more conscience than to make him say, 'being of sound understanding!' ha, ha, ha! I hope he has left me a legacy. I'd have his will turned into verse, like a ballad."

In this playful manner did he run on, exulting in his own pleasantry, which certainly was not such as might be expected from the author of "The Rambler," but which is here preserved, that my readers may be acquainted even with the slightest occasional characteristics of so eminent a man.

Mr. Chambers did not by any means relish this jocularity upon a matter of which *pars magna fuit*², and seemed impatient till he got rid of us. Johnson could not stop his merriment, but continued it all the way till he got without the Temple Gate. He then burst into such a fit of laughter, that he appeared to be almost in a convulsion; and, in order to support himself, laid hold of one of the posts at the side of the foot pavement, and sent forth peals so loud, that in the silence of the night his voice seemed to resound from Temple Bar to Fleet Ditch.

This most ludicrous exhibition of the awful, melancholy, and venerable Johnson, happened well to counteract the feelings of sadness which I used to experience when parting with him for a considerable time. I accompanied him to his door, where he gave me his blessing.

He records of himself this year:—

"Between Easter and Whitsuntide, having always considered that time as propitious to study, I attempted to learn the Low Dutch language." [*Pr. & Med. p. 191.*]

It is to be observed, that he here admits an opinion of the human mind being influenced by seasons, which he ridicules in his writings. His progress, he says, was interrupted by a fever, "which, by the imprudent use of a small print, left an inflammation in his useful eye."

¹ It seems, from many circumstances, that this was Mr. Laugton; and that there was something more in the matter than a mere sally of untimely mirth. It is certain that the friendship of "twenty years' standing" (*post*, 22d August, 1773) between Johnson and Laugton, suffered, about this time, a serious interruption. Johnson chose to attribute it to the reproach he had lately given Laugton at Mr. Dilly's table (*ante*, p. 263.); but, as they all dined together next day at Laugton's own house, in apparent good humour, it is more probable that it arose from this affair of the will. — CROKER.

² Mr. Chambers of course knew more of the real state of the affair than Boswell, and may have been offended at the mode in which Johnson treated their common friend. It is absurd to think that he could have felt any displeasure on his own part. Even by Boswell's account, nothing could be less "playful" than Johnson's tone, and the mention of a legacy, here and in a subsequent letter (next page), makes me suspect that there was some personal disappointment at the bottom of this strange obstreperous and sour merriment. — CROKER.

We cannot but admire his spirit, when we know, that amidst a complication of bodily and mental distress, he was still animated with the desire of intellectual improvement.¹ Various notes of his studies appear on different days, in his manuscript diary of this year; such as, —

"Inchoavi lectionem Pentateuchi. Finivi lectionem Conf. Fab. Burdonum. Legi primum actum Troadum. Legi Dissertationem Clerici postremam de Pent. 2 of Clark's Sermons. L. Apollonii pugnam Betriciam. L. centum versus Homeri."

Let this serve as a specimen of what accessions of literature he was perpetually infusing into his mind, while he charged himself with idleness.

This year died Mrs. Salusbury (mother of Mrs. Thrale), a lady whom he appears to have esteemed much, and whose memory he honoured with an epitaph.²

In a letter from Edinburgh, dated the 29th of May, I pressed him to persevere in his resolution to make this year the projected visit to the Hebrides, of which he and I had talked for many years, and which I was confident would afford us much entertainment.

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"Johnson's Court, July 5. 1773.

"DEAR SIR, — When your letter came to me, I was so darkened by an inflammation in my eye that I could not for some time read it. I can now write without trouble, and can read large prints. My eye is gradually growing stronger; and I hope will be able to take some delight in the survey of a Caledonian loch.

"Chambers is going a judge, with six thousand a year, to Bengal. He and I shall come down together as far as Newcastle, and thence I shall easily get to Edinburgh. Let me know the exact time when your courts intermit. I must conform a little to Chambers's occasions, and he must conform a little to mine. The time which you shall fix must be the common point to which we will come as near as we can. Except this eye, I am very well.

"Beattie is so caressed, and invited, and treated, and liked, and flattered by the great, that I can see nothing of him. I am in great hope that he will be well provided for, and then we will live upon him at the Marischal College, without pity or modesty.

¹ Not six months before his death, he wished me to teach him the scale of music: "Dr. Burney, teach me at least the alphabet of your language." — BURNAY.

² This event also furnished him with a subject of meditation for the evening of June the 18th, on which day this lady died: —

"Friday, June 18. 1773. This day, after dinner, died Mrs. Salusbury; she had for some days almost lost the power of speaking. Yesterday, as I touched her hand, and kissed it, she pressed my hand between her two hands, which she probably intended as the parting caress. At night her speech returned a little; and she said, among other things, to her

" ————³ left the town without taking leave of me, and is gone in deep dudgeon to ————.⁴ Is not this very childish? Where is now my legacy?"

"I hope your dear lady and her dear baby are both well. I shall see them too when I come; and I have that opinion of your choice, as to suspect that when I have seen Mrs. Boswell, I shall be less willing to go away. I am, dear Sir, your affectionate humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

"Write to me as soon as you can. Chambers is now at Oxford."

I again wrote to him, informing him that the court of session rose on the 12th of August, hoping to see him before that time, and expressing, perhaps in too extravagant terms, my admiration of him, and my expectation of pleasure from our intended tour.

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"August 3. 1773.

"DEAR SIR, — I shall set out from London on Friday the 6th of this month, and purpose not to loiter much by the way. Which day I shall be at Edinburgh, I cannot exactly tell. I suppose I must drive to an inn, and send a porter to find you.

"I am afraid Beattie will not be at his college soon enough for us, and I shall be sorry to miss him; but there is no staying for the concurrence of all conveniences. We will do as well as we can. I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"August 3. 1773.

"DEAR SIR, — Not being at Mr. Thrale's when your letter came, I had written the inclosed paper and sealed it; bringing it hither for a frank, I found yours. If any thing could repress my ardour, it would be such a letter as yours. To disappoint a friend is displeasing; and he that forms expectations like yours, must be disappointed. Think only, when you see me, that you see a man who loves you, and is proud and glad that you love him. I am, Sir, your most affectionate,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

daughter, I have had much time, and I hope I have used it. This morning, being called about nine to feel her pulse, I said, at parting, God bless you, for Jesus Christ's sake. She smiled, as pleased. She had her senses perhaps to the dying moment." [*Pr. and Med.*, p. 127.] He complains, about this period, that his memory had been for a long time very much confused; and that names, and persons, and events, slide away strangely from him. "But," he adds, "I grow easier." [*Ib.* p. 129.] — CROKER.

³ ⁴ Both these blanks must be filled with *Langton*. See last page. — CROKER.

CHAPTER XXX.

1773.

Johnson sets out on his Visit to the Hebrides. — Sketch of his Character, Figure, and Manner. — He arrives in Scotland. — Memorabilia. — Law of Prescription. — Trial by Duel. — Mr. Scott. — Sir William Forbes. — Practice of the Law. — Emigration. — Rev. Mr. Carr. — Chief Baron Orde. — Dr. Beattie and Mr. Hume. — Dr. Robertson. — Mr. Burke. — Genius. — Whitfield and Wesley. — Political Parties. — Garrick.

DR. JOHNSON had¹, for many years, given me hopes that we should go together and visit the Hebrides. Martin's account of those islands had impressed us with a notion, that we might there contemplate a system of life almost totally different from what we had been accustomed to see; and to find simplicity and wildness, and all the circumstances of remote time or place, so near to our native great islands, was an object within the reach of reasonable curiosity. Dr. Johnson has said in his "Journey," that "he scarcely remembered how the wish to visit the Hebrides was excited;" but he told me, in summer, 1763, that his father put Martin's account into his hands when he was very young, and that he was much pleased with it.² We reckoned there would be some inconveniences and hardships, and perhaps a little danger; but these, we were persuaded, were magnified in the imagination of every body. When I was at Ferney, in 1754, I mentioned our design to Voltaire. He looked at me, as if I had talked of going to the North Pole, and said, "You do not insist on my accompanying you?"—"No, sir." "Then I am very willing you should go." I was not afraid that our curious expedition would be prevented by such apprehensions; but I doubted that it would not be possible to prevail on Dr. Johnson to relinquish, for some time, the felicity of a London life, which, to a man who can enjoy it with full intellectual relish, is apt to make existence in any narrower sphere seem insipid

¹ Here begins the Journal of the Tour to the Hebrides, to which Mr. Boswell had prefixed two mottos, the first in the title-page, from Pope:

"O! while along the stream of time thy name
Expands and flies, and gathers all its fame,
Say, shall my little bark, attendant sail,
Pursue the triumph and partake the gale?"

The other on a fly-leaf, from Baker's Chronicle:

"He was of an admirable pregnancy of wit, and that pregnancy much improved by continual study from his childhood; by which he had gotten such a promptness in expressing his mind, that his extemporal speeches were little inferior to his premeditated writings. Many, no doubt, had read as much, and perhaps more than he; but scarce ever any concocted his reading into judgment as he did."

Mr. Boswell tells us that Johnson read this journal as it proceeded, which, strange as the reader will think it, when he comes to read some passages of it, Johnson himself confirms; for he says to Mrs. Thrale, "You never told me, and I omitted to inquire, how you were entertained by Boswell's Journal. One would think the man had been hired to be a spy upon me. He was very diligent, and caught oppor-

or irksome. I doubted that he would not be willing to come down from his elevated state of philosophical dignity; from a superiority of wisdom among the wise, and of learning among the learned; and from flashing his wit upon minds bright enough to reflect it.

He had disappointed my expectations so long, that I began to despair; but, in spring, 1773, he talked of coming to Scotland that year with so much firmness, that I hoped he was at last in earnest. I knew that, if he were once launched from the metropolis, he would go forward very well; and I got our common friends there to assist in setting him afloat. To Mrs. Thrale, in particular, whose enchantment over him seldom failed, I was much obliged.³ It was, "I'll give thee a wind."—"Thou art kind." To attract him, we had invitations from the chiefs Macdonald and Macleod; and, for additional aid, I wrote to Lord Elibank, Dr. William Robertson, and Dr. Beattie.

To Dr. Robertson, so far as my letter concerned the present subject, I wrote as follows:—

"Our friend, Mr. Samuel Johnson, is in great health and spirits; and, I do think, has a serious resolution to visit Scotland this year. The more attraction, however, the better; and, therefore, though I know he will be happy to meet you there, it will forward the scheme, if, in your answer to this, you express yourself concerning it with that power of which you are so happily possessed, and which may be so directed as to operate strongly upon him."

His answer to that part of my letter was quite as I could have wished. It was written with the address and persuasion of the historian of America.

"When I saw you last, you gave us some hopes that you might prevail with Mr. Johnson to make out that excursion to Scotland, with the expectation of which we have long flattered ourselves. If he could order matters so as to pass some time in Edinburgh, about the close of the summer season, and then visit some of the Highland scenes, I am confident he would be pleased with the grand features of nature in many parts of this country: he will meet with many persons here who respect

tunities of writing from time to time. You may now conceive yourself tolerably well acquainted with the expedition."—*Letters*, vol. i. p. 233. — CROKER.

² It is entitled, *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland, by M. Martin, Gent.*, 1768. A second edition appeared in 1761. On a copy of Martin in the Advocates' Library I found, last summer (1834), the following note in the handwriting of Mr. Boswell:—

"This very book accompanied Mr. Samuel Johnson and me on our Tour to the Hebrides, in autumn 1773. Mr. Johnson told me that he had read Martin when he was very young. Martin was a native of the Isle of Sky, where a number of his relatives still remain. His book is a very imperfect performance, and he is erroneous as to many particulars, even some concerning his own island. Yet, as it is the only book upon the subject, it is very generally known. I have seen a second edition of it. I cannot but have a kindness for him, notwithstanding his defects."—*James Boswell*. — URCURT.

³ She gives, in one of her letters to Dr. Johnson, the reasons which induced her to approve this excursion:—"Fatigue is profitable to your health, upon the whole, and keeps fancy from playing foolish tricks. Exercise for your body, and exertion for your mind, will contribute more than all the medicine in the universe to preserve that life we all consider as invaluable."—*Letters*, vol. i. p. 190. — CROKER.

him, and some whom I am persuaded he will think not unworthy of his esteem. I wish he would make the experiment. He sometimes cracks his jokes upon us; but he will find that we can distinguish between the stabs of malevolence and the rebukes of the righteous, which are like excellent oil¹, and break not the head. Offer my best compliments to him, and assure him that I shall be happy to have the satisfaction of seeing him under my roof."

To Dr. Beattie I wrote, "The chief intention of this letter is to inform you, that I now seriously believe Mr. Samuel Johnson will visit Scotland this year: but I wish that every power of attraction may be employed to secure our having so valuable an acquisition, and therefore I hope you will, without delay, write to me what I know you think, that I may read it to the mighty sage, with proper emphasis, before I leave London, which I must do soon. He talks of you with the same warmth that he did last year. We are to see as much of Scotland as we can, in the months of August and September. We shall not be long of being at Marischal College.* He is particularly desirous of seeing some of the Western Islands."

Dr. Beattie did better: *ipse venit*. He was, however, so polite as to waive his privilege of *nil mihi rescribas*, and wrote from Edinburgh as follows:—

"Your very kind and agreeable favour of the 20th of April overtook me here yesterday, after having gone to Aberdeen, which place I left about a week ago. I am to set out this day for London, and hope to have the honour of paying my respects to Mr. Johnson and you, about a week or ten days hence. I shall then do what I can to enforce the topic you mention; but at present I cannot enter upon it, as I am in a very great hurry, for I intend to begin my journey within an hour or two."

He was as good as his word, and threw some pleasing motives into the northern scale. But, indeed, Mr. Johnson loved all that he heard, from one whom he tells us, in his *Lives of the Poets*, Gray found "a poet, a philosopher, and a good man."

My Lord Elibank did not answer my letter to his lordship for some time. The reason will appear when we come to the Isle of Sky. I shall then insert my letter, with letters from his lordship, both to myself and Mr. Johnson. I beg it may be understood, that I insert my own letters, as I relate my own sayings, rather as keys to what is valuable belonging to others, than for their own sake.

Luckily Mr. Justice (now Sir Robert) Chambers, who was about to sail for the East Indies, was going to take leave of his relations at Newcastle, and he conducted Dr. Johnson

to that town; whence he wrote me the following:—

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"Newcastle, August 11. 1773.

"DEAR SIR, — I came hither last night, and hope, but do not absolutely promise, to be in Edinburgh on Saturday. Beattie will not come so soon. I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON.

"My compliments to your lady."

Mr. Scott, of University College, Oxford, afterwards Sir William Scott and Lord Stowell, accompanied him from thence to Edinburgh. With such propitious convoys did he proceed to my native city. But, lest metaphor should make it be supposed he actually went by sea, I choose to mention that he travelled in post-chaises, of which the rapid motion was one of his most favourite amusements.

Dr. Samuel Johnson's character, religious, moral, political, and literary, nay, his figure and manner, are, I believe, more generally known than those of almost any man; yet it may not be superfluous here to attempt a sketch of him. Let my readers, then, remember that he was a sincere and zealous Christian, of high church of England and monarchical principles, which he would not tamely suffer to be questioned; steady and inflexible in maintaining the obligations of piety and virtue, both from a regard to the order of society, and from a veneration for the Great Source of all order; correct, nay, stern in his taste; hard to please, and easily offended; impetuous and irritable in his temper, but of a most humane and benevolent heart; having a mind stored with a vast and various collection of learning and knowledge, which he communicated with peculiar perspicuity and force, in rich and choice expression. He united a most logical head with a most fertile imagination, which gave him an extraordinary advantage in arguing; for he could reason close or wide, as he saw best for the moment. He could, when he chose it, be the greatest sophist that ever wielded a weapon in the schools of declamation, but he indulged this only in conversation; for he owned he sometimes talked for victory; he was too conscientious to make error permanent and pernicious, by deliberately writing it.

He was conscious of his superiority. He loved praise when it was brought to him; but was too proud to seek for it. He was somewhat susceptible of flattery. His mind was so full of imagery, that he might have been perpetually a poet. It has often been remarked, that in his poetical pieces, which it is to be regretted are so few, because so excellent, his style is easier than in his prose. There is

¹ Our friend Edmund Burke, who, by this time, had received some pretty severe strokes from Dr. Johnson, on account of the unhappy difference in their politics, upon my repeating this passage to him, exclaimed, "Oil of vitriol!" — BOSWELL.

² This, I find, is a Scotticism. I should have said, "It will not be long before we shall be at Marischal College." — BOSWELL. In spite of this warning, Walter Scott fell into the same error, "The light foot of Mordaunt was not long of bearing him to Jarlok." *Pirate*, c. viii. — CROKER, 1846.

deception in this: it is not easier, but better suited to the dignity of verse; as one may dance with grace, whose motions, in ordinary walking, in the common step, are awkward. He had a constitutional melancholy, the clouds of which darkened the brightness of his fancy, and gave a gloomy cast to his whole course of thinking: yet, though grave and awful in his deportment, when he thought it necessary or proper, he frequently indulged himself in pleasantries and sportive sallies. He was prone to superstition, but not to credulity. Though his imagination might incline him to a belief of the marvellous and the mysterious, his vigorous reason examined the evidence with jealousy. He had a loud voice, and a slow, deliberate utterance, which no doubt gave some additional weight to the sterling metal of his conversation. Lord Pembroke said once to me at Wilton, with a happy pleasantries, and some truth, that "Dr. Johnson's sayings would not appear so extraordinary, were it not for his *bow-wow way*." But I admit the truth of this, only on some occasions. The Messiah played upon the Canterbury organ is more sublime than when played on an inferior instrument; but very slight music will seem grand, when conveyed to the ear through that majestic medium. While, therefore, Dr. Johnson's sayings are read, let his manner be taken along with them. Let it, however, be observed, that the sayings themselves are generally great; that, though he might be an ordinary composer at times, he was for the most part a Handel.

His person was large, robust, I may say approaching to the gigantic, and grown unwieldy from corpulency. His countenance was naturally of the cast of an ancient statue, but somewhat disfigured by the scars of that evil, which, it was formerly imagined, the royal touch could cure. He was now in his sixty-fourth year, and was become a little dull of hearing. His sight had always been somewhat weak; yet, so much does mind govern, and even supply the deficiency of organs, that his perceptions were uncommonly quick and accurate. His head, and sometimes also his body, shook with a kind of motion like the effect of a palsy: he appeared to be frequently disturbed by cramps, or convulsive contractions, of the nature of that distemper called St. Vitus's dance. He wore a full suit of plain brown clothes, with twisted hair-buttons of the same colour, a large bushy greyish wig, a plain shirt, black worsted stockings, and silver buckles. Upon his tour, when journeying, he wore boots, and a very wide brown cloth great

coat, with pockets which might have almost held the two volumes of his folio Dictionary; and he carried in his hand a large English oak stick. Let me not be censured for mentioning such minute particulars: every thing relative to so great a man is worth observing. I remember Dr. Adam Smith, in his rhetorical lectures at Glasgow, told us he was glad to know that Milton wore latchets in his shoes instead of buckles.² When I mention the oak stick, it is but letting Hercules have his club; and, by-and-by, my readers will find this stick will bud, and produce a good joke.

This imperfect sketch of "the combination and the form" of that wonderful man, whom I venerated and loved while in this world, and after whom I gaze with humble hope, now that it has pleased Almighty God to call him to a better world, will serve to introduce to the fancy of my readers the capital object of the following journal, in the course of which I trust they will attain to a considerable degree of acquaintance with him.

His prejudice against Scotland was announced almost as soon as he began to appear in the world of letters. In his "London," a poem, are the following nervous lines:—

"For who could leave, unbribed, Hibernia's land?
Or change the rocks of Scotland for the Strand?
There none are swept by sudden fate away;
But all, whom hunger spares, with age decay."

The truth is, like the ancient Greeks and Romans, he allowed himself to look upon all nations but his own as barbarians: not only Hibernia and Scotland, but Spain, Italy, and France, are attacked in the same poem. If he was particularly prejudiced against the Scots, it was because they were more in his way; because he thought their success in England rather exceeded the due proportion of their real merit; and because he could not but see in them that nationality which I believe no liberal-minded Scotsman will deny. He was, indeed, if I may be allowed the phrase, at bottom much of a John Bull: much of a blunt true-born Englishman. There was a stratum of common clay under the rock of marble. He was voraciously fond of good eating; and he had a great deal of that quality called humour, which gives an oiliness and a gloss to every other quality.

I am, I flatter myself, completely a citizen of the world. In my travels through Holland, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Corsica, France, I never felt myself from home; and I sincerely

¹ Such they appeared to me; but, since the first edition, Sir Joshua Reynolds has observed to me, that "Dr. Johnson's extraordinary gestures were only habits, in which he indulged himself at certain times. When in company, where he was not free, or when engaged earnestly in conversation, he never gave way to such habits, which proves that they were not involuntary." I still, however, think that these gestures were involuntary; for surely, had not that been the case, he

would have restrained them in the public streets.—BOSWELL. See *ant.* p. 42. Sir Joshua's reasoning at large. Notwithstanding which, it seems the better opinion that these gestures were the consequence of nervous affections, and not of trick or habit.—CROKER.

² This was no great discovery; the fashion of shoe-buckles was long posterior to Milton's day.—CROKER.

love "every kindred and tongue and people and nation." I subscribe to what my late truly learned and philosophical friend Mr. Crosbie¹ said, that the English are better animals than the Scots; they are nearer the sun; their blood is richer, and more mellow: but when I humour any of them in an outrageous contempt of Scotland, I fairly own I treat them as children. And thus I have, at some moments, found myself obliged to treat even Dr. Johnson.

To Scotland, however, he ventured; and he returned from it in great good humour, with his prejudices much lessened, and with very grateful feelings of the hospitality with which he was treated; as is evident from that admirable work, his "Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland," which, to my utter astonishment, has been misapprehended, even to rancour, by many of my countrymen.

To have the company of Chambers and Scott, he delayed his journey so long, that the court of session, which rises on the 11th of August, was broke up before he got to Edinburgh.

On Saturday, the 14th of August, 1773, late in the evening, I received a note from him, that he was arrived at Boyd's inn², at the head of the Canongate.

"Saturday night.

"Mr. Johnson sends his compliments to Mr. Boswell, being just arrived at Boyd's."

I went to him directly. He embraced me cordially; and I exulted in the thought that I now had him actually in Caledonia. Mr. Scott's amiable manners, and attachment to our Socrates, at once united me to him. He told me that, before I came in, the Doctor had unluckily had a bad specimen of Scottish cleanliness. He then drank no fermented liquor. He asked to have his lemonade made sweeter; upon which the waiter, with his greasy fingers, lifted a lump of sugar, and put it into it. The Doctor, in indignation, threw it out of the window. Scott said he was afraid he would have knocked the waiter down.³ Mr. Johnson [has since] told me that such another trick was played him at the house of a lady in Paris.⁴ He was to do me the honour to lodge under my roof. I regretted sincerely that I

had not also a room for Mr. Scott. Mr. Johnson and I walked arm-in-arm, up the High Street, to my house in James's Court⁵; it was a dusky night: I could not prevent his being assailed by the evening effluvia of Edinburgh. I heard a late baronet, of some distinction in the political world in the beginning of the present reign, observe, that "walking the streets of Edinburgh at night was pretty perilous, and a good deal odoriferous." The peril is much abated, by the care which the magistrates have taken to enforce the city laws against throwing foul water from the windows; but, from the structure of the houses in the old town, which consist of many stories, in each of which a different family lives, and there being no covered sewers, the odour still continues. A zealous Scotsman would have wished Mr. Johnson to be without one of his five senses upon this occasion. As we marched slowly along, he grumbled in my ear, "I smell you in the dark!" But he acknowledged that the breadth of the street, and the loftiness of the buildings on each side, made a noble appearance.

My wife had tea ready for him, which it is well known he delighted to drink at all hours, particularly when sitting up late, and of which his able defence against Mr. Jonas Hanway should have obtained him a magnificent reward from the East India Company. He showed much complacency upon finding that the mistress of the house was so attentive to his singular habit; and as no man could be more polite when he chose to be so, his address to her was most courteous and engaging; and his conversation soon charmed her into a forgetfulness of his external appearance.

I did not begin to keep a regular full journal till some days after we had set out from Edinburgh; but I have luckily preserved a good many fragments of his Memorabilia from his very first evening in Scotland.

We had a little before this had a trial for murder, in which the judges had allowed the lapse of twenty years since its commission as a plea in bar, in conformity with the doctrine of prescription in the civil law, which Scotland and several other countries in Europe have adopted.⁶ He at first disapproved of this; but then he thought there was something in it if there had been for twenty years a

¹ Mr. Crosbie, one of the most eminent advocates then at the Scotch bar. Lord Stowell recollects that Johnson was treated by the Scottish literati with a degree of deference bordering on pusillanimity; but he excepts from that observation Mr. Crosbie, whom he characterises as an *intrepid talker*, and the only man who was disposed to *stand up* (as the phrase is) to Johnson. — CROKER.

² The sign of the White Horse. It continued a place from which coaches used to start till the end of the eighteenth century; some twelve or fifteen years ago it was a carrier's inn, and has since been held unworthy even of that occupation, and the sign is taken down. It was a base hotel. — WALTER SCOTT. It was the best of the only three inns in Edinburgh, where, at that time, people of any condition could be accommodated. The room in which Johnson had sat used to be pointed out by its later occupants. — CHAMBERS.

³ "The house," said Lord Stowell to me, "was kept by a woman, and she was called *Luckie*, which it seems is synonymous to *Goody* in England. I, at first, thought the appellation very inappropriate, and that *Unlucky* would have been better, for Dr. Johnson had a mind to have thrown the waiter, as well as the lemonade, out of the window. — CROKER.

⁴ See *post*, Nov. 1775. — C.

⁵ "Boswell has very handsome and spacious rooms, level with the ground at one side of the house, and on the other four stories high." *Let. 1. 109.* — CROKER. It was considered a very good house and was entailed, but Sir Alexander Boswell obtained an act of Parliament to sell it, to discharge the land tax from the rest of his property. It was lately occupied by a printer. — CHAMBERS.

⁶ See *post*, August 22. 1773. — C.

neglect to prosecute a crime which was known. He would not allow that a murder, by not being discovered for twenty years, should escape punishment. We talked of the ancient trial by duel. He did not think it so absurd as is generally supposed; "for," said he, "it was only allowed when the question was in equilibrio, as when one affirmed and another denied; and they had a notion that Providence would interfere in favour of him who was in the right. But as it was found that, in a duel, he who was in the right had not a better chance than he who was in the wrong, therefore society instituted the present mode of trial, and gave the advantage to him who is in the right."

We sat till near two in the morning, having chatted a good while after my wife left us. She had insisted, that, to show all respect to the sage, she would give up her own bedchamber to him, and take a worse. This I cannot but gratefully mention as one of a thousand obligations which I owe her, since the great obligation of her being pleased to accept of me as her husband.

Sunday, Aug. 15. — Mr. Scott came to breakfast, at which I introduced to Dr. Johnson, and him, my friend Sir William Forbes, now of Pitsligo¹, a man of whom too much good cannot be said; who, with distinguished abilities and application in his profession of a banker, is at once a good companion and a good Christian, which, I think, is saying enough. Yet it is but justice to record, that once, when he was in a dangerous illness, he was watched with the anxious apprehension of a general calamity; day and night his house was beset with affectionate inquiries, and, upon his recovery, Te Deum was the universal chorus from the hearts of his countrymen.

Mr. Johnson was pleased with my daughter Veronica², then a child about four months old. She had the appearance of listening to him. His motions seemed to her to be intended for her amusement; and when he stopped she fluttered, and made a little infantine noise, and a kind of signal for him to begin again. She would be held close to him, which was a proof, from simple nature, that his figure was not horrid. Her fondness for him endeared her still more to me, and I declared she should have five hundred pounds of additional fortune.

We talked of the practice of the law. Sir William Forbes said, he thought an honest

lawyer should never undertake a cause which he was satisfied was not a just one. "Sir," said Mr. Johnson, "a lawyer has no business with the justice or injustice of the cause which he undertakes, unless his client asks his opinion, and then he is bound to give it honestly. The justice or injustice of the cause is to be decided by the judge. Consider, Sir, what is the purpose of courts of justice? It is, that every man may have his cause fairly tried, by men appointed to try causes. A lawyer is not to tell what he knows to be a lie: he is not to produce what he knows to be a false deed; but he is not to usurp the province of the jury and of the judge, and determine what shall be the effect of evidence, — what shall be the result of legal argument. As it rarely happens that a man is fit to plead his own cause, lawyers are a class of the community who, by study and experience, have acquired the art and power of arranging evidence, and of applying to the points at issue what the law has settled. A lawyer is to do for his client all that his client might fairly do for himself, if he could. If, by a superiority of attention, of knowledge, of skill, and a better method of communication, he has the advantage of his adversary, it is an advantage to which he is entitled. There must always be some advantage, on one side or other; and it is better that advantage should be had by talents than by chance. If lawyers were to undertake no causes till they were sure they were just, a man might be precluded altogether from a trial of his claim, though, were it judicially examined, it might be found a very just claim." This was sound practical doctrine, and rationally repressed a too refined scrupulosity of conscience.³

Emigration was at this time a common topic of discourse. Dr. Johnson regretted it as hurtful to human happiness: "For," said he, "it spreads mankind, which weakens the defence of a nation, and lessens the comfort of living. Men, thinly scattered, make a shift, but a bad shift, without many things. A smith is ten miles off; they'll do without a nail or a staple. A tailor is far from them; they'll botch their own clothes. It is being concentrated which produces high convenience."

Sir William Forbes, Mr. Scott, and I, accompanied Mr. Johnson to the chapel, founded by Lord Chief Baron Smith, for the service of the Church of England. The Rev. Mr. Carr, the senior clergyman, preached from these words, — "Because the Lord reigneth, let the

¹ This respectable baronet, who published a *Life of Beattie*, died in 1806, at the age of sixty-eight. — CROKER.

² The saint's name of Veronica was introduced into our family through my great grandmother Veronica, Countess of Kincardine, a Dutch lady of the noble house of Sommelsdyck, of which there is a full account in Bayle's Dictionary. The family had once a princely right in Surinam. The governor of that settlement was appointed by the states-general, the town of Amsterdam, and Sommelsdyck. The states-general have acquired Sommelsdyck's right; but the family has still great dignity and opulence, and by intermarriages is connected with many other noble families. When I was at the Hague, I was received with all the affection of kindred. The

present Sommelsdyck has an important charge in the republic, and is as worthy a man as lives. He has honoured me with his correspondence for these twenty years. My great grandfather, the husband of Countess Veronica, was Alexander, Earl of Kincardine, that eminent royalist whose character is given by Burnet in his "History of his own Times." From him the blood of Bruce flows in my veins. Of such ancestry who would not be proud? And as "Nihil est, nisi hoc sciat alter" is peculiarly true of genealogy, who would not be glad to seize a fair opportunity to let it be known? — BOSWELL.

³ See *anté*, pp. 186. 246. — C.

earth be glad." I was sorry to think Mr. Johnson did not attend to the sermon, Mr. Carr's low voice not being strong enough to reach his hearing. A selection of Mr. Carr's sermons has since his death been published by Sir William Forbes, and the world has acknowledged their uncommon merit. I am well assured Lord Mansfield has pronounced them to be excellent.¹

Here I obtained a promise from Lord Chief Baron Orde, that he would dine at my house next day. I presented Mr. Johnson to his lordship, who politely said to him, "I have not the honour of knowing you; but I hope for it, and to see you at my house. I am to wait on you to-morrow." This respectable English judge will be long remembered in Scotland, where he built an elegant house, and lived in it magnificently. His own ample fortune, with the addition of his salary, enabled him to be splendidly hospitable. It may be fortunate for an individual amongst ourselves to be Lord Chief Baron, and a most worthy man² now has the office; but, in my opinion, it is better for Scotland in general, that some of our public employments should be filled by gentlemen of distinction from the south side of the Tweed, as we have the benefit of promotion in England. Such an interchange would make a beneficial mixture of manners, and render our union more complete. Lord Chief Baron Orde was on good terms with us all, in a narrow country, filled with jarring interests, and keen parties; and, though I well knew his opinion to be the same with my own, he kept himself aloof at a very critical period indeed, when the Douglas cause shook the sacred security of birthright in Scotland to its foundation; a cause which, had it happened before the Union, when there was no appeal to a British House of Lords, would have left the great fortress of honours and of property in ruins.³

When we got home, Dr. Johnson desired to see my books. He took down Ogden's Sermons on Prayer, on which I set a very high value, having been much edified by them, and he retired with them to his room. He did not stay long, but soon joined us in the drawing-room. I presented to him Mr. Robert Ar-

buthnot⁴, a relation of the celebrated Dr. Arbuthnot, and a man of literature and taste. To him we were obliged for a previous recommendation, which secured us a very agreeable reception at St. Andrew's, and which Dr. Johnson, in his "Journey," ascribes to "some invisible friend."

Of Dr. Beattie, Mr. Johnson said, "Sir, he has written like a man conscious of the truth, and feeling his own strength. Treating your adversary with respect, is giving him an advantage to which he is not entitled. The greatest part of men cannot judge of reasoning, and are impressed by character; so that, if you allow your adversary a respectable character, they will think, that though you differ from him, you may be in the wrong. Sir, treating your adversary with respect, is striking soft in a battle. And as to Hume, a man who has so much conceit as to tell all mankind that they have been bubbled for ages, and he is the wise man who sees better than they—a man who has so little scrupulosity as to venture to oppose those principles which have been thought necessary to human happiness—is he to be surprised if another man comes and laughs at him? If he is the great man he thinks himself, all this cannot hurt him: it is like throwing peas against a rock." He added "something much too rough," both as to Mr. Hume's head and heart, which I suppress.⁵ Violence is, in my opinion, not suitable to the Christian cause. Besides, I always lived on good terms with Mr. Hume, though I have frankly told him, I was not clear that it was right in me to keep company with him. "But," said I, "how much better are you than your books!" He was cheerful, obliging, and instructive; he was charitable to the poor; and many an agreeable hour have I passed with him. I have preserved some entertaining and interesting memoirs of him, particularly when he knew himself to be dying, which I may some time or other communicate to the world. I shall not, however, extol him so very highly as Dr. Adam Smith does, who says, in a letter to Mr. Strahan the printer (not a confidential letter to his friend, but a letter which is published⁶ with all formality):

¹ The Rev. George Carr was born at Newcastle, February 16, 1704, and died suddenly on Sunday, August 18, 1776.—WRIGHT.

² James Montgomery, created a baronet in 1801, on his resignation of the office of Chief Baron. He died in 1803.—CROKER.

³ It must be recollected that Mr. Boswell was not only counsel, but a violent partisan in this cause. There was, in fact, no attempt at "shaking the sacred security of birthright." The question was, "to whom the birthright belonged;" that is, whether Mr. Douglas was or was not the son of those he called his father and mother.—CROKER.

⁴ Robert Arbuthnot, Esq. was secretary to the Board of Trustees for the Encouragement of the Arts and Manufactures of Scotland; in this office he was succeeded by his son William, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, when King George the Fourth visited Scotland, who was made a baronet on that occasion, and has lately died much lamented. Both father and son were accomplished gentlemen, and elegant scholars.—WALTER SCOTT.

⁵ It may be supposed that it was somewhat like what Mrs.

Piozzi relates that he said of an eminent infidel, whose name she does not give, but who was probably either Hume or Gibbon (Malone thought Gibbon). "You will at least," said some one, "allow him the *lumières*."—"Just enough," replied the Doctor, "to light him to hell."—CROKER.

⁶ This letter, though shattered by the sharp shot of Dr. Horne of Oxford's wit, in the character of "One of the People called Christians," is still prefixed to Mr. Hume's excellent History of England, like a poor invalid on the piquet guard, or like a list of quack medicines sold by the same bookseller, by whom a work of whatever nature is published; for it has no connection with his History, let it have what it may with what are called his Philosophical Works. A worthy friend of mine in London was lately consulted by a lady of quality, of most distinguished merit, what was the best History of England for her son to read. My friend recommended Hume's. But, upon recollecting that its usher was a superlative panegyric on one, who endeavoured to sap the credit of our holy religion, he revoked his recommendation. I am really sorry for this ostentatious alliance; because I admire "The Theory of Moral Sentiments," and

"Upon the whole, I have always considered him, both in his lifetime and since his death, as approaching as nearly to the idea of a perfectly wise and virtuous man as perhaps the nature of human frailty will permit." Let Dr. Smith consider, Was not Mr. Hume blest with good health, good spirits, good friends, a competent and increasing fortune? And had he not also a perpetual feast of fame? But, as a learned friend has observed to me, "What trials did he undergo, to prove the perfection of his virtue? Did he ever experience any great instance of adversity?" When I read this sentence, delivered by my old professor of moral philosophy, I could not help exclaiming with the Psalmist, "Surely I have now more understanding than my teachers!"

While we were talking, there came a note to me from Dr. William Robertson.

"DEAR SIR, — I have been expecting every day to hear from you of Dr. Johnson's arrival. Pray, what do you know about his motions? I long to take him by the hand. I write this from the college, where I have only this scrap of paper. Ever yours, W. R.
"Sunday."

It pleased me to find Dr. Robertson thus eager to meet Dr. Johnson. I was glad I could answer that he was come; and I begged Dr. Robertson might be with us as soon as he could.

value the greatest part of "An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations." Why should such a writer be so forgetful of human comfort, as to give any countenance to that dreary infidelity which would "make us poor indeed?" — BOSWELL.

This was one of the points upon which Dr. Johnson was strangely heterodox. For surely Mr. Burke, with his other remarkable qualities, is also distinguished for his wit, and for wit of all kinds too; not merely that power of language which Pope chooses to denominate wit: —

"True wit is Nature to advantage dress'd;
What oft was thought, but ne'er so well express'd;"

but surprising allusions, brilliant sallies of vivacity, and pleasant conceits. His speeches in parliament are strewn with them. Take, for instance, the variety which he has given in his wide range, yet exact detail, when exhibiting his Reform Bill. And his conversation abounds in wit. Let me put down a specimen. I told him I had seen, at a *blue-stocking* assembly, a number of ladies sitting round a worthy and tall friend of ours [Mr. Langton], listening to his literature. "Ay," said he, "like maids round a May-pole." I told him, I had found out a perfect definition of human nature, as distinguished from the animal. An ancient philosopher said, man was "a two-legged animal without feathers;" upon which his rival sage had a cock plucked bare, and set him down in the school before all the disciples, as a "philosophic man." Dr. Franklin said, man was "a tool-making animal," which is very well; for no animal but man makes a thing by means of which he can make another thing. But this applies to very few of the species. My definition of man is, "a cooking animal." The beasts have memory, judgment, and all the faculties and passions of our mind, in a certain degree; but no beast is a cook. The trick of the monkey using the cat's paw to roast a chestnut is only a piece of shrewd malice in that *terpissima bestia*, which humbles us so sadly by its similarity to us. Man alone can dress a good dish; and every man whatever is more or less a cook, in seasoning what he himself eats. "Your definition is good," said Mr. Burke, "and I now see the full force of the common proverb, 'There is reason in roasting of eggs.'" When Mr. Wilkes, in his days of tumultuous opposition, was borne upon the shoulders of the mob, Mr. Burke (as Mr. Wilkes told me himself, with classical admiration) applied to him what Horace says of Pindar, —

Sir William Forbes, Mr. Scott, Mr. Arbuthnot, and another gentleman, dined with us. "Come, Dr. Johnson," said I, "it is commonly thought that our veal in Scotland is not good. But here is some which I believe you will like." There was no catching him. JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, what is commonly thought, I should take to be true. Your veal may be good; but that will only be an exception to the general opinion, not a proof against it."

Dr. Robertson, according to the custom of Edinburgh at that time, dined in the interval between the forenoon and afternoon service, which was then later than now; so we had not the pleasure of his company till dinner was over, when he came and drank wine with us; and then began some animated dialogue, of which here follows a pretty full note.

We talked of Mr. Burke. Dr. Johnson said, "he had great variety of knowledge, store of imagery, copiousness of language. ROBERTSON. "He has wit too." JOHNSON. "No, Sir; he never succeeds there. 'Tis low; 'tis conceit. I used to say, Burke never once made a good joke." What I most envy Burke for is, his being constantly the same. He is never what we call Humdrum; never unwilling to begin to talk, nor in haste to leave off." BOSWELL. "Yet he can listen." JOHNSON. "No; I cannot say he is good at that. So desirous is he to talk, that if one is speaking at this end of the table, he'll speak to somebody at the

" ————— *numcrisque fertur*
LEGE solutus."

Sir Joshua Reynolds, who agrees with me entirely as to Mr. Burke's fertility of wit, said, that this was "dignifying a pun." He also observed, that he has often heard Burke say, in the course of an evening, ten good things, each of which would have served a noted wit (whom he named) to live upon for a twelvemonth. — BOSWELL.

I find, since the former edition, that some persons have objected to the instances which I have given of Mr. Burke's wit, as not doing justice to my very ingenious friend; the specimens produced having, it is alleged, more of conceit than real wit, and being merely sportive sallies of the moment, not justifying the encomium which they think, with me, he undoubtedly merits. I was well aware, how hazardous it was to exhibit particular instances of wit, which is of so airy and spiritual a nature as often to elude the hand that attempts to grasp it. The excellence and efficacy of a *bon mot* depend frequently so much on the occasion on which it is spoken, on the particular manner of the speaker, on the person to whom it is applied, the previous introduction, and a thousand minute particulars which cannot be easily enumerated, that it is always dangerous to detach a witty saying from the group to which it belongs, and to set it before the eye of the spectator, divested of those concomitant circumstances, which gave it animation, mellowness, and relief. I ventured, however, at all hazards, to put down the first instances that occurred to me, as proofs of Mr. Burke's lively and brilliant fancy; but am very sensible that his numerous friends could have suggested many of a superior quality. Indeed, the being in company with him, for a single day, is sufficient to show that what I have asserted is well founded; and it was only necessary to have appealed to all who know him intimately, for a complete refutation of the heterodox opinion entertained by Dr. Johnson on this subject. He allowed Mr. Burke, as the reader will find hereafter, to be a man of consummate and unrivalled abilities in every light except that now under consideration; and the variety of his allusions, and splendour of his imagery, have made such an impression on *all the rest* of the world, that superficial observers are apt to overlook his other merits, and to suppose that *wit* is his chief and most prominent excellence; when in fact it is only one of the many talents that he possesses, which are so various and extraordinary, that it is very difficult to ascertain precisely the rank and value of each. — MALONE. See *post*, 25th April, 1778. — C.

other end. Burke, Sir, is such a man, that if you met him for the first time in the street, where you were stopped by a drove of oxen, and you and he stepped aside to take shelter but for five minutes, he'd talk to you in such a manner, that, when you parted, you would say, This is an extraordinary man. Now, you may be long enough with me, without finding any thing extraordinary." He said, he believed Burke was intended for the law; but either had not money enough to follow it, or had not diligence enough. He said, he could not understand how a man could apply to one thing, and not to another. Robertson said, one man had more judgment, another more imagination. JOHNSON. "No, Sir; it is only, one man has more mind than another. He may direct it differently; he may, by accident, see the success of one kind of study, and take a desire to excel in it. I am persuaded that had Sir Isaac Newton applied to poetry, he would have made a very fine epic poem. I could as easily apply to law as to tragic poetry."¹ BOSWELL. "Yet, Sir, you did apply to tragic poetry, not to law." JOHNSON. "Because, Sir, I had not money to study law. Sir, the man who has vigour may walk to the east, just as well as to the west, if he happens to turn his head that way." BOSWELL. "But, Sir, 'tis like walking up and down a hill; one man may naturally do the one better than the other. A hare will run up a hill best, from her fore-legs being short; a dog down." JOHNSON. "Nay, Sir; that is from mechanical powers. If you make mind mechanical, you may argue in that manner. One mind is a vice, and holds fast; there's a good memory. Another is a file; and he is a disputant, a controversialist. Another is a razor; and he is sarcastical." We talked of Whitfield. He said he was at the same college with him, and knew him before he

began to be better than other people (smiling); that he believed he sincerely meant well, but had a mixture of politics and ostentation: whereas Wesley thought of religion only.² Robertson said, Whitfield had strong natural eloquence, which, if cultivated, would have done great things. JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, I take it he was at the height of what his abilities could do, and was sensible of it. He had the ordinary advantages of education; but he chose to pursue that oratory which is for the mob." BOSWELL. "He had great effect on the passions." JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, I don't think so. He could not represent a succession of pathetic images. He vociferated, and made an impression. There, again, was a mind like a hammer." Dr. Johnson now said, a certain eminent political friend³ of ours was wrong in his maxim of sticking to a certain set of men on all occasions. "I can see that a man may do right to stick to a party," said he, "that is to say, he is a Whig, or he is a Tory, and he thinks one of those parties upon the whole the best, and that to make it prevail, it must be generally supported, though, in particulars, it may be wrong. He takes its faggot of principles, in which there are fewer rotten sticks than in the other, though some rotten sticks, to be sure; and they cannot well be separated. But, to bind one's self to one man, or one set of men (who may be right to-day, and wrong to-morrow), without any general preference of system, I must disapprove."⁴

He told us of Cooke, who translated Hesiod, and lived twenty years on a translation of Plantus, for which he was always taking subscriptions; and that he presented Foote to a club in the following singular manner: "This is the nephew of the gentleman who was lately hung in chains for murdering his brother."⁵

¹ How much a man deceives himself! Of all Johnson's literary efforts, his *tragic poetry* was the least successful. — CROKER. Dryden says, "The same parts and the same application which have made me a poet, might have raised me to any honours of the gown, which are often given to men of as little learning and less honesty than myself. *Ded. of the Third Miscellany.*" — P. CUNNINGHAM.

² That cannot be said now, after the flagrant part which Mr. John Wesley took against our American brethren, when, in his own name, he threw amongst his enthusiastic flock the very individual combustibles of Dr. Johnson's "*Vexation no Tyranny*;" and after the intolerant spirit which he manifested against our fellow Christians of the Roman Catholic communion, for which that able champion, Father O'Leary, has given him so hearty a drubbing. But I should think myself very unworthy, if I did not at the same time acknowledge Mr. John Wesley's merit, as a veteran "soldier of Jesus Christ," who has, I do believe, turned many from darkness into light, and from the power of Satan to the living God. — BOSWELL.

³ Mr. Burke. See *anté*, p. 249. — CROKER.

⁴ If due attention were paid to this observation, there would be more virtue even in politics. What Dr. Johnson justly condemned has, I am sorry to say, greatly increased in the present reign. At the distance of four years from this conversation, 21st of February, 1777, my Lord Archbishop of York, in his "Sermon before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," thus indignantly describes the then state of parties: — "Parties once had a principle belonging to them, absurd, perhaps, and indefensible, but still carrying a notion of duty, by which honest minds should easily be caught. But they are now combinations of individuals, who, instead of being the sons and

servants of the community, make a league for advancing their private interests. It is their business to hold high the notion of political honour. I believe and trust, it is not injurious to say, that such a bond is no better than that by which the lowest and wickedest combinations are held together; and that it denotes the last stage of political depravity."

To find a thought, which just showed itself to us from the mind of Johnson, thus appearing again at such a distance of time, and without any communication between them, enlarged to full growth in the mind of Markham, is a curious object of philosophical contemplation. That two such great and luminous minds should have been so dark in one corner; that they should have held it to be "wicked rebellion" in the British subjects established in America, to resist the abject condition of holding all their property at the mercy of British subjects remaining at home, while their allegiance to our common lord the king was to be preserved inviolate, is a striking proof, to me, either that "he who sitteth in heaven" scorns the loftiness of human pride, or that the evil spirit, whose personal existence I strongly believe, and even in this age am confirmed in that belief by a Fell, nay, by a Hurd, has more power than some choose to allow. — BOSWELL. It may be suspected that Archbishop Markham's observations were covertly aimed at Mr. Burke's doctrine of *party allegiance* (*anté*, p. 253. n. 3). Markham and Burke had been intimate political as well as private friends, but when the prospect of high church preferment opened upon Markham, he seems to have broken off from Mr. Burke as too violent a politician. See *Burke's Correspondence*. — CROKER, 1846.

⁵ Mr. Foote's mother was the sister of Sir J. Dinel Goodere, Bart., and of Captain Goodere, who commanded H. M. S. Ruby, on board which, when lying in King's Road

In the evening I introduced to Mr. Johnson¹ two good friends of mine, Mr. William Nairne, advocate, and Mr. Hamilton of Sundrum, my neighbour in the country, both of whom supped with us. I have preserved nothing of what passed, except that Dr. Johnson displayed another of his heterodox opinions—a contempt of tragic acting. He said, the action of all players in tragedy is bad. It should be a man's study to repress those signs of emotion and passion, as they are called." He was of a directly contrary opinion to that of Fielding, in his "Tom Jones;" who makes Partridge say of Garrick, "Why, I could act as well as he myself. I am sure, if I had seen a ghost, I should have looked in the very same manner, and done just as he did." For, when I asked him, "Would not you, Sir, start as Mr. Garrick does, if you saw a ghost?" he answered, "I hope not. If I did, I should frighten the ghost."

CHAPTER XXXI.

1773.

Edinburgh.—Ogden on Prayer. — Lord Hailes. — Parliament House. — The Advocates' Library. — Writing doggedly. — The Union. — Queen Mary. — St. Giles's. — The Cowgate. — The College. — Holyrood House. — Swift. — Witchcraft. — Lord Monboddo and the *Ouran-Outang*. — Actors. — Poetry and Lexicography. — Scepticism. — Vane and Sedley. — Maclaurin. — Literary Property. — Boswell's Character of Himself. — They leave Edinburgh.

Monday, August 16th.—DR. WILLIAM ROBERTSON came to breakfast. We talked of Ogden on Prayer. Dr. Johnson said, "The same arguments which are used against God's hearing prayer, will serve against his rewarding good, and punishing evil. He has resolved, he has declared, in the former case as in the latter." He had last night looked into Lord Hailes's "Remarks on the History of Scotland." Dr. Robertson and I said, it was a pity Lord Hailes did not write greater things. His lordship had not then published his

"Annals of Scotland." JOHNSON. "I remember I was once on a visit at the house of a lady for whom I had a high respect. There was a good deal of company in the room. When they were gone, I said to this lady, 'What foolish talking have we had!'—'Yes,' said she, 'but while they talked, you said nothing.' I was struck with the reproof. How much better is the man who does any thing that is innocent, than he who does nothing! Besides, I love anecdotes. I fancy mankind may come, in time, to write all aphoristically, except in narrative; grow weary of preparation, and connection, and illustration, and all those arts by which a big book is made. If a man is to wait till he weaves anecdotes into a system, we may be long in getting them, and get but few, in comparison of what we might get."

Dr. Robertson said, the notions of Eupham Macallan, a fanatic woman, of whom Lord Hailes gives a sketch, were still prevalent among some of the presbyterians; and therefore, it was right in Lord Hailes, a man of known piety, to undeceive them.

We walked out, that Dr. Johnson might see some of the things which we have to show at Edinburgh. We went to the Parliament-house², where the parliament of Scotland sat, and where the ordinary lords of session hold their courts, and to the new session-house adjoining to it, where our court of fifteen (the fourteen ordinaries, with the lord president at their head) sit as a court of review. We went to the advocate's library, of which Dr. Johnson took a cursory view; and then to what is called the Laigh (or under) Parliament-house, where the records of Scotland, which has an universal security by register, are deposited, till the great register office be finished.³ I was pleased to behold Dr. Samuel Johnson rolling about in this old magazine of antiquities. There was, by this time, a pretty numerous circle of us attending upon him. Somebody talked of happy moments for composition, and how a man can write at one time, and not at another. "Nay," said Dr. Johnson, "a man may write at any time, if he will set himself *doggedly* to it."⁴

I here began to indulge old Scottish sentiments, and to express a warm regret, that, by

Bristol, in January, 1741, the captain caused his brother to be forcibly carried, and there barbarously murdered. Captain Goodere was, with two of his accomplices, executed for this crime in the April following. The circumstances of this extravagant case, and some other facts connected with this family, lead to an opinion that Captain Goodere was insane; and some unhappy circumstances in Foote's life render it probable that he had not wholly escaped this hereditary irregularity of mind. The last baronet, who called himself Sir John Dinely, died in 1809, a poor Knight of Windsor—insane and in indigence.—CROKER. Foote's first publication was a pamphlet in defence of his uncle's memory.—WALTER SCOTT.

¹ It may be observed, that I sometimes call my great friend Mr. Johnson, sometimes Dr. Johnson; though he had at this time a Doctor's degree from Trinity College, Dublin. The University of Oxford afterwards conferred it upon him by a diploma, in very honourable terms. It was some

time before I could bring myself to call him Doctor; but, as he has been long known by that title, I shall give it to him in the rest of this Journal.—BOSWELL. Johnson never, it seems, called himself Doctor. See ante, p. 163.—CROKER.

² It was on this visit to the parliament-house, that Mr. Henry Erskine (brother of Lord Buchan and Lord Erskine), after being presented to Dr. Johnson by Mr. Boswell, and having made his bow, slipped a shilling into Boswell's hand, whispering that it was for the sight of his *dear*.—WALTER SCOTT. This was the subject of a cotemporary caricature.—WRIGHT.

³ This great Register Office is now one of the architectural beauties of Edinburgh.—CROKER.

⁴ This word is commonly used to signify sullenly, gloomily; and in that sense alone it appears in Dr. Johnson's Dictionary. I suppose he meant by it, "with an obstinate resolution, similar to that of a sullen man."—BOSWELL.

our union with England, we were no more; our independent kingdom was lost. JOHNSON. "Sir, never talk of your independency, who could let your queen remain twenty years in captivity, and then be put to death, without even a pretence of justice, without your ever attempting to rescue her; and such a queen too! as every man of any gallantry of spirit would have sacrificed his life for." Worthy MR. JAMES KERR, keeper of the records. "Half our nation was bribed by English money." JOHNSON. "Sir, that is no defence: that makes you worse." Good MR. BROWN, keeper of the advocates' library. "We had better say nothing about it." BOSWELL. "You would have been glad, however, to have had us last war, Sir, to fight your battles!" JOHNSON. "We should have had you for the same price, though there had been no union, as we might have had Swiss, or other troops. No, no, I shall agree to a separation. You have only to go home." Just as he had said this, I, to divert the subject, showed him the signed assurances of the three successive kings of the Hanover family, to maintain the presbyterian establishment in Scotland. "We'll give you that," said he, "into the bargain."¹

We next went to the great church of St. Giles, which has lost its original magnificence in the inside, by being divided into four places of presbyterian worship. "Come," said Dr. Johnson jocularly to Principal Robertson², "let me see what was once a church!" We entered that division which was formerly called the New Church, and of late the High Church, so well known by the eloquence of Dr. Hugh Blair. It is now very elegantly fitted up; but it was then shamefully dirty. Dr. Johnson said nothing at the time; but when we came to the great door of the royal infirmary, where, upon a board, was this inscription, "Clean your feet!" he turned about slyly, and said, "There is no occasion for putting this at the doors of your churches!"

We then conducted him down the Post-house-stairs, Parliament-close, and made him look up from the Cowgate to the highest building in Edinburgh (from which he had just descended), being thirteen floors or stories from the ground upon the back elevation; the front wall being built upon the edge of the hill, and the back wall rising from the bottom of the hill several stories before it comes to a level with the front wall.³ We proceeded to the college, with the Principal at our head.

Dr. Adam Fergusson, whose "Essay on the History of Civil Society" gives him a respectable place in the ranks of literature, was with us. As the college buildings are indeed very mean, the Principal said to Dr. Johnson, that he must give them the same epithet that a Jesuit did when showing a poor college abroad: "*Hæ miseria nostra.*" Dr. Johnson was, however, much pleased with the library, and with the conversation of Dr. James Robertson, professor of Oriental languages, the librarian. We talked of Kennicot's edition of the Hebrew Bible, and hoped it would be quite faithful. JOHNSON. "Sir, I know not any crime so great that a man could contrive to commit, as poisoning the sources of eternal truth."

I pointed out to him where there formerly stood an old wall enclosing part of the college, which I remember bulged out in a threatening manner, and of which there was a common tradition similar to that concerning Bacon's study at Oxford, that it would fall upon some very learned man. It had some time before this been taken down, that the street might be widened, and a more convenient wall built. Dr. Johnson, glad of an opportunity to have a pleasant hit at Scottish learning, said, "They have been afraid it never would fall."

We showed him the royal infirmary, for which, and for every other exertion of generous public spirit in his power, that noble-minded citizen of Edinburgh, George Drummond⁴, will be ever held in honourable remembrance. And we were too proud not to carry him to the abbey of Holyrood House, that beautiful piece of architecture, but, alas! that deserted mansion of royalty, which Hamilton of Bangour in one of his elegant poems calls,

"A virtuous palace, where no monarch dwells."

I was much entertained while Principal Robertson fluently harangued to Dr. Johnson upon the spot, concerning scenes of his celebrated History of Scotland. We surveyed that part of the palace appropriated to the Duke of Hamilton, as keeper, in which our beautiful Queen Mary lived, and in which David Rizzio was murdered, and also the stables. Dr. Johnson was a great reciter of sorts of things, serious or comical. I overheard him repeating here, in a kind of muttering tone, a line of the old ballad, "Johnny Armstrong's Last Good Night."

"And ran him through the fair body!"⁵

We returned to my house, where there n

¹ This seems to have been a touch of *Jacobite* jocularly, meaning that Johnson would be willing, in consideration of the dissolution of the Union, to allow the *Hanover family* to reign in Scotland, inferring, of course, that the *Stuarts* were to reign in England. — CAOKER. Perhaps, Johnson meant that they, the Scotch, were welcome not only to stay at home, but to keep their *kirk* too — as inferior to the *church* as Scotland to England. — LOCKHART.

² I have hitherto called him Dr. William Robertson, to distinguish him from Dr. James Robertson, who is soon to make his appearance; but Principal, from his being the head of our college, is his usual designation, and is shorter: so I shall use it hereafter. — BOSWELL.

³ This lofty house was burnt down in 1824. The site is now occupied by Sir William Forbes's bank. — CHAMBERS.

⁴ This excellent magistrate died in 1766. Some years after his death, a bust of him, by Nollekens, was placed in the public hall of the hospital, with this inscription from a pen of Robertson: — "George Drummond, to whom our country is indebted for all the benefit which it derives from the royal infirmary." — BOSWELL.

⁵ The stanza from which he took this line is —

"But then rose up all Edinburgh,
They rose up by thousands three;
A cowardly Scot came John behind,
And ran him through the fair body!" — BOSWELL.

him, at dinner, the Duchess of Douglas¹, Sir Adolphus Oughton, Lord Chief Baron [Orde], Sir William Forbes, Principal Robertson, Mr. Cullen, advocate. Before dinner, he told us of a curious conversation between the famous George Faulkner and him. George said, that England had drained Ireland of fifty thousand pounds in specie, annually, for fifty years. "How so, Sir?" said Dr. Johnson: "you must have very great trade?"—"No trade."—"Very rich mines?"—"No mines."—"From whence, then, does all this money come?"—"Come! why out of the blood and bowels of the poor people of Ireland!"

He seemed to me to have an unaccountable prejudice against Swift²; for I once took the liberty to ask him, if Swift had personally offended him, and he told me, he had not. He said to-day, "Swift is clear, but he is shallow. In course of humour he is inferior to Arbuthnot; in delicate humour he is inferior to Addison. So he is inferior to his contemporaries, without putting him against the whole world. I doubt if the 'Tale of a Tub' was his; it has so much more thinking, more knowledge, more power, more colour, than any of the works which are indisputably his. If it was his, I shall only say, he was *impar sibi*."

We gave him as good a dinner as we could. Our Scotch muir-fowl, or grouse, were then abundant, and quite in season; and, so far as wisdom and wit can be aided by administering agreeable sensations to the palate, my wife took care that our great guest should not be deficient.

Sir Adolphus Oughton, then our deputy commander in chief, who was not only an excellent officer, but one of the most universal scholars³ I ever knew, had learned the Erse language, and expressed his belief in the authenticity of Ossian's Poetry. Dr. Johnson took the opposite side of that perplexed question⁴, and I was afraid the dispute would have run high between them. But Sir Adolphus, who had a very sweet temper, changed the discourse, grew playful, laughed at Lord Monboddo's notion of men having tails, and called him a judge *à posteriori*, which amused Dr. Johnson, and thus hostilities were prevented.

At supper we had Dr. Cullen, his son the advocate, Dr. Adam Fergusson, and Mr. Crosbie, advocate. Witchcraft was introduced. Mr. Crosbie said he thought it the greatest

blasphemy to suppose evil spirits counteracting the Deity, and raising storms, for instance, to destroy his creatures. JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, if moral evil be consistent with the government of the Deity, why may not physical evil be also consistent with it? It is not more strange that there should be evil spirits than evil men: evil unembodied spirits, than evil embodied spirits. And as to storms, we know there are such things; and it is no worse that evil spirits raise them than that they rise." CROSBIE. "But it is not credible that witches should have effected what they are said in stories to have done." JOHNSON. "Sir, I am not defending their credibility. I am only saying that your arguments are not good, and will not overturn the belief of witchcraft.—(Dr. Fergusson said to me aside, 'He is right.')

And then, Sir, you have all mankind, rude and civilised, agreeing in the belief of the agency of preternatural powers. You must take evidence; you must consider that wise and great men have condemned witches to die." CROSBIE. "But an act of parliament put an end to witchcraft." JOHNSON. "No, Sir, witchcraft had ceased; and, therefore, an act of parliament was passed to prevent persecution for what was not witchcraft. Why it ceased we cannot tell, as we cannot tell the reason of many other things." Dr. Cullen, to keep up the gratification of mysterious disquisition, with the grave address for which he is remarkable in his companionable as in his professional hours, talked in a very entertaining manner, of people walking and conversing in their sleep. I am very sorry I have no note of this.⁵ We talked of the ouran-outang, and of Lord Monboddo's thinking that he might be taught to speak. Dr. Johnson treated this with ridicule. Mr. Crosbie said that Lord Monboddo believed the existence of every thing possible; in short, that all which is *in posse* might be found *in esse*. JOHNSON. "But, Sir, it is as possible that the ouran-outang does not speak, as that he speaks. However, I shall not contest the point. I should have thought it not possible to find a Monboddo; yet he exists." I again mentioned the stage. JOHNSON. "The appearance of a player, with whom I have drunk tea, counteracts the imagination that he is the character he represents. Nay, you know, nobody imagines that he is the character he represents. They say, 'See

¹ Margaret, daughter of James Douglas, Esq., of the Mains. "An old lady," writes Dr. Johnson, "who talks broad Scotch with a paralytic voice, and is scarce understood by her own countrymen."—*Letters*.—CROKER.

² There probably was no opportunity for what could be in strictness called *personal* offence, as they had never met; but I suspect that the affair of the Dublin degree (*and* p. 37.) may have created this prejudice. But what could Johnson mean by calling Swift "*shallow*?" If he be *shallow*, who, in his department of literature, is profound? Without admitting that Swift was "inferior in coarse humour to Arbuthnot" (of whose precise share in the works to which he is supposed to have contributed, we know little or nothing), it may be observed, that he who is

second to the greatest masters of different styles may be said to be the first on the whole. It is as certain that the Tale of a Tub was Swift's as that the Rambler was Johnson's.—CROKER.

³ Lord Stowell remembered with pleasure the elegance and extent of Sir Adolphus Oughton's literature, and the suavity of his manners.—CROKER.

⁴ A question perplexed only by national prejudices, heightened, in a few cases, by individual obstinacy. See *post*, Sept. 23. 1773.—CROKER.

⁵ There is in the Life of Blacklock, in *Anderson's Brit. Poets*, an anecdote of Dr. Blacklock's somnambulism, which may very probably have been one of the topics on this occasion.—CROKER.

Garrick! how he looks to-night! See how he'll clutch the dagger!' That is the buzz of the theatre."

Tuesday, Aug. 17. — Sir William Forbes came to breakfast, and brought with him Dr. Blacklock, whom he introduced to Dr. Johnson, who received him with a most humane complacency; "Dear Dr. Blacklock, I am glad to see you!" Blacklock seemed to be much surprised when Dr. Johnson said, "it was easier to him to write poetry than to compose his Dictionary. His mind was less on the stretch in doing the one than the other.¹ Besides, composing a dictionary requires books and a desk: you can make a poem walking in the fields, or lying in bed." Dr. Blacklock spoke of scepticism in morals and religion with apparent uneasiness, as if he wished for more certainty.² Dr. Johnson, who had thought it all over, and whose vigorous understanding was fortified by much experience, thus encouraged the blind bard to apply to higher speculations what we all willingly submit to in common life: in short, he gave him more familiarly the able and fair reasoning of Butler's Analogy: "Why, Sir, the greatest concern we have in this world, the choice of our profession, must be determined without demonstrative reasoning. Human life is not yet so well known, as that we can have it: and take the case of a man who is ill. I call two physicians; they differ in opinion. I am not to lie down, and die between them: I must do something." The conversation then turned on atheism; on that horrible book, *Système de la Nature*; and on the supposition of an eternal necessity without design, without a governing mind. JOHNSON. "If it were so, why has it ceased? Why don't we see men thus produced around us now? Why, at least, does it not keep pace, in some measure, with the progress of time? If it stops because there is now no need of it, then it is plain there is, and ever has been, an all-powerful intelligence. But stay! (said he, with one of his satiric laughs). Ha! ha! ha! I shall suppose Scotchmen made necessarily, and Englishmen by choice."

At dinner this day we had Sir Alexander Dick, whose amiable character and ingenious and cultivated mind are so generally known; (he was then on the verge of seventy, and is now (1785) eighty-one, with his faculties entire, his heart warm, and his temper gay)³; Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes; Mr. Mac-laurin, advocate; Dr. Gregory, who now

worthily fills his father's medical chair; and my uncle, Dr. Boswell. This was one of Dr. Johnson's best days. He was quite in his element. All was literature and taste, without any interruption. Lord Hailes, who is one of the best philologists in Great Britain, who has written papers in the *World*, and a variety of other works in prose and in verse, both Latin and English, pleased him highly. He told him he had discovered the *Life of Cheynel*, in the *Student*, to be his. JOHNSON. "No one else knows it." Dr. Johnson had before this dictated to me a law-paper⁴ upon a question purely in the law of Scotland, concerning *vicious intromission*, that is to say, intermeddling with the effects of a deceased person, without a regular title; which formerly was understood to subject the intermeddler to payment of all the defunct's debts. The principle has of late been relaxed. Dr. Johnson's argument was for a renewal of its strictness. The paper was printed, with additions by me, and given into the court of session. Lord Hailes knew Dr. Johnson's part not to be mine, and pointed out exactly where it began and where it ended. Dr. Johnson said, "It is much now that his lordship can distinguish so."

In Dr. Johnson's *Vanity of Human Wishes* there is the following passage:—

"The teeming mother, anxious for her race,
Begs, for each birth, the fortune of a face;
Yet Vane could tell what ills from beauty spring:
And Sedley cursed the charms which pleased a king."

Lord Hailes told me he was mistaken in the instances he had given of unfortunate fair ones; for neither Vane nor Sedley had a title to that description. His lordship has since been so obliging as to send me a note of this, for the communication of which I am sure my readers will thank me.

"The lines in the tenth Satire of Juvenal, according to my alteration, should run thus:—

"Yet Shore⁵ could tell —;
And Valière⁶ cursed —."

"The first was a penitent by compulsion, the second by sentiment; though the truth is, Made-moiselle de la Valière threw herself (but still from sentiment) in the king's way. "Our friend chose Vane", who was far from being well-looked; and Sedley⁷, who was so ugly that Charles II. said his brother had her by way of penance."⁸

¹ There is hardly any operation of the intellect which requires nicer and deeper consideration than *definition*. A thousand men may write verses, for one who has the power of defining and discriminating the exact meaning of words and the principles of grammatical arrangement. — CROKER.

² See his Letter on this subject in the Appendix. — BOSWELL.

³ Sir A. Dick was born in 1703; died Nov. 10. 1785. — WRIGHT.

⁴ See *anté*, p. 244., and Appendix. — C.

⁵ Mistress of Edward IV. — BOSWELL.

⁶ Mistress of Louis XIV. — BOSWELL.

⁷ See *anté*, p. 60. — C.

⁸ Catherine Sedley, created Countess of Dorchester for life. Her father, Sir Charles, resenting the seduction of his daughter, joined in the Whig measures of the Revolution, and excused his revolt from James under an ironical profession of gratitude. "His Majesty," said he, "having done me the unlooked-for honour of making my daughter a countess, I cannot do less in return than endeavour to make his daughter a queen." — CROKER.

⁹ Lord Hailes was hypercritical. Vane was handsome, or,

Mr. Maclaurin's¹ learning and talents enabled him to do his part very well in Dr. Johnson's company. He produced two epitaphs upon his father, the celebrated mathematician. One was in English, of which Dr. Johnson did not change one word. In the other, which was in Latin, he made several alterations. In place of the very words of Virgil, "Ubi luctus et pavor et plurima mortis imago," he wrote "Ubi luctus regnant et pavor." He introduced the word *prorsus* into the line "Mortalibus prorsus non absit solatium:" and after "Hujus enim scripta evolve," he added, "Mentemque tantarum rerum capacem corpori caduco superstitem crede;" which is quite applicable to Dr. Johnson himself.²

Mr. Murray, advocate, who married a niece of Lord Mansfield's, and is now one of the judges of Scotland, by the title of Lord Henderson, sat with us a part of the evening; but did not venture to say any thing that I remember, though he is certainly possessed of talents which would have enabled him to have shown himself to advantage if too great anxiety had not prevented him.

At supper we had Dr. Alexander Webster³, who, though not learned, had such a knowledge of mankind, such a fund of information and entertainment, so clear a head, and such accommodating manners, that Dr. Johnson found him a very agreeable companion.

When Dr. Johnson and I were left by ourselves, I read to him my notes of the opinions

of our judges upon the questions of literary property. He did not like them; and said, "they make me think of your judges not with that respect which I should wish to do." To the argument of one of them, that there can be no property in blasphemy or nonsense, he answered, "then your rotten sheep are mine! — By that rule, when a man's house falls into decay, he must lose it."⁴ I mentioned an argument of mine, that literary performances are not taxed. As Churchill says,

"No statesman yet has thought it worth his pains
To tax our labours, or excise our brains;"

and therefore they are not property. "Yet," said he, "we hang a man for stealing a horse, and horses are not taxed." Mr. Pitt has since put an end to that argument.

Wednesday, Aug. 18. — On this day we set out from Edinburgh. We should gladly have had Mr. Scott to go with us, but he was obliged to return to England.

I have given a sketch of Dr. Johnson: my readers may wish to know a little of his fellow-traveller. Think, then, of a gentleman of ancient blood, the pride of which was his predominant passion. He was then in his thirty-third year, and had been about four years happily married. His inclination was to be a soldier, but his father, a respectable judge, had pressed him into the profession of the law. He had travelled a good deal, and seen many varieties of human life. He

what is more to our purpose, appeared so to her royal lover; and Sedley, whatever others may have thought of her, had the "charms which pleased a king." So that Johnson's illustrations are morally just. His lordship's proposed substitution of a fabulous (or at least apocryphal) beauty like Jane Shore, whose story, even if true, was obsolete; or that of a foreigner, like Mlle. de la Vallière, little known and less cared for amongst us, is not only tasteless but inaccurate; for Mlle. de la Vallière's beauty was quite as much questioned by her contemporaries as Miss Sedley's. Bussy Rabutin was exiled for sneering at Louis's admiration of her mouth, which he calls

"—— un bec amoureux,
Qui d'une oreille à l'autre va."

And Madame Du Plessis Bellière writes to Fouquet, "Mlle. de la Vallière a fait la capable envers moi. Je l'ay encensée par sa beauté qui n'est pourtant pas grande." And finally, after Lord Halles had clipped down the name into *Vallière*, his ear might have told him that it did not fit the metre. — CROKER.

¹ Mr. Maclaurin, advocate, son of the great mathematician, and afterwards a judge of session by the title of Lord Dreg-horn. He wrote some indifferent English poems; but was a good Latin scholar, and a man of wit and accomplishment. His quotations from the classics were particularly apposite. In the famous case of *Knight*, which determined the right of a slave to freedom if he landed in Scotland, Maclaurin pleaded the cause of the negro. The counsel opposite was the celebrated Wight, an excellent lawyer, but of a very homely appearance, with heavy features, a blind eye, which projected from the socket, a swag belly, and a limp. To him Maclaurin applied the lines of Virgil —

"Quamvis ille niger, quamvis tu candidus esses,
O formosæ puer, nimium ne crede colori."

Mr. Maclaurin wrote an essay on the Homeric tale of "Troy divine," I believe, for the sole purpose of introducing a happy motto, —

"Non anni domuere decem, non mille carinae."

WALTER SCOTT.

² Mr. Maclaurin's epitaph, as engraved on a marble tombstone, in the Grayfriars churchyard, Edinburgh: —

Infra situs est
COLIN MACLAURIN,
Mathes. olim in Acad. Edin. Prof.
Electus ipso Newtono suadente.
H. L. P. F.
Non ut nomini paterno consulat,
Nam tali auxilio nil eget;
Sed ut in hoc infelici campo,
Ubi luctus regnant et pavor,
Mortalibus prorsus non absit solatium:
Hujus enim scripta evolve,
Mentemque tantarum rerum capacem
Corpori caduco superstitem crede. — BOSWELL.

Johnson probably changed the *very words* of Virgil, as not thinking an exact quotation from a heathen poet quite appropriate to a Christian epitaph. — CROKER.

³ Dr. Webster was remarkable for the talent with which he at once supported his place in convivial society, and a high character as a leader of the strict and rigid presbyterian party in the church of Scotland. He was ever gay amid the gayest: when it once occurred to some one present to ask, what one of his elders would think, should he see his pastor in such a merry mood. — "Think!" replied the Doctor; "why he would not believe his own eyes." — WALTER SCOTT.

⁴ Dr. Johnson's illustration is sophistical, and might have been retorted upon him; for if a man's sheep are so rotten as to render the meat unwholesome, or, if his house be so decayed as to threaten mischief to passengers, the law will confiscate the mutton and abate the house, without any regard to *property*, which the owner thus abuses. Moreover, Johnson should have discriminated between a *criminal* offence and a *civil* right. Blasphemy is a crime; it would not be in the highest degree absurd, that there should be a *right of property* in a crime, or that the *law* should be called upon to protect that which is *illegal*? If this be true in *law*, it is much more so in *equity*, as he who applies for the *extraordinary* assistance of a court of equity should have a right, consistent at least with equity and morals; and a late question (that as to the *Cain* of Lord Byron) was so decided, and upon that principle, by the greatest judge of modern times, Lord Eldon. — CROKER.

had thought more than any body had supposed, and had a pretty good stock of general learning and knowledge. He had all Dr. Johnson's principles, with some degree of relaxation. He had rather too little than too much prudence: and, his imagination being lively, he often said things of which the effect was very different from the intention. He resembled sometimes

"The best good man, with the worst-natured muse."¹

He cannot deny himself the vanity of finishing with the encomium of Dr. Johnson, whose friendly partiality to the companion of his tour represents him as one, "whose acuteness would help my inquiry, and whose gaiety of conversation, and civility of manners, are sufficient to counteract the inconveniences of travel, in countries less hospitable than we have passed."²

Dr. Johnson thought it unnecessary to put himself to the additional expense of bringing with him Francis Barber, his faithful black servant; so we were attended only by my man, Joseph Ritter³, a Bohemian, a fine stately fellow above six feet high, who had been over a great part of Europe, and spoke many languages. He was the best servant I ever saw. Let not my readers disdain his introduction; for Dr. Johnson gave him this character: "Sir, he is a civil man and a wise man."

From an erroneous apprehension of violence, Dr. Johnson had provided a pair of pistols, some gunpowder, and a quantity of bullets: but upon being assured we should run no risk of meeting any robbers, he left his arms and ammunition in an open drawer, of which he gave my wife the charge. He also left in that drawer one volume of a pretty full and curious *Diary of his Life*, of which I have a few fragments; but the book has been destroyed. I wish female curiosity had been strong enough to have had it all transcribed, which might easily have been done, and I should think the theft, being *pro bono publico*, might have been forgiven. But I may be wrong. My wife told me she never once looked into it. She did not seem quite easy when we left her: but away we went!

CHAPTER XXXII.

1773.

Frith of Forth. — *Inch Keith.* — *Kinghorn.* — *Cupar.* — *Composition of Parliament.* — *Influence of Peers.* — *St. Andrews.* — *Literature and Patronage.* — *Writing and Conversation.* — *Change of Manners.* — *Drinking and Smoking.* — *The Union.* — *St. Rule's Chapel.* — *John Knox.* — *Retirement from the World.* — *Dinner with the Professors.* — *Subscription of Articles.* — *Latin Grace.* — *Sharpe's Monument.* — *St. Salvador's.* — *Dinner to the Professors.* — *Instructions for Composition.* — *Supper at Dr. Watson's.* — *Uncertainty of Memory.* — *Observance of Sunday.* — *Trees in Scotland.* — *Leuchars.* — *Transubstantiation.* — *Literary Property.* — *Montrose.*

MR. NAIRNE⁴, advocate, was to go with us as far as St. Andrew's. It gives me pleasure that, by mentioning his name, I connect his title to the just and handsome compliment paid him by Dr. Johnson, in his book: "A gentleman who could stay with us only long enough to make us know how much we lost by his leaving us." When we came to Leith, I talked with perhaps too boasting an air, how pretty the Frith of Forth looked; as indeed, after the prospect from Constantinople, of which I have been told, and that from Naples which I have seen, I believe the view of that Frith and its environs, from the Castle-hill of Edinburgh, is the finest prospect in Europe. "Ay," said Dr. Johnson, "that is the state of the world. Water is the same everywhere."

"Una est injusti cœrula forma maris."⁵

I told him the port here was the mouth of the river or water of *Leith*. "Not *Lethe*," said Mr. Nairne. "Why, Sir," said Dr. Johnson, "when a Scotchman sets out from this port for England, he forgets his native country." NAIRNE. "I hope, Sir, you will forget England here." JOHNSON. "Then 't will be still more *Lethe*." He observed of the pier or quay, "You have no occasion for so large a one; your trade does not require it: but you are like a shopkeeper who takes a shop, not

¹ Lord Rochester of Lord Dorset. *Allusion to the Tenth Satire of Horace.* Boswell, however, omits to notice the tendency to hypochondriasis, which was a very important feature in his character. — CROKER.

² Previous to this public eulogium of his travelling companion, Johnson wrote to Mrs. Thrale, 3rd Nov. 1773: "Boswell will praise my resolution and perseverance, and I shall in return celebrate his good humour and perpetual cheerfulness. He has better faculties than I had imagined; more justice of discernment, and more fecundity of images. It is very convenient to travel with him: for there is no house where he is not received with kindness and respect." I asked Lord Stowell in what estimation he found Boswell amongst his countrymen. "Generally liked as a good-natured jolly fellow," replied his lordship. "But was he respected?" "Why I think he had about the proportion of respect that you might guess would be shown to a jolly fellow." His lordship thought there was more regard than respect. — CROKER.

³ See *antè*, p. 209. Joseph Ritter afterwards undertook the management of the large inn at Paisley, called the Abercorn Arms, but did not succeed in that concern. — WALTER SCOTT.

⁴ Mr. William Nairne, afterwards Sir William, and a judge of the court of session, by the title, made classical by Shakespeare, of Lord Dunsinnan. He was a man of scrupulous integrity. When sheriff depute of Perthshire, he found upon reflection, that he had decided a poor man's case erroneously; and as the only remedy, supplied the litigant privately with money to carry the suit to the supreme court, where his judgment was reversed. Sir William was of the old school of manners, somewhat formal, but punctiliously well bred. — WALTER SCOTT.

⁵ Non illic urbes, non tu mirabere silvas:
Una est injusti cœrula forma maris. *Ovid. Amor. il. xi.*
Nor groves nor towns the ruthless ocean shows,
Unvaried still its azure surface flows. — BOSWELL.

only for what he has to put into it, but that it may be believed he has a great deal to put into it." It is very true, that there is now, comparatively, little trade upon the eastern coast of Scotland. The riches of Glasgow show how much there is in the west; and, perhaps, we shall find trade travel westward on a great scale as well as a small.

We talked of a man's drowning himself. JOHNSON. "I should never think it time to make away with myself." I put the case of Eustace Budgell [p. 255.], who was accused of forging a will, and sunk himself in the Thames, before the trial of its authenticity came on. "Suppose, Sir," said I, "that a man is absolutely sure, that, if he lives a few days longer, he shall be detected in a fraud, the consequence of which will be utter disgrace and expulsion from society." JOHNSON. "Then, Sir, let him go abroad to a distant country; let him go to some place where he is *not* known. Don't let him go to the devil, where he *is* known!"

He then said, "I see a number of people barefooted here: I suppose you all went so before the Union. Boswell, your ancestors went so when they had as much land as your family has now. Yet Auchinleck is the field of stones; there would be bad going barefooted there. The lairds however did it." I bought some speldings, fish (generally whittings) salted and dried in a particular manner, being dipped in the sea and dried in the sun, and eaten by the Scots by way of a relish. He had never seen them, though they are sold in London. I insisted on Scottifying¹ his palate; but he was very reluctant. With difficulty I prevailed with him to let a bit of one of them lie in his mouth. He did not like it.

In crossing the Frith, Dr. Johnson determined that we should land upon Inch Keith. On approaching it, we first observed a high rocky shore. We coasted about and put into a little bay on the north-west. We clambered up a very steep ascent, on which was very good grass, but rather a profusion of thistles. There were sixteen head of black cattle grazing upon the island. Lord Hailes observed to me, that Brantome calls it *L'isle des Chevaux*, and that it was probably "a *safer* stable" than many others in his time. The fort, with an inscription on it, *Maria Re*: 1564, is strongly built. Dr. Johnson examined it with much attention. He stalked like a giant among the luxuriant thistles and nettles. There are three wells in the island, but we could not find one in the fort. There must probably have been one, though now filled up, as a garrison could not subsist without it."² But I have dwelt

too long on this little spot. Dr. Johnson afterwards bade me try to write a description of our discovering Inch Keith, in the usual style of travellers, describing fully every particular; stating the grounds on which we concluded that it must have been once inhabited, and introducing many sage reflections, and we should see how a thing might be covered in words, so as to induce people to come and survey it. All that was told might be true, and yet in reality there might be nothing to see. He said, "I'd have this island. I'd build a house, make a good landing-place, have a garden, and vines, and all sorts of trees. A rich man of a hospitable turn, here, would have many visitors from Edinburgh." When we had got into our boat again, he called to me, "Come, now, pay a classical compliment to the island on quitting it." I happened luckily, in allusion to the beautiful Queen Mary, whose name is upon the fort, to think of what Virgil makes Æneas say, on having left the country of his charming Dido:—

"Invitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi."³

"Very well hit off!" said he.

We dined at Kinghorn, and then got into a post-chaise. Mr. Nairne and his servant, and Joseph, rode by us. We stopped at Cupar, and drank tea. We talked of Parliament; and I said, I supposed very few of the members knew much of what was going on, as indeed very few gentlemen know much of their own private affairs. JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, if a man is not of a sluggish mind, he may be his own steward. If he will look into his affairs, he will soon learn. So it is as to public affairs. There must always be a certain number of men of business in parliament." BOSWELL. "But consider, Sir, what is the House of Commons? Is not a great part of it chosen by peers? Do you think, Sir, they ought to have such an influence?" JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir. Influence must ever be in proportion to property; and it is right it should." BOSWELL. "But is there not reason to fear that the common people may be oppressed?" JOHNSON. "No, Sir. Our great fear is from want of power in government. Such a storm of vulgar force has broken in." BOSWELL. "It has only roared." JOHNSON. "Sir, it has roared, till the judges in Westminster Hall have been afraid to pronounce sentence in opposition to the popular cry. You are frightened by what is no longer dangerous, like presbyterians by popery." He then repeated a passage, I think, in Butler's Remains, which ends, "and would cry fire! fire! in Noah's flood."⁴

¹ My friend, General Campbell, Governor of Madras, tells me, that they make speldings in the East Indies, particularly at Bombay, where they call them Bambaaloes. — BOSWELL.

² The remains of the fort have been removed, to assist in constructing a very useful lighthouse upon the island. — WALTER SCOTT.

³ "Unhappy queen!
Unwilling I forsook your friendly state." — Dryden. — BOSWELL.

Such is the translation adopted by Boswell, though it loses one of the points of his happy quotation by using the words *friendly state*, — which on this occasion would have no meaning, — instead of *shore*, which is the proper version. — CHOKER.

⁴ The passage quoted by Dr. Johnson is in the "Character of the Assembly Man," Butler's *Remains*, p. 232. edit. 1754: "He preaches, indeed, both in season and out of season; for he rails at Popery, when the land is almost lost in Pres-

We had a dreary drive, in a dusky night, to St. Andrew's, where we arrived late. We found a good supper at Glass's inn, and Dr. Johnson revived agreeably. He said, "The collection called 'The Muses' Welcome to King James' (first of England, and sixth of Scotland), on his return to his native kingdom, showed that there was then abundance of learning in Scotland; and that the conceits in that collection, with which people find fault, were mere mode." He added, "We could not now entertain a sovereign so; that Buchanan had spread the spirit of learning amongst us, but we had lost it during the civil wars." He did not allow the Latin poetry of Pitcairne¹ so much merit as has been usually attributed to it: though he owned that one of his pieces, which he mentioned, but which I am sorry is not specified in my notes, was "very well." It is not improbable that it was the poem which Prior has so elegantly translated.²

After supper, we made a procession to Saint Leonard's college, the landlord walking before us with a candle, and the waiter with a lantern. That college had some time before been dissolved; and Dr. Watson³, a professor here (the historian of Philip II.), had purchased the ground, and what buildings remained. When we entered his court, it seemed quite academical⁴; and we found in his house very comfortable and genteel accommodation.⁵

Thursday, Aug. 19.—We rose much refreshed. I had with me a map of Scotland, a Bible which was given me by Lord Mountstuart when we were together in Italy, and Ogden's "Sermons on Prayer." Mr. Nairne introduced us to Dr. Watson, whom we found a well-informed man, of very amiable manners. Dr. Johnson, after they were acquainted, said, "I take great delight in him." His daughter, a very pleasing young lady, made breakfast. Dr. Watson observed, that Glasgow university had fewer home students since trade increased, as learning was rather incompatible with it. JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, as trade is now carried on by subordinate hands, men in trade have as much leisure as others; and now learning itself

is a trade. A man goes to a bookseller, and gets what he can. We have done with patronage. In the infancy of learning, we find some great man praised for it. This diffused it among others. When it becomes general, an author leaves the great, and applies to the multitude." BOSWELL. "It is a shame that authors are not now better patronised." JOHNSON. "No, Sir. If learning cannot support a man, if he must sit with his hands across till somebody feeds him, it is as to him a bad thing, and it is better as it is.⁶ With patronage, what flattery! what falsehood! While a man is in equilibrio, he throws truth among the multitude, and lets them take it as they please: in patronage, he must say what pleases his patron, and it is an equal chance whether that be truth or falsehood." WATSON. "But is it not the case now, that, instead of flattering one person, we flatter the age?" JOHNSON. "No, Sir. The world always lets a man tell what he thinks his own way. I wonder, however, that so many people have written, who might have let it alone. That people should endeavour to excel in conversation, I do not wonder; because in conversation praise is instantly reverberated."

We talked of change of manners. Dr. Johnson observed, that our drinking less than our ancestors was owing to the change from ale to wine. "I remember," said he, "when all the decent people in Lichfield got drunk every night, and were not the worse thought of. Ale was cheap, so you pressed strongly. When a man must bring a bottle of wine, he is not in such haste. Smoking has gone out. To be sure, it is a shocking thing, blowing smoke out of our mouths into other people's mouths, eyes, and noses, and having the same thing done to us. Yet I cannot account, why a thing which requires so little exertion, and yet preserves the mind from total vacuity, should have gone out. Every man has something by which he calms himself; beating with his feet, or so.⁸ I remember when people in England changed a shirt only once a week: a Pandour, when he gets a shirt, greases it to

bytery; and would cry fire! fire! in Noah's flood." There is reason to believe that this piece was not written by Butler, but by Sir John Birkenhead; for Wood, in his *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. ii. p. 640., enumerates it among that gentleman's works, and gives the following account of it:—

"'The Assembly Man' (or the character of an assembly man), written 1647, Lond. 1662-3, in three sheets in quarto. The copy of it was taken from the author by those who said they could not rob, because all was theirs; so excised what they liked not; and so mangled and reformed it, that it was no character of an assembly, but of themselves. At length, after it had slept several years, the author published it, to avoid false copies. It is also reprinted in a book entitled 'Wit and Loyalty revived,' in a collection of some smart satires in verse and prose on the late times, Lond. 1682, 4to., said to be written by Abr. Cowley, Sir John Birkenhead, and Hudibras, alias Sam. Butler." For this information I am indebted to Mr. Reed, of Staple Inn. — BOSWELL.

¹ Dr. Archibald Pitcairne, born at Edinburgh, December 25, 1652; died there, October 20, 1713. — WRIGHT.

² More likely the fine epitaph on John Viscount of Dundee, translated by Dryden, and beginning *Ulysses Scotorum*, &c. — WALTER SCOTT.

³ Dr. Robert Watson, born at St. Andrew's about the year 1730; died March 31. 1781. — WRIGHT.

⁴ The chapel was yet standing, and, adds Johnson, "of not inelegant external structure; but I was always by some civil excuse prevented from entering it." The reason of this reserve turned out to be, that the chapel had been perverted into "a kind of greenhouse;" and he significantly adds, that the plants do not thrive in that desecrated spot. — *Journey.* — CROKER, 1846.

⁵ My Journal, from this day inclusive, was read by Dr. Johnson. — BOSWELL. Dr. Johnson's having read this Journal gives it a great and very peculiar interest; and we must not withhold from Mr. Boswell the merit of candour and courage in writing so freely about his great friend. Yet it may be suspected, that had Johnson not seen it, the Journal might have had still greater pugnancy. — CROKER.

⁶ All this is very true; but rather inconsistent with his former complaints of Lord Chesterfield. — CROKER.

⁷ As an item in the history of manners, it may be observed, that *drinking* to excess has diminished greatly in the memory even of those who can remember forty or fifty years. The taste for *smoking*, however, has revived, probably from the military habits of Europe during the French wars; but, instead of the sober sedentary pipe, the ambulatory cigar is now chiefly used. See *ante*, p. 106. — CROKER.

⁸ Dr. Johnson used to practise this himself very much. — BOSWELL.

make it last. Formerly, good tradesmen had no fire but in the kitchen; never in the parlour, except on Sunday. My father, who was a magistrate of Lichfield, lived thus. They never began to have a fire in the parlour, but on leaving off business, or some great revolution of their life." Dr. Watson said, the hall was a kitchen in old squires' houses. JOHNSON. "No, Sir. The hall was for great occasions, and never was used for domestic¹ refection." We talked of the Union, and what money it had brought into Scotland. Dr. Watson observed, that a little money formerly went as far as a great deal now. JOHNSON. "In speculation, it seems that a smaller quantity of money, equal in value to a larger quantity, if equally divided, should produce the same effect. But it is not so in reality. Many more conveniences and elegancies are enjoyed where money is plentiful, than where it is scarce. Perhaps a great familiarity with it, which arises from plenty, makes us more easily part with it."

After what Dr. Johnson had said of St. Andrew's, which he had long wished to see, as our oldest university, and the seat of our primate in the days of episcopacy, I can say little. Since the publication of Dr. Johnson's book, I find that he has been censured for not seeing here the ancient chapel of St. Rule², a curious piece of sacred architecture. But this was neither his fault nor mine. We were both of us abundantly desirous of surveying such sort of antiquities; but neither of us knew of this. I am afraid the censure must fall on those who did not tell us of it. In every place, where there is any thing worthy of observation, there should be a short printed directory for strangers, such as we find in all the towns of Italy, and in some of the towns in England. I was told that there is a manuscript account of St. Andrew's, by Martin, secretary to Archbishop Sharp; and that one Douglas has published a small account of it. I inquired at a bookseller's, but could not get it. Dr. Johnson's veneration for the hierarchy is well known. There is no wonder then, that he was affected with a strong indignation, while he beheld the ruins of religious magnificence. I happened to ask where John Knox was buried. Dr. Johnson burst out, "I hope in the highway."³ I have been looking at his reformations."

It was a very fine day. Dr. Johnson seemed quite wrapt up in the contemplation of the scenes which were now presented to him. He

kept his hat off while he was upon any part of the ground where the cathedral had stood. He said well, that "Knox had set on a mob, without knowing where it would end; and that differing from a man in doctrine was no reason why you should pull his house about his ears." As we walked in the cloisters, there was a solemn echo, while he talked loudly of a proper retirement from the world. Mr. Nairne said, he had an inclination to retire. I called Dr. Johnson's attention to this, that I might hear his opinion if it was right. JOHNSON. "Yes, when he has done his duty to society. In general, as every man is obliged not only to love God, but his neighbour as himself, he must bear his part in active life; yet there are exceptions. Those who are exceedingly scrupulous (which I do not approve, for I am no friend to scruples), and find their scrupulosity invincible, so that they are quite in the dark, and know not what they shall do,—or those who cannot resist temptations, and find they make themselves worse by being in the world, without making it better,—may retire. I never read of a hermit, but in imagination I kiss his feet: never of a monastery, but I could fall on my knees, and kiss the pavement. But I think putting young people there, who know nothing of life, nothing of retirement, is dangerous and wicked. It is a saying as old as Hesiod—

"Ἔργα νέων, βουλαί τε μέσων, εὐχαί τε γερόντων."⁴

That is a very noble line: not that young men should not pray, or old men not give counsel, but that every season of life has its proper duties. I have thought of retiring, and have talked of it to a friend; but I find my vocation is rather to active life." I said, some young monks might be allowed, to show that it is not age alone that can retire to pious solitude; but he thought this would only show that they could not resist temptation.

He wanted to mount the steeples, but it could not be done. There are no good inscriptions here. Bad Roman characters he naturally mistook for half Gothic, half Roman. One of the steeples, which he was told was in danger, he wished not to be taken down; "for," said he, "it may fall on some of the posterity of John Knox; and no great matter!"⁵ Dinner was mentioned. JOHNSON. "Ay, ay, amidst all these sorrowful scenes, I have no objection to dinner."

We went and looked at the castle where Cardinal Beaton was murdered⁶, and then

¹ I believe Johnson was mistaken. The Hall was frequently, if not generally, the common refectory.—CROKER.

² It is very singular how they could miss seeing St. Rule's chapel, an ecclesiastical building, the most ancient, perhaps, in Great Britain. It is a square tower, which stands close by the ruins of the old cathedral. Martin's *Reliquia Divi Andree* are now published.—WALTER SCOTT.

³ It is, says Mr. Chambers, a little odd, though Boswell has overlooked it, that Knox was buried in a place which soon after became, and ever since has been, a highway; namely, the old churchyard of St. Giles in Edinburgh.—CROKER, 1835.

⁴ "Let youth in deeds, in counsel man engage: Prayer is the proper duty of old age."—BOSWELL.

See *anté*, p. 175. This line is a fragment attributed to Hesiod. Boswell prints βουλαί τε, εὐχαί τε, no doubt an error of the press. The reading of most editions is βουλαί τε εὐχαί τε.—CROKER.

⁵ These towers have been repaired by the government, with a proper attention to the antiquities of the country.—WALTER SCOTT.

⁶ David Beaton, Cardinal and Archbishop of St. Andrew's, was murdered on the 29th of May, 1546, in his castle of St.

visited Principal Murison at his college, where is a good library room; but the Principal was abundantly vain of it, for he seriously said to Dr. Johnson, "You have not such a one in England."¹

The professors entertained us with a very good dinner. Present: Murison, Shaw, Cooke, Hill², Haddo, Watson, Flint, Brown. I observed, that I wondered to see him eat so well, after viewing so many sorrowful scenes of ruined religious magnificence. "Why," said he, "I am not sorry, after seeing these gentlemen, for they are not sorry." Murison said, all sorrow was bad, as it was murmuring against the dispensations of Providence. JOHNSON. "Sir, sorrow is inherent in humanity. As you cannot judge two and two to be either five or three, but certainly four, so, when comparing a worse present state, with a better which is past, you cannot but feel sorrow. It is not cured by reason, but by the incursion of present objects, which wear out the past. You need not murmur, though you are sorry." MURISON. "But St. Paul says, 'I have learnt, in whatever state I am, therewith to be content.'" JOHNSON. "Sir, that relates to riches and poverty; for we see St. Paul, when he had a thorn in the flesh, prayed earnestly to have it removed; and then he could not be content." Murison, thus refuted, tried to be smart, and drank to Dr. Johnson, "Long may you lecture!" Dr. Johnson afterwards, speaking of his not drinking wine, said, "The Doctor spoke of *lecturing* (looking to him). I give all these lectures on water."

He defended requiring subscription in those admitted to universities, thus: "As all who come into the country must obey the king, so all who come into an university must be of the Church."

And here I must do Dr. Johnson the justice to contradict a very absurd and ill-natured story, as to what passed at St. Andrew's. It has been circulated, that, after grace was said in English, in the usual manner, he, with the greatest marks of contempt, as if he had held it to be no grace in an university, would not sit down till he had said grace aloud, in Latin. This would have been an insult indeed to the

gentlemen who were entertaining us. But the truth was precisely thus. In the course of conversation at dinner, Dr. Johnson, in very good humour, said, "I should have expected to have heard a Latin grace, among so many learned men: we had always a Latin grace at Oxford. I believe I can repeat it." Which he did, as giving the learned men in one place a specimen of what was done by the learned men in another place.³

We went and saw the church, in which is Archbishop Sharp's⁴ monument.⁵ I was struck with the same kind of feelings with which the churches of Italy impressed me. I was much pleased to see Dr. Johnson actually in St. Andrew's, of which we had talked so long. Professor Haddo was with us this afternoon, along with Dr. Watson. We looked at St. Salvador's College. The rooms for students seemed very commodious, and Dr. Johnson said, the chapel was the neatest place of worship he had seen. The key of the library could not be found, for it seems Professor Hill, who was out of town, had taken it with him. Dr. Johnson told a joke he had heard of a monastery abroad, where the key of the library could never be found.

It was somewhat dispiriting, to see this ancient archiepiscopal city now sadly deserted. We saw in one of its streets a remarkable proof of liberal toleration; a nonjuring clergyman, strutting about in his canonicals, with a jolly countenance and a round belly, like a well-fed monk.

We observed two occupations united in the same person, who had hung out two signposts. Upon one was "James Hood, White Iron Smith" (*i. e.* tin-plate worker). Upon another, "The Art of Fencing Taught, by James Hood." Upon this last were painted some trees, and two men fencing, one of whom had hit the other in the eye, to show his great dexterity; so that the art was well taught. JOHNSON. "Were I studying here, I should go and take a lesson. I remember Hope⁶, in his book on this art, says, 'the Scotch are very good fencers.'"

We returned to the inn, where we had been entertained at dinner, and drank tea in

Andrew's, by John and Norman Leslie (of the Rothes family), and some others, in vengeance, as they alleged (though no doubt they had also personal motives), of the share the cardinal had in the death of Mr. George Wishart, a protestant minister of great reputation, who had lately been burned for heresy in the cardinal's own presence. "The cardinal was murdered," says Johnson in his "Journey," "by the ruffians of reformation, in the manner of which Knox has given what he himself calls a merry narrative." — CROKER.

¹ "The library," says Johnson, "is not very spacious, but elegant and luminous. The doctor by whom it was shown hoped to irritate or subdue my English vanity by telling me, that we had no such repository of books in England." — *Letters*. Johnson, with unusual forbearance, appears not to have contradicted him, as assuredly he might; for the library of St. Andrew's is, I am informed, but 75 feet long, whilst that of All Souls, in Oxford, is 198 feet; of Christ Church, 141; of Queen's, 123; and each of the three divisions of the Bodleian is more than twice as long as the library of St. Andrew's. — CROKER.

² Dr. George Hill, author of *Theological Institutes*, &c.; born in 1750, died in December, 1819. — WRIGHT.

³ Boswell might have added, that as this dinner was at an inn, Johnson could not have seriously expected a Latin grace, said even "at Oxford" in the college halls only. — LUCKHART.

⁴ James Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrew's, was dragged from his coach, and murdered in the arms of his daughter, on Magnus Moor, 3d of May, 1679. Sir Walter Scott, in his celebrated tale, entitled *Old Mortality*, has told this story with all the force of history and all the interest of romance. — CROKER.

⁵ The monument is of Italian marble. The brother of the archbishop left a sum for preserving it, which, in one unhappy year, was expended in painting it in resemblance of reality. The daubing is now removed. — WALTER SCOTT.

⁶ Sir William Hope, of the Hopetoun family, published, in 1692, a work entitled *The Complete Fencing Master*. — WRIGHT.

company with some of the professors, of whose civilities I beg leave to add my humble and very grateful acknowledgment to the honourable testimony of Dr. Johnson, in his "Journey."

We talked of composition, which was a favourite topic of Dr. Watson, who first distinguished himself by lectures on rhetoric. JOHNSON. "I advised Chambers, and would advise every young man beginning to compose, to do it as fast as he can, to get a habit of having his mind to start promptly; it is so much more difficult to improve in speed than in accuracy." WATSON. "I own I am for much attention to accuracy in composing, lest one should get bad habits of doing it in a slovenly manner." JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, you are confounding *doing* inaccurately with the *necessity* of doing inaccurately. A man knows when his composition is inaccurate, and when he thinks fit he'll correct it. But, if a man is accustomed to compose slowly, and with difficulty, upon all occasions, there is danger that he may not compose at all, as we do not like to do that which is not done easily; and, at any rate, more time is consumed in a small matter than ought to be." WATSON. "Dr. Hugh Blair has taken a week to compose a sermon." JOHNSON. "Then, Sir, that is for want of the habit of composing quickly, which I am insisting one should acquire." WATSON. "Blair was not composing all the week, but only such hours as he found himself disposed for composition." JOHNSON. "Nay, Sir, unless you tell me the time he took, you tell me nothing. If I say I took a week to walk a mile, and have had the gout five days, and been ill otherwise another day, I have taken but one day. I myself have composed about forty sermons.¹ I have begun a sermon after dinner, and sent it off by the post that night. I wrote forty-eight of the printed octavo pages of the *Life of Savage* at a sitting; but then I sat up all night. I have also written six sheets in a day of translation from the French."² BOSWELL. "We have all observed how one man dresses himself slowly, and another fast." JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir; it is wonderful how much time some people will consume in dressing; taking up a thing and looking at it, and laying it down, and taking it up again. Every one should get the habit of doing it quickly. I would say to a young divine, Here is your

text; let me see how soon you can make a sermon. Then I'd say, Let me see how much better you can make it. Thus I should see both his powers and his judgment."

We all went to Dr. Watson's to supper. Miss Sharp, great grandchild of Archbishop Sharp³, was there, as was Mr. Craig, the ingenious architect of the new town of Edinburgh, and nephew of Thomson, to whom Dr. Johnson has since done so much justice in his "Lives of the Poets."

We talked of memory, and its various modes. JOHNSON. "Memory will play strange tricks. One sometimes loses a single word. I once lost *fugaces* in the Ode 'Posthume, Posthume.'" I mentioned to him, that a worthy gentleman of my acquaintance actually forgot his own name. JOHNSON. "Sir, that was a morbid oblivion."

Friday, Aug. 20. — Dr. Shaw, the professor of divinity, breakfasted with us. I took out my "Ogden on Prayer," and read some of it to the company. Dr. Johnson praised him. "Abernethy,"⁴ said he, "allows only of a physical effect of prayer upon the mind, which may be produced many ways as well as by prayer; for instance, by meditation. Ogden goes farther. In truth, we have the consent of all nations for the efficacy of prayer, whether offered up by individuals or by assemblies; and Revelation has told us it will be effectual." I said, "Leechman⁵ seemed to incline to Abernethy's doctrine." Dr. Watson observed, that Leechman meant to show that, even admitting no effect to be produced by prayer, respecting the Deity, it was useful to our own minds. He had given only a part of his system: Dr. Johnson thought he should have given the whole.

Dr. Johnson enforced the strict observance of Sunday. "It should be different (he observed) from another day. People may walk, but not throw stones at birds. There may be relaxation, but there should be no levity."⁶

We went and saw Colonel Nairne's garden and grotto. Here was a fine old plane tree. Unluckily the colonel said there was but this and another large tree in the county. This assertion was an excellent cue for Dr. Johnson, who laughed enormously, calling to me to hear it. He had expatiated to me on the nakedness of that part of Scotland which he had seen.⁷ His "Journey" has been violently abused for

¹ The "*Sermons left for publication by Dr. Taylor*" (see *anté*, p. 107. n. 5, and post, 21. Sept. 1777) are but twenty-five in number. — CROKER, 1846.

² This must have been the translation of Lobo, for Johnson translated no other work, that I know of, consisting of 96 pages, from the French. This account of so much diligence does not seem to agree with that before given of his indolence in completing that translation. See *anté*, p. 21. But, as Sir Walter Scott observes, "a pool is usually succeeded in a river by a current, and he may have written fast to make up lee way." — CROKER. Perhaps, the Lobo is not meant at all. During certain years of early life, which Boswell leaves nearly a blank, Dr. Johnson may have translated many French trifles for the booksellers, as to which in after days he might choose to be silent. — LOCKHART.

³ It is very singular that Dr. Johnson, with all his episcopal partiality, should have visited Archbishop Sharp's monument,

and been in company with his descendant, without making any observation on his character and melancholy death, or on the general subject of Scottish episcopacy. — WALTER SCOTT.

⁴ An Irish dissenting divine, whose *Discourses on the Divine Attributes*, and some volumes of sermons, are highly esteemed even by the clergy of the Church of England. He died in 1740. — CROKER.

⁵ Dr. William Leechman, Principal of the College at Glasgow (where Johnson subsequently visited him), who published, among other valuable works, a discourse *On the Nature, Reasonableness, and Advantages of Prayer*. He died in 1725, aged eighty. — CROKER.

⁶ Yet see *anté*, p. 199. n. 4. — C.

⁷ Johnson has been unjustly abused for dwelling on the bareness of Fife. There are good trees in many parts of that county, but the east coast, along which lay Johnson's route,

what he has said upon this subject. But let it be considered that, when Dr. Johnson talks of trees, he means trees of good size, such as he was accustomed to see in England; and of these there are certainly very few upon the eastern coast of Scotland. Besides, he said, that he meant to give only a map of the road; and let any traveller observe how many trees, which deserve the name, he can see from the road from Berwick to Aberdeen. Had Dr. Johnson said, "there are no trees" upon this line, he would have said what is colloquially true; because, by no trees, in common speech, we mean few. When he is particular in counting, he may be attacked. I know not how Colonel Nairne came to say there were but two large trees in the county of Fife. I did not perceive that he smiled. There are certainly not a great many; but I could have shown him more than two at Balmuto, from whence my ancestors came, and which now belongs to a branch of my family.

The grotto was ingeniously constructed. In the front of it were petrified stocks of fir, plane, and some other trees. Dr. Johnson said, "Scotland has no right to boast of this grotto; it is owing to personal merit. I never denied personal merit to many of you." Professor Shaw said to me, as we walked, "This is a wonderful man; he is master of every subject he handles." Dr. Watson allowed him a very strong understanding, but wondered at his total inattention to established manners, as he came from London.

I have not preserved, in my Journal, any of the conversation which passed between Dr. Johnson and Professor Shaw; but I recollect Dr. Johnson said to me afterwards, "I took much to Shaw."

We left St. Andrew's about noon, and some miles from it, observing, at Leuchars, a church with an old tower, we stopped to look at it. The manse, as the parsonage-house is called in Scotland, was close by. I waited on the minister, mentioned our names, and begged he would tell us what he knew about it. He was a very civil old man; but could only inform us, that it was supposed to have stood eight hundred years. He told us there was a colony of Danes in his parish; that they had landed at a remote period of time, and still remained a distinct people. Dr. Johnson shrewdly inquired, whether they had brought women with them. We were not satisfied as to this colony.¹

We saw, this day, Dundee and Aberbrothick,

the last of which Dr. Johnson has celebrated in his "Journey."² Upon the road we talked of the Roman Catholic faith. He mentioned (I think) Tillotson's argument against transubstantiation:—"That we are as sure we see bread and wine only, as that we read in the Bible the text on which that false doctrine is founded. We have only the evidence of our senses for both."—"If," he added, "God had never spoken figuratively, we might hold that he speaks literally, when he says, 'This is my body.'" BOSWELL. "But what do you say, Sir, to the ancient and continued tradition of the Church upon this point?" JOHNSON. "Tradition, Sir, has no place where the Scriptures are plain; and tradition cannot persuade a man into a belief of transubstantiation. Able men, indeed, have said they believed it."

This is an awful subject. I did not then press Dr. Johnson upon it; nor shall I now enter upon a disquisition concerning the import of those words uttered by our Saviour³, which had such an effect upon many of his disciples, that they "went back, and walked no more with him." The catechism and solemn office for communion, in the Church of England, maintain a mysterious belief in more than a mere commemoration of the death of Christ, by partaking of the elements of bread and wine.

Dr. Johnson put me in mind, that at St. Andrew's I had defended my profession very well, when the question had again been started, Whether a lawyer might honestly engage with the first side that offers him a fee. "Sir," said I, "it was with your arguments against Sir William Forbes; but it was much that I could wield the arms of Goliath."

He said, our judges had not gone deep in the question concerning literary property. I mentioned Lord Monboddo's opinion, that if a man could get a work by heart, he might print it, as by such an act the mind is exercised. JOHNSON. "No, Sir; a man's repeating it no more makes it his property, than a man may sell a cow which he drives home." I said, printing an abridgment of a work was allowed, which was only cutting the horns and tail off the cow. JOHNSON. "No, Sir; 't is making the cow have a calf."

About eleven at night we arrived at Montrose. We found but a sorry inn, where I myself saw another waiter put a lump of sugar with his fingers into Dr. Johnson's lemonade, for which he called him "rascal!" It put me

is certainly destitute of wood, excepting young plantations. The other tree mentioned by Colonel Nairne is probably the Prior Letham plane, measuring in circumference at the surface nearly twenty feet, and at the setting on of the branches nineteen feet. This giant of the forest stands in a cold exposed situation, apart from every other tree.—WALTER SCOTT.

¹ The colony of Leuchars is a vain imagination concerning a certain fleet of Danes wrecked on Sheughy Dikes.—WALTER SCOTT. The fishing people on that coast have,

however, all the appearance of being a different race from the inland population, and their dialect has many peculiarities.—LOCKHART.

² "I should scarcely have regretted my journey, had it afforded nothing more than the sight of Aberbrothick."—JOURNEY.—WRIGHT.

³ "Then Jesus said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you."—See St. John's Gospel, chap. vi. 53. and following verses.—BOSWELL.

in great glee that our landlord was an Englishman. I rallied the Doctor upon this, and he grew quiet. Both Sir John Hawkins's and Dr. Burney's "History of Music" had then been advertised. I asked if this was not unlucky: would they not hurt one another? JOHNSON. "No, Sir. They will do good to one another. Some will buy the one, some the other, and compare them; and so a talk is made about a thing, and the books are sold."

He was angry at me for proposing to carry lemons with us to Sky, that he might be sure to have his lemonade. "Sir," said he, "I do not wish to be thought that feeble man who cannot do without any thing. Sir, it is very bad manners to carry provisions to any man's house, as if he could not entertain you. To an inferior, it is oppressive; to a superior, it is insolent."

Having taken the liberty, this evening, to remark to Dr. Johnson, that he very often sat quite silent for a long time, even when in company with only a single friend, which I myself had sometimes sadly experienced, he smiled and said, "It is true, Sir. Tom Tyers (for so he familiarly called our ingenious friend, who, since his death, has paid a biographical tribute to his memory), Tom Tyers described me the best. He once said to me, 'Sir, you are like a ghost: you never speak till you are spoken to.'"¹

CHAPTER XXXIII.

1773.

Montrose. — Lawrence Kirk. — Monboddoo. — Emigration. — Homer. — Biography and History. — Decrease of Learning. — Promotion of Bishops. — Citizen and Savage. — Aberdeen. — Professor Gordon. — Public and Private Education. — Sir Alexander Gordon. — Trade of Aberdeen. — Doctrines of the Trinity and the Atonement — Johnson a Burgess of Aberdeen. — Dinner at Sir Alexander Gordon's. — Warburton. — Locke's Latin Verses. — Ossian.

Montrose, Saturday, Aug. 21st. — NEITHER the Rev. Mr. Nisbet, the established minister, nor the Rev. Mr. Spooner, the episcopal minister, were in town. Before breakfast, we went and saw the town-hall, where is a good dancing

room, and other rooms for tea-drinking. The appearance of the town from it is very well; but many of the houses are built with their ends to the street, which looks awkward. When we came down from it, I met Mr. Gleig, a merchant here. He went with us to see the English chapel. It is situated on a pretty dry spot, and there is a fine walk to it. It is really an elegant building, both within and without. The organ is adorned with green and gold. Dr. Johnson gave a shilling extraordinary to the clerk, saying, "He belongs to an honest church." I put him in mind, that episcopals were but *dissenters* here; they were only *tolerated*. "Sir," said he, "we are here, as Christians in Turkey." He afterwards went into an apothecary's shop, and ordered some medicine for himself, and wrote the prescription in technical characters. The boy took him for a physician.

I doubted much which road to take, whether to go by the coast, or by Lawrence Kirk and Monboddoo. I knew Lord Monboddoo and Dr. Johnson did not love each other; yet I was unwilling not to visit his lordship; and was also curious to see them together.² I mentioned my doubts to Dr. Johnson, who said he would go two miles out of his way to see Lord Monboddoo. I therefore sent Joseph forward, with the following note:—

"Montrose, 21st August.

"MY DEAR LORD, — Thus far I am come with Mr. Samuel Johnson. We must be at Aberdeen to-night. I know you do not admire him so much as I do; but I cannot be in this country without making you a bow at your old place, as I do not know if I may again have an opportunity of seeing Monboddoo. Besides, Mr. Johnson says, he would go two miles out of his way to see Lord Monboddoo. I have sent forward my servant, that we may know if your lordship be at home. I am ever, &c.

"JAMES BOSWELL."

As we travelled onwards from Montrose, we had the Grampian hills in our view, and some good land around us, but void of trees and hedges. Dr. Johnson has said ludicrously, in his "Journey," that the *hedges* were of *stone*; for, instead of the verdant *thorn* to refresh the eye, we found the bare *wall* or *dike* intersecting the prospect. He observed, that it was wonderful to see a country so divested, so denuded of trees.

We stopped at Lawrence Kirk, where our great grammarian, Ruddiman, was once schoolmaster. We respectfully remembered that

¹ This description of Dr. Johnson appears to have been borrowed from *Tom Jones*, book xi. chap. 2: "The other, who, like a ghost, only wanted to be spoke to, readily answered," &c.—BOSWELL. Tyers was not thinking of *Tom Jones*; both he and Fielding alluded to the same general superstition, that ghosts must be first spoken to.—CROKER.

² There were several points of similarity between them: learning, clearness of head, precision of speech, and a love of research on many subjects which people in general do not investigate. Foote paid Lord Monboddoo the compliment of saying, that he was "an Elzevir edition of Johnson." It has

been shrewdly observed, that Foote must have meant a diminutive or pocket edition.—BOSWELL. Johnson himself thus describes Lord Monboddoo to Mrs. Thrale: "He is a Scotch judge, who has lately written a strange book about the origin of language, in which he traces monkeys up to men, and says that in some countries the human species have tails like other beasts. He inquired for these long-tailed men from [Sir Joseph] Banks, and was not pleased that they had not been found in all his peregrinations. He talked nothing of this to me."—LETTERS.—CROKER.

excellent man and eminent scholar, by whose labours a knowledge of the Latin language will be preserved in Scotland, if it shall be preserved at all. Lord Gardenstone¹, one of our judges, collected money to raise a monument to him at this place, which I hope will be well executed. I know my father gave five guineas towards it. Lord Gardenstone is the proprietor of Lawrence Kirk, and has encouraged the building of a manufacturing village, of which he is exceedingly fond, and has written a pamphlet upon it, as if he had founded Thebes, in which, however, there are many useful precepts strongly expressed. The village seemed to be irregularly built, some of the houses being of clay, some of brick, and some of brick and stone. Dr. Johnson observed, they thatched well here.

I was a little acquainted with Mr. Forbes, the minister of the parish. I sent to inform him that a gentleman desired to see him. He returned for answer, "that he would not come to a stranger." I then gave my name, and he came. I remonstrated to him for not coming to a stranger; and, by presenting him to Dr. Johnson, proved to him what a stranger might sometimes be. His Bible inculcates "be not forgetful to entertain strangers," and mentions the same motive.² He defended himself by saying, "He had once come to a stranger, who sent for him; and he found him 'a little-worth person!'"

Dr. Johnson insisted on stopping at the inn, as I told him Lord Gardenstone had furnished it with a collection of books, that travellers might have entertainment for the mind as well as the body. He praised the design, but wished there had been more books, and those better chosen.

About a mile from Monboddoo, where you turn off the road, Joseph was waiting to tell us my lord expected us to dinner. We drove over a wild moor. It rained, and the scene was somewhat dreary. Dr. Johnson repeated, with solemn emphasis, Macbeth's speech on meeting the witches. As we travelled on, he told me, "Sir, you got into our Club by doing what a man can do."³ Several of the members wished to keep you out. Burke told me, he doubted if you were fit for it: but, now you are in, none of them are sorry. Burke says, that you have so much good-humour naturally, it is scarce a virtue." BOSWELL. "They were afraid of you, Sir, as it was you who proposed me." JOHNSON. Sir, they knew, that if they refused you, they'd probably never have got in

another. I'd have kept them all out. Beauclerk was very earnest for you." BOSWELL. "Beauclerk has a keenness of mind which is very uncommon." JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir; and every thing comes from him so easily. It appears to me that I labour, when I say a good thing." BOSWELL. "You are loud, Sir, but it is not an effort of mind."

Monboddoo is a wretched place, wild and naked, with a poor old house, though, if I recollect right, there are two turrets, which mark an old baron's residence. Lord Monboddoo received us at his gate most courteously; pointed to the Douglas arms upon his house, and told us that his great-grandmother was of that family. "In such houses," said he, "our ancestors lived, who were better men than we." "No, no, my lord," said Dr. Johnson; "we are as strong as they, and a great deal wiser." This was an assault upon one of Lord Monboddoo's capital dogmas, and I was afraid there would have been a violent altercation in the very close, before we got into the house. But his lordship is distinguished not only for "ancient metaphysics," but for ancient *politesse*, "*la vieille cour*," and he made no reply.

His lordship was dressed in a rustic suit, and wore a little round hat; he told us, we now saw him as Farmer Burnet, and we should have his family dinner, a farmer's dinner. He said, "I should not have forgiven Mr. Boswell, had he not brought you here, Dr. Johnson." He produced a very long stalk of corn, as a specimen of his crop, and said, "You see here the *letas segetes*:" he added, that Virgil seemed to be as enthusiastic a farmer⁴ as he, and was certainly a practical one. JOHNSON. "It does not always follow, my lord, that a man, who has written a good poem on an art, has practised it. Philip Miller told me, that in Philips's "Cyder," a poem, all the precepts were just, and indeed better than in books written for the purpose of instructing; yet Philips had never made cyder."⁵

I started the subject of emigration. JOHNSON. "To a man of mere animal life, you can urge no argument against going to America, but that it will be some time before he will get the earth to produce. But a man of any intellectual enjoyment will not easily go and immerse himself and his posterity for ages in barbarism.

He and my lord spoke highly of Homer. JOHNSON. "He had all the learning of his age. The shield of Achilles shows a nation in war, a nation in peace: harvest sport, nay steal-

¹ Francis Garden, a Scotch Lord of Session, who erected a very pretty temple over St. Bernard's Well, on the bank of the water of Leith. He was a man of talents, but of some irregularity of mind, and died (it was said by his own act) in 1794. — CROKER.

² "Be not forgetful to entertain strangers; for thereby some have entertained angels unawares." — Heb. xiii. 2. — A pious and modest allusion on the part of Boswell! — CROKER.

³ This, I find, is considered obscure. I suppose Dr. Johnson meant, that I assiduously and earnestly recom-

mended myself to some of the members, as in a canvass for an election into parliament. — BOSWELL.

⁴ Walter Scott used to tell an instance of Lord Monboddoo's agricultural enthusiasm, that returning home one night after an absence (I think) on circuit, he went out with a candle to look at a field of turnips, then a novelty in Scotland. — CROKER, 1846.

⁵ This Johnson repeated in his Life of Philips. Miller, the author of the *Gardener's Dictionary*, was born at Chelsea in 1691, and died in 1771. — WRIGHT.

ing."¹ MONBODDO. "Ay, and what we (looking to me) would call a parliament-house scene; a cause pleaded." JOHNSON. "That is part of the life of a nation in peace. And there are in Homer such characters of heroes, and combinations of qualities of heroes, that the united powers of mankind ever since have not produced any but what are to be found there." MONBODDO. "Yet no character is described." JOHNSON. "No; they all develop themselves. Agamemnon is always a gentleman-like character; he has always *ἡλικὸν τι*.² That the ancients held so, is plain from this; that Euripides, in his *Hecuba*, makes him the person to interpose."³ MONBODDO. "The history of manners is the most valuable. I never set a high value on any other history." JOHNSON. "Nor I; and therefore I esteem biography, as giving us what comes near to ourselves, what we can turn to use." BOSWELL. "But in the course of general history we find manners. In wars, we see the dispositions of people, their degrees of humanity, and other particulars." JOHNSON. "Yes; but then you must take all the facts to get this, and it is but a little you get. MONBODDO. "And it is that little which makes history valuable." Bravo! thought I; they agree like two brothers. MONBODDO. "I am sorry, Dr. Johnson, you were not longer at Edinburgh, to receive the homage of our men of learning." JOHNSON. "My lord, I received great respect and great kindness." BOSWELL. "He goes back to Edinburgh after our tour." We talked of the decrease of learning in Scotland, and of the "Muses' Welcome." JOHNSON. "Learning is much decreased in England, in my remembrance." MONBODDO. "You, Sir, have lived to see its decrease in England, I its extinction in Scotland." However, I brought him to confess that the high school of Edinburgh did well. JOHNSON. "Learning has decreased in England, because learning will not do so much for a man as formerly. There are other ways of getting preferment. Few bishops are now made for their learning. To be a bishop, a man must be learned in a learned age, factious in a factious age, but always of eminence. Warburton is an exception, though his learning alone did not raise

him. He was first an antagonist to Pope, and helped Theobald to publish his *Shakspeare*; but, seeing Pope the rising man, when Crousaz attacked his 'Essay on Man,' for some faults which it has, and some which it has not, Warburton defended it in the *Review* of that time. This brought him acquainted with Pope, and he gained his friendship. Pope introduced him to Allen, Allen married him to his niece; so, by Allen's interest and his own, he was made a bishop.⁴ But then his learning was the *sine quâ non*. He knew how to make the most of it, but I do not find by any dishonest means." MONBODDO. "He is a great man." JOHNSON. "Yes, he has great knowledge, great power of mind. Hardly any man brings greater variety of learning to bear upon his point." MONBODDO. "He is one of the greatest lights of your Church." JOHNSON. "Why, we are not so sure of his being very friendly to us. He blazes, if you will, but that is not always the steadiest light. Lowth is another bishop who has risen by his learning."

Dr. Johnson examined young Arthur, Lord Monboddo's son, in Latin. He answered very well; upon which he said, with complacency, "Get you gone! When King James comes back, you shall be in the 'Muses' Welcome!'" My lord and Dr. Johnson disputed a little, whether the savage or the London shopkeeper had the best existence; his lordship, as usual, preferring the savage. My lord was extremely hospitable, and I saw both Dr. Johnson and him liking each other better every hour.

Dr. Johnson having retired for a short time, his lordship spoke of his conversation as I could have wished. Dr. Johnson had said, "I have done greater feats with my knife than this;" though he had eaten a very hearty dinner. My lord, who affects or believes he follows an abstemious system, seemed struck with Dr. Johnson's manner of living. I had a particular satisfaction in being under the roof of Monboddo, my lord being my father's old friend, and having been always very good to me. We were cordial together. He asked Dr. Johnson and me to stay all night. When I said we must be at Aberdeen, he replied, "Well, I am like the Romans: I shall say to you, 'Happy to come; happy to depart!'"

¹ My note of this is much too short. *Brevi esse laboro, obscurus fio*. Yet as I have resolved, that the very *Journal* which Dr. Johnson read shall be presented to the public, I will not expand the text in any considerable degree, though I may occasionally supply a word to complete the sense, as I fill up the blanks of abbreviation in the writing, neither of which can be said to change the genuine *Journal*. One of the best critics of our age conjectures that the imperfect passage above has probably been as follows:—"In his book we have an accurate display of a nation in war, and a nation in peace; the peasant is delineated as truly as the general; nay, even harvest sport, and the modes of ancient theft, are described."—BOSWELL. The critic was probably Dr. Hugh Blair.—WALTER SCOTT.

² Something regal.—CROKER.

³ Dr. Johnson modestly said, he had not read Homer so much as he wished he had done. But this conversation shows how well he was acquainted with the *Mæonian* bard; and he has shown it still more in his criticism upon Pope's *Homer*, in his life of that poet. My excellent friend, Mr.

Langton, told me, he was once present at a dispute between Dr. Johnson and Mr. Burke, on the comparative merits of Homer and Virgil, which was carried on with extraordinary abilities on both sides. Dr. Johnson maintained the superiority of Homer.—BOSWELL.

⁴ It was probably a misunderstanding of some such conversation as this, that induced Dr. Strahan to state that the king had told Johnson, that Pope had made Warburton a bishop. See *anté*, p. 183. n. 2. Johnson's account here given is rational and consistent with the known facts. Dr. Strahan's anecdote is neither.—CROKER.

⁵ I find some doubt has been entertained concerning Dr. Johnson's meaning here. It is to be supposed that he meant "when a king shall again be entertained in Scotland."—BOSWELL. This was, probably, another touch of *Jacobite* pleasantry; and Johnson was, perhaps, as Mr. Chambers suggested to me, thinking of one of the addresses in the *Muses' Welcome*, which was spoken by a very young boy, the son of the Earl of Winton.—CROKER, 1835.

He thanked Dr. Johnson for his visit. JOHNSON. "I little thought, when I had the honour to meet your lordship in London, that I should see you at Monboddoo." After dinner, as the ladies were going away, Dr. Johnson would stand up.¹ He insisted that politeness was of great consequence in society. "It is," said he, "fictitious benevolence. It supplies the place of it amongst those who see each other only in public, or but little. Depend upon it the want of it never fails to produce something disagreeable to one or other. I have always applied to good breeding, what Addison, in his Cato, says of honour:—

" 'Honour's a sacred tie; the law of kings;
The noble mind's distinguishing perfection,
That aids and strengthens Virtue where it meets
her,
And imitates her actions where she is not.'"

When he took up his large oak stick, he said, "My lord, that's *Homeric*;" thus pleasantly alluding to his lordship's favourite writer.

Gory, my lord's black servant, was sent as our guide, to conduct us to the high road. The circumstance of each of them having a black servant was another point of similarity between Johnson and Monboddoo. I observed how curious it was to see an African in the north of Scotland, with little or no difference of manners from those of the natives. Dr. Johnson laughed to see Gory and Joseph riding together most cordially. "Those two fellows," said he, "one from Africa, the other from Bohemia, seem quite at home." He was much pleased with Lord Monboddoo to-day. He said, he would have pardoned him for a few paradoxes, when he found that he had so much that was good: but that, from his appearance in London, he thought him all paradox; which would not do. He observed that his lordship had talked no paradoxes to-day. "And as to the savage and the London shopkeeper," said he, "I don't know but I might have taken the side of the savage equally, had any body else taken the side of the shopkeeper."² He had said to my lord, in opposition to the value of the savage's courage, that it was owing to his limited power of thinking, and repeated Pope's verses, in which "Macedonia's madman" is introduced, and the conclusion is,

"Yet ne'er looks forward farther than his nose."³

I objected to the last phrase, as being low.

JOHNSON, "Sir, it is intended to be low: it is satire. The expression is debased, to debase the character."

When Gory was about to part from us, Dr. Johnson called to him, "Mr. Gory, give me leave to ask you a question! are you baptized?" Gory told him he was — and confirmed by the Bishop of Durham. He then gave him a shilling.

We had a tedious driving this afternoon, and were somewhat drowsy. Last night I was afraid Dr. Johnson was beginning to faint in his resolution; for he said, "If we must ride much, we shall not go; and there's an end on't." To-day, when he talked of Sky with spirit, I said, "Why, Sir, you seemed to me to despond yesterday. You are a delicate Londoner; you are a macaroni; you can't ride." JOHNSON. "Sir, I shall ride better than you. I was only afraid I should not find a horse able to carry me." I hoped then there would be no fear of getting through our wild Tour.

We came to Aberdeen at half an hour past eleven. The New Inn, we were told, was full. This was comfortless. The waiter, however, asked if one of our names was Boswell, and brought me a letter left at the inn: it was from Mr. Thrale, enclosing one to Dr. Johnson. Finding who I was, we were told they would contrive to lodge us by putting us for a night into a room with two beds. The waiter said to me in the broad strong Aberdeenshire dialect, "I thought I knew you, by your likeness to your father." My father puts up at the New Inn, when on his circuit. Little was said to-night. I was to sleep in a little press-bed in Dr. Johnson's room. I had it wheeled out into the dining-room, and there I lay very well.

Sunday, Aug. 22. — I sent a message to Professor Thomas Gordon, who came and breakfasted with us. He had secured seats for us at the English chapel. We found a respectable congregation, and an admirable organ well played by Mr. Tait.

We walked down to the shore. Dr. Johnson laughed to hear that Cromwell's soldiers taught the Aberdeen people to make shoes and stockings, and to plant cabbages. He asked, if weaving the plaids was ever a domestic art in the Highlands, like spinning or knitting. They could not inform him here. But he conjectured probably, that where people lived so remote from each other, it was likely to be a domestic art; as we see it was among the ancients, from Penelope. I was sensible to-day, to an extraordinary degree, of Dr. John-

¹ Readers of this day will wonder that a mark of respect to ladies, now so universal, should ever have been withheld. It surely was not so in England at that period. — CROKER.

² Johnson says to Mrs. Thrale, "We agree pretty well, only we disputed in adjusting the claim of merit between a shopkeeper of London and a savage of the American wildernesses. Our opinions were, I think, maintained on both sides without full conviction. Monboddoo declared boldly for the savage, and I, perhaps for that reason, sided with the citizen." — *Letters*, vol. i. p. 115. A reason that too often influ-

enced, as we have seen and shall see, Johnson's conversation — CROKER.

³ Heroes are much the same, the point's agreed,
From Macedonia's madman to the Swede;
The whole strange purpose of their lives to find,
Or make, an enemy of all mankind!
Not one looks backward, onward still he goes,
Yet ne'er looks forward further than his nose."
Essay on Man, iv. 219. — W.

son's excellent English pronunciation. I cannot account for its striking me more now than any other day; but it was as if new to me, and I listened to every sentence which he spoke, as to a musical composition. Professor Gordon gave him an account of the plan of education in his college. Dr. Johnson said, it was similar to that at Oxford. Waller, the poet's great-grandson, was studying here. Dr. Johnson wondered that a man should send his son so far off, when there were so many good schools in England. He said, "At a great school there is all the splendour and illumination of many minds; the radiance of all is concentrated in each, or at least reflected upon each. But we must own that neither a dull boy, nor an idle boy, will do so well at a great school as at a private one. For at a great school there are always boys enough to do well easily, who are sufficient to keep up the credit of the school; and after whipping being tried to no purpose, the dull or idle boys are left at the end of a class, having the appearance of going through the course, but learning nothing at all. Such boys may do good at a private school, where constant attention is paid to them, and they are watched. So that the question of public or private education is not properly a general one; but whether one or the other is best for *my son*."

We were told the present Mr. Waller was a plain country gentleman; and his son would be such another. I observed, a family could not expect a poet but in a hundred generations. "Nay," said Dr. Johnson, "not one family in a hundred can expect a poet in a hundred generations." He then repeated Dryden's celebrated lines,

"Three poets in three distant ages born,
Greece, Italy, and England did adorn;
The first in loftiness of thought surpass'd;
The next, in majesty; in both the last.
The force of Nature could no further go;
To make a third, she join'd the former two:"

and a part of a Latin translation of it done at Oxford¹: he did not then say by whom.

He received a card from Sir Alexander Gordon, who had been his acquaintance twenty years ago in London, and who, "if forgiven for not answering a line from him," would come in the afternoon. Dr. Johnson rejoiced to hear of him, and begged he would come and dine with us. I was much pleased to see the kindness with which Dr. Johnson received his old friend Sir Alexander; a gentleman of good family (Lismore), but who had not the estate. The King's College here made him Professor of Medicine, which affords him a decent subsistence. He told us that the value of the

stockings exported from Aberdeen was, in peace, a hundred thousand pounds; and amounted in time of war, to one hundred and seventy thousand pounds. Dr. Johnson asked what made the difference? Here we had a proof of the comparative sagacity of the two professors. Sir Alexander answered, "Because there is more occasion for them in war." Professor Thomas Gordon answered, "Because the Germans, who are our great rivals in the manufacture of stockings, are otherwise employed in time of war." JOHNSON. "Sir, you have given a very good solution."

At dinner, Dr. Johnson ate several platefuls of Scotch broth, with barley and peas in it, and seemed very fond of the dish. I said, "You never ate it before." JOHNSON. "No, Sir; but I don't care how soon I eat it again." My cousin, Miss Dallas, formerly of Inverness, was married to Mr. Riddoch, one of the ministers of the English chapel here. He was ill, and confined to his room; but she sent us a kind invitation to tea, which we all accepted. She was the same lively, sensible, cheerful woman, as ever. Dr. Johnson here threw out some jokes against Scotland. He said, "You go first to Aberdeen; then to *Embru* (the Scottish pronunciation of Edinburgh); then to Newcastle, to be polished by the colliers; then to York; then to London." And he laid hold of a little girl, Stuart Dallas, niece to Mrs. Riddoch, and, representing himself as a giant, said, he would take her with him! telling her, in a hollow voice, that he lived in a cave, and had a bed in the rock, and she should have a little bed cut opposite to it!

He thus treated the point, as to prescription² of murder in Scotland. "A jury in England would make allowance for deficiencies of evidence, on account of lapse of time: but a general rule that a crime should not be punished, or tried for the purpose of punishment, after twenty years, is bad. It is cant to talk of the king's advocate delaying a prosecution from malice. How unlikely is it the king's advocate should have malice against persons who commit murder, or should even know them at all. If the son of the murdered man should kill the murderer who got off merely by prescription, I would help him to make his escape; though, were I upon his jury, I would not acquit him. I would not advise him to commit such an act. On the contrary, I would bid him submit to the determination of society, because a man is bound to submit to the inconveniences of it, as he enjoys the good: but the young man, though politically wrong, would not be morally wrong. He would have to say, 'Here I am amongst barbarians, who not only refuse to do justice, but

¹ London, 2d of May, 1778. Dr. Johnson acknowledged that he was himself the author of the translation above alluded to, and dictated it to me as follows:—

"Quos laudet vates Graius Romanus et Anglus
Tres tria temporibus secla dedere suis.

Sublime ingenium Graius; Romanus habebat
Carmen grande sonans; Anglus utrumque tulit.
Nil majus Natura capit: clare priores
Quæ potuere duos tertius unus habet."—BOSWELL.

² See *anté*, p. 270. — C.

encourage the greatest of all crimes. I am therefore in a state of nature; for, so far as there is no law, it is a state of nature; and consequently, upon the eternal and immutable law of justice, which requires that he who sheds man's blood should have his blood shed, I will stab the murderer of my father."

We went to our inn, and sat quietly. Dr. Johnson borrowed, at Mr. Riddoch's, a volume of Massillon's Discourses on the Psalms; but I found he read little in it. Ogden too he sometimes took up, and glanced at; but threw it down again. I then entered upon religious conversation. Never did I see him in a better frame: calm, gentle, wise, holy. I said, "Would not the same objection hold against the Trinity as against transubstantiation?"—"Yes," said he, "if you take three and one in the same sense. If you do so, to be sure you cannot believe it; but the three persons in the Godhead are three in one sense, and one in another. We cannot tell how, and that is the mystery!"

I spoke of the satisfaction of Christ. He said his notion was, that it did not atone for the sins of the world; but, by satisfying divine justice, by showing that no less than the Son of God suffered for sin, it showed to men and innumerable created beings the heinousness of it, and therefore rendered it unnecessary for divine vengeance to be exercised against sinners, as it otherwise must have been; that in this way it might operate even in favour of those who had never heard of it; as to those who did hear of it, the effect it should produce would be repentance and piety, by impressing upon the mind a just notion of sin; that original sin was the propensity to evil, which no doubt was occasioned by the fall. He presented this solemn subject in a new light to me¹, and rendered much more rational and clear the doctrine of what our Saviour has done for us; as it removed the notion of imputed righteousness in co-operating; whereas, by this view, Christ has done all already that he had to do, or is ever to do, for mankind, by making his great satisfaction; the consequences of which will affect each individual according to the particular conduct of each. I would illustrate this by saying, that Christ's satisfaction resembles a sun placed to show light to men, so that it depends upon themselves whether they will walk the right way or not, which they could not have done without that

sun, "*the sun of righteousness.*" There is, however, more in it than merely giving light—"a light to lighten the Gentiles;" for we are told, there is, "*healing under his wings.*" Dr. Johnson said to me, "Richard Baxter commends a treatise by Grotius, '*De Satisfactione Christi.*' I have never read it; but I intend to read it; and you may read it." I remarked, upon the principle now laid down, we might explain the difficult and seemingly hard text, "They that believe shall be saved; and they that believe not shall be damned." They that believe shall have such an impression made upon their minds, as will make them act so that they may be accepted by God.

We talked of one of our friends² taking ill, for a length of time, a hasty expression of Dr. Johnson's to him, on his attempting to prosecute a subject that had a reference to religion, beyond the bounds within which the Doctor thought such topics should be confined in a mixed company. JOHNSON. "What is to become of society, if a friendship of twenty years is to be broken off for such a cause?" As Bacon says,—

"Who then to frail mortality shall trust.

But limns the water, or but writes in dust."

I said, he should write expressly in support of Christianity; for that, although a reverence for it shines through his works in several places, that is not enough. "You know," said I, "what Grotius has done, and what Addison has done, you should do also." He replied, "I hope I shall."

Monday, Aug. 23.—Principal Campbell, Sir Alexander Gordon, Professor Gordon, and Professor Ross, visited us in the morning, as did Dr. Gerard³, who had come six miles from the country on purpose. We went and saw the Marischal College⁴, and at one o'clock we waited on the magistrates in the town-hall, as they had invited us, in order to present Dr. Johnson with the freedom of the town, which Provost Jopp did with a very good grace. Dr. Johnson was much pleased with this mark of attention, and received it very politely. There was a pretty numerous company assembled. It was striking to hear all of them drinking, "Dr. Johnson! Dr. Johnson!" in the town-hall of Aberdeen, and then to see him with his burgess-ticket, or diploma⁵, in his hat, which he wore as he walked along the street, according to the usual custom. It gave me great satisfaction to ob-

¹ My worthy, intelligent, and candid friend, Dr. Kippis, informs me, that several divines have thus explained the mediation of our Saviour. What Dr. Johnson now delivered was but a temporary opinion; for he afterwards was fully convinced of the propitiatory sacrifice, as I shall show at large in my future work, "*The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.*"—BOSWELL. Dr. Kippis was a dissenter. Dr. Johnson's *Prayers and Meditations* abundantly prove that he was, as far back as we have any record of his religious feelings, fully convinced of the propitiatory sacrifice. In the prayer on his birthday, in 1738 (transcribed by him in 1768), he expressly states his hope of salvation "through the satisfaction of Jesus Christ."—See his full opinion, *sub* June 3. 1781.—CROKER.

² No doubt Mr. Langton. But see *anté*, p. 265., as to the real cause of this temporary coolness.—CROKER.

³ Dr. Alexander Gerard, author of an "*Essay on Genius*," &c.; born in Aberdeenshire, 1728, died 1795.—CROKER.

⁴ Dr. Beattie was so kindly entertained in England, that he had not yet returned home.—BOSWELL.

⁵ Dr. Johnson's burgess-ticket was in these words:—
"Aberdonie, vigesimo tertio die mensis Augusti, anno Domini millesimo septingentesimo septuagesimo tertio, in presentia honorabilium virorum, Jacobi Jopp, armigeri præpositi, Adam Duff, Gulielmi Young, Georgii Marr, e Gulielmi Forbes, Ballivorum, Gulielmi Raimie Decani gildæ et Joannis Nicolii Thesaurarii dicti burgi.—Quo die vir gene

serve the regard, and, indeed, fondness too, which every body here had for my father.

While Sir Alexander Gordon conducted Dr. Johnson to Old Aberdeen, Professor Gordon and I called on Mr. Riddoch, whom I found to be a grave worthy clergyman. He observed that, whatever might be said of Dr. Johnson while he was alive, he would, after he was dead, be looked upon by the world with regard and astonishment, on account of his Dictionary.

Professor Gordon and I walked over to the old college, which Dr. Johnson had seen by this time. I stepped into the chapel, and looked at the tomb of the founder, Archbishop Elphinston, of whom I shall have occasion to write in my History of James IV. of Scotland, the patron of my family.¹

We dined at Sir Alexander Gordon's. The provost, Professor Ross, Professor Dunbar, Professor Thomas Gordon, were there. After dinner came in Dr. Gerard, Professor Leslie, Professor Macleod. We had little or no conversation in the morning; now we were but barren. The professors seemed afraid to speak.

Dr. Gerard told us that an eminent printer² was very intimate with Warburton. JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, he has printed some of his works, and perhaps bought the property of some of them. The intimacy is such as one of the professors here may have with one of the carpenters who is repairing the college."—"But," said Gerard, "I saw a letter from him to this printer, in which he says, that the one half of the clergy of the Church of Scotland are fanatics, and the other half infidels." JOHNSON. "Warburton has accustomed himself to write letters just

as he speaks, without thinking any more of what he throws out. When I read Warburton first, and observed his force, and his contempt of mankind, I thought he had driven³ the world before him; but I soon found that was not the case; for Warburton, by extending his abuse, rendered it ineffectual."

He told me, when we were by ourselves, that he thought it very wrong in the printer to show Warburton's letter, as it was raising a body of enemies against him. He thought it foolish in Warburton to write so to the printer; and added, "Sir, the worst way of being intimate is by scribbling." He called Warburton's "Doctrine of Grace" a poor performance, and so, he said, was Wesley's Answer. "Warburton," he observed, "had laid himself very open. In particular, he was weak enough to say, that, in some disorders of the imagination, people had spoken with tongues, had spoken languages which they never heard before; a thing as absurd as to say, that in some disorders of the imagination, people had been known to fly."

I talked of the difference of genius, to try if I could engage Gerard in a disquisition with Dr. Johnson; but I did not succeed. I mentioned, as a curious fact, that Locke had written verses. JOHNSON. "I know of none, Sir, but a kind of exercise prefixed to Dr. Sydenham's Works, in which he has some conceits about the dropsy, in which water and burning are united; and how Dr. Sydenham removed fire by drawing off water, contrary to the usual practice, which is to extinguish fire by bringing water upon it. I am not sure that there is a word of all this; but it is such kind of talk."⁴

rosus et doctrina clarus, Samuel Johnson, LL.D. receptus et admissus fuit in municipes et fratres guildæ præfati burgi de Aberdeen: in deditissimi amoris et affectus ac eximie observantia tesseram, quibus dieti magistratus eum amplectuntur. Extractum per me, Alex. Carnegie. — BOSWELL.

¹ This, like many similar intimations scattered through these volumes, does not appear to have been carried into effect. Nor is Elphinston's designation as arch-bishop correct. Aberdeen never was an archiepiscopal see. — CROKER.

² Mr. Strahan. See *Forbes's Life of Beattie*, vol. ii. p. 170. — CROKER.

³ Had—for would have. This turn is seldom used in prose. — CROKER.

⁴ All this, as Dr. Johnson suspected at the time, was the immediate invention of his own lively imagination; for there is not one word of it in Mr. Locke's complimentary performance. My readers will, I have no doubt, like to be satisfied, by comparing them; and, at any rate, it may entertain them to read verses composed by our great metaphysician, when a bachelor in physic.

AUCTORI, IN TRACTATUM EJUS DE FEBRIBUS.

Febriles æstus, victumque ardoribus orbem
Flevit, non tantis par medicina malis.
Quum post mille artes, medicæ tentamina curæ,
Ardet adhuc febris, nec vellet arte regi.
Præda sumus flammis; solum hic speramus ab igne,
Ut restet paucus, quem capit urna, cinis.
Dum quærit medicus febris causamque, modumque,
Flammamur et tenebras, et sine luce facies;
Quas tractat patitur flammæ, et fœbre calescens,
Corruit ipse suis victimâ rapta focis.
Qui tardos potuit moribus, artusque trementes,
Sistere, febrili se videt igne rapi.
Sic fœbes exesos fulsit tibiçine muros;
Dum trahit antiquas lenta ruina domos,
Sed si flamma vorax miseras incederit ædes,
Unica flagrantis tunc sepelire salus,
Fit fuga, tectonices nemo tunc invocet artes;
Cum perit artificis non minus usta domus.

Se tandem Sydenham febrisque scholæque furori

Opponens, morbi quærit, et artis opem.

Non temere incusat lætæ putredinis ignes;

Nec fictus, febres qui fovit, humor erit.

Non bilem ille movet, nulla hic pituita; Salutis

Quæ spes, si fallax ardeat intus aqua?

Nec doctas magno rixas ostentat hiatus,

Quis ipsis major febrisbus ardor inest.

Innocens placide corpus jubet urere flammæ,

Et justo rapidos temperat igne focos.

Quid febrim extinguit, varius quid postulat usus,

Solari ægrotos, qua potes arte, docet.

Hæcenus ipsa summa tinnit natura calorem,

Dum sapè incerto, quo calet, igne perit;

Dum reparat tactis male provida sanguinis ignes,

Præbuit busto, fit calor iste rogus.

Jam secura suis foveant præcordia flammæ,

Quem natura negat, dat medicina modum,

Nec solum faciles compescit sanguinis æstus.

Dum dubia est inter spemque metumque salus;

Sed fatale malum domuit, quodque astrâ malignum

Credimus iratam vel genuisse Stygem.

Extorsit Lachesi cultros, petisque venenum

Abstulit, et tantos non sinit esse metus.

Quis tandem arte nova domitat mitescere pestem

Credat, et antiquas ponere posse minas?

Post tot mille neces, cumulatæque funera busto,

Victa jacet, parvo vulnere, dira lues.

Ætheria quanquam spargunt contagia flammæ,

Quicquid inest istis ignibus, ignis erit.

Delapsæ cælo flammæ licet aerius urant,

Ilas gelida extingui non nisi morte putas?

Tu meliora parâs victrix medicina; tuusque

Pestis quem superat cuncta, triumphus eris.

Vive liber, victis febrilibus ignibus; unus

Te simul et mundum qui manet, ignis erit."

J. Lock, A. M. Ex. *Æde Christ. Cron.* — BOSWELL.

Mr. Boswell says, that Dr. Johnson's observation was "the immediate invention of his own lively imagination;" and that there was "not one word of it in Mr. Locke's per-

We spoke of Fingal. Dr. Johnson said calmly, "If the poems were really translated, they were certainly first written down. Let Mr. Macpherson deposit the manuscript in one of the colleges at Aberdeen, where there are people who can judge; and, if the professors certify the authenticity, then there will be an end of the controversy. If he does not take this obvious and easy method, he gives the best reason to doubt; considering, too, how much is against it *à priori*."

We sauntered after dinner in Sir Alexander's garden, and saw his little grotto, which is hung with pieces of poetry written in a fair hand. It was agreeable to observe the contentment and kindness of this quiet, benevolent man. Professor Macleod was brother to Macleod of Talisker, and brother-in-law to the Laird of Col. He gave me a letter to young Col. I was weary of this day, and began to think wishfully of being again in motion. I was uneasy to think myself too fastidious, whilst I fancied Dr. Johnson quite satisfied. But he owned to me, that he was fatigued and teased by Sir Alexander's doing too much to entertain him. I said, it was all kindness. JOHNSON. "True, Sir; but sensation is sensation." BOSWELL. "It is so: we feel pain equally from the surgeon's probe, as from the sword of the foe."

We visited two booksellers' shops, and could not find Arthur Johnston's Poems.¹ We went and sat near an hour at Mr. Riddoch's. He could not tell distinctly how much education at the college here costs, which disgusted Dr. Johnson. I had pledged myself, that we should go to the inn, and not stay supper. They pressed us, but he was resolute. I saw Mr. Riddoch did not please him. He said to me, afterwards, "Sir, he has no vigour in his talk." But my friend should have considered, that he himself was not in good humour: so that it was not easy to talk to his satisfaction. We sat contentedly at our inn. He then became merry, and observed how little we had either heard or said at Aberdeen; that the Aberdonians had not started a single *maukin* (the Scottish word for hare) for us to pursue.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

1773.

Ellon. — "The Great Doctor." — Goldsmith and Graham. — Stains Castle. — Lady Errol. — Education of Children. — Buller of Buchan. — Entails. — House of Peers. — Sir Joshua Reynolds. — Earl of Errol. — Feudal Times. — Strichen. — Life of Country Gentlemen. — Cullen. — Lord Monboddo. — Use and Importance of Wealth. — Elgin. — Scenery of Macbeth. — Fores. — Leonidas. — Paul Whitehead. — Derrick. — Origin of Evil. — Nairn. — Calder Castle. — Calder Manse. — Kenneth MacAulay. — Ecclesiastical Subscription. — Family Worship.

Tuesday, August 24. — WE set out about eight in the morning, and breakfasted at Ellon. The landlady said to me, "Is not this the great doctor that is going about through the country?" I said, "Yes." "Ay," said she, "we heard of him; I made an errand into the room on purpose to see him. There's something great in his appearance: it is a pleasure to have such a man in one's house; a man who does so much good. If I had thought of it, I would have shown him a child of mine, who has had a lump on his throat for some time." "But," said I, "he is not a doctor of physic." "Is he an oculist?" said the landlady. "No," said I; "he is only a very learned man." LANDLORD. "They say he is the greatest man in England, except Lord Mansfield." Dr. Johnson was highly entertained with this, and I do think he was pleased too. He said, "I like the exception. To have called me the greatest man in England, would have been an unmeaning compliment; but the exception marked that the praise was in earnest, and, in Scotland, the exception must be Lord Mansfield, or — Sir John Pringle."

He told me a good story of Dr. Goldsmith. Graham, who wrote "Telemachus, a Masque," was sitting one night with him and Dr. Johnson, and was half drunk. He rattled away to Dr. Johnson. "You are a clever fellow, to be sure; but you cannot write an essay like Addison, or verses like the Rape of the Lock." At last he said, "Doctor, I should be happy to see you at Eton."² "I shall be glad to wait on you," answered Goldsmith. "No," said Graham, "'t is not you I mean, Dr. Minor; 't is Dr. Major, there." Goldsmith was excessively hurt by this. He afterwards spoke of it himself. "Graham," said he, "is a fellow to make one commit suicide."³

formance;" but did Mr. Boswell read the verses? — or what did he understand by "*Nec fictus, febris qui foret, humor erit?*" and "*Si fallax ardeat intus aqua?*" Surely these are the *conceits*, though not the precise expressions, which Johnson censured, and the whole is made up of the same "kind of talk." — CROKER.

¹ Johnston is one of the most eminent men that Aberdeen has produced. He was a native of the county (born about 1597), and rector of the university. His works were origi-

nally printed at Aberdeen; and their not being to be found in that seat of learning, to which he did so much honour, is strange. But such things sometimes happen. In Haarlem, the cradle of the art of printing, I could not find a guide book for the town. — CROKER.

² Graham was one of the masters at Eton. — CROKER.
³ I am sure I have related this story exactly as Dr. Johnson told it to me; but a friend who has often heard him tell it, informs me, that he usually introduced a circumstance

We had received a polite invitation to Slains Castle.¹ We arrived there just at three o'clock, as the bell for dinner was ringing. Though, from its being just on the north-east ocean, no trees will grow here, Lord Errol has done all that can be done. He has cultivated his fields so as to bear rich crops of every kind, and he has made an excellent kitchen-garden, with a hot-house. I had never seen any of the family; but there had been a card of invitation written by the honourable Charles Boyd, the Earl's brother. We were conducted into the house, and at the dining-room door were met by that gentleman, whom both of us at first took to be Lord Errol; but he soon corrected our mistake. My lord was gone to dine in the neighbourhood, at an entertainment given by Mr. Irvine of Drum. Lady Errol² received us politely, and was very attentive to us during the time of dinner. There was nobody at table but her ladyship, Mr. Boyd, and some of the children, their governor and governess. Mr. Boyd put Dr. Johnson in mind of having dined with him at Cumming³, the Quaker's, along with a Mr. Hall and Miss Williams; this was a bond of connection between them. For me, Mr. Boyd's acquaintance with my father was enough. After dinner, Lady Errol favoured us with a sight of her young family, whom she made stand up in a row: there were six daughters and two sons. It was a very pleasing sight.

Dr. Johnson proposed our setting out. Mr. Boyd said, he hoped we would stay all night; his brother would be at home in the evening, and would be very sorry if he missed us. Mr. Boyd was called out of the room. I was very desirous to stay in so comfortable a house, and I wished to see Lord Errol. Dr. Johnson, however, was right in resolving to go, if we were not asked again, as it is best to err on the safe side in such cases, and to be sure that one is quite welcome. To my great joy, when Mr. Boyd returned, he told Dr. Johnson that it was Lady Errol who had called him out, and said that she would never let Dr. Johnson into the house again, if he went away that night; and that she had ordered the coach, to carry us to view a great curiosity on the coast, after which we should see the house. We cheerfully agreed.

Mr. Boyd was engaged, in 1745-6, on the same side with many unfortunate mistaken noblemen and gentlemen. He escaped, and lay concealed for a year in the island of Arran, the ancient territory of the Boyds. He then went to France, and was about twenty years on the continent. He married a French lady,

and now lived very comfortably at Aberdeen, and was much at Slains Castle. He entertained us with great civility. He had a pompousness or formal plenitude in his conversation, which I did not dislike. Dr. Johnson said, "there was too much elaboration in his talk." It gave me pleasure to see him, a steady branch of the family, setting forth all its advantages with much zeal. He told us that Lady Errol was one of the most pious and sensible women in the island; had a good head, and as good a heart. He said, she did not use force or fear in educating her children. JOHNSON. "Sir, she is wrong; I would rather have the rod to be the general terror to all, to make them learn, than tell a child, if you do thus or thus, you will be more esteemed than your brothers or sisters. The rod produces an effect which terminates in itself. A child is afraid of being whipped, and gets his task, and there's an end on't; whereas, by exciting emulation and comparisons of superiority, you lay the foundation of lasting mischief; you make brothers and sisters hate each other."

During Mr. Boyd's stay in Arran, he had found a chest of medical books, left by a surgeon there, and had read them till he acquired some skill in physic, in consequence of which he is often consulted by the poor. There were several here waiting for him as patients.

We walked round the house till stopped by a cut made by the influx of the sea. The house is built quite upon the shore; the windows look upon the main ocean, and the King of Denmark is Lord Errol's nearest neighbour on the north-east.

We got immediately into the coach, and drove to Dunbui, a rock near the shore, quite covered with sea-fowls: then to a circular basin of large extent, surrounded with tremendous rocks. On the quarter next the sea, there is a high arch in the rock, which the force of the tempest has driven out. This place is called Buchan's Buller, or the Buller of Buchan, and the country people call it the Pot. Mr. Boyd said it was so called from the French *bouloir*. It may be more simply traced from *boiler* in our own language. We walked round this monstrous cauldron. In some places, the rock is very narrow; and on each side there is a sea deep enough for a man-of-war to ride in; so that it is somewhat horrid to move along. However, there is earth and grass upon the rock, and a kind of road marked out by the print of feet; so that one makes it out pretty safely: yet it alarmed me to see Dr. Johnson striding irregularly along. He insisted on taking a boat, and sailing into the Pot. We

which ought not to be omitted. "At last, Sir, Graham, having now got to about the pitch of looking at one man, and talking to another, said, Doctor, &c."—"What effect?" Dr. Johnson used to add, "this had on Goldsmith, who was as irascible as a hornet, may be easily conceived."—BOSWELL.
¹ "When I was at the English church in Aberdeen, I happened to be espied by Lady Di. Middleton, whom I had sometime seen in London: she told what she had seen to

Mr. Boyd, Lord Errol's brother, who wrote us an invitation to Slains Castle."—*Johnson's Letters*. Lady Diana was the daughter of Harry Grey, third Earl of Stamford, and wife of George Middleton, of Lenton, Esq. She died in 1780. Why did Boswell not mention her?—CROKER.

² Isabella, daughter of Sir William Carr, of Etal, in Northumberland, Bart. She died in 1808.—CROKER.
³ See, as to Cumming, *post*, September 20. 1773.—C.

did so. He was stout and wonderfully alert. The Buchan-men all showing their teeth, and speaking with that strange sharp accent which distinguishes them, was to me a matter of curiosity. He was not sensible of the difference of pronunciation in the south and north of Scotland, which I wondered at.

As the entry into the Buller is so narrow that oars cannot be used as you go in, the method taken is, to row very hard when you come near it, and give the boat such a rapidity of motion that it glides in. Dr. Johnson observed what an effect this scene would have had, were we entering into an unknown place. There are caves of considerable depth; I think, one on each side. The boatmen had never entered either of them far enough to know the size. Mr. Boyd told us that it is customary for the company at Peterhead-well to make parties, and come and dine in one of the caves here.¹

He told us that, as Slains is at a considerable distance from Aberdeen, Lord Errol, who has a very large family, resolved to have a surgeon of his own. With this view he educated one of his tenant's sons, who is now settled in a very neat house and farm just by, which we saw from the road. By the salary which the Earl allows him, and the practice which he has had, he is in very easy circumstances. He had kept an exact account of all that had been laid out on his education, and he came to his lordship one day, and told him that he had arrived at a much higher situation than ever he expected; that he was now able to repay what his lordship had advanced, and begged he would accept of it. The Earl was pleased with the generous gratitude and genteel offer of the man; but refused it. Mr. Boyd also told us, Cumming the Quaker first began to distinguish himself, by writing against Dr. Leechman on Prayer, to prove it unnecessary, as God knows best what should be, and will order it without our asking: the old hackneyed objection.

When we returned to the house, we found coffee and tea in the drawing-room. Lady Errol was not there, being, as I supposed, engaged with her young family. There is a bow-window fronting the sea. Dr. Johnson repeated the ode, "Jam satis terris," while Mr. Boyd was with his patients. He spoke well in favour of entails, to preserve lines of men whom mankind are accustomed to reverence. His opinion was, that so much land should be entailed as that families should never fall into contempt, and as much left free as to give them all the advantages of property in case of any emergency. "If," said he, "the

nobility are suffered to sink into indigence, they of course become corrupt; they are ready to do whatever the king chooses; therefore it is fit they should be kept from becoming poor, unless it is fixed that when they fall below a certain standard of wealth they shall lose their peerages. We know the House of Peers have made noble stands, when the House of Commons durst not. The two last years of parliament they dare not contradict the populace."

This room is ornamented with a number of fine prints, and with a whole length picture of Lord Errol, by Sir Joshua Reynolds. This led Dr. Johnson and me to talk of our amiable and elegant friend, whose panegyric he concluded by saying, "Sir Joshua Reynolds, Sir, is the most invulnerable man I know; the man with whom if you should quarrel, you will find the most difficulty how to abuse."

Dr. Johnson observed, the situation here was the noblest he had ever seen; better than Mount Edgecumbe, reckoned the first in England; because, at Mount Edgecumbe, the sea is bounded by land on the other side, and, though there is there the grandeur of a fleet, there is also the impression of there being a dock-yard, the circumstances of which are not agreeable. At Slains is an excellent old house. The noble owner has built of brick, along the square in the inside, a gallery, both on the first and second story, the house being no higher so that he has always a dry walk; and the rooms, to which formerly there was no approach but through each other, have now all separate entries from the gallery, which is hung with Hogarth's works, and other prints. We went and sat a while in the library. There is a valuable numerous collection. It was chiefly made by Mr. Falconer, husband to the late Countess of Errol in her own right. This Earl has added a good many modern books.

About nine the Earl² came home. Captain Gordon, of Park, was with him. His lordship put Dr. Johnson in mind of their having dined together in London, along with Mr. Beauchamp. I was exceedingly pleased with Lord Errol. His dignified person and agreeable countenance, with the most unaffected affability, gave me high satisfaction. From perhaps a weakness, or, as I rather hope, more fancy and warmth of feeling than is quite reasonable, my mind is ever impressed with admiration for persons of high birth, and I could, with the most perfect honesty, expatiate on Lord Errol's good qualities; but he stands in no need of my praise. His agreeable manners and softness of address prevented that constraint which the idea of his being Lord High Constable of Scotland might otherwise have occasioned.³ He talked very

¹ They were also used by smugglers. The path round the Buller is about three feet broad; so that there is little danger, though very often much fear. — WALTER SCOTT.

² James, 14th Earl of Errol, died June 3. 1778. Dr. Beattie, in a letter to Mrs. Montagu, says of him, "His stature was six feet four inches, and his countenance and deportment exhibited such a mixture of the sublime and

the graceful, as I have never seen united in any other man. He often put me in mind of an ancient hero; and I remember Dr. Johnson was positive that he resembled Homer's character of Sarpedon." — CROKER.

³ Boswell need not have been in such awe on this account; for Lord Errol's title to that dignity was, at this period, not quite established. He not only was not de-

easily and sensibly with his learned guest. I observed that Dr. Johnson, though he showed that respect to his lordship, which, from principle, he always does to high rank, yet, when they came to argument, maintained that manliness which becomes the force and vigour of his understanding. To show external deference to our superiors is proper: to seem to yield to them in opinion is meanness.¹ The Earl said grace both before and after supper, with much decency. He told us a story of a man who was executed at Perth, some years ago, for murdering a woman who was with child by him, and a former child he had by her. His hand was cut off: he was then pulled up; but the rope broke, and he was forced to lie an hour on the ground, till another rope was brought from Perth,—the execution being in a wood at some distance, at the place where the murders were committed. "There," said my lord, "I see the hand of Providence." I was really happy here. I saw in this nobleman the best dispositions and best principles; and I saw him, in my mind's eye, to be the representative of the ancient Boyds of Kilmarnock. I was afraid he might have urged drinking, as, I believe, he used formerly to do; but he drank port and water out of a large glass himself, and let us do as we pleased. He went with us to our rooms at night; said he took the visit very kindly; and told me my father and he were very old acquaintance; that I now knew the way to Slains, and he hoped to see me there again.

I had a most elegant room; but there was a fire in it which blazed; and the sea, to which my windows looked, roared; and the pillows were made of the feathers of some sea-fowl, which had to me a disagreeable smell: so that, by all these causes, I was kept awake a good while. I saw, in imagination, Lord Errol's father, Lord Kilmarnock (who was beheaded on Tower-Hill in 1746), and I was somewhat

dreary. But the thought did not last long, and I fell asleep.

Wednesday, Aug. 25.—We got up between seven and eight, and found Mr. Boyd in the dining-room, with tea and coffee before him, to give us breakfast. We were in an admirable humour. Lady Errol had given each of us a copy of an ode by Beattie, on the birth of her son, Lord Hay. Mr. Boyd asked Dr. Johnson how he liked it. Dr. Johnson, who did not admire it, got off very well, by taking it out, and reading the second and third stanzas of it with much melody. This, without his saying a word, pleased Mr. Boyd. He observed, however, to Dr. Johnson, that the expression as to the family of Errol,

"A thousand years have seen it shine,"

compared with what went before, was an anticlimax, and that it would have been better,

"Ages have seen," &c.

Dr. Johnson said, "So great a number as a thousand is better. *Dolus latet in universalibus.*² Ages might be only two ages."

He talked of the advantage of keeping up the connections of relationship, which produce much kindness. "Every man," said he, "who comes into the world, has need of friends. If he has to get them for himself, half his life is spent before his merit is known. Relations are a man's ready friends, who support him. When a man is in real distress, he flies into the arms of his relations. An old lawyer, who had much experience in making wills, told me, that after people had deliberated long, and thought of many for their executors, they settled at last by fixing on their relations. This shows the universality of the principle."

I regretted the decay of respect for men of family, and that a nabob now would carry an election from them. JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, the nabob will carry it by means of his wealth,

descended from the Earls of Errol, in the *male* line, but the right of his mother and grandmother rested on the *nomination* of Gilbert, the tenth Earl of Errol, who, having no children of his own, nominated (under a charter of Charles II.) his relation, Sir John Hay, of Kellour, to his honours, who accordingly succeeded as eleventh Earl; but his son, the twelfth Earl, having no issue, was succeeded by his two sisters successively. The youngest, Lady Margaret, the grandmother of the Earl who received Dr. Johnson, was married to the Earl of Linlithgow, who was attainted for the rebellion of 1715. They left an only daughter, married to Lord Kilmarnock, beheaded and attainted for the rebellion of 1745, whose son was the Earl mentioned in the text. Lord Lauderdale, at the election of the Scottish peers in 1796, protested against Lord Errol's claim to the peerage, questioning not only the right of conferring a peerage by *nomination*, but denying that any such nomination had been in fact made; but the House of Lords decided that the earldom, though originally a male fief, had become descendable to females, and also that Earl Gilbert had acquired and exercised the right of nomination. It was still more doubtful how the office of Hereditary High Constable could be transferred, either by nomination or through females; but all the late Earls of Errol have enjoyed it without question, and the present Earl executed it by deputy at the coronation of George IV., and in person during his Majesty's visit to Scotland in 1822. — CROKER.

¹ Lord Chesterfield, in his Letters to his son, complains of one who argued in an indiscriminate manner with men of all

ranks. Probably the noble lord had felt with some uneasiness what it was to encounter stronger abilities than his own. If a peer will engage at foils with his inferior in station, he must expect that his inferior in station will avail himself of every advantage; or otherwise it is not a fair trial of strength and skill. The same will hold in a contest of reason, or of wit. A certain king [Frederick of Prussia] entered the lists of genius with Voltaire. The consequence was, that, though the king had great and brilliant talents, Voltaire had such a superiority that his Majesty could not bear it; and the poet was dismissed, or escaped, from that court. In the reign of James I. of England, Crichton, Lord Sanquhar, a peer of Scotland, from a vain ambition to excel a fencing-master in his own art, played at rapier and dagger with him. The fencing-master, whose fame and bread were at stake, put out one of his lordship's eyes. Exasperated at this, Lord Sanquhar hired ruffians, and had the fencing-master assassinated; for which his lordship was capriciously tried, condemned and hanged. Not being a peer of England, he was tried by the name of Robert Crichton, Esq.; but he was admitted to be a baron of three hundred years' standing. See the *State Trials*; and the *History of England* by Hume, who applauds the impartial justice executed upon a man of high rank. — BOSWELL. Lord Chesterfield's observation is in his description of Johnson himself as a *respectable Hotentot* (see *anté*, p. 87.). — CROKER.

² This is very true, but how contradictory to his objections to the *circumstances* by which Shakespeare describes darkness and vacuity. See *anté*, p. 203, 204, &c. — CROKER.

in a country where money is highly valued, as it must be where nothing can be had without money; but, if it comes to personal preference, the man of family will always carry it. There is generally a *scoundrelism* about a low man." Mr. Boyd said, that was a good *ism*.

I said, I believed mankind were happier in the ancient feudal state of subordination, than they are in the modern state of independency. JOHNSON. "To be sure, the *chief* was: but we must think of the number of individuals. That *they* were less happy seems plain; for that state from which all escape as soon as they can, and to which none return after they have left it, must be less happy; and this is the case with the state of dependence on a chief or great man."

I mentioned the happiness of the French in their subordination, by the reciprocal benevolence¹ and attachment between the great and those in lower rank. Mr. Boyd gave us an instance of their gentlemanly spirit. An old Chevalier de Malthe, of ancient *noblesse*, but in low circumstances, was in a coffee-house at Paris, where was Julien, the great manufacturer at the Gobelins, of the fine tapestry, so much distinguished both for the figures and the *colours*. The chevalier's carriage was very old. Says Julien, with a plebeian insolence, "I think, Sir, you had better have your carriage new painted." The chevalier looked at him with indignant contempt, and answered, "Well, Sir, you may take it home and *dye* it!" All the coffee-house rejoiced at Julien's confusion.

We set out about nine. Dr. Johnson was curious to see one of those structures, which northern antiquarians call a Druid's temple. I had a recollection of one at Strichen, which I had seen fifteen years ago; so we went four miles out of our road, after passing Old Deer, and went thither. Mr. Fraser, the proprietor, was at home, and showed it to us. But I had augmented it in my mind; for all that remains is two stones set up on end, with a long one laid upon them, as was usual, and one stone at a little distance from them. That stone was the capital one of the circle which surrounded what now remains. Mr. Fraser was very hospitable.² There was a fair at Strichen; and

he had several of his neighbours from it at dinner. One of them, Dr. Fraser, who had been in the army, remembered to have seen Dr. Johnson, at a lecture on experimental philosophy, at Lichfield. The Doctor recollected being at the lecture, and he was surprised to find here somebody who knew him.

Mr. Fraser sent a servant to conduct us by a short passage into the high road. I observed to Dr. Johnson, that I had a most disagreeable notion of the life of country gentlemen; that I left Mr. Fraser, just now, as one leaves a prisoner in a jail. Dr. Johnson said, that I was right in thinking them unhappy, for that they had not enough to keep their minds in motion. I started a thought this afternoon which amused us a great part of the way. "If," said I, "our Club should come and set up in St. Andrew's, as a college, to teach all that each of us can in the several departments of learning and taste, we should rebuild the city: we should draw a wonderful concourse of students." Dr. Johnson entered fully into the spirit of this project. We immediately fell to distributing the offices. I was to teach civil and Scotch law; Burke, politics and eloquence; Garrick, the art of public speaking; Langton was to be our Grecian, Colman our Latin professor; Nugent, to teach physic; Lord Charlemont, modern history; Beauclerk, natural philosophy; Vesey, Irish antiquities, or Celtic learning³; Jones, Oriental learning; Goldsmith, poetry and ancient history; Chamier, commercial politics; Reynolds, painting, and the arts which have beauty for their object; Chambers, the law of England. Dr. Johnson at first said, "I'll trust theology to nobody but myself." But, upon due consideration, that Percy is a clergyman, it was agreed that Percy should teach practical divinity and British antiquities; Dr. Johnson himself, logic, metaphysics, and scholastic divinity. In this manner did we amuse ourselves, each suggesting, and each varying or adding, till the whole was adjusted. Dr. Johnson said, we only wanted a mathematician since Dyer died, who was a very good one; but as to every thing else, we should have a very capital university.⁴

We got at night to Banff. I sent Joseph on to Duff House: but Earl Fife was not at home,

¹ What a commentary on this opinion has the French revolution written! — CROKER.

² He is the worthy son of a worthy father, the late Lord Strichen, one of our judges, to whose kind notice I was much obliged. Lord Strichen was a man not only honest, but highly generous; for, after his succession to the family estate, he paid a large sum of debts, contracted by his predecessor, which he was not under any obligation to pay. Let me here, for the credit of Ayrshire, my own county, record a noble instance of liberal honesty in William Hutchison, drover, in Lanehead, Kyle, who formerly obtained a full discharge from his creditors upon a composition of his debts; but, upon being restored to good circumstances, invited his creditors last winter to a dinner, without telling the reason, and paid them their full sums, principal and interest. They presented him with a piece of plate, with an inscription to commemorate this extraordinary instance of true worth; which should make some people in Scotland blush, while, though mean themselves, they strut about under the pro-

tection of great alliance, conscious of the wretchedness of numbers who have lost by them, to whom they never think of making reparation, but indulge themselves and their families in most unsuitable expense. — BOSWELL.

³ Since the first edition, it has been suggested by one of the Club, who knew Mr. Vesey better than Dr. Johnson and I, that we did not assign him a proper place, for he was quite unskilled in Irish antiquities and Celtic learning, but might with propriety have been made professor of architecture, which he understood well, and has left a very good specimen of his knowledge and taste in that art, by an elegant house built on a plan of his own formation, at Lucan, a few miles from Dublin. — BOSWELL. Mr. Vesey would not, I believe, have been entitled even to this department. The house he built at Lucan is a good one, but nowise remarkable as a work of art. — CROKER.

⁴ Here followed a note with the names of the then members of the Club, which Boswell subsequently incorporated in the text of the *Life*, *anté*, p. 163. — CROKER.

which I regretted much, as we should have had a very elegant reception from his lordship. We found here but an indifferent inn.¹ Dr. Johnson wrote a long letter to Mrs. Thrale. I wondered to see him write so much so easily. He verified his own doctrine, that "a man may always write when he will set himself doggedly to it."

Thursday, Aug. 26. — We got a fresh chaise here, a very good one, and very good horses. We breakfasted at Cullen. They set down dried haddocks broiled, along with our tea. I ate one; but Dr. Johnson was disgusted by the sight of them, so they were removed.² Cullen has a comfortable appearance, though but a very small town, and the houses mostly poor buildings.

I called on Mr. Robertson, who has the charge of Lord Findlater's affairs, and was formerly Lord Monboddo's clerk, was three times in France with him, and translated Condamine's Account of the Savage Girl, to which his lordship wrote a preface, containing several remarks of his own. Robertson said he did not believe so much as his lordship did; that it was plain to him the girl confounded what she imagined with what she remembered; that, besides, she perceived Condamine and Lord Monboddo forming theories, and she adapted her story to them.

Dr. Johnson said, "It is a pity to see Lord Monboddo publish such notions as he has done; a man of sense, and of so much elegant learning. There would be little in a fool doing it; we should only laugh: but when a wise man does it, we are sorry. Other people have strange notions; but they conceal them. If they have tails, they hide them; but Monboddo is as jealous of his tail as a squirrel." I shall here put down some more remarks of Dr. Johnson's on Lord Monboddo, which were not made exactly at this time, but come in well from connection. He said he did not approve of a judge's calling himself Farmer Burnett³, and going about with a little round hat.⁴ He

laughed heartily at his lordship's saying he was an enthusiastical farmer; "For," said he, "what can he do in farming by his enthusiasm?" Here, however, I think Dr. Johnson mistaken. He who wishes to be successful, or happy, ought to be enthusiastical, that is to say, very keen in all the occupations or diversions of life. An ordinary gentleman-farmer will be satisfied with looking at his fields once or twice a day: an enthusiastical farmer will be constantly employed on them; will have his mind earnestly engaged; will talk perpetually of them. But Dr. Johnson has much of the *nil admirari* in smaller concerns. That survey of life which gave birth to his "Vanity of Human Wishes" early sobered his mind. Besides, so great a mind as his cannot be moved by inferior objects: an elephant does not run and skip like lesser animals.

Mr. Robertson sent a servant with us, to show us through Lord Findlater's wood, by which our way was shortened, and we saw some part of his domain, which is indeed admirably laid out. Dr. Johnson did not choose to walk through it. He always said that he was not come to Scotland to see fine places, of which there were enough in England; but wild objects—mountains—waterfalls—peculiar manners; in short, things which he had not seen before. I have a notion that he at no time has had much taste for rural beauties. I have myself very little.

Dr. Johnson said there was nothing more contemptible than a country gentleman living beyond his income, and every year growing poorer and poorer. He spoke strongly of the influence which a man has by being rich. "A man," said he, "who keeps his money, has in reality more use from it than he can have by spending it." I observed that this looked very like a paradox: but he explained it thus: "If it were certain that a man would keep his money locked up for ever, to be sure he would have no influence; but, as so many want money, and he has the power of giving it, and they

¹ Here, unluckily, the windows had no pulleys, and Dr. Johnson, who was constantly eager for fresh air, had much struggling to get one of them kept open. Thus he had a notion impressed upon him, that this wretched defect was general in Scotland, in consequence of which he has erroneously enlarged upon it in his "Journey." I regretted that he did not allow me to read over his book before it was printed. I should have changed very little, but I should have suggested an alteration in a few places where he has laid himself open to be attacked. I hope I should have prevailed with him to omit or soften his assertion, that "a Scotsman must be a sturdy moralist, who does not prefer Scotland to truth,"—for I really think it is not founded, and it is harshly said.—BOSWELL. Boswell furnished Johnson with a long list of errors—great and small—in his *Journey*, not one, I think, of which Johnson gave himself the trouble of correcting. They will be found in the Appendix.—CROKER.

² A protest may be entered on the part of most Scotsmen against the Doctor's taste in this particular. A Finnon haddock dried over the smoke of the sea-weed, and sprinkled with salt water during the process, acquires a relish of a very peculiar and delicate flavour, imitable on any other coast than that of Aberdeenshire. Some of our Edinburgh philosophers tried to produce their equal in vain. I was one of a party at a dinner, where the philosophical haddocks were placed in competition with the genuine Finnon-fish. These

were served round without distinction whence they came; but only one gentleman, out of twelve present, espoused the cause of philosophy.—WALTER SCOTT.

³ It is the custom in Scotland for the judges of the Court of Session to have the title of Lords, from their estates; thus Mr. Burnett is Lord Monboddo, as Mr. Home was Lord Kames. There is something a little awkward in this; for they are denominated in deeds by their names, with the addition of "one of the senators of the college of justice;" and subscribe their Christian and surname, as James Burnett, Henry Home, even in judicial acts.—BOSWELL. We see that the same custom prevailed amongst other gentlemen as well as the judges. All the lairds who are called by the names of their estates, as Rasay, Col, &c., sign their Christian and surnames, as J. Macleod, A. Maclean, &c. The dignity of the judicial bench has consecrated, in the case of the judges, what was once the common practice of the country.—CROKER.

⁴ Why not, in a remote country retirement?—CROKER. It may be worth while to remark, that down to a very recent period, judges both in London and Edinburgh were distinguished, when mixing in common society, by certain grave peculiarities of dress: these, with some few ancient and venerable exceptions, have now disappeared: and it seems doubtful whether the innovation was wise.—LOCKHART, 1835.

know not but by gaining his favour they may obtain it, the rich man will always have the greatest influence. He, again, who lavishes his money, is laughed at as foolish, and in a great degree with justice, considering how much is spent from vanity. Even those who partake of a man's hospitality have but a transient kindness for him. If he has not the command of money, people know he cannot help them if he would; whereas the rich man always can, if he will, and for the chance of that, will have much weight." BOSWELL. "But philosophers and satirists have all treated a miser as contemptible." JOHNSON. "He is so philosophically; but not in the practice of life." BOSWELL. "Let me see now: I do not know the instances of misers in England, so as to examine into their influence." JOHNSON. "We have had few misers in England." BOSWELL. "There was Lowther."¹ JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, Lowther, by keeping his money, had the command of the county, which the family has now lost, by spending it."² I take it he lent a great deal; and that is the way to have influence, and yet preserve one's wealth. A man may lend his money upon very good security, and yet have his debtor much under his power." BOSWELL. "No doubt, Sir. He can always distress him for the money; as no man borrows who is able to pay on demand quite conveniently."

We dined at Elgin, and saw the noble ruins of the cathedral. Though it rained much, Dr. Johnson examined them with the most patient attention. He could not here feel any abhorrence at the Scottish reformers, for he had been told by Lord Hailes, that it was destroyed before the reformation, by the Lord of Badenoch³, who had a quarrel with the bishop. The bishop's house, and those of the other clergy, which are still pretty entire, do not seem to have been proportioned to the magnificence of the

cathedral, which has been of great extent, and had very fine carved work. The ground within the walls of the cathedral is employed as a burying-place. The family of Gordon have their vault here; but it has nothing grand.

We passed Gordon Castle⁴ this forenoon, which has a princely appearance. Fochabers, the neighbouring village, is a poor place, many of the houses being ruinous; but it is remarkable, they have in general orchards well stored with appletrees. Elgin has what in England are called piazzas, that run in many places on each side of the street. It must have been a much better place formerly. Probably it had piazzas all along the town, as I have seen at Bologna. I approved much of such structures in a town, on account of their convenience in wet weather. Dr. Johnson disapproved of them, "because," said he, "it makes the under story of a house very dark, which greatly overbalances the convenience, when it is considered how small a part of the year it rains; how few are usually in the street at such times; that many who are might as well be at home; and the little that people suffer, supposing them to be as much wet as they commonly are in walking a street."

We fared but ill at our inn here; and Dr. Johnson said, this was the first time he had seen a dinner in Scotland that he could not eat.

In the afternoon, we drove over the very heath where Macbeth met the witches, according to tradition.⁵ Dr. Johnson again solemnly repeated—

"How far is't call'd to Fores? What are these,
So wither'd, and so wild in their attire?
That look not like the inhabitants o' the earth,
And yet are on't?"

He repeated a good deal more of Macbeth. His recitation was grand and affecting, and, as

¹ He means, no doubt, Sir James Lowther, of Whitehaven, Bart., who died in 1755, immensely rich, but without issue, and his estates devolved on his relation, Sir James, afterwards first Earl of Lonsdale. — CROKER.

² I do not know what was at this time the state of the parliamentary interest of the ancient family of Lowther; a family before the conquest; but all the nation knows it to be very extensive at present. A due mixture of severity and kindness, economy and munificence, characterises its present representative. — BOSWELL. The second Viscount and only Earl Lonsdale of his branch, who was recommended to Boswell's peculiar favour by having married Lady Mary Stuart, the daughter of John Earl of Bute. — CROKER.

³ Note, by Lord Hailes. — "The cathedral of Elgin was burnt by the Lord of Badenoch, because the Bishop of Moray had pronounced an award not to his liking. The indemnification that the see obtained was, that the Lord of Badenoch stood for three days barefooted at the great gate of the cathedral. The story is in the chartulary of Elgin." — BOSWELL. Light as this penance was, an Irish chieftain fared still better. The eighth Earl of Kildare was charged before Henry VII. with having burned the cathedral of Cashel: he expressed his contrition for this sacrilege, adding, that he never would have done it had he not thought that the *archbishop had been in it*. The king made him lord-lieutenant. — CROKER, 1831. Mr. Chambers observes to me, that "it is strange that Boswell should not have known, or that Lord Hailes should have failed to tell him, that the cathedral of Elgin had revived from the sacrilege of the *Wolf of Badenoch*, and its final ruin was accomplished by the cupidity of Murray, nicknamed the *good Regent*, who stripped the lead from the

roof, and shipped it to be sold in Holland; but the ship with its unhalloed freight sunk soon after it had left the harbour; so the cathedral was ruined, without any profit to the spoiler." — CROKER, 1846.

⁴ I am not sure whether the Duke was at home; but, not having the honour of being much known to his grace, I could not have presumed to enter his castle, though to introduce even so celebrated a stranger. We were at any rate in a hurry to get forward to the wilderness which we came to see. Perhaps, if this noble family had still preserved that sequestered magnificence which they maintained when catholies, corresponding with the Grand Duke of Tuscany, we might have been induced to have procured proper letters of introduction, and devoted some time to the contemplation of venerable superstitious state. — BOSWELL.

⁵ Mr. William Macpherson, of Trinity College, Cambridge, who favoured me with several remarks on my first edition, observed on this passage, that "Boswell was quite mistaken in imagining that he saw the spot where Macbeth met the witches between Elgin and Fores. The true place is between Fores and Nairn. The 'blasted heath' had been subsequently planted with trees, and when they were cut down some years ago, the late Laird of Brodie preserved a clump to mark the consecrated ground. The moor has been since replanted, but the older grove is still distinguishable from the rest of the wood. The locality of the scene has never been doubted, as far as I can learn." — CROKER, 1835. Johnson, more accurate than Boswell, states that it was *next day*, on the journey between *Fores* and *Nairn*, that they "entered upon the road on which Macbeth heard the fatal prediction." — CROKER, 1846.

Sir Joshua Reynolds has observed to me, had no more tone than it should have: it was the better for it. He then parodied the "All hail" of the witches to Macbeth, addressing himself to me. I had purchased some land called Dalblair; and, as in Scotland it is customary to distinguish landed men by the name of their estates, I had thus two titles, Dalblair and young Auchinleck. So my friend, in imitation of

"All hail, Macbeth! hail to thee, Thane of Cawdor!"

condescended to amuse himself with uttering

"All hail, Dalblair! hail to thee, Laird of Auchinleck!"¹

We got to Fores at night, and found an admirable inn, in which Dr. Johnson was pleased to meet with a landlord, who styled himself "Wine-Cooper, from London."

Friday, Aug. 27.—It was dark when we came to Fores last night; so we did not see what is called King Duncan's monument.² I shall now mark some gleanings of Dr. Johnson's conversation. I spoke of Leonidas, and said there were some good passages in it. JOHNSON. "Why, you must seek for them." He said, Paul Whitehead's Manners was a poor performance. Speaking of Derrick, he told me "he had a kindness for him, and had often said, that if his letters had been written by one of a more established name, they would have been thought very pretty letters."

This morning I introduced the subject of the origin of evil. JOHNSON. "Moral evil is occasioned by free will, which implies choice between good and evil. With all the evil that there is, there is no man but would rather be a free agent, than a mere machine without the evil; and what is best for each individual, must be best for the whole. If a man would rather be a machine, I cannot argue with him. He is a different being from me." BOSWELL. "A man, as a machine, may have agreeable sensations; for instance, he may have pleasure in music." JOHNSON. "No, Sir, he cannot have pleasure in music; at least no power of producing music; for he who can produce music may let it alone: he who can play upon a fiddle may break it: such a man is not a machine." This reasoning satisfied me. It is certain, there cannot be a free agent, unless

there is the power of being evil as well as good. We must take the inherent possibilities of things into consideration, in our reasonings or conjectures concerning the works of God.

We came to Nairn to breakfast. Though a county town and a royal burgh, it is a miserable place. Over the room where we sat, a girl was spinning wool with a great wheel, and singing an Erse song: "I'll warrant you," said Dr. Johnson, "one of the songs of Ossian." He then repeated these lines:—

"Verse sweetens toil, however rude the sound.

All at her work the village maiden sings;

Nor, while she turns the giddy wheel around,

Revolves the sad vicissitude of things."³

I thought I had heard these lines before. JOHNSON. "I fancy not, Sir; for they are in a detached poem, the name of which I do not remember, written by one Giffard, a parson."

I expected Mr. Kenneth M'Aulay, the minister of Calder, who published the History of St. Kilda, a book which Dr. Johnson liked, would have met us here, as I had written to him from Aberdeen. But I received a letter from him telling me that he could not leave home, as he was to administer the sacrament the following Sunday, and earnestly requesting to see us at his manse. "We'll go," said Dr. Johnson; which we accordingly did. Mrs. M'Aulay received us, and told us her husband was in the church distributing tokens.⁴ We arrived between twelve and one o'clock, and it was near three before he came to us.

Dr. Johnson thanked him for his book, and said "it is a very pretty piece of topography." M'Aulay did not seem much to mind the compliment. From his conversation, Dr. Johnson was persuaded that he had not written the book which goes under his name. I myself always suspected so; and I have been told it was written by the learned Dr. John M'Pherson of Sky, from the materials collected by M'Aulay. Dr. Johnson said privately to me, "There is a combination in it of which M'Aulay is not capable."⁵ However, he was exceedingly hospitable; and, as he obligingly promised us a route for our Tour through the Western Isles, we agreed to stay with him all night.

After dinner, we walked to the old castle of Calder (pronounced Cawder), the Thane of Cawdor's seat. I was sorry that my friend,

¹ Then, as Mr. Boswell tells us, pronounced as a dissyllable, *Affleck*, but now, as it is written, *Auchinleck*. So I was informed by his lovely, lively, and intelligent granddaughter, Teresa Lady Elliot, of Stobbs, who was snatched from her friends by an early death in 1836.—CROKER.

² Duncan's monument; a huge column on the roadside near Fores, more than twenty feet high, erected in commemoration of the final retreat of the Danes from Scotland, and properly called Swene's Stone.—WALTER SCOTT.

³ See *anté*, p. 221.—C.

⁴ In Scotland there is a great deal of preparation before administering the sacrament. The minister of the parish examines the people as to their fitness, and to those of whom

he approves gives little pieces of tin, stamped with the name of the parish, as *tokens*, which they must produce before receiving it. This is a species of priestly power, and sometimes may be abused. I remember a lawsuit brought by a person against his parish minister, for refusing him admission to that sacred ordinance.—BOSWELL.

⁵ My correspondent, Mr. Macpherson, corroborates the surmise of Boswell and Johnson, and says, that Dr. Macpherson was certainly the author of the book which goes under M'Aulay's name. The doctor, an excellent scholar, was father of my old acquaintance, Sir John Macpherson, sometime governor-general of India, and of Dr. Martin Macpherson, mentioned subsequently.—CROKER, 1835.

this "prosperous gentleman,"¹ was not there. The old tower must be of great antiquity. There is a drawbridge — what has been a moat — and an ancient court. There is a hawthorn tree, which rises like a wooden pillar through the rooms of the castle; for, by a strange conceit, the walls have been built round it. The thickness of the walls, the small slanting windows, and a great iron door at the entrance on the second story as you ascend the stairs, all indicate the rude times in which this castle was erected. There were here some large venerable trees.²

I was afraid of a quarrel between Dr. Johnson and Mr. M'Aulay, who talked slightly of the lower English clergy. The Doctor gave him a frowning look, and said, "This is a day of novelties: I have seen old trees in Scotland, and I have heard the English clergy treated with disrespect."

I dreaded that a whole evening at Caldermanse would be heavy; however, Mr. Grant, an intelligent and well-bred minister in the neighbourhood, was there, and assisted us by his conversation. Dr. Johnson, talking of hereditary occupations in the Highlands, said, "There is no harm in such a custom as this; but it is wrong to enforce it, and oblige a man to be a tailor or a smith, because his father has been one." This custom, however, is not peculiar to our Highlands; it is well known that in India a similar practice prevails.

Mr. M'Aulay began a rhapsody against creeds and confessions. Dr. Johnson showed, that "what he called *imposition*, was only a voluntary declaration of agreement in certain articles of faith, which a church has a right to require, just as any other society can insist on certain rules being observed by its members. Nobody is compelled to be of the church, as nobody is compelled to enter into a society." This was a very clear and just view of the subject; but M'Aulay could not be driven out of his track. Dr. Johnson said, "Sir, you are a *bigot to laxness*."

Mr. M'Aulay and I laid the map of Scotland before us; and he pointed out a route for us from Inverness, by Fort Augustus, to Glenelg, Sky, Mull, Icolmkill, Lorn, and Inverary, which I wrote down. As my father was to begin the northern circuit about the 18th of

September, it was necessary for us either to make our tour with great expedition, so as to get to Auchinleck before he set out, or to protract it, so as not to be there till his return, which would be about the 10th of October. By M'Aulay's calculation, we were not to land in Lorn till the 20th of September. I thought that the interruptions by bad days, or by occasional excursions, might make it ten days later; and I thought, too, that we might perhaps go to Benbecula, and visit Clanranald, which would take a week of itself.

Dr. Johnson went up with Mr. Grant to the library, which consisted of a tolerable collection; but the Doctor thought it rather a lady's library, with some Latin books in it by chance, than the library of a clergyman. It had only two of the Latin fathers, and one of the Greek fathers in Latin. I doubted whether Dr. Johnson would be present at a presbyterian prayer. I told Mr. M'Aulay so, and said that the Doctor might sit in the library while we were at family worship. Mr. M'Aulay said, he would omit it, rather than give Dr. Johnson offence: but I would by no means agree that an excess of politeness, even to so great a man, should prevent what I esteem as one of the best pious regulations. I know nothing more beneficial, more comfortable, more agreeable, than that the little societies of each family should regularly assemble, and unite in praise and prayer to our heavenly Father, from whom we daily receive so much good, and may hope for more in a higher state of existence. I mentioned to Dr. Johnson the over-delicate scrupulosity of our host. He said, he had no objection to hear the prayer. This was a pleasing surprise to me; for he refused to go and hear Principal Robertson preach. "I will hear him," said he, "if he will get up into a tree and preach; but I will not give a sanction, by my presence, to a presbyterian assembly."

"Mr. Grant having prayed, Dr. Johnson said, his prayer was a very good one, but objected to his not having introduced the Lord's Prayer.³ He told us, that an Italian of some note in London said once to him, "We have in our service a prayer called the *Pater Noster*, which is a very fine composition. I wonder who is the author of it." A singular instance of ignorance in a man of some literature and general inquiry!⁴

¹ Mr. Campbell of Cawder was elevated to the peerage in 1796, by the title of Lord Cawdor. — LOCKHART.

² Cawder Castle, here described, has been since much damaged by fire. — WALTER SCOTT.

³ Johnson in his own *Journey* says on this subject, "The most learned of the Scottish Doctors would now gladly admit a form of prayer if the people would endure it. The zeal or rage of congregations has its different degrees.

In some parishes the Lord's Prayer is suffered: in others, it is still rejected as a form, and he that should make it part of his supplication, would be suspected of heretical privacy." — CROKER.

⁴ Mr. Macpherson thought that this was Baretti — but of the two I should have rather suspected Martinelli (*anté*, April 15. 1773); but it is hardly credible of any one. — CROKER.

CHAPTER XXXV.

1773.

Fort George. — *Sir Adolphus Oughton.* — *Lowth and Warburton.* — *Dinner at Sir Eyre Coote's.* — *The Stage.* — *Mrs. Cibber.* — *Mrs. Clive.* — *Mrs. Pritchard.* — *Inverness.* — *Macbeth's Castle.* — *Mr. Thrle's Brewery.* — *"Peregrinity."* — *Coinage of new Words.* — *Johnson on Horseback.* — *A Highland Hut.* — *Fort Augustus.* — *Governor Trapaud.* — *Anoch.* — *Emigration.* — *Goldsmith.* — *A Ship a Jail.* — *Glensheal.* — *The Macraas.* — *The Rattakin.* — *Glencly.*

Saturday, Aug. 28. — DR. JOHNSON had brought a Sallust with him in his pocket from Edinburgh. He gave it last night to Mr. M'Aulay's son, a smart young lad about eleven years old. Dr. Johnson had given an account of the education at Oxford, in all its gradations. The advantage of being a servitor to a youth of little fortune struck Mrs. M'Aulay much. I observed it aloud. Dr. Johnson very handsomely and kindly said, that, if they would send their boy to him, when he was ready for the university, he would get him made a servitor, and perhaps would do more for him. He could not promise to do more; but would undertake for the servitorship.¹

I should have mentioned that Mr. White, a Welshman, who has been many years factor (*i. e.* steward) on the estate of Calder, drank tea with us last night; and, upon getting a note from Mr. M'Aulay, asked us to his house. We had not time to accept of his invitation. He gave us a letter of introduction to Mr. Ferne, master of stores at Fort George. He showed it to me. It recommended "two celebrated gentlemen; no less than Dr. Johnson, author of his Dictionary, and Mr. Boswell, known at Edinburgh by the name of *Paoli*." He said, he hoped I had no objection to what he had written; if I had, he would alter it. I thought it was a pity to check his effusions, and acquiesced; taking care, however, to seal the letter, that it might not appear that I had read it.

A conversation took place about saying grace at breakfast (as we do in Scotland), as well as at dinner and supper; in which Dr. Johnson said, "It is enough if we have stated seasons of prayer; no matter when. A man may as well pray when he mounts his horse, or a woman when she milks her cow (which Mr. Grant told us is done in the Highlands), as at meals; and custom is to be followed."²

¹ Dr. Johnson did not neglect what he had undertaken. By his interest with the Rev. Dr. Adams, master of Pembroke College, Oxford, where he was educated for some time, he obtained a servitorship for young M'Aulay. But it seems he had other views; and I believe went abroad. — BOSWELL.

² He could not bear to have it thought that, in any instance whatever, the Scots were more pious than the English. I think grace as proper at breakfast as at any other meal. It is the pleasantest meal we have. Dr. Johnson has allowed the peculiar merit of breakfast in Scotland. — BOSWELL.

³ Bruce, the Abyssinian Traveller, found in the annals of

We proceeded to Fort George. When we came into the square, I sent a soldier with the letter to Mr. Ferne. He came to us immediately, and along with him Major Brewse of the Engineers, pronounced Bruce. He said he believed it was originally the same Norman name with Bruce: that he had dined at a house in London, where were three Bruces, one of the Irish line, one of the Scottish line, and himself of the English line. He said he was shown it in the Herald's Office, spelt fourteen different ways.³ I told him the different spellings of my name. Dr. Johnson observed, that there had been great disputes about the spelling of Shakspeare's name; at last it was thought it would be settled by looking at the original copy of his will; but, upon examining it, he was found to have written it himself no less than three different ways.⁴

Mr. Ferne and Major Brewse first carried us to wait on Sir Eyre Coote, whose regiment, the 37th, was lying here, and who then commanded the fort. He asked us to dine with him, which we agreed to do.

Before dinner we examined the fort. The Major explained the fortification to us, and Mr. Ferne gave us an account of the stores. Dr. Johnson talked of the proportions of charcoal and saltpetre in making gunpowder, of granulating it, and of giving it a gloss. He made a very good figure upon these topics. He said to me afterwards, that "he had talked ostentatiously." We reposed ourselves a little in Mr. Ferne's house. He had every thing in neat order as in England; and a tolerable collection of books. I looked into Pennant's Tour in Scotland. He says little of this fort; but that "the barracks, &c. formed several streets." This is aggrandising. Mr. Ferne observed, if he had said they form a square, with a row of buildings before it, he would have given a juster description. Dr. Johnson remarked, "How seldom descriptions correspond with realities; and the reason is, the people do not write them till some time after, and then their imagination has added circumstances."

We talked of Sir Adolphus Oughton. The Major said, he knew a great deal for a military man. JOHNSON. "Sir, you will find few men, of any profession, who know more. Sir Adolphus is a very extraordinary man; a man of boundless curiosity and unwearied diligence."

I know not how the Major contrived to introduce the contest between Warburton and Lowth. JOHNSON. "Warburton kept his temper all along, while Lowth was in a passion.

that region a king named *Brus*, which he chooses to consider the genuine orthography of the name. This circumstance occasioned some mirth at the court of Gondar. — WALTER SCOTT.

⁴ It is now said that this question is settled by an autograph in a volume (Florio) in the British Museum; but though the trustees gave a large sum for the book, and that Sir F. Madden has written a pamphlet to prove the writing genuine, I confess that it appears to me very apocryphal — in fact, as I suspect, another of the many Shakspearian forgeries. — CROKER, 1846.

Lowth published some of Warburton's letters. Warburton drew him on to write some very abusive letters, and then asked his leave to publish them; which he knew Lowth could not refuse, after what he had done. So that Warburton contrived that he should publish, apparently with Lowth's consent, what could not but show Lowth in a disadvantageous light."¹

At three the drum beat for dinner. I, for a little while, fancied myself a military man, and it pleased me. We went to Sir Eyre Coote's, at the governor's house, and found him a most gentleman-like man. His lady is a very agreeable woman, with an uncommonly mild and sweet tone of voice. There was a pretty large company: Mr. Ferne, Major Brewse, and several officers. Sir Eyre had come from the East Indies by land, through the deserts of Arabia. He told us, the Arabs could live five days without victuals, and subsist for three weeks on nothing else but the blood of their camels, who could lose so much of it as would suffice for that time, without being exhausted. He highly praised the virtue of the Arabs; their fidelity, if they undertook to conduct any person; and said, they would sacrifice their lives rather than let him be robbed. Dr. Johnson, who is always for maintaining the superiority of civilised over uncivilised men, said, "Why, Sir, I can see no superior virtue in this. A sergeant and twelve men, who are my guard, will die rather than that I shall be robbed." Colonel Pennington, of the 37th regiment, took up the argument with a good deal of spirit and ingenuity. PENNINGTON. "But the soldiers are compelled to this, by fear of punishment." JOHNSON. "Well, Sir, the Arabs are compelled by the fear of infamy." PENNINGTON. "The soldiers have the same fear of infamy, and the fear of punishment besides; so have less virtue; because they act less voluntarily." Lady Coote observed very well, that it ought to be known if there was not, among the Arabs, some punishment for not being faithful on such occasions.

We talked of the stage. I observed, that we had not now such a company of actors as in the last age; Wilks, Booth, &c. &c. JOHN-SON. "You think so, because there is one who excels all the rest so much; you compare them with Garrick, and see the deficiency. Garrick's great distinction is his universality. He can represent all modes of life, but that of an easy fine-bred gentleman."² PENNINGTON. "He should give over playing young parts." JOHN-SON. "He does not take them now; but he

does not leave off those which he has been used to play, because he does them better than any one else can do them. If you had generations of actors, if they swarmed like bees, the young ones might drive off the old. Mrs. Cibber, I think, got more reputation than she deserved, as she had a great sameness; though her expression was, undoubtedly, very fine. Mrs. Clive was the best player I ever saw. Mrs. Pritchard was a very good one; but she had something affected in her manner: I imagine she had some player of the former age in her eye, which occasioned it."

Colonel Pennington said, Garrick sometimes failed in emphasis; as, for instance, in Hamlet,

"I will speak daggers to her; but use none," instead of

"I will *speak* daggers to her; but *use* none."

We had a dinner of two complete courses, variety of wines, and the regimental band of music playing in the square, before the windows, after it. I enjoyed this day much. We were quite easy and cheerful. Dr. Johnson said, "I shall always remember this fort with gratitude." I could not help being struck with some admiration, at finding upon this barren sandy point such buildings, such a dinner, such company: it was like enchantment. Dr. Johnson, on the other hand, said to me more rationally, that "it did not strike *him* as any thing extraordinary; because he knew, here was a large sum of money expended in building a fort; here was a regiment. If there had been less than what we found, it would have surprised him." He looked coolly and deliberately through all the gradations: *my* warm imagination jumped from the barren sands to the splendid dinner and brilliant company; to borrow the expression of an absurd poet,

"Without ands or ifs,

I leapt from off the sands upon the cliffs."

The whole scene gave me a strong impression of the power and excellence of human art.

We left the fort between six and seven o'clock: Sir Eyre Coote, Colonel Pennington, and several more, accompanied us down stairs, and saw us into our chaise. There could not be greater attention paid to any visitors. Sir Eyre spoke of the hardships which Dr. Johnson had before him. BOSWELL. "Considering what he has said of us, we must make him feel something rough in Scotland." Sir Eyre said to him, "You must change your name, Sir." BOSWELL. "Ay, to Dr. McGregor."³

We got safely to Inverness, and put up at Mackenzie's inn. Mr. Keith, the collector of

¹ Here Dr. Johnson gave us part of a conversation held between a great personage and him, in the library at the Queen's palace, in the course of which this contest was considered. I have been at great pains to get that conversation as perfectly preserved as possible. It may perhaps at some future time be given to the public. — BOSWELL. It is given *anté*, p. 184. — CROKER.

² Garrick, on the other hand, used to tell that Johnson was so ignorant of what the manners of a fine gentleman were, that he said of some stroller at Lichfield, that there

was a *courtly vivacity* about him; "whereas in fact," added Garrick, "he was the most vulgar ruffian that ever trod the boards." — (*post*, 12th March, 1776). No doubt, the most difficult, though, perhaps, not the highest, branch of the actor's art, is to catch the light colours and forms of fashionable life; but if Garrick, who lived so much in the highest society, had not this quality, what actor could ever hope to possess it? — CROKER.

³ The clan and name *McGregor* had been proscribed. — CROKER.

excise here, my old acquaintance at Ayr, who had seen us at the fort, visited us in the evening, and engaged us to dine with him next day, promising to breakfast with us, and take us to the English chapel; so that we were at once commodiously arranged.

Not finding a letter here that I expected, I felt a momentary impatience to be at home. Transient clouds darkened my imagination, and in those clouds I saw events from which I shrunk: but a sentence or two of the Rambler's conversation gave me firmness, and I considered that I was upon an expedition for which I had wished for years, and the recollection of which would be a treasure to me for life.

Sunday, Aug. 29. — Mr. Keith breakfasted with us. Dr. Johnson expatiated rather too strongly upon the benefits derived to Scotland from the Union, and the bad state of our people before it. I am entertained with his copious exaggeration upon that subject; but I am uneasy when people are by, who do not know him as well as I do, and may be apt to think him narrow-minded.¹ I therefore diverted the subject.

The English chapel, to which we went this morning, was but mean. The altar was a bare fir table, with a coarse stool for kneeling on, covered with a piece of thick sailcloth doubled, by way of cushion. The congregation was small. Mr. Tait, the clergyman, read prayers very well, though with much of the Scotch accent. He preached on "Love your enemies." It was remarkable that, when talking of the connections amongst men, he said, that some connected themselves with men of distinguished talents; and since they could not equal them, tried to deck themselves with their merit, by being their companions. The sentence was to this purpose. It had an odd coincidence with what might be said of my connecting myself with Dr. Johnson.

After church, we walked down to the quay. We then went to Macbeth's castle?² I had a romantic satisfaction in seeing Dr. Johnson actually in it. It perfectly corresponds with Shakespeare's description, which Sir Joshua Reynolds has so happily illustrated, in one of his notes on our immortal poet:—

"This castle hath a pleasant seat: the air
Nimbly and sweetly recommends itself
Unto our gentle sense," &c.

Just as we came out of it, a raven perched on one of the chimney-tops, and croaked. Then I repeated

"—— The raven himself is hoarse,
That croaks the fatal entrance of Duncan
Under my battlements."

We dined at Mr. Keith's. Mrs. Keith was rather too attentive to Dr. Johnson, asking him many questions about his drinking only water. He repressed that observation, by saying to me, "You may remember that Lady Errol took no notice of this."³

Dr. Johnson has the happy art (for which I have heard my father praise the old Earl of Aberdeen)⁴ of instructing himself, by making every man he meets tell him something of what he knows best. He led Keith to talk to him of the excise in Scotland; and, in the course of conversation, mentioned that his friend Mr. Thrale, the great brewer, paid twenty thousand pounds a year to the revenue; and that he had four casks, each of which holds sixteen hundred barrels — above a thousand hogsheads.

After this there was little conversation that deserves to be remembered. I shall, therefore, here again glean what I have omitted on former days. Dr. Gerard, at Aberdeen, told us, that when he was in Wales, he was shown a valley inhabited by Danes, who still retain their own language, and are quite a distinct people. Dr. Johnson thought it could not be true, or all the kingdom must have heard of it. He said to me, as we travelled, "These people, Sir, that Gerard talks of, may have somewhat of a *peregrinity* in their dialect, which relation has augmented to a different language." I asked him if *peregrinity* was an English word. He laughed, and said, "No." I told him this was the second time that I had heard him coin a word. When Foote broke his leg, I observed that it would make him fitter for taking off George Faulkner as Peter Paragraph, poor George having a wooden leg. Dr. Johnson at that time said, "George will rejoice at the *depeditation* of Foote;" and when I challenged that word, laughed, and owned he had made it, and added that he had not made above three or four in his Dictionary.⁵

Having conducted Dr. Johnson to our inn, I begged permission to leave him for a little, that I might run about and pay some short visits to several good people of Inverness. He said to me, "You have all the old-fashioned principles, good and bad." I acknowledge I have. That of attention to relations in the remotest degree, or to worthy persons in every state, whom I have once known, I inherit from my father. It gave me much satisfaction to hear every body at Inverness speak of him

¹ It is remarkable that Dr. Johnson read this gentle remonstrance, and took no notice of it to me. — BOSWELL.

² Boswell means the ruins of the royal fortress, which have since been levelled into a bowling-green. It has recently been shown (*Trans. Ant. Soc. Scot.* vol. iii.), that if Macbeth had a castle in this neighbourhood at all, it must have been at a little distance from these ruins. — CHAMBERS, 1835.

³ But was not Dr. Johnson's rebuke to the Lady at least as deficient in good breeding? — CROKER.

⁴ William Gordon, second Earl of Aberdeen, who died in 1746. — CROKER.

⁵ When upon the subject of this *peregrinity* he told me some particulars concerning the compilation of his Dictionary, and concerning his throwing off Lord Chesterfield's patronage, of which very erroneous accounts have been circulated. These particulars, with others that he afterwards gave me, as also his celebrated letter to Lord Chesterfield, which he dictated to me, I reserve for the Life. — BOSWELL. See them all, *anté*, p. 84. *et seq.* — C.

with uncommon regard. Mr. Keith and Mr. Grant, whom we had seen at Mr. M'Aulay's, supped with us at the inn. We had roasted kid, which Dr. Johnson had never tasted before. He relished it much.

Monday, Aug. 30. — This day we were to begin our *equitation*, as I said; for I would needs make a word too. It is remarkable, that my noble, and to me most constant, friend, the Earl of Pembroke¹ (who, if there is too much ease on my part, will please to pardon what his benevolent, gay, social intercourse, and lively correspondence, have insensibly produced), has since hit upon the very same word. The title of the first edition of his lordship's very useful book was, in simple terms, "A Method of Breaking Horses and Teaching Soldiers to ride." The title of the second edition is "Military Equitation."

We might have taken a chaise to Fort Augustus; but, had we not hired horses at Inverness, we should not have found them afterwards: so we resolved to begin here to ride. We had three horses, for Dr. Johnson, myself, and Joseph, and one which carried our portmantaux, and two Highlanders who walked along with us, John Hay and Lauchland Vass, whom Dr. Johnson has remembered with credit in his *Journey*, though he has omitted their names. Dr. Johnson rode very well.

About three miles beyond Inverness, we saw, just by the road, a very complete specimen of what is called a Druid's temple. There was a double circle, one of very large, the other of smaller stones. Dr. Johnson justly observed, that, "to go and see one druidical temple is only to see that it is nothing, for there is neither art nor power in it²; and seeing one is quite enough."

It was a delightful day. Loch Ness, and the road upon the side of it, shaded with birch trees, and the hills above it, pleased us much. The scene was as sequestered and agreeably wild as could be desired, and for a time engrossed all our attention.

To see Dr. Johnson in any new situation is always an interesting object to me; and, as I saw him now for the first time on horseback, jaunting about at his ease in quest of pleasure and novelty, the very different occupations of his former laborious life, his admirable productions, his "London," his "Rambler," &c. &c., immediately presented themselves to my mind, and the contrast made a strong impression on my imagination.

When we had advanced a good way by the side of Loch Ness, I perceived a little hut, with an old-looking woman at the door of it. I thought here might be a scene that would amuse Dr. Johnson; so I mentioned it to him. "Let's go in," said he. We dismounted, and we and our guides entered the hut. It was a wretched little hovel of earth only, I think,

and for a window had only a small hole, which was stopped with a piece of turf, that was taken out occasionally to let in light. In the middle of the room or space which we entered was a fire of peat, the smoke going out at a hole in the roof. She had a pot upon it, with goat's flesh, boiling. There was at one end under the same roof, but divided by a kind of partition made of wattles, a pen or fold in which we saw a good many kids.

Dr. Johnson was curious to know where she slept. I asked one of the guides, who questioned her in Erse. She answered with a tone of emotion, saying (as he told us), she was afraid we wanted to go to bed to her. This coquetry, or whatever it may be called, of so wretched a being, was truly ludicrous. Dr. Johnson and I afterwards were merry upon it. I said, it was he who alarmed the poor woman's virtue. "No, Sir," said he, "she'll say, 'There came a wicked young fellow, a wild dog, who, I believe, would have ravished me, had there not been with him a grave old gentleman, who repressed him: but when he gets out of the sight of his tutor, I'll warrant you he'll spare no woman he meets, young or old.' " — "No, Sir," I replied, "she'll say, 'There was a terrible ruffian who would have forced me, had it not been for a civil decent young man, who, I take it, was an angel sent from heaven to protect me.' "

Dr. Johnson would not hurt her delicacy, by insisting on "seeing her bed-chamber," like Archer in the *Beaux Stratagem*. But my curiosity was more ardent; I lighted a piece of paper, and went into the place where the bed was. There was a little partition of wicker, rather more neatly done than that for the fold, and close by the wall was a kind of bedstead of wood, with heath upon it by way of bed; at the foot of which I saw some sort of blankets or covering rolled up in a heap. The woman's name was Fraser; so was her husband's. He was a man of eighty. Mr. Fraser, of Balnain, allows him to live in this hut, and keep sixty goats, for taking care of his woods, where he then was. They had five children, the eldest only thirteen. Two were gone to Inverness to buy meal; the rest were looking after the goats. This contented family had four stacks of barley, twenty-four sheaves in each. They had a few fowls. We were informed that they lived all the spring without meal, upon milk and curds and whey alone. What they get for their goats, kids, and fowls, maintains them during the rest of the year.

She asked us to sit down and take a dram. I saw one chair. She said she was as happy as any woman in Scotland. She could hardly speak any English except a few detached words. Dr. Johnson was pleased at seeing, for the first time, such a state of human life.

¹ Henry, tenth Earl, born 1735, died 1794. — CROKER.

² This seems hastily said, and probably with reference to these very poor Scottish specimens; but Johnson had not

yet seen Stonehenge — to erect which there must surely have been some *art* and *vast power*. (See *post*, October 9. 1783.) — CROKER.

She asked for snuff. It is her luxury, and she uses a great deal. We had none; but gave her sixpence apiece. She then brought out her whisky bottle. I tasted it; as did Joseph and our guides: so I gave her sixpence more. She sent us away with many prayers in Erse.

We dined at a public house called the *General's Hut*¹, from General Wade, who was lodged there when he commanded in the north. Near it is the meanest parish kirk I ever saw. It is a shame it should be on a high road.² After dinner we passed through a good deal of mountainous country. I had known Mr. Trapaud, the deputy-governor of Fort-Augustus, twelve years ago, at a circuit at Inverness, where my father was judge. I sent forward one of our guides, and Joseph, with a card to him, that he might know Dr. Johnson and I were coming up, leaving it to him to invite us or not. It was dark when we arrived. The inn was wretched. Government ought to build one, or give the resident governor an additional salary; as in the present state of things, he must necessarily be put to a great expense in entertaining travellers. Joseph announced to us, when we alighted, that the governor waited for us at the gate of the fort. We walked to it. He met us, and with much civility conducted us to his house. It was comfortable to find ourselves in a well-built little square, and a neatly furnished house, in good company, and with a good supper before us; in short, with all the conveniencies of civilised life, in the midst of rude mountains. Mrs. Trapaud, and the governor's daughter, and her husband, Capt. Newmarsh, were all most obliging and polite. The governor had excellent animal spirits, the conversation of a soldier, and somewhat of a Frenchman, to which his extraction entitles him. He is brother to General Cyrus Trapaud. We passed a very agreeable evening.

Tuesday, Aug. 31. — The governor has a very good garden. We looked at it, and at the rest of the fort, which is but small, and may be commanded from a variety of hills around. We also looked at the galley or sloop belonging to the fort, which sails upon the Loch, and brings what is wanted for the garrison. Captains Urie and Darippe, of the 15th regiment of foot, breakfasted with us. They had served in America, and entertained Dr. Johnson much with an account of the Indians. He said he could make a very pretty book out of them, were he to stay there. Governor Trapaud was much struck with Dr. Johnson. "I like to hear him," said he, "it is so majestic.

I should be glad to hear him speak in your court." He pressed us to stay dinner; but I considered that we had a rude road before us, which we could more easily encounter in the morning, and that it was hard to say when we might get up, were we to sit down to good entertainment, in good company: I therefore begged the governor would excuse us. Here, too, I had another very pleasing proof how much my father is regarded. The governor expressed the highest respect for him, and bade me tell him that, if he would come that way on the northern circuit, he would do him all the honours of the garrison.

Between twelve and one we set out, and travelled eleven miles, through a wild country, till we came to a house in Glenmorison, called Anoch, kept by a M^cQueen.³ Our landlord was a sensible fellow: he had learnt his grammar, and Dr. Johnson justly observed, that "a man is the better for that as long as he lives." There were some books here: a Treatise against Drunkenness, translated from the French; a volume of the *Spectator*; a volume of Videaux's *Connexion*, and Cyrus's *Travels*. M^cQueen said he had more volumes; and his pride seemed to be much piqued that we were surprised at his having books.

Near to this place we had passed a party of soldiers, under a sergeant's command, at work upon the road. We gave them two shillings to drink. They came to our inn, and made merry in the barn. We went and paid them a visit, Dr. Johnson saying, "Come, let's go and give 'em another shilling a piece." We did so; and he was saluted "My lord" by all of them. He is really generous, loves influence, and has the way of gaining it. He said, "I am quite feudal, Sir." Here I agree with him. I said, I regretted I was not the head of a clan: however, though not possessed of such an hereditary advantage, I would always endeavour to make my tenants follow me. I could not be a patriarchal chief, but I would be a feudal chief.

The poor soldiers got too much liquor. Some of them fought, and left blood upon the spot, and cursed whisky next morning. The house here was built of thick turfs, and thatched with thinner turfs and heath. It had three rooms in length, and a little room which projected. Where we sat, the side-walls were wainscoted, as Dr. Johnson said, with wicker, very neatly plaited. Our landlord had made the whole with his own hands.

After dinner, M^cQueen sat by us a while,

¹ It is very odd, that when these roads were made, there was no care taken for *Inns*. The *King's House*, and the *General's Hut*, are miserable places; but the project and plans were purely military. — WALTER SCOTT.

² Boswell's shame seems to have been not for the meanness of the kirk, but that it should have been unluckily placed in so *visible* a situation. — CROKER.

³ A M^cQueen is a Highland mode of expression. An Englishman would say *one M^cQueen*. But where there are clans or tribes of men, distinguished by patronymic surnames, the individuals of each are considered as if they were

of different species, at least as much as nations are distinguished; so that a M^cQueen, a M^cDonald, a M^cLean, is said, as we say a Frenchman, an Italian, a Spaniard. — BOSWELL. I believe Boswell is mistaken. The English and Scottish idiom are, I think, the same in this respect. An Englishman would say, in such a case, a "Johnson" or a "Jackson," with reference to families, as "such a one married a Johnson;" but with reference to an individual, I presume the Scotch would say, like the English, that "one Macqueen was hurt in the riot." — CROKER, 1846.

and talked with us. He said, all the Laird of Glenmorison's people would bleed for him, if they were well used; but that seventy men had gone out of the glen to America. That he himself intended to go next year; for that the rent of his farm, which twenty years ago was only five pounds, was now raised to twenty pounds. That he could pay ten pounds, and live, but no more. Dr. Johnson said, he wished M^cQueen laird of Glenmorison, and the laird to go to America. M^cQueen very generously answered, he should be sorry for it, for the laird could not shift for himself in America as he could do.

I talked of the officers whom we had left to-day; how much service they had seen, and how little they got for it, even of fame. JOHNSON. "Sir, a soldier gets as little as any man can get." BOSWELL. "Goldsmith has acquired more fame than all the officers of the last war, who were not generals." JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, you will find ten thousand fit to do what they did, before you find one who does what Goldsmith has done. You must consider, that a thing is valued according to its rarity. A pebble that paves the street is in itself more useful than the diamond upon a lady's finger." I wish our friend Goldsmith had heard this.

I yesterday expressed my wonder that John Hay, one of our guides, who had been pressed aboard a man of war, did not choose to continue in it longer than nine months, after which time he got off. JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, no man will be a sailor who has contrivance enough to get himself into a jail; for being in a ship is being in a jail with the chance of being drowned."

We had tea in the afternoon, and our landlord's daughter, a modest, civil girl, very neatly dressed, made it for us. She told us she had been a year at Inverness, and learnt reading and writing, sewing, knotting, working lace, and pastry. Dr. Johnson made her a present of a book which he had bought at Inverness.¹

The room had some deals laid across the joists, as a kind of ceiling. There were two beds in the room, and a woman's gown was hung on a rope to make a curtain of separation between them. Joseph had sheets, which my wife had sent with us, laid on them. We had much hesitation, whether to undress, or lie down with our clothes on. I said at last, "I'll plunge in! There will be less harbour for vermin about me when I am stripped." Dr.

Johnson said, he was like one hesitating whether to go into the cold bath. At last he resolved too. I observed he might serve a campaign. JOHNSON. "I could do all that can be done by patience: whether I should have strength enough, I know not." He was in excellent humour. To see the *Rambler* as I saw him to-night, was really an amusement. I yesterday told him, I was thinking of writing a poetical letter to him, on his return from Scotland, in the style of Swift's humorous epistle in the character of Mary Gulliver to her husband, Captain Lemuel Gulliver, on his return to England from the country of the Houyhnhnms:—

"At early morn I to the market haste,
Studious in ev'ry thing to please thy taste.
A curious fowl and sparagrass I chose;
(For I remember you were fond of those:)
Three shillings cost the first, the last seven groats;
Sullen you turn from both, and call for OATS."

He laughed, and asked in whose name I would write it. I said in Mrs. Thrale's. He was angry. "Sir, if you have any sense of decency or delicacy, you won't do that." BOSWELL. "Then let it be in Cole's, the landlord of the Mitre tavern, where we have so often sat together." JOHNSON. "Ay, that may do."

After we had offered up our private devotions, and had chatted a little from our beds, Dr. Johnson said, "God bless us both, for Jesus Christ's sake! Good night." I pronounced "Amen." He fell asleep immediately. I was not so fortunate for a long time. I fancied myself bit by innumerable vermin under the clothes; and that a spider was travelling from the *wainscot* towards my mouth. At last I fell into insensibility.

Wednesday, Sept. 1.—I awaked very early. I began to imagine that the landlord, being about to emigrate, might murder us to get our money, and lay it upon the soldiers in the barn. Such groundless fears will arise in the mind, before it has resumed its vigour after sleep. Dr. Johnson had had the same kind of ideas; for he told me afterwards that he considered so many soldiers, having seen us, would be witnesses, should any harm be done, and that circumstance, I suppose, he considered as a security. When I got up, I found him sound asleep in his miserable sty, as I may call it, with a coloured handkerchief tied round his head. With difficulty could I awaken him. It

¹ This book has given rise to much inquiry, which was ended in ludicrous surprise. Several ladies, wishing to learn the kind of reading which the great and good Dr. Johnson esteemed most fit for a young woman, desired to know what book he had selected for this Highland nymph. "They never adverted," said he, "that I had no choice in the matter. I have said that I presented her with a book, which I happened to have about me." And what was this book? My readers, prepare your features for merriment. It was Cocker's Arithmetic! Wherever this was mentioned, there was a loud laugh, at which Dr. Johnson, when present, used sometimes to be a little angry. One day, when we were dining at General Oglethorpe's, where we had many a valuable day, I ventured to interrogate him, "But, Sir, is it not somewhat singular that you should happen to have

Cocker's Arithmetic about you on your journey? What made you buy such a book at Inverness?" He gave me a very sufficient answer. "Why, Sir, if you are to have but one book with you upon a journey, let it be a book of science. When you have read through a book of entertainment, you know it, and it can do no more for you; but a book of science is inexhaustible."—BOSWELL. Mr. Carruthers, in his *Highland Note Book*, informs us that Lachlan M^cQueen of Anoch was not a mere innkeeper, but an occupant of the farm; it was stipulated that he should receive travellers; hence his entertainment of the "*Olla Sassanach*" (the hearty Englishman). He did not go to America, but removed to the farm of Dalcatlag in the same glen. His daughter, the donee of Cocker, married Mr. J. Mackintosh, a watch-maker, and died without children in Morayshire.—CROKER, 1846.

reminded me of Henry the Fourth's fine soliloquy on sleep¹, for there was here as uneasy a pallet as the poet's imagination could possibly conceive.

A red coat of the 15th regiment, whether officer, or only sergeant, I could not be sure, came to the house, in his way to the mountains to shoot deer, which it seems the Laird of Glenmorison does not hinder any one to do. Few, indeed, can do them harm. We had him to breakfast with us. We got away about eight. McQueen walked some miles to give us a conveyance. He had, in 1745, joined the Highland army at Fort Augustus, and continued in it till after the battle of Culloden. As he narrated the particulars of that ill-advised, but brave attempt, I could not refrain from tears. There is a certain association of ideas in my mind upon that subject, by which I am strongly affected. The very Highland names, or the sound of a bagpipe, will stir my blood, and fill me with a mixture of melancholy and respect for courage; with pity for an unfortunate and superstitious regard for antiquity, and thoughtless inclination for war; in short, with a crowd of sensations with which sober rationality has nothing to do.

We passed through Glensheal, with prodigious mountains on each side. We saw where the battle was fought, in the year 1719.² Dr. Johnson owned he was now in a scene of as wild nature as he could see; but he corrected me sometimes in my inaccurate observations. "There," said I, "is a mountain like a cone." Johnson. "No, Sir, it would be called so in a book; and when a man comes to look at it, he sees it is not so. It is indeed pointed at the top; but one side of it is larger than the other."³ Another mountain I called immense. Johnson. "No; it is no more than a considerable protuberance."

We came to a rich green valley, compara-

tively speaking, and stopped a while to let our horses rest and eat grass.⁴ We soon afterwards came to Auchnasheal, a kind of rural village, a number of cottages being built together, as we saw all along in the Highlands. We passed many miles this day without seeing a house, but only little summer huts, called shielings. Evan Campbell, servant to Mr. Murchison, factor to the Laird of Macleod in Glenelg, ran along with us to-day. He was a very obliging fellow. At Auchnasheal, we sat down on a green turf-seat at the end of a house; they brought us out two wooden dishes of milk, which we tasted. One of them was frothed like a syllabub. I saw a woman preparing it with such a stick as is used for chocolate, and in the same manner. We had a considerable circle about us, men, women, and children, all McCraas⁵, Lord Seaforth's people. Not one of them could speak English. I observed to Dr. Johnson, it was much the same as being with a tribe of Indians. JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir, but not so terrifying." I gave all who chose it snuff and tobacco. Governor Traupad had made us buy a quantity at Fort Augustus, and put them up in small parcels. I also gave each person a piece of wheat bread, which they had never tasted before. I then gave a penny apiece to each child. I told Dr. Johnson of this: upon which he called to Joseph and our guides, for change for a shilling, and declared that he would distribute among the children. Upon this being announced in Erse, there was a great stir: not only did some children come running down from neighbouring huts, but I observed one black-haired man, who had been with us all along, had gone off, and returned, bringing a very young child. My fellow traveller then ordered the children to be drawn up in a row, and he dealt about his copper, and made them and their parents all happy. The poor McCraas,

¹ "Why, rather. Sleep, ly'st thou in smoky cribs,
Upon uneasy pallets stretching thee;
And hush'd with buzzing night-flies to thy slumber;
Than in the perfum'd chambers of the great,
Under the canopies of costly state,
And lull'd with sounds of sweetest melody?"
Henry IV. act iii. sc. 1. — C.

² In 1719, Spain projected an invasion of Scotland in behalf of the *Chevalier*, and destined a great force for that purpose, under the command of the Duke of Ormond. But owing to storms, only three frigates, with three hundred or four hundred Spaniards on board, arrived in Scotland. They had with them the banished Earl of Seaforth, chief of the Mackenzies, a man of great power, exiled for his share in the rebellion of 1715. He raised a considerable body of Highlanders of his own and friendly clans, and disembarking the Spaniards, came as far as the great valley called Glensheal, in the West Highlands. General Wightman marched against them from Inverness with a few regular forces, and several of the Grants, Rosses, Munros, and other clans friendly to government. He found the insurgents in possession of a very strong pass called Strachel, from which, after a few days' skirmishing, they retired, Seaforth's party not losing a man, and the others having several slain. But the Earl of Seaforth was dangerously wounded in the shoulder, and obliged to be carried back to the ships. His clan deserted or dispersed, and the Spaniards surrendered themselves prisoners of war to General Wightman. — WALTER SCOTT.

³ This was hypercritical; the hill is indeed not a cone, but it is like one. — WALTER SCOTT.

⁴ Dr. Johnson, in his "Journey," thus beautifully de-

scribes his situation here: "I sat down on a bank, such as a writer of romance might have delighted to feign. I had, indeed, no trees to whisper over my head, but a clear rivulet streamed at my feet. The day was calm, the air soft, and all was rudeness, silence, and solitude. Before me, and on either side, were high hills, which, by hindering the eye from ranging, forced the mind to find entertainment for itself. Whether I spent the hour well, I know not; for here I first conceived the thought of this narration." The Critical Reviewers, with a spirit and expression worthy of the subject, say, "We congratulate the public on the event with which this quotation concludes, and are fully persuaded that the hour in which the entertaining traveller conceived this narrative will be considered, by every reader of taste, as a fortunate event in the annals of literature. Were it suitable to the task in which we are at present engaged, to indulge ourselves in a poetical flight, we would invoke the winds of the Caledonian mountains to blow for ever, with their softest breezes, on the bank where our author reclined, and request of Flora, that it might be perpetually adorned with the gayest and most fragrant productions of the year. — BOSWELL.

⁵ The Mac Raes are an example of what sometimes occurred in the Highlands, a clan who had no chief or banner of their own, but mustered under that of another tribe. They were originally attached to the Frasers, but on occasion of an intermarriage, they were transferred to the Mackenzies, and have since mustered under Seaforth's standard. They were always, and are still, a set of bold hardy men, as much attached to the *Caberfa* (or stag's head) as the Mackenzies, to whom the standard properly belongs. — WALTER SCOTT

whatever may be their present state, were of considerable estimation in the year 1715, when there was a line in a song :

" And aw the brave M'Craas are coming." ¹

There was great diversity in the faces of the circle around us ; some were as black and wild in their appearance as any American savages whatever. One woman was as comely almost as the figure of Sappho, as we see it painted. We asked the old woman, the mistress of the house where we had the milk (which, by the by, Dr. Johnson told me, for I did not observe it myself, was built not of turf, but of stone), what we should pay. She said what we pleased. One of our guides asked her, in Erse, if a shilling was enough. She said, "Yes." But some of the men bade her ask more. This vexed me ; because it showed a desire to impose upon strangers, as they knew that even a shilling was high payment. The woman, however, honestly persisted in her first price ; so I gave her half a crown. Thus we had one good scene of life uncommon to us. The people were very much pleased, gave us many blessings, and said they had not had such a day since the old Laird of Macleod's time.

Dr. Johnson was much refreshed by this repast. He was pleased when I told him he would make a good chief. He said, "Were I a chief, I would dress my servants better than myself, and knock a fellow down if he looked saucy to a Macdonald in rags ; but I would not treat men as brutes. I would let them know why all of my clan were to have attention paid to them. I would tell my upper servants why, and make them tell the others."

We rode on well, till we came to the high mountain called the Rattakin, by which time both Dr. Johnson and the horses were a good deal fatigued. It is a terrible steep to climb, notwithstanding the road is formed slanting along it ; however, we made it out. On the top of it we met Captain Macleod, of Balmenoch (a Dutch officer who had come from Sky), riding with his sword slung across him. He asked, "Is this Mr. Boswell ?" which was a proof that we were expected. Going down the hill on the other side was no easy task. As Dr. Johnson was a great weight, the two guides agreed that he should ride the horses alternately. Hay's were the two best, and the Doctor would not ride but upon one or other of them, a black or a brown. But, as Hay complained much after ascending the Rattakin,

the Doctor was prevailed with to mount one of Vass's grays. As he rode upon it down hill, it did not go well, and he grumbled. I walked on a little before, but was excessively entertained with the method taken to keep him in good humour. Hay led the horse's head, talking to Dr. Johnson as much as he could ; and (having heard him, in the forenoon, express a pastoral pleasure on seeing the goats browsing) just when the Doctor was uttering his displeasure, the fellow cried, with a very Highland accent, "See, such pretty goats !" Then he whistled *whu!* and made them jump. Little did he conceive what Dr. Johnson was. Here now was a common ignorant Highland clown imagining that he could divert, as one does a child, Dr. Samuel Johnson ! The ludicrousness, absurdity, and extraordinary contrast between what the fellow fancied, and the reality, was truly comic.

It grew dusky ; and we had a very tedious ride for what was called five miles, but I am sure would measure ten. We had no conversation. I was riding forward to the inn at Glenelg, on the shore opposite to Sky, that I might take proper measures, before Dr. Johnson, who was now advancing in dreary silence, Hay leading his horse, should arrive. Vass also walked by the side of his horse, and Joseph followed behind. As, therefore, he was thus attended, and seemed to be in deep meditation, I thought there could be no harm in leaving him for a little while. He called me back with a tremendous shout, and was really in a passion with me for leaving him. I told him my intentions, but he was not satisfied, and said, "Do you know, I should as soon have thought of picking a pocket, as doing so." BOSWELL. "I am diverted with you, Sir." JOHNSON. "Sir, I could never be diverted with incivility. Doing such a thing makes one lose confidence in him who has done it, as one cannot tell what he may do next." His extraordinary warmth confounded me so much, that I justified myself but lamely to him ; yet my intentions were not improper. I wished to get on, to see how we were to be lodged, and how we were to get a boat ; all which I thought I could best settle myself, without his having any trouble. To apply his great mind to minute particulars is wrong : it is like taking an immense balance (such as is kept on quays for weighing cargoes of ships) to weigh a guinea. I knew I had neat little scales, which would do better ; and that his attention to

¹ The M'Craas, or Macraes, were, since that time, brought into the king's army, by the late Lord Seaforth. When they lay in Edinburgh Castle, in 1778, and were ordered to embark for Jersey, they, with a number of other men in the regiment, for different reasons, but especially an apprehension that they were to be sold to the East India Company, though enlisted not to be sent out of Great Britain without their own consent, made a determined mutiny, and encamped upon the lofty mountain, Arthur's Seat, where they remained three days and three nights, bidding defiance to all the force in Scotland. At last they came down, and embarked peaceably, having obtained formal articles of capitulation, signed by Sir Adolphus Oughton, commander-in-chief, General Skene, deputy commander, the Duke of Buccleugh, and the Earl of

Dunmore, which quitted them. Since the secession of the Commons of Rome to the Mons Sacer, a more spirited exertion has not been made. I gave great attention to it from first to last, and have drawn up a particular account of it. Those brave fellows have since served their country effectually at Jersey, and also in the East Indies, to which, after being better informed, they voluntarily agreed to go. — BOSWELL.

Mr. Macpherson observes that Boswell misquotes the "Chevalier's muster-roll," in which the line is,

"And the wild Mac Ra's comin'."

See Hogg's *Jacobite Relics*. — CROKER.

every thing which falls in his way, and his uncommon desire to be always in the right, would make him weigh, if he knew of the particulars: it was right, therefore, for me to weigh them, and let him have them only in effect. I, however, continued to ride by him, finding he wished I should do so.

As we passed the barracks at Bernéra, I looked at them wishfully, as soldiers have always every thing in the best order; but there was only a sergeant and a few men there. We came on to the inn at Glenelg. There was no provender for our horses; so they were sent to grass, with a man to watch them. A maid showed us up stairs into a room damp and dirty, with bare walls, a variety of bad smells, a coarse black greasy fir table, and forms [benches] of the same kind; and out of a wretched bed started a fellow from his sleep, like Edgar in King Lear, "*Poor Tom's a cold.*"¹

This inn was furnished with not a single article that we could either eat or drink; but Mr. Murchison, factor to the Laird of Macleod, in Glenelg, sent us a bottle of rum and some sugar, with a polite message, to acquaint us, that he was very sorry that he did not hear of us till we had passed his house, otherwise he should have insisted on our sleeping there that night; and that, if he were not obliged to set out for Inverness early next morning, he would have waited upon us. Such extraordinary attention from this gentleman, to entire strangers, deserves the most honourable commemoration.

Our bad accommodation here made me uneasy, and almost fretful. Dr. Johnson was calm. I said he was so from vanity. JOHNSON. "No, Sir; it is from philosophy." It pleased me to see that the *Rambler* could practise so well his own lessons.

I resumed the subject of my leaving him on the road, and endeavoured to defend it better. He was still violent upon that head, and said, "Sir, had you gone on, I was thinking that I should have returned with you to Edinburgh, and then have parted from you, and never spoken to you more."

I sent for fresh hay, with which we made beds for ourselves, each in a room equally miserable. Like Wolfe, we had a "*a choice of difficulties.*"² Dr. Johnson made things easier by comparison. At M'Queen's, last night, he observed, that few were so well lodged in a ship. To-night, he said, we were better than if we had been upon the hill. He lay down buttoned up in his great coat. I had my sheets spread on the hay, and my clothes and great coat laid over me, by way of blankets.³

CHAPTER XXXVI.

1773.

Glenelg. — Isle of Sky. — Armidale. — Sir Alexander Macdonald. — Church of Slate. — Ode on Sky. — Corrichatachin. — Highland Hospitality. — Ode to Mrs. Thrale. — Country Life. — Macpherson's Dissertations. — Second Sight. — Rasay. — Fingal. — Homer. — Infidelity. — Bentley. — Mallett. — Hooke. — Duchess of Marlborough. — Heritable Jurisdictions. — Insular Life. — Macleod. — Sail to Sky. — Discourse on Death. — Lord Elibank. — Ride to Kingsburgh. — Flora Macdonald.

Thursday, Sept. 2. — I HAD slept ill. Dr. Johnson's anger had affected me much. I considered that, without any bad intention, I might suddenly forfeit his friendship; and was impatient to see him this morning. I told him how uneasy he had made me by what he had said, and reminded him of his own remark at Aberdeen, upon old friendships being hastily broken off. He owned, he had spoken to me in passion; that he would not have done what he threatened; and that, if he had, he should have been ten times worse than I; that forming intimacies would indeed be "linning the water," were they liable to such sudden dissolution; and he added, "Let's think no more on't." BOSWELL. "Well then, Sir, I shall be easy. Remember, I am to have fair warning in case of any quarrel. You are never to spring a mine upon me. It was absurd in me to believe you." JOHNSON. "You deserved about as much, as to believe me from night to morning."

After breakfast, we got into a boat for Sky. It rained much when we set off, but cleared up as we advanced. One of the boatmen, who spoke English, said that a mile at land was two miles at sea. I then observed, that from Glenelg to Armidale in Sky, which was our present course, and is called twelve, was only six miles; but this he could not understand. "Well," said Dr. Johnson, "never talk to me of the native good sense of the Highlanders. Here is a fellow who calls one mile two, and yet cannot comprehend that twelve such imaginary miles make in truth but six."

We reached the shore of Armidale before one o'clock. Sir Alexander Macdonald came down to receive us. He and his lady (formerly Miss Boswell⁴, of Yorkshire), were then in a house built by a tenant at this place, which is in the district of Slate, the family

¹ It is amusing to observe the different images which this being presented to Dr. Johnson and me. The Doctor, in his "*Journey*," compares him to a *Cyclops*. — BOSWELL.

² This phrase, now so common, excited some surprise and criticism when used by General Wolfe, in his despatch from before Quebec. See *London Gazette Extraordinary*, 16th October, 1759. — CROKER.

³ Johnson thus describes this scene to Mrs. Thrale: "I ordered hay to be laid thick upon the bed, and slept upon it in my great coat. Boswell laid sheets upon his bed, and reposed in linen, like a gentleman." — *Letters*. — CROKER.

⁴ The Yorkshire branch of the family have generally spelt the name *Bosville*. Their estates are now possessed by Lord Macdonald. — BOSWELL.

mansion here having been burned in Sir Donald Macdonald's time.¹

(The most ancient seat of the chief of the Macdonalds in the Isle of Sky was at Duntulm, where there are the remains of a stately castle. The principal residence of the family is now at Mugstot, at which there is a considerable building. Sir Alexander and Lady Macdonald had come to Armdale in their way to Edinburgh, where it was necessary for them to be soon after this time.)

Armdale is situated on a pretty bay of the narrow sea, which flows between the main land of Scotland and the Isle of Sky. In front there is a grand prospect of the rude mountains of Moidart and Knoidart. Behind are hills gently rising and covered with a finer verdure than I expected to see in this climate, and the scene is enlivened by a number of little clear brooks.)

[Instead of finding the head of the Macdonalds surrounded with his clan, and a festive entertainment, we had a small company, and cannot boast of our cheer. The particulars are minuted in my "Journal," but I shall not trouble the public with them. I shall mention but one characteristic circumstance. My shrewd and hearty friend, Sir Thomas (Wentworth) Blacket, Lady Macdonald's uncle, who had preceded us in a visit to this chief, upon being asked by him, if the punch-bowl, then upon the table, was not a very handsome one, replied, "Yes, if it were full."]

Sir Alexander Macdonald having been an Eton scholar², and being a gentleman of talents, Dr. Johnson had been very well pleased with him in London. But my fellow-traveller and I were now full of the old Highland spirit, and were dissatisfied at hearing [heavy complaints] of rents racked, and [the people driven to] emigration; and finding a chief not surrounded by his clan, Dr. Johnson said, ["It grieves me to see the chief of a great clan appear to such disadvantage. This gentleman has talents, nay, some learning; but he is totally unfit for his situation." I meditated an escape from this house the very next day; but

Dr. Johnson resolved that we should weather it out till Monday. He said,] "Sir, the Highland chiefs should not be allowed to go farther south than Aberdeen. A strong-minded man, like [his brother] Sir James Macdonald, may be improved by an English education; but in general they will be tamed into insignificance."

We found here Mr. Janes of Aberdeenshire, a naturalist. Janes said he had been at Dr. Johnson's in London, with Ferguson the astronomer. JOHNSON. "It is strange that, in such distant places, I should meet with any one who knows me. I should have thought I might hide myself in Sky."

Friday, Sept. 3. — This day proving wet, we should have passed our time very uncomfortably, had we not found in the house two chests of books, which we eagerly ransacked. After dinner, when I alone was left at table with the few Highland gentlemen who were of the company, having talked³ with very high respect of Sir James Macdonald, they were all so much affected as to shed tears. One of them was Mr. Donald Macdonald, who had been lieutenant of grenadiers in the Highland regiment, raised by Colonel Montgomery, now Earl of Eglintoun, in the war before last; one of those regiments which the late Lord Chatham prided himself in having brought from "the mountains of the north;" by doing which he contributed to extinguish in the Highlands the remains of disaffection to the present royal family. From this gentleman's conversation, I first learnt how very popular his colonel was among the Highlanders; of which I had such continued proofs, during the whole course of my Tour, that on my return I could not help telling the noble Earl himself, that I did not before know how great a man he was.

We were advised by some persons here to visit Rasay, in our way to Dunvegan, the seat of the Laird of Macleod. Being informed that the Rev. Mr. Donald McQueen was the most intelligent man in Sky, and having been favoured with a letter of introduction to him, by the learned Sir James Foulis⁴, I sent it to

¹ Here commence the variances between the first and second editions of Boswell's Tour which deserve to be particularly noted. The paragraphs between () were inserted by Mr. Boswell in the second edition to fill the space of those between [], which were in the first edition, and omitted in the second. In the first of these substituted paragraphs, Boswell says, that Sir Alexander and his lady "came to Armdale on their way to Edinburgh, where it was necessary they should be;" but both Boswell and Dr. Johnson really believed that they had come to this hotel, to escape the necessity of entertaining the visitors at their usual residence. Johnson, in a letter to Mrs. Thrale, says, "We had a passage of about twelve miles to the point where [Sir A. Macdonald] resided, having come from his seat, in the middle of the island, to a small house on the shore, as we believe, that he might with less reproach entertain us meanly." If he aspired to meanness, his retrograde ambition was completely gratified; but he did not succeed equally in escaping reproach. He had no cook, nor I suppose much provision; nor had the lady the common decencies of her tea-table: we picked our sugar with our fingers. Boswell was very angry, and reproached him with his improper parsimony." — And again: "I have done thinking of [Sir Alexander], whom we now call Sir Sawney; he has disgusted all mankind by inju-

dicious parsimony, and given occasion to so many stories, that Boswell has some thoughts of collecting them, and making a novel of his life." — *Letters*. These passages, and the extracts from the first edition, leave no doubt as to the person meant in the various allusions to the *mean and parsimonious landlord and chieftain*, which the reader will find in the subsequent parts of the Tour. It was said at the time that Boswell was induced to make these alterations and suppressions by a hostile remonstrance from Sir A. Macdonald. — See *post*, p. 408, n. 3. CROKER.

² See his Latin verses addressed to Dr. Johnson, in the Appendix. — BOSWELL. Indifferent, and, indeed, unintelligible, as these verses are, they probably suggested to Dr. Johnson's mind the writing those Latin verses in *Skye and Inch-Kenneth*, which we shall see presently. — CROKER.

³ Here, in the first edition, was a leaf cancelled, which, no doubt, contained some strictures on Sir Alexander Macdonald's want of hospitality and spirit, still stronger than those which were permitted to appear. — CROKER.

⁴ Sir James Foulis, of Collinton, Bart., was a man of an ancient family, a good scholar, and a hard student; duly imbued with a large share both of Scottish shrewdness and Scottish prejudice. His property, his income at least, was very moderate. Others might have increased it in a voyage

him by an express, and requested he would meet us at Rasay; and at the same time enclosed a letter to the Laird of Macleod, informing him that we intended in a few days to have the honour of waiting on him at Dunvegan.

Dr. Johnson this day endeavoured to obtain some knowledge of the state of the country; but complained that he could get no distinct information about any thing, from those with whom he conversed.

Saturday, Sept. 4.—My endeavours to rouse the English-bred chieftain, in whose house we were, to the feudal and patriarchal feelings, proving ineffectual, Dr. Johnson this morning tried to bring him to our way of thinking. JOHNSON. "Were I in your place, Sir, in seven years I would make this an independent island. I would roast oxen whole, and hang out a flag as a signal to the Macdonalds, to come and get beef and whisky." Sir Alexander was still starting difficulties. JOHNSON. "Nay, Sir; if you are born to object, I have done with you. Sir, I would have a magazine of arms." SIR ALEXANDER. "They would rust." JOHNSON. "Let there be men to keep them clean. Your ancestors did not use to let their arms rust."¹

We attempted in vain to communicate to him a portion of our enthusiasm. He bore with so polite a good-nature our warm, and what some might call Gothic, expostulations on this subject, that I should not forgive myself were I to record all that Dr. Johnson's ardour led him to say. This day was little better than a blank.

Sunday, Sept. 5.—I walked to the parish church of Slate, which is a very poor one. There are no church bells in the island. I was told there were once some; what was become of them, I could not learn. The minister not being at home, there was no service. I went into the church, and saw the monument of Sir James Macdonald, which was elegantly executed at Rome, and has an inscription, written by his friend, George Lord Lytton.²

Dr. Johnson said, the inscription should have been in Latin, as every thing intended to be universal and permanent should be.³

This being a beautiful day, my spirits were

cheered by the mere effect of climate. I had felt a return of spleen during my stay at Armidale, and had it not been that I had Dr. Johnson to contemplate, I should have sunk into dejection; but his firmness supported me. I looked at him, as a man whose head is turning giddy at sea looks at a rock, or any fixed object. I wondered at his tranquillity. He said, "Sir, when a man retires into an island, he is to turn his thoughts entirely to another world. He has done with this."

BOSWELL. "It appears to me, Sir, to be very difficult to unite a due attention to this world, and that which is to come; for, if we engage eagerly in the affairs of life, we are apt to be totally forgetful of a future state; and, on the other hand, a steady contemplation of the awful concerns of eternity renders all objects here so insignificant, as to make us indifferent and negligent about them. JOHNSON. "Sir, Dr. Cheyne has laid down a rule to himself on this subject, which should be imprinted on every mind: '*To neglect nothing to secure my eternal peace, more than if I had been certified I should die within the day: nor to mind any thing that my secular obligations and duties demanded of me, less than if I had been insured to live fifty years more.*'"

I must here observe, that though Dr. Johnson appeared now to be philosophically calm, yet his genius did not shine forth as in companies, where I have listened to him with admiration. The vigour of his mind was, however, sufficiently manifested, by his discovering no symptoms of feeble relaxation in the dull, "weary, flat, and unprofitable" state in which we now were placed.

I am inclined to think that it was on this day he composed the following Ode upon the Isle of Sky, which a few days afterwards he showed me at Rasay:—

"ODA.

"Ponti profundis clausa recessibus,
Strepens procellis, rubipus obsita,
Quam grata defesso virentem
Skia sinum nebuloa pandis.

"His cura, credo, sedibus exulat;
His blanda certe pax habitat locis:
Non ira, non mœror quietis
Insidias meditatur horis.

to India, which he made in the character of a commissioner; but Sir James returned as poor as he went there. Sir James Foulis was one of the few Lowlanders whom Highlanders allowed to be well skilled in the Gaelic, an acquaintance which he made late in life.—WALTER SCOTT.

¹ Dr. Johnson seems to have forgotten that a Highlander going armed at this period incurred the penalty of serving as a common soldier for the first, and of transportation beyond sea for a second offence. And as for "calling out his clan," twelve Highlanders and a bagpipe made a rebellion.—WALTER SCOTT. I think Sir Walter took Johnson's expostulation too literally. He meant by those appeals "to arms and ancestors" no more than a general exhortation to the sluggish chief—as we remind the House of Lords every day of the *Barons at Runnymede*, without meaning to recommend an actual rebellion. See *post*, sub 25th Oct., Johnson's observation to the Duke of Argyll.—CROKER, 1846.

² For which, as well as two letters, written by Sir James, in his last illness, to his mother, see Appendix.—BOSWELL.

³ What a strange perversion of language!—*universal!* Why, if it *had* been in Latin, so far from being *universally* understood, it would have been an utter blank to one (the *better*) half of the creation, and, even of the *men* who might visit it, *ninety-nine* will understand it in English for *one* who could in Latin. Something may be said for epitaphs and inscriptions addressed, as it were, to the world at large—a triumphal arch—the pillar at Blenheim—a monument at Waterloo; but a Latin epitaph, in an English church, appears, in principle, as absurd as the *dinner*, which the doctor gives in Peregrine Pickle, *after the manner of the ancients*. A mortal may surely be well satisfied if his fame lasts as long as the language in which he spoke or wrote.—CROKER.

- "At non cavata rupe latescere,
Menti nec ægræ montibus aviis
Prodest vagari, nec frementes
E scopulo numerare fluctus.
- "Humana virtus non sibi sufficit,
Datur nec æquum cuique animum sibi
Parare posse, ut Stoicorum
Secta crepet nimis alta fallax.
- "Exæstantis pectoris impetum,
Rex summe, solus tu regis arbiter,
Mentisque, te tollente, surgunt,
Te recidunt moderante fluctus."¹

After supper, Dr. Johnson told us, that Isaac Hawkins Browne drank freely for thirty years, and that he wrote his poem, "De Animi Immortalitate," in some of the last of these years.² I listened to this with the eagerness of one, who, conscious of being himself fond of wine, is glad to hear that a man of so much genius and good thinking as Browne had the same propensity.

Monday, Sept. 6. — We set out, accompanied by Mr. Donald McLeod, late of Canna, as our guide. We rode for some time along the district of Slate, near the shore. The houses in general are made of turf, covered with grass. The country seemed well peopled. We came into the district of Strath, and passed along a wild moorish tract of land till we arrived at the shore. There we found good verdure, and some curious whin-rocks, or collections of stones, like the ruins of the foundations of old buildings. We saw also three cairns of considerable size.

About a mile beyond Broadfoot³ is Corri-

chatachin, a farm of Sir Alexander Macdonald's, possessed by Mr. McKinnon⁴, who received us with a hearty welcome, as did his wife, who was what we call in Scotland a *lady-like* woman.⁵ Mr. Pennant, in the course of his tour to the Hebrides, passed two nights at this gentleman's house. On its being mentioned, that a present had here been made to him of a curious specimen of Highland antiquity, Dr. Johnson said, "Sir, it was more than he deserved; the dog is a Whig."⁶

We here enjoyed the comfort of a table plentifully furnished, the satisfaction of which was heightened by a numerous and cheerful company; and we, for the first time, had a specimen of the joyous social manners of the inhabitants of the Highlands. They talked in their own ancient language, with fluent vivacity, and sung many Erse songs with such spirit, that, though Dr. Johnson was treated with the greatest respect and attention, there were moments in which he seemed to be forgotten. For myself, though but a Lowlander, having picked up a few words of the language, I presumed to mingle in their mirth, and joined in the choruses with as much glee as any of the company. Dr. Johnson, being fatigued with his journey, retired early to his chamber, where he composed the following Ode, addressed to Mrs. Thrale⁷: —

"ODA.

"Permeo terras, ubi nuda rupes
Saxeas miscet nebulis ruinas,
Torva ubi rident steriles coloni
Rura laboris.

¹ Various readings. — Line 2. In the manuscript, Dr. Johnson, instead of *rupibus obsita*, had written *imbribus uvida*, and *uvida nubibus*, but struck them both out. Instead of lines 15 and 16, he had written, but afterwards struck out, the following: —

Parare posse, utunque jactet
Grandiloquus nimis alta Zeno. — BOSWELL.

It is very curious that in all the editions of JOHNSON'S WORKS, which I have seen, even down to the Oxford edition of 1825, this poem is given with certain variations, which seem unintelligible. The first amendment, noted by Mr. Boswell, "*obsita rupibus*," is adopted, but the second is not, and the two lines rejected by Dr. Johnson are replaced: the words "*è scopulo*," in the 12th line, are changed into "*In specula*," and in the penultimate line, "*surgunt*," is altered to "*fluctus*." In the last line too, "*residunt*" is printed for "*recidunt*." These last variations look like mere errors of the press; but it is possible that Johnson's Latin poetry has been so little attended to, that the public has been, for forty years past, acquiescing in what appears to be stark nonsense? It seems wonderful that Mr. Murphy (who was himself a Latin poet) and the late Oxford editor should have overlooked these errors. — CROKER.

² Browne died in 1760, aged fifty-four. — BOSWELL.

³ Broadfoot, says Mr. Macpherson. — CROKER.

⁴ That my readers may have my narrative in the style of the country through which I am travelling, it is proper to inform them, that the chief of a clan is denominated by his surname alone, as McLeod, McKinnon, McIntosh. To prefix Mr. to it would be a degradation from the McLeod, &c. My old friend the Laird of McFarlane, the great antiquary, took it highly amiss, when General Wade called him Mr. McFarlane. Dr. Johnson said he could not bring himself to use this mode of address; it seemed to him to be too familiar, as it is the way in which, in all other places, intimates or inferiors are addressed. When the chiefs have titles, they

are denominated by them, as Sir James Grant, Sir Allan M'Lean. The other Highland gentlemen, of landed property, are denominated by their estates, as Rasay, Boisdale; and the wives of all of them have the title of *Ladies*. The tacksmen, or principal tenants, are named by their farms, as Kingsburgh, Corrichatachin; and their wives are called the *mistress* of Kingsburgh, the *mistress* of Corrichatachin. Having given this explanation, I am at liberty to use that mode of speech which generally prevails in the Highlands and the Hebrides. — BOSWELL.

⁵ I am not aware that this epithet had any different meaning in Scotland from that attached to it in England. It is in Johnson's Dictionary, and he himself applied it to one of the Scottish ladies. — CROKER.

⁶ Mr. Boswell does not do full justice to Dr. Johnson, when he leaves it in doubt, whether this was not said (as surely it was) in a spirit of jocularity. Johnson seems to have had a regard for Pennant. See p. 339. — CROKER.

⁷ About fourteen years since, I landed in Sky, with a party of friends, and had the curiosity to ask what was the first idea on every one's mind at landing. All answered separately that it was this Ode. — WALTER SCOTT, 1829.

Sir Walter appended this note to the Ode to Mrs. Thrale, but I should rather suppose that it was the preceding Ode in *Sky* which he and his Scotch friends recollected with pleasure. Surely, after the jocund and hospitable scene just described, the "*torva rura*," — the "*hominum ferorum*," the "*etia nullo decorata cultu*," and the "*squallet informis*," were not grateful. The "*ignota strepitus loquela*" is amusing and not offensive; but whatever may be said of the Doctor's gratitude to his friends in Sky, the classical reader will not have failed to observe how much his taste, and perhaps his Latinity, had improved since the days of the ode "*Ad Urbanum*," and the epigrams to *Savage* and *Eliza*. His verses "*In Theatro*," and those in Sky and in Inch Kenneth, and this ode to Mrs. Thrale, are, though still liable to many criticisms, more natural in their thoughts, and more easy in their expressions, than his earlier attempts in this line. — CROKER.

- "Pervagor gentes hominum ferorum,
Vita ubi nullo decorata cultu
Squallet informis, tugurique fumis
Fæda latescit.
- "Inter erroris salebrosa longi,
Inter ignotæ strepitus loquelæ,
Quot modis mecum, quid agat, requiro,
Thralia dulcis?
- "Seu viri curas pia nupta mulect,
Seu fovet mater sobolem benigna,
Sive cum libris novitate pascit
Sedula mentem:
- "Sit memor nostri, fideique merees
Stet fides constans, meritoque blandum
Thraliæ discant resonare nomen
Littora Skia.

"Scriptum in Skiâ, 6th Sept. 1773."

Tuesday, Sept. 7. — Dr. Johnson was much pleased with his entertainment here. There were many good books in the house: Hector Boethius in Latin; Cave's *Lives of the Fathers*; Baker's *Chronicle*; Jeremy Collier's *Church History*; Dr. Johnson's small *Dictionary*; Craufurd's *Officers of State*, and several more; — a mezzotinto of Mrs. Brooks the actress (by some strange chance in Sky¹); and also a print of Macdonald of Clanranald, with a Latin inscription about the cruelties after the battle of Culloden, which will never be forgotten.

It was a very wet stormy day; we were therefore obliged to remain here, it being impossible to cross the sea to Rasay.

I employed a part of the forenoon in writing this journal. The rest of it was somewhat dreary, from the gloominess of the weather, and the uncertain state which we were in, as we could not tell but it might clear up every hour. Nothing is more painful to the mind than a state of suspense, especially when it depends upon the weather, concerning which there can be so little calculation. As Dr. Johnson said of our weariness on the Monday at Aberdeen, "Sensation is sensation:" Corrichatachin, which was last night a hospitable house, was, in my mind, changed to-day into a prison. After dinner I read some of Dr. Macpherson's "*Dissertations on the Ancient Caledonians*." I was disgusted by the unsatisfactory conjectures as to antiquity, before the days of record. I was happy when tea came. Such, I take it, is the state of those who live in the country.² Meals are wished for from the cravings of vacancy of mind, as well as from the desire of eating. I was hurt to find even such a temporary feebleness, and that I was so far from being that robust wise

man who is sufficient for his own happiness. I felt a kind of lethargy of indolence. I did not exert myself to get Dr. Johnson to talk, that I might not have the labour of writing down his conversation. He inquired here, if there were any remains of the second sight. Mr. [Martin] Macpherson, minister of Slate, said, he was *resolved* not to believe it, because it was founded on no principle. JOHNSON. "There are many things then, which we are sure are true, that you will not believe. What principle is there, why a loadstone attracts iron? why an egg produces a chicken by heat? why a tree grows upwards, when the natural tendency of all things is downwards? Sir, it depends upon the degree of evidence that you have." Young Mr. McKinnon mentioned one M'Kenzie, who is still alive, who had often fainted in his presence, and when he recovered, mentioned visions which had been presented to him. He told Mr. McKinnon, that at such a place he should meet a funeral, and that such and such people would be the bearers, naming four; and three weeks afterwards he saw what M'Kenzie had predicted. The naming the very spot in a country where a funeral comes a long way, and the very people as bearers, when there are so many out of whom a choice may be made, seems extraordinary. We should have sent for M'Kenzie, had we not been informed that he could speak no English. Besides, the facts were not related with sufficient accuracy.

Mrs. McKinnon, who is a daughter of old Kingsburgh (a Macdonald), told us that her father was one day riding in Sky, and some women, who were at work in a field on the side of the road, said to him, they had heard two *taischs* (that is, two voices of persons about to die), and what was remarkable, one of them was an *English taisch*, which they never heard before. When he returned, he at that very place met two funerals, and one of them was that of a woman who had come from the main land, and could speak only English. This, she remarked, made a great impression upon her father.

How all the people here were lodged, I know not. It was partly done by separating man and wife, and putting a number of men in one room, and of women in another.

Wednesday, Sept. 8. — When I waked, the rain was much heavier than yesterday; but the wind had abated. By breakfast, the day was better, and in a little while it was calm and clear. I felt my spirits much elated. The propriety of the expression, "*the sunshine of the breast*,"³ now struck me with peculiar

¹ Mrs. Brooks's father was a Scotchman of the name of Watson, who lost his property, and fled his country, for the Stuart cause, in 1745. Her portrait would naturally enough be found in such company. — CROKER.

² Mr. Boswell should have recollected, that he and Dr. Johnson were probably the only persons of the party who had nothing to do. A country gentleman's life would be

miserable, if he had no more business or interest in the scenes around him than the visiter of a few days at a stranger's house can have. McKinnon would probably have been more, and with more reason, *ennuyé* in Bolt Court, than Johnson and Boswell were at Corrichatachin. — CROKER.

³ Gray's *Ode on the Prospect of Eton College*. No poet has, in proportion to the quantity of his works, furnished

force; for the brilliant rays penetrated into my very soul. We were all in better humour than before. Mrs. McKinnon, with unaffected hospitality and politeness, expressed her happiness in having such company in her house, and appeared to understand and relish Dr. Johnson's conversation; as indeed all the company seemed to do. When I knew she was old *Kingsburgh's* daughter, I did not wonder at the good appearance which she made.

She talked as if her husband and family would emigrate, rather than be oppressed by their landlord¹; and said, "how agreeable would it be, if these gentlemen should come in upon us when we are in America." Somebody observed, that Sir Alexander Macdonald was always frightened at sea. JOHNSON. "*He is frightened at sea; and his tenants are frightened when he comes to land.*"

We resolved to set out directly after breakfast. We had about two miles to ride to the sea side, and there we expected to get one of the boats belonging to the fleet of bounty² herring-busses then on the coast, or at least a good country fishing boat. But while we were preparing to set out, there arrived a man with the following card³ from the Rev. Mr. Donald McQueen:—

"Mr. McQueen's compliments to Mr. Boswell, and begs leave to acquaint him that, fearing the want of a proper boat, as much as the rain of yesterday, might have caused a stop, he is now at Skianwden with *Macgillichallum's*⁴ carriage, to convey him and Dr. Johnson to Rasay, where they will meet with a most hearty welcome, and where Macleod, being on a visit, now attends their motions.

"Wednesday afternoon."

This card was most agreeable; it was a prologue to that hospitable and truly polite reception which we found at Rasay. In a little while arrived Mr. Donald McQueen himself; a decent minister, an elderly man with his own⁵ black hair, courteous, and rather slow of speech, but candid, sensible, and well informed, nay learned. Along with him came, as our pilot, a gentleman whom I had a great desire to see, Mr. Malcolm Macleod, one of the Rasay family, celebrated in the year 1745–6. He was now sixty-two years of age, hale, and well proportioned,—with a manly countenance, tanned by the weather, yet having a ruddiness in his cheeks, over a great part of which his rough beard extended. His eye

was quick and lively, yet his look was not fierce, but he appeared at once firm and good humoured. He wore a pair of brogues; tartan hose which came up only near to his knees, and left them bare; a purple camblet kilt⁶; a black waistcoat; a short green cloth coat bound with gold cord; a yellowish bushy wig; a large blue bonnet with a gold thread button. I never saw a figure that gave a more perfect representation of a Highland gentleman. I wished much to have a picture of him just as he was. I found him frank and *polite*, in the true sense of the word.

The good family at Corrichatachin said they hoped to see us on our return. We rode down to the shore; but Malcolm walked with graceful agility.

We got into *Rasay's* carriage, which was a good strong open boat made in Norway. The wind had now risen pretty high, and was against us; but we had four stout rowers, particularly a Macleod, a robust, black-haired fellow, half naked, and bareheaded, something between a wild Indian and an English tar. Dr. Johnson sat high on the stern, like a magnificent Triton. Malcolm sung an Erse song⁷, the chorus of which was "*Hatyin foam foam eri*," with words of his own. The tune resembled "*O'er the muir among the heather.*" The boatmen and Mr. McQueen chorused, and all went well. At length Malcolm himself took an oar, and rowed vigorously. We sailed along the coast of Scalpa, a rugged island, about four miles in length. Dr. Johnson proposed that he and I should buy it, and found a good school, and an episcopal church (Malcolm⁸ said he would come to it), and have a printing-press, where he would print all the Erse that could be found.

Here I was strongly struck with our long projected scheme of visiting the Hebrides being realised. I called to him, "We are contending with seas;" which I think were the words of one of his letters to me. "Not much," said he; and though the wind made the sea lash considerably upon us, he was not discomposd. After we were out of the shelter of Scalpa, and in the sound between it and Rasay, which extended about a league, the wind made the sea very rough. I did not like it.⁹ JOHNSON. "This now is the Atlantic. If I should tell, at a tea-table in London, that I have crossed the Atlantic in an open boat, how they'd shudder, and what a fool they'd

so many expressions which, by their felicity, have become proverbial, as Gray. He has written little, but his lines are in every mouth, and fall from every pen. — CROKER.

¹ Sir Alexander Macdonald. — CROKER.

² Fishing under the encouragement of a bounty. — CROKER.

³ What is now called a note, was, at the period at which Mr. Boswell wrote, frequently called a card, and indeed were often written on the backs of playing cards. — CROKER.

⁴ The Highland expression for Laird of Rasay. — BOSWELL. Meaning "*the son of the youth, Colin*,"—the ancestor of this branch having been, no doubt, in his day designated as "young Colin Macleod." — CROKER.

⁵ Wigs were still generally worn. We can hardly reconcile

ourselves to "a yellowish, bushy wig" as part of the costume of "a perfect Highland gentleman." — CROKER.

⁶ To evade the law against the tartan dress, the Highlanders used to dye their variegated plaids and kilts into blue, green, or any single colour. — WALTER SCOTT.

⁷ See p. 364., a translation of this song. — CROKER.

⁸ The Highlanders were all well inclined to the episcopalian form, *provisio* that the right king was prayed for. I suppose Malcolm meant to say, "I will come to your church because you are honest folk," viz. *Jacobites*. — WALTER SCOTT.

⁹ Johnson, in his letters to Mrs. Thrale, intimates that Mr. Boswell was a timid sailor. — CROKER.

think me to expose myself to such danger!" He then repeated Horace's Ode—

"Otium divos rogat in patenti
Prensus Ægæo——."¹

In the confusion and hurry of this boisterous sail, Dr. Johnson's spurs, of which Joseph had charge, were carried overboard into the sea, and lost. This was the first misfortune that had befallen us. Dr. Johnson was a little angry at first, observing that "there was something wild in letting a pair of spurs be carried into the sea out of a boat;" but then he remarked "that, as James the naturalist had said upon losing his pocket-book, it was rather an inconvenience than a loss." He told us he now recollected that he dreamt the night before, that he put his staff into a river, and chanced to let it go, and it was carried down the stream and lost. "So now you see," said he, "that I have lost my spurs; and this story is better than many of those which we have concerning second sight and dreams."² Mr. McQueen said he did not believe the second sight; that he never met with any well-attested instances; and if he should, he should impute them to chance; because all who pretend to that quality often fail in their predictions, though they take a great scope, and sometimes interpret literally, sometimes figuratively, so as to suit the events. He told us that, since he came to be minister of the parish where he now is, the belief of witchcraft, or charms, was very common, in-somuch that he had many prosecutions before his session (the parochial ecclesiastical court) against women, for having by these means carried off the milk from people's cows. He disregarded them; and there is not now the least vestige of that superstition. He preached against it; and in order to give a strong proof to the people that there was nothing in it, he said from the pulpit, that every woman in the parish was welcome to take the milk from his cows, provided she did not touch them.³

Dr. Johnson asked him as to Fingal. He said he could repeat some passages in the original; that he heard his grandfather had a copy of it; but that he could not affirm that Ossian composed all that poem as it is now published. This came pretty much to what Dr. Johnson had maintained⁴; though he goes farther, and contends that it is no better than such an epic poem as he could make from the

song of Robin Hood; that is to say, that, except a few passages, there is nothing truly ancient but the names and some vague traditions. Mr. McQueen alleged that Homer was made up of detached fragments. Dr. Johnson denied this; observing, that it had been one work originally, and that you could not put a book of the Iliad out of its place; and he believed the same might be said of the Odyssey.

The approach to Rasay was very pleasing. We saw before us a beautiful bay, well defended by a rocky coast; a good family mansion; a fine verdure about it, with a considerable number of trees; and beyond it hills and mountains in gradation of wildness. Our boatmen sung with great spirit. Dr. Johnson observed, that naval music was very ancient. As we came near the shore, the singing of our rowers was succeeded by that of reapers, who were busy at work, and who seemed to shout as much as to sing, while they worked with a bounding activity. Just as we landed, I observed a cross, or rather the ruins of one, upon a rock, which had to me a pleasing vestige of religion. I perceived a large company coming out from the house. We met them as we walked up. There were *Rasay* himself; his brother Dr. Macleod; his nephew the Laird of McKinnon; the Laird of Macleod; Colonel Macleod of Talisker, an officer in the Dutch service, a very genteel man, and a faithful branch of the family; Mr. Macleod of Muirravenside, best known by the name of Sandie Macleod, who was long in exile on account of the part which he took in 1745; and several other persons. We were welcomed upon the green, and conducted into the house, where we were introduced to Lady Rasay, who was surrounded by a numerous family, consisting of three sons and ten daughters.⁵ The Laird of Rasay is a sensible, polite, and most hospitable gentleman. I was told that his island of Rasay, and that of Rona (from which the eldest son of the family has his title), and a considerable extent of land which he has in Sky, do not altogether yield him a very large revenue⁶; and yet he lives in great splendour; and so far is he from distressing his people, that, in the present rage for emigration, not a man has left his estate.

It was past six o'clock when we arrived. Some excellent brandy was served round immediately, according to the custom of the

1 "Caught in the wide Ægæan seas,
The sailor prays to heaven for ease."
Hor. Od. 11. 16.—C.

2 He lost his staff also soon after.—CROKER, 1846.

3 Such spells are still believed in. A lady of property in Mull, a friend of mine, had a few years since much difficulty in rescuing from the superstitious fury of the people, an old woman, who used a *charm* to injure her neighbour's cattle. It is now in my possession, and consists of feathers, parings of nails, hair, and such like trash, wrapt in a lump of clay.—WALTER SCOTT.

4 This seems the common sense of this once furious controversy.—WALTER SCOTT. See *anté*, p. 277., and *post*, p. 341.—C.

5 "We were," says Johnson, "introduced into the house, which one of the company called the 'Court of Rasay,' with politeness which not the Court of Versailles could have thought defective."—*Letters.*—CROKER.

6 Johnson says, "The money which *Rasay* raises from all his dominions, which contain, at least, fifty thousand acres, is not believed to exceed 250*l.*; but as he keeps a large farm in his own hands, he sells every year a great number of cattle, which adds to his revenue; and his table is furnished from the farm and from the sea with very little expense, except for those things which this country does not produce, and of those he is very liberal. The wine circulates liberally, and the tea, coffee, and chocolate, however they are got, are always at hand."—*Letters.*—CROKER.

Highlands, where a dram is generally taken every day. They call it a *scalch*. On a side-board was placed for us, who had come off the sea, a substantial dinner, and a variety of wines. Then we had coffee and tea. I observed in the room several elegantly bound books and other marks of improved life. Soon afterwards a fiddler appeared, and a little ball began. *Rasay* himself danced with as much spirit as any man, and Malcolm bounded like a roe. Sandie Macleod, who has at times an excessive flow of spirits, and had it now, was, in his days of absconding, known by the name of *M'Cruslick*¹, which it seems was the designation of a kind of wild man in the Highlands something between Proteus and Don Quixote; and so he was called here. He made much jovial noise. Dr. Johnson was so delighted with this scene, that he said, "I know not how we shall get away." It entertained me to observe him sitting by, while we danced, sometimes in deep meditation, sometimes smiling complacently, sometimes looking upon Hooke's Roman History, and sometimes talking a little, amidst the noise of the ball, to Mr. Donald M'Queen, who anxiously gathered knowledge from him. He was pleased with M'Queen, and said to me, "This is a critical man, Sir. There must be great vigour of mind to make him cultivate learning so much in the isle of Sky, where he might do without it. It is wonderful how many of the new publications he has. There must be a snatch of every opportunity." Mr. M'Queen told me that his brother (who is the fourth generation of the family following each other as ministers of the parish of Snizort) and he joined together, and bought from time to time such books as had reputation. Soon after we came in, a black cock and gray hen, which had been shot, were shown, with their feathers on, to Dr. Johnson, who had never seen that species of bird before. We had a company of thirty at supper; and all was good humour and gaiety, without intemperance.

Thursday, Sept. 9.—At breakfast this morning, among a profusion of other things, there were oatcakes, made of what is called *graddaned* meal, that is, meal made of grain separated from the husks, and toasted by fire, instead of being threshed and kiln-dried. This seems to be bad management, as so much fodder is consumed by it. Mr M'Queen however defended it, by saying, that it is doing the thing much quicker, as one operation effects what is otherwise done by two. His chief reason however was, that the servants in

Sky are, according to him, a faithless pack, and steal what they can; so that much is saved by the corn passing but once through their hands, as at each time they pilfer some. It appears to me, that the *graddaning* is a strong proof of the laziness of the Highlanders, who will rather make fire act for them, at the expense of fodder, than labour themselves. There was also, what I cannot help disliking at breakfast, cheese: it is the custom over all the Highlands to have it; and it often smells very strong, and poisons to a certain degree the elegance of an *Indian* repast.² The day was showery; however, *Rasay* and I took a walk, and had some cordial conversation. I conceived a more than ordinary regard for this worthy gentleman. His family has possessed this island above four hundred years. It is the remains of the estate of Macleod of Lewis, whom he represents. When we returned, Dr. Johnson walked with us to see the old chapel. He was in fine spirits. He said, "This is truly the patriarchal life: this is what we came to find."

After dinner, *M'Cruslick*, Malcolm, and I went out with guns, to try if we could find any black-cock; but we had no sport, owing to a heavy rain. I saw here what is called a Danish fort. Our evening was passed as last night was. One of our company³, I was told, had hurt himself by too much study, particularly of infidel metaphysicians, of which he gave a proof on second sight being mentioned. He immediately retailed some of the fallacious arguments of Voltaire and Hume against miracles in general. Infidelity in a Highland gentleman appeared to me peculiarly offensive. I was sorry for him, as he had otherwise a good character. I told Dr. Johnson that he had studied himself into infidelity. JOHNSON. "Then he must study himself out of it again; that is the way. Drinking largely will sober him again."

Friday, Sept. 10.—Having resolved to explore the island of *Rasay*, which could be done only on foot, I last night obtained my fellow-traveller's permission to leave him for a day, he being unable to take so hardy a walk. Old Mr. Malcolm Macleod, who had obligingly promised to accompany me, was at my bedside between five and six. I sprang up immediately; and he and I, attended by two other gentlemen, traversed the country during the whole of this day. Though we had passed over not less than four and twenty miles of very rugged ground, and had a Highland

¹ Alexander Macleod, of Muiravenside, advocate, became extremely obnoxious to government by his zealous personal efforts to engage his chief Macleod, and Macdonald of Sky, in the Chevalier's attempts of 1745. Had he succeeded, it would have added one third at least to the Jacobite army. Boswell has oddly described *M'Cruslick*, the being whose name was conferred upon this gentleman, as something betwixt Proteus and Don Quixote. It is the name of a species of satyr, or *esprit follet*, a sort of mountain Puck or hobgoblin, seen among the wilds and mountains, as the old Highlanders believed, sometimes mirthful, sometimes

mischievous. Alexander Macleod's precarious mode of life, and variable spirits, occasioned the *soubriquet*.—WALTER SCOTT.

² Mr. Boswell forgets that there were breakfasts before the *Indian* luxuries of tea and sugar had been introduced: these were the intruders.—CROKER.

³ Sir Walter Scott thought this was *Talisker*, but he was certainly mistaken. Mr. William Macpherson satisfied me, that the gentleman alluded to was the Laird of Mackinnon.—CROKER, 1835.

dance on the top of Dun Can, the highest mountain in the island, we returned in the evening not at all fatigued, and piqued ourselves at not being outdone at the nightly ball by our less active friends, who had remained at home.

My survey of Rasay did not furnish much which can interest my readers; I shall therefore put into as short a compass as I can the observations upon it, which I find registered in my journal. It is about fifteen English miles long and four broad. On the south side is the Laird's family seat, situated on a pleasing low spot. The old tower of three stories, mentioned by Martin, was taken down soon after 1746, and a modern house supplies its place. There are very good grass-fields and corn-lands about it, well-dressed. I observed, however, hardly any inclosures, except a good garden plentifully stocked with vegetables, and strawberries, raspberries, currants, &c.

On one of the rocks just where we landed, which are not high, there is rudely carved a square, with a crucifix in the middle. Here, it is said, the Lairds of Rasay, in old times, used to offer up their devotions. I could not approach the spot without a grateful recollection of the event commemorated by this symbol.

A little from the shore, westward, is a kind of subterraneous house. There has been a natural fissure, or separation of the rock, running towards the sea, which has been roofed over with long stones, and above them turf has been laid. In that place the inhabitants used to keep their oars. There are a number of trees near the house, which grow well; some of them of a pretty good size. They are mostly plane and ash. A little to the west of the house is an old ruinous chapel, unroofed, which never has been very curious. We here saw some human bones of an uncommon size. There was a heel-bone, in particular, which Dr. Macleod said was such, that if the foot was in proportion, it must have been twenty-seven inches long. Dr. Johnson would not look at the bones. He started back from them with a striking appearance of horror.¹ Mr. M'Queen told us, it was formerly much the custom, in these isles, to have human bones lying above ground, especially in the windows of churches.² On the south of the chapel is the family burying-place. Above the door, on the east end of it, is a small bust or image of the Virgin Mary, carved upon a stone which makes part of the wall. There is no church upon the island. It is annexed to one of the

parishes of Sky; and the minister comes and preaches either in *Rasay's* house or some other house, on certain Sundays. I could not but value the family seat more, for having even the ruins of a chapel close to it. There was something comfortable in the thought of being so near a piece of consecrated ground. Dr. Johnson said, "I look with reverence upon every place that has been set apart for religion;" and he kept off his hat while he was within the walls of the chapel.

The eight crosses, which Martin mentions as pyramids for deceased ladies, stood in a semicircular line, which contained within it the chapel. They marked out the boundaries of the sacred territory within which an asylum was to be had. One of them, which we observed upon our landing, made the first point of the semicircle. There are few of them now remaining. A good way farther north, there is a row of buildings about four feet high: they run from the shore on the east along the top of a pretty high eminence, and so down to the shore on the west, in much the same direction with the crosses. *Rasay* took them to be the marks for the asylum; but Malcolm thought them to be false sentinels, a common deception, of which instances occur in Martin, to make invaders imagine an island better guarded. Mr. Donald M'Queen justly, in my opinion, supposed the crosses which form the inner circle to be the church's landmarks.

The south end of the island is much covered with large stones or rocky strata. The Laird has enclosed and planted part of it with firs, and he showed me a considerable space marked out for additional plantations.

Dun Can is a mountain three computed miles from the Laird's house. The ascent to it is by consecutive risings, if that expression may be used when valleys intervene, so that there is but a short rise at once; but it is certainly very high above the sea. The palm of altitude is disputed for by the people of Rasay and those of Sky; the former contending for Dun Can, the latter for the mountains in Sky, over against it. We went up the east side of Dun Can pretty easily. It is mostly rocks all around, the points of which hem the summit of it. Sailors, to whom it was a good object as they pass along, call it *Rasay's* cap. Before we reached this mountain, we passed by two lakes. Of the first Malcolm told me a strange fabulous tradition. He said, there was a wild beast in it, a sea-horse, which came and devoured a man's daughter; upon which the man lighted a great fire, and had a sow roasted at it, the smell of which attracted the monster.

¹ Lord Stowell told me, that on the road from Newcastle to Berwick, Dr. Johnson and he passed a cottage, at the entrance of which were set up two of those great bones of the whale, which are not unfrequently seen in maritime districts. Johnson expressed great horror at the sight of these bones; and called the people, who could use such

relics of mortality as an ornament, mere savages. — CROKER.

² It is perhaps a Celtic custom; for I observed it in Ireland occasionally, especially at [the ruined abbey church on] the celebrated promontory of Mucruss, at Killarney. — WALTER SCOTT.

In the fire was put a spit. The man lay concealed behind a low wall of loose stones, and he had an avenue formed for the monster, with two rows of large flat stones, which extended from the fire over the summit of the hill, till it reached the side of the loch. The monster came, and the man with the red-hot spit destroyed it. Malcolm showed me the little hiding place and the rows of stones. He did not laugh when he told this story. I recollect having seen in the Scots Magazine, several years ago, a poem upon a similar tale, perhaps the same, translated from the Erse, or Irish, called "Albin and the Daughter of Mey."¹

There is a large tract of land, possessed as a common, in Rasay. They have no regulations as to the number of cattle; every man puts upon it as many as he chooses. From Dun Can northward, till you reach the other end of the island, there is much good natural pasture, unenumbered by stones. We passed over a spot which is appropriated for the exercising ground. In 1745, a hundred fighting men were reviewed here, as Malcolm told me, who was one of the officers that led them to the field. They returned home all but about fourteen. What a princely thing is it to be able to furnish such a band! *Rasay* has the true spirit of a chief. He is, without exaggeration, a father to his people.

There is plenty of limestone in the island, a great quarry of freestone, and some natural woods, but none of any age, as they cut the trees for common country uses. The lakes, of which there are many, are well stocked with trout. Malcolm caught one of four and twenty pounds' weight in the loch next to Dun Can, which, by the way, is certainly a Danish name², as most names of places in these islands are.

The old castle, in which the family of Rasay formerly resided, is situated upon a rock very near the sea. The rock is not one mass of stone, but a congregation of pebbles and earth, so firm that it does not appear to have mouldered. In this remnant of antiquity I found nothing worthy of being noticed, except a certain accommodation rarely to be found at the modern houses of Scotland, and which Dr. Johnson and I sought for in vain at the Laird of Rasay's new built mansion, where nothing else was wanting. I took the liberty to tell the Laird it was a shame there should be such a deficiency in civilised times. He acknowledged the justice of the remark. But perhaps some generations may pass before the want is supplied. Dr. Johnson observed to me, how

quietly people will endure an evil, which they might at any time very easily remedy; and mentioned, as an instance, that the present family of Rasay had possessed the island for more than four hundred years, and never made a commodious landing-place, though a few men with pickaxes might have cut an ascent of stairs out of any part of the rock in a week's time.³

The north end of Rasay is as rocky as the south end. From it I saw the little isle of Fladda, belonging to *Rasay*, all fine green ground; and Rona, which is of so rocky a soil that it appears to be a pavement. I was told, however, that it has a great deal of grass in the interstices. The Laird has it all in his own hands. At this end of the island of Rasay is a cave in a striking situation; it is in a recess of a great cleft, a good way up from the sea. Before it the ocean roars, being dashed against monstrous broken rocks; grand and awful *propugnacula*. On the right hand of it is a longitudinal cave, very low at the entrance, but higher as you advance. The sea having scooped it out, it seems strange and unaccountable that the interior part, where the water must have operated with less force, should be loftier than that which is more immediately exposed to its violence. The roof of it is all covered with a kind of petrifications formed by drops, which perpetually distil from it. The first cave has been a place of much safety. I find a great difficulty in describing visible objects. I must own too, that the old castle and cave, like many other things, of which one hears much, did not answer my expectations. People are every where apt to magnify the curiosities of their country.

This island has abundance of black cattle, sheep, and goats; a good many horses, which are used for ploughing, carrying out dung, and other works of husbandry. I believe the people never ride. There are indeed no roads through the island, unless a few detached beaten tracks deserve that name. Most of the houses are upon the shore; so that all the people have little boats, and catch fish. There is great plenty of potatoes here. There are black-cock in extraordinary abundance, moor-fowl, plover and wild pigeons, which seemed to me to be the same as we have in pigeon-houses, in their state of nature. *Rasay* has no pigeon-house. There are no hares nor rabbits in the island, nor was there ever known to be a fox, till last year, when one was landed on it by some malicious person, without whose aid he could not have got thither, as that animal is

¹ An Hebridean version, it would seem, of the story of Perseus and Andromeda. — CROKER.

² It is clearly an Erse or Celtic name, compounded of *Dun*, a hill, and *Can*, the head — *i. e.* the highest hill. So in Scotland, *Kan-tyr*, the head land or promontory. It may be observed that *Kent* — the Kantian promontory of England — is no doubt a contraction of *Kan-tyr*, the head land, as the name of the capital — *Can-tyr-bury*, the fortress of the promontorial land — denotes. — CROKER.

³ Though Johnson thus censured *Rasay* and his ancestors for having remained four hundred years without rendering their island accessible by a landing place, yet, when he came to write his Journal, he remembered that, perhaps, it was only for the last few years that it was desirable it should be accessible. "I know not whether, for many ages, it was not considered as a part of military policy to keep the country not easily accessible." — CROKER.

known to be a very bad swimmer. He has done much mischief. There is a great deal of fish caught in the sea round Rasay; it is a place where one may live in plenty, and even in luxury. There are no deer; but *Rasay* told us he would get some.

They reckon it rains nine months in the year in this island, owing to its being directly opposite to the *western*¹ coast of Sky, where the watery clouds are broken by high mountains. The hills here, and indeed all the heathy grounds in general, abound with the sweet-smelling plant which the Highlanders call *gaul*, and (I think) with dwarf juniper in many places. There is enough of turf, which is their fuel, and it is thought there is a mine of coal. Such are the observations which I made upon the island of Rasay, upon comparing it with the description given by Martin, whose book we had with us.

There has been an ancient league between the families of Macdonald and Rasay. Whenever the head of either family dies, his sword is given to the head of the other. The present *Rasay* has the late Sir James Macdonald's sword. Old *Rasay* joined the Highland army in 1745, but prudently guarded against a forfeiture, by previously conveying his estate to the present gentleman, his eldest son. On that occasion, Sir Alexander, father of the late Sir James Macdonald, was very friendly to his neighbour. "Don't be afraid, *Rasay*," said he, "I'll use all my interest to keep you safe; and if your estate should be taken, I'll buy it for the family." And he would have done it.

Let me now gather some gold dust, some more fragments of Dr. Johnson's conversation, without regard to order of time. He said, "he thought very highly of Bentley; that no man now went so far in the kinds of learning that he cultivated; that the many attacks on him were owing to envy, and to a desire of being known, by being in competition with such a man; that it was safe to attack him, because he never answered his opponents, but let them die away. It was attacking a man who would not beat them, because his beating them would make them live the longer. And he was right not to answer; for, in his hazardous method of writing, he could not but be often enough wrong; so it was better to leave things to their general appearance, than own himself to have erred in particulars." He said, "Mallet was the prettiest dressed puppet about town, and always kept good company.

That, from his way of talking, he saw, and always said, that he had not written any part of the *Life of the Duke of Marlborough*, though perhaps he intended to do it at some time, in which case he was not culpable in taking the pension. That he imagined the Duchess furnished the materials for her *Apology*, which Hooke wrote, and Hooke furnished the words and the order, and all that in which the art of writing consists. That the Duchess had not superior parts, but was a bold frontless woman, who knew how to make the most of her opportunities in life. That Hooke got a large sum of money for writing her *Apology*. That he wondered Hooke should have been weak enough to insert so profligate a maxim, as that to tell another's secret to one's friend is no breach of confidence; though perhaps Hooke, who was a virtuous man, as his *History* shows, and did not wish her well, though he wrote her *Apology*, might see its ill tendency, and yet insert it at her desire.² He was acting only ministerially." I apprehend, however, that Hooke was bound to give his best advice. I speak as a lawyer. Though I have had clients whose causes I could not, as a private man, approve; yet, if I undertook them, I would not do anything that might be prejudicial to them, even at their desire, without warning them of their danger.

Saturday, Sept. 11.—It was a storm of wind and rain, so we could not set out. I wrote some of this journal, and talked awhile with Dr. Johnson in his room, and passed the day, I cannot well say how, but very pleasantly. I was here amused to find Mr. Cumberland's comedy of the "Fashionable Lover," in which he has very well drawn a Highland character, Colin Macleod, of the same name with the family under whose roof we now were. Dr. Johnson was much pleased with the Laird of Macleod³, who is indeed a most promising youth, and with a noble spirit struggles with difficulties, and endeavours to preserve his people. He has been left with an incumbrance of forty thousand pounds debt, and annuities to the amount of thirteen hundred pounds a year. Dr. Johnson said, "If he gets the better of all this, he'll be a hero; and I hope he will. I have not met with a young man who had more desire to learn, or who has learnt more. I have seen nobody that I wish more to do a kindness to than Macleod." Such was the honourable eulogium on this young chieftain, pronounced by an accurate observer, whose praise was never lightly bestowed.

¹ So in all the editions, but the *eastern* coast of Sky is next to Rasay. Boswell means that the eastern coast of Sky is *westward* of Rasay. — CROKER.

² See *enté*, p. 46. — C.

³ The late General Macleod, born in 1754. In 1776, he entered the army, raising, then, an independent company, and in 1780, the second battalion of the forty-second, which he led to India, where he served with great distinction. On his return home, he became M.P. for the county of Inverness, as his grandfather had been; but so far from extinguishing the debt on his estate, he increased it; for though

he had sold a great tract of land in Harris, he left at his death, in 1801, the original debt of 50,000*l.* increased to 70,000*l.* — C. An autobiographical fragment by General Macleod was communicated to me by that gentleman's son, the late M.P. for Sudbury, and published in the Appendix of my first edition; but too small a part of it relates to Dr. Johnson to allow of its introduction into this compressed volume. The General, with much compliment to the character of his illustrious guest, complains of his incredulity as to Ossian. — CROKER, 1846.

There is neither justice of peace nor constable in Rasay. Sky has Mr. Macleod of Ulinish, who is the sheriff substitute, and no other justice of peace. The want of the execution of justice is much felt among the islanders. Macleod very sensibly observed, that taking away the heritable jurisdictions had not been of such service in the islands as was imagined. They had not authority enough in lieu of them. What could formerly have been settled at once, must now either take much time and trouble, or be neglected. Dr. Johnson said, "A country is in a bad state, which is governed only by laws; because a thousand things occur for which laws cannot provide, and where authority ought to interpose. Now destroying the authority of the chiefs sets the people loose. It did not pretend to bring any positive good, but only to cure some evil; and I am not well enough acquainted with the country to know what degree of evil the heritable jurisdictions occasioned." I maintained, hardly any; because the chiefs generally acted right, for their own sakes.

Dr. Johnson was now wishing to move. There was not enough of intellectual entertainment for him, after he had satisfied his curiosity, which he did, by asking questions, till he had exhausted the island; and where there was so numerous a company, mostly young people, there was such a flow of familiar talk, so much noise, and so much singing and dancing, that little opportunity was left for his energetic conversation. He seemed sensible of this; for when I told him how happy they were at having him there, he said, "Yet we have not been able to entertain them much." I was fretted, from irritability of nerves, by *Mr. Cruslick's* too obstreperous mirth.¹ I complained of it to my friend, observing we should be better if he was gone. "No, Sir," said he. "He puts something into our society, and takes nothing out of it." Dr. Johnson, however, had several opportunities of instructing the company; but I am sorry to say, that I did not pay sufficient attention to what passed, as his discourse now turned chiefly on mechanics, agriculture, and such subjects, rather than on science and wit. Last night Lady Rasay showed him the operation of *wawking* cloth, that is, thickening it in the same manner as is done by a mill. Here it is performed by women, who kneel upon the ground, and rub it with both their hands, singing an Erse song all the time. He was asking questions while they were performing this operation, and, amidst their loud and wild howl, his voice was heard even in the room above.

They dance here every night. The queen of our ball was the eldest Miss Macleod, of Rasay, an elegant well-bred woman, and celebrated for her beauty over all those regions, by the name of Miss Flora Rasay.² There seemed to be no jealousy, no discontent among them; and the gaiety of the scene was such, that I for a moment doubted whether unhappiness had any place in Rasay. But my delusion was soon dispelled, by recollecting the following lines of my fellow-traveller:—

"Yet hope not life from pain or danger free,
Or think the doom of man reversed for thee!"

Sunday, Sept. 12.—It was a beautiful day, and although we did not approve of travelling on Sunday, we resolved to set out, as we were in an island from whence one must take occasion as it serves. Macleod and *Talisher* sailed in a boat of Rasay's for Sconser, to take the shortest way to Dunvegan. *Mr. Cruslick* went with them to Sconser, from whence he was to go to Slate, and so to the main land. We were resolved to pay a visit at Kingsburgh, and see the celebrated Miss Flora Macdonald, who is married to the present Mr. Macdonald of Kingsburgh; so took that road, though not so near. All the family, but Lady Rasay, walked down to the shore to see us depart. *Rasay* himself went with us in a large boat, with eight oars, built in his island; as did Mr. Malcolm Macleod, Mr. Donald McQueen, Dr. Macleod, and some others. We had a most pleasant sail between Rasay and Sky; and passed by a cave, where Martin says fowls were caught by lighting fire in the mouth of it. Malcolm remembers this. But it is not now practised, as few fowls come into it.

We spoke of Death. Dr. Johnson on this subject observed, that the boastings of some men, as to dying easily, were idle talk³, proceeding from partial views. I mentioned Hawthornden's Cypress Grove, where it is said that the world is a mere show; and that it is unreasonable for a man to wish to continue in a show-room after he has seen it. Let him go cheerfully out, and give place to other spectators.⁴ JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir, if he is sure he is to be well, after he goes out of it. But if he is to grow blind after he goes out of the show-room, and never to see any thing again; or if he does not know whither he is to go next, a man will not go cheerfully out of a show-room. No wise man will be contented to die, if he thinks he is to go into a state of punishment. Nay, no wise man will be contented to die, if he thinks he is to fall into annihilation: for, however unhappy any man's existence may be

¹ See *anté*, p. 318. n. 1. — C.

² She had been some time at Edinburgh, to which she again went, and was married [1777] to my worthy neighbour, Colonel Mure Campbell, now Earl of Loudoun; but she died soon afterwards, leaving one daughter. — BOSWELL. Her daughter, Countess of Loudoun in her own right, married the late Earl of Moira, created Marquis of Hastings, and is the mother of the present Marquis. — CROKER.

³ See *anté*, p. 211. — C.

⁴ "They which forewent us did leave a room for us, an why should we grieve to doe the same to those which shoul come after us? Who, being admitted to see the exquisite rarities of some antiquary's cabinet, is grieved, all viewed, to have the curtain drawn, and give place to new Pilgrims? &c. — *Cypress Grove*, edit. 1630. — LOCKHART.

he yet would rather have it, than not exist at all. No; there is no rational principle by which a man can die contented, but a trust in the mercy of God, through the merits of Jesus Christ." This short sermon, delivered with an earnest tone, in a boat upon the sea, which was perfectly calm, on a day appropriated to religious worship, while every one listened with an air of satisfaction, had a most pleasing effect upon my mind.

Pursuing the same train of serious reflection, he added, that it seemed certain that happiness could not be found in this life, because so many had tried to find it, in such a variety of ways, and had not found it.

We reached the harbour of Portree, in Sky, which is a large and good one. There was lying in it a vessel to carry off the emigrants, called the Nestor. It made a short settlement of the differences between a chief and his clan:—

—— "Nestor componere lites
Inter Peleiden festinat et inter Atriden."¹

We approached her, and she hoisted her colours. Dr. Johnson and Mr. McQueen remained in the boat: *Rasay* and I, and the rest, went on board of her. She was a very pretty vessel, and, as we were told, the largest in Clyde. Mr. Harrison, the captain, showed her to us. The cabin was commodious, and even elegant. There was a little library, finely bound. Portree has its name from King James the Fifth having landed there in his tour through the Western Isles, *ree* in Erse being king, as *re* is in Italian; so it is Port-Royal.² There was here a tolerable inn. On our landing, I had the pleasure of finding a letter from home; and there were also letters to Dr. Johnson and me, from Lord Elibank, which had been sent after us from Edinburgh. His lordship's letter to me was as follows:—

LORD ELIBANK TO BOSWELL.

"21st August, 1773.

"DEAR BOSWELL,— I flew to Edinburgh the moment I heard of Mr. Johnson's arrival; but so defective was my intelligence, that I came too late.

"It is but justice to believe, that I could never forgive myself, nor deserve to be forgiven by others, if I was to fail in any mark of respect to that very great genius. I hold him in the highest veneration; for that very reason I was resolved to take no share in the merit, perhaps guilt, of enticing him to honour this country with a visit. I could not persuade myself there was any thing in Scotland worthy to have a summer of Samuel Johnson be-

stowed on it; but since he has done us that compliment, for Heaven's sake inform me of your motions. I will attend them most religiously; and though I should regret to let Mr. Johnson go a mile out of his way on my account, old as I am³, I shall be glad to go five hundred miles to enjoy a day of his company. Have the charity to send a council-post⁴ with intelligence; the post does not suit us in the country. At any rate, write to me. I will attend you in the north, when I shall know where to find you. I am, my dear Boswell, your sincerely obedient humble servant, ELIBANK."

The letter to Dr. Johnson was in these words:—

LORD ELIBANK TO JOHNSON.

"DEAR SIR,— I was to have kissed your hands at Edinburgh, the moment I heard of you, but you was gone.

"I hope my friend Boswell will inform me of your motions. It will be cruel to deprive me an instant of the honour of attending you. As I value you more than any king in Christendom, I will perform that duty with infinitely greater alacrity than any courtier. I can contribute but little to your entertainment; but my sincere esteem for you gives me some title to the opportunity of expressing it.

"I dare say you are by this time sensible that things are pretty much the same as when Buchanan complained of being born *solo et seculo ineredito*. Let me hear of you, and be persuaded that none of your admirers is more sincerely devoted to you, than, dear Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,
ELIBANK."

Dr. Johnson, on the following Tuesday, answered for both of us, thus:—

JOHNSON TO LORD ELIBANK.

"Skie, Sept. 14. 1773.

"MY LORD,— On the rugged shore of Skie I had the honour of your lordship's letter, and can with great truth declare that no place is so gloomy but that it would be cheered by such a testimony of regard, from a mind so well qualified to estimate characters, and to deal out approbation in its due proportions. If I have more than my share, it is your lordship's fault; for I have always revered your judgment too much, to exalt myself in your presence by any false pretensions.

"Mr. Boswell and I are at present at the disposal of the winds, and therefore cannot fix the time at which we shall have the honour of seeing your lordship. But we should either of us think ourselves injured by the supposition that we would

¹ "Nestor ———
To reconcile the angry parties tries."
Hor. Epist. l. 11. Francis. — CROKER.

² Why does not Mr. Boswell also discover that *port* is, in Erse, *port*? Indeed I suppose that the original Erse was the language of a very poor and barbarous people, for the names now employed for the principal objects of commerce,

and of social or political life, seem to have been borrowed from foreigners, as *king, port, horse, cow*, &c., unless, indeed, as some philologists imagine, these were derived from roots common to all languages. — CROKER.

³ His lordship was now 70, having been born in 1703. — CROKER.

⁴ A term in Scotland for a special messenger, such as was formerly sent with despatches by the Lords of the Council. — BOSWELL.

miss your lordship's conversation when we could enjoy it; for I have often declared that I never met you without going away a wiser man. I am, my Lord, your lordship's most obedient and most humble servant,
SAM. JOHNSON."

At Portree, Mr. Donald M'Queen went to church and officiated in Erse, and then came to dinner. Dr. Johnson and I resolved that we should treat the company, so I played the landlord, or master of the feast, having previously ordered Joseph to pay the bill.

Sir James Macdonald intended to have built a village here, which would have done great good. A village is like a heart to a country. It produces a perpetual circulation, and gives the people an opportunity to make profit of many little articles, which would otherwise be in a good measure lost. We had here a dinner, *et præterea nihil*. Dr. Johnson did not talk. When we were about to depart, we found that *Rasay* had been beforehand with us, and that all was paid; I would fain have contested this matter with him, but seeing him resolved, I declined it. We parted with cordial embraces from him and worthy Malcolm. In the evening Dr. Johnson and I remounted our horses, accompanied by Mr. M'Queen and Dr. Macleod. It rained very hard. We rode while they call six miles, upon *Rasay's* lands in Sky, to Dr. Macleod's house. On the road Dr. Johnson appeared to be somewhat out of spirits. When I talked of our meeting Lord Elibank, he said, "I cannot be with him much. I long to be again in civilised life; but can stay but a short while" (he meant at Edinburgh). He said, "Let us go to Dunvegan to-morrow."—"Yes," said I, "if it is not a deluge."—"At any rate," he replied. This showed a kind of fretful impatience; nor was it to be wondered at, considering our disagreeable ride. I feared he would give up Mull and Icolmkill; for he said something of his apprehensions of being detained by bad weather in going to Mull and *Iona*. However, I hoped well. We had a dish of tea at Dr. Macleod's, who had a pretty good house, where was his brother, a half-pay officer. His lady was a polite, agreeable woman. Dr. Johnson said, he was glad to see that he was so well married, for he had an esteem for physicians. The doctor accompanied us to Kingsburgh, which is called a mile farther; but the computation

of Sky has no connection whatever with real distance.

I was highly pleased to see Dr. Johnson safely arrived at Kingsburgh, and received by the hospitable Mr. Macdonald, who, with a most respectful attention, supported him into the house. *Kingsburgh* was completely the figure of a gallant Highlander,—exhibiting "the graceful mien and manly looks," which our popular Scotch song has justly attributed to that character. He had his tartan plaid thrown about him, a large blue bonnet with a knot of black riband like a cockade, a brown short coat of a kind of duffil, a tartan waistcoat with gold buttons and gold button-holes, a bluish philibeg, and tartan hose. He had jet black hair tied behind, and was a large stately man, with a steady sensible countenance.

There was a comfortable parlour with a good fire, and a dram went round. By and by supper was served, at which there appeared the lady of the house, the celebrated Miss FLORA MACDONALD.¹ She is a little woman, of a genteel appearance, and uncommonly mild and well bred. To see Dr. Samuel Johnson, the great champion of the English Tories, salute Miss Flora Macdonald in the isle of Sky, was a striking sight; for, though somewhat congenial in their notions, it was very improbable they should meet here.

Miss Flora Macdonald (for so I shall call her) told me, she heard upon the main land, as she was returning home about a fortnight before, that Mr. Boswell was coming to Sky, and one Mr. Johnson, a young English *buck*², with him. He was highly entertained with this fancy. Giving an account of the afternoon which we passed at Anock, he said, "I, being a *buck*, had *Miss* in to make tea." He was rather quiescent to night, and went early to bed. I was in a cordial humour, and promoted a cheerful glass. The punch was excellent. Honest Mr. M'Queen observed that I was in high glee, "my *governor* being gone to bed." Yet in reality my heart was grieved, when I recollected that *Kingsburgh* was embarrassed in his affairs, and intended to go to America. However, nothing but what was good was present, and I pleased myself in thinking that so spirited a man would be well every where. I slept in the same room with Dr. Johnson. Each had a neat bed, with tartan curtains, in an upper chamber.

¹ It is stated in the account of the rebellion, published under the title of "*Ascanius*," that she was the daughter of Mr. Macdonald, a tacksman or gentleman-farmer, of Melton, in South Ulst, and was, in 1746, about twenty-four years old. It is also said, that her portrait was painted in London in 1747, for Commodore Smith, in whose ship she had been brought prisoner from Scotland; but I have not been able to trace it. Dr. Johnson says of her to Mrs. Thrale, "She must then have been a very young lady; she is now not old; of a pleasing person, and elegant behaviour. She told me that she thought herself honoured by my visit; and I am sure that whatever regard she bestowed on me was liberally repaid. 'If thou likest her opinions, thou wilt praise her virtue.' She was carried to London, but dismissed without a trial, and came down with Malcolm Macleod, against whom sufficient evidence could not be procured. She and her husband are

poor, and are going to try their fortune in America. *Sic rerum volvitur orbi*." — *Letters*. They did emigrate to America; but returned to Sky, where she died on the 4th of March, 1790. — CROKER. It is remarkable that this distinguished lady signed her name *Flory*, instead of the more classical orthography. Her marriage contract, which is in my possession, bears the name spelled *Flory*. — WALTER SCOTT. We shall see presently that she sometimes signed *Flora*. — CROKER.

² It may be useful to future readers to know that the word "*macaroni*" in a former passage of this work, and the word "*buck*," here employed, are nearly synonymous with the term "*dandy*," employed now-a-days (1851—1846) to express a young gentleman who in his dress and manner affects the extreme of the fashion. *Macaroni* is preserved in the "*School for Scandal*." — CROKER.

Monday, Sept. 12.—The room where we lay was a celebrated one. Dr. Johnson's bed was the very bed¹ in which the grandson of the unfortunate King James the Second² lay, on one of the nights after the failure of his rash attempt in 1745–6, while he was eluding the pursuit of the emissaries of government, which had offered thirty thousand pounds as a reward for apprehending him. To see Dr. Samuel Johnson lying in that bed, in the isle of Sky, in the house of Miss Flora Macdonald, struck me with such a group of ideas as it is not easy for words to describe, as they passed through the mind. He smiled, and said, "I have had no ambitious thoughts in it."³ The room was decorated with a great variety of maps and prints. Among others, was Hogarth's print of Wilkes grinning, with the cap of liberty on a pole by him. That, too, was a curious circumstance in the scene this morning; such a contrast was Wilkes to the above group. It reminded me of Sir William Chambers's "Account of Oriental Gardening," in which, we are told, all odd, strange, ugly, and even terrible objects, are introduced for the sake of variety; a wild extravagance of taste which is so well ridiculed in the celebrated Epistle to him.⁴ The following lines of that poem immediately occurred to me:—

"Here too, O king of vengeance! in thy fane,
Tremendous Wilkes shall rattle his gold chain."

Upon the table in our room I found in the morning a slip of paper, on which Dr. Johnson had written with his pencil these words:—

¹ In the examination of *Kingsburgh* and his wife, by Captain Fergusson of the Furnace man of war, relative to this affair, Fergusson asked "where Miss Flora, and the person in woman's clothes, who was with her, lay?" *Kingsburgh* answered with gentlemanly spirit, "He knew where Miss Flora lay; but as for servants, he never asked any questions about them." The captain then, brutally enough, asked Mrs. Macdonald "whether she laid the young Pretender and Miss Flora in the same bed?" She answered with great temper and readiness, "Sir, whom you mean by the young Pretender, I do not pretend to guess; but I can assure you it is not the fashion in Sky to lay mistress and maid in the same bed together." The captain then desired to see the rooms where they lay, and shrewdly enough remarked that the room wherein the supposed maid-servant lay was better than that of her mistress. — *ASCANUS*. — *CROKER*.

² I do not call him the *Prince of Wales*, or the *Prince*, because I am quite satisfied that the right which the house of Stuart had to the throne is extinguished. I do not call him the *Pretender*, because it appears to me as an insult to one who is still alive, and, I suppose, thinks very differently. It may be a parliamentary expression; but it is not a gentlemanly expression. I know, and I exult in having it in my power to tell, that "the only person in the world who is entitled to be offended at this delicacy thinks and feels as I do;" and has liberality of mind and generosity of sentiment enough to approve of my tenderness for what even has been blood royal. That he is a prince by courtesy cannot be denied; because his mother was the daughter of Sobiesky, King of Poland. I shall, therefore, on that account alone, distinguish him by the name of Prince Charles Edward. — *BOSWELL*. The generosity of King George the Third, alluded to in this note, was followed up by his successor, who caused a monument to be erected over the remains of the Cardinal of York, in whom

"Quantum cedat virtutibus aurum."⁵

What he meant by writing them I could not tell.⁶ He had caught cold a day or two ago, and the rain yesterday having made it worse, he was become very deaf. At breakfast he said, he would have given a good deal rather than not have lain in that bed. I owned he was the lucky man; and observed, that without doubt it had been contrived between Mrs. Macdonald and him. She seemed to acquiesce; adding, "You know young *bucks* are always favourites of the ladies." He spoke of Prince Charles being here, and asked Mrs. Macdonald "Who was with him?" We were told, Madam, in England, there was one Miss Flora Macdonald with him." She said, "they were very right;" and perceiving Dr. Johnson's curiosity, though he had delicacy enough not to question her, very obligingly entertained him with a recital of the particulars which she herself knew of that escape, which does so much honour to the humanity, fidelity, and generosity of the Highlanders. Dr. Johnson listened to her with placid attention, and said, "All this should be written down."

From what she told us, and from what I was told by others personally concerned, and from a paper of information which *Rasay* was so good as to send me, at my desire, I have compiled an abstract, which, as it contains some curious anecdotes, will, I imagine, not be uninteresting to my readers, and even, perhaps, be of some use to future historians.

the line of James the Second ended. It was a liberal and judicious tribute to private and to public feeling: the political danger had been extinguished for more than half a century; and the claims of kindred, and the honour of the English name, not only justified, but seemed to require such an exercise of royal generosity. — *CROKER*.

³ This, perhaps, was said in allusion to some lines ascribed to Pope, on his lying, at John Duke of Argyle's, at Adderbury, in the same bed in which Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, had slept:—

"With no poetic ardour fired,
I press the bed where Wilmot lay;
That here he lived, or here expired,
Begets no numbers, grave or gay." — *BOSWELL*.

⁴ The Heroic Epistle to Sir William Chambers, by Mason, and, as I think, Horace Walpole, had just appeared. A published letter of Walpole to Mason seems to prove that it was altogether Mason's. But I have seen another letter of Walpole's to Mason that satisfies me that it was a joint production — Walpole perhaps supplying the *points*, and Mason the *poetry*. — *CROKER*, 1831. 1846.

⁵ "With virtue weigh'd, what worthless trash is gold!" — *BOSWELL*.

⁶ Since the first edition of this book, an ingenious friend has observed to me, that Dr. Johnson had probably been thinking on the reward which was offered by government for the apprehension of the grandson of King James II., and that he meant by these words to express his admiration of the Highlanders, whose fidelity and attachment had resisted the golden temptation that had been held out to them. — *BOSWELL*.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

1773.

Adventures of the Pretender.

PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD, after the battle of Culloden, was conveyed to what is called the Long Island, where he lay for some time concealed. But intelligence having been obtained where he was, and a number of troops having come in quest of him, it became absolutely necessary for him to quit that country without delay. Miss Flora Macdonald, then a young lady, animated by what she thought the sacred principle of loyalty, offered, with the magnanimity of a heroine, to accompany him in an open boat to Sky, though the coast they were to quit was guarded by ships. He dressed himself in women's clothes, and passed as her supposed maid, by the name of Betty Bourke, an Irish girl. They got off undiscovered, though several shots were fired to bring them to, and landed at Mugstot, the seat of Sir Alexander Macdonald. Sir Alexander was then at Fort Augustus, with the Duke of Cumberland; but his lady was at home. Prince Charles took his post upon a hill near the house. Flora Macdonald waited on Lady Margaret¹, and acquainted her of the enterprise in which she was engaged. Her ladyship, whose active benevolence was ever seconded by superior talents, showed a perfect presence of mind and readiness of invention, and at once settled that Prince Charles should be conducted to old *Rasay*, who was himself concealed with some select friends. The plan was instantly communicated to *Kingsburgh*, who was despatched to the hill to inform the wanderer, and carry him refreshments. When *Kingsburgh* approached, he started up, and advanced, holding a large knotted stick, and in appearance ready to knock him down, till he said, "I am Macdonald of Kingsburgh, come to serve your Highness." The wanderer answered, "It is well," and was satisfied with the plan.

Flora Macdonald dined with the Lady Margaret, at whose table there sat an officer of the army, stationed here with a party of soldiers to watch for Prince Charles in case of his flying to the Isle of Sky. She afterwards often laughed in good humour with this gentleman on her having so well deceived him.

After dinner, Flora Macdonald on horseback,

and her supposed maid, and *Kingsburgh*, with a servant carrying some linen, all on foot, proceeded towards that gentleman's house. Upon the road was a small rivulet which they were obliged to cross. The wanderer, forgetting his assumed sex, that his clothes might not be wet, held them up a great deal too high. *Kingsburgh* mentioned this to him, observing, it might make a discovery. He said he would be more careful for the future. He was as good as his word; for the next brook they crossed he did not hold up his clothes at all, but let them float upon the water. He was very awkward in his female dress. His size was so large, and his strides so great, that some women whom they met reported that they had seen a very big woman, who looked like a man in women's clothes, and that perhaps it was (as they expressed themselves) the *Prince*, after whom so much search was making.

At *Kingsburgh* he met with a most cordial reception; seemed gay at supper, and after it indulged himself in a cheerful glass with his worthy host. As he had not had his clothes off for a long time, the comfort of a good bed was highly relished by him, and he slept soundly till next day at one o'clock.

The *Mistress* of Corrichatachin told me that in the forenoon she went into her father's room, who was also in bed, and suggested to him her apprehensions that a party of the military might come up, and that his guest and he had better not remain here too long. Her father said, "Let the poor man repose himself after his fatigues! and as for me, I care not, though they take off this old grey head ten or eleven years sooner than I should die in the course of nature." He then wrapped himself in the bed-clothes, and again fell fast asleep.

On the afternoon of that day, the wanderer, still in the same dress, set out for Portree, with Flora Macdonald and a man-servant. His shoes being very bad, *Kingsburgh* provided him with a new pair, and taking up the old ones, said, "I will faithfully keep them till you are safely settled in St. James's. I will then introduce myself by shaking them at you, to put you in mind of your night's entertainment and protection under my roof." He smiled and said, "Be as good as your word!" *Kingsburgh* kept the shoes as long as he lived. After his death, a zealous Jacobite gentleman gave twenty guineas for them.

Old Mrs. Macdonald, after her guest had left the house, took the sheets in which he had lain, folded them carefully, and charged her daughter that they should be kept unwashed, and that, when she died, her body should be

¹ She was daughter of the ninth Earl of Eglintoun, and died in March 1799. Though her husband took arms for the house of Hanover, she was suspected of being an ardent Jacobite; and, on that supposition, Flora Macdonald guided the Pretender to Mugstot. — CROKER. On the subject of Lady Margaret Macdonald, it is impossible to omit an anecdote which does much honour to Frederick, Prince of Wales. By some chance Lady Margaret had been presented to the

princess, who, when she learnt what share she had taken in the Chevalier's escape, hastened to excuse herself to the prince, and explain to him that she was not aware that Lady Margaret was the person who had harboured the fugitive. The prince's answer was noble: "And would you not have done the same, madam, had he come to you, as to her, distress and danger? I hope — I am sure you would!" WALTER SCOTT.

wrapped in them as a winding sheet. Her will was religiously observed.

Upon the road to Portree, Prince Charles changed his dress, and put on man's clothes again; a tartan short coat and waistcoat, with phillibeg and short hose, a plaid, and a wig and bonnet.

Mr. Donald McDonald, called *Donald Roy*, had been sent express to the present laird [Rasay], who was at that time at his sister's house, about three miles from Portree, attending his brother, Dr. Macleod, who was recovering of a wound he had received at the battle of Cul-loden. Mr. McDonald communicated to young *Rasay* the plan of conveying the wanderer to where old *Rasay* was; but was told that old *Rasay* had fled to Knoidart, a part of *Glenarry's* estate. There was then a dilemma what should be done. *Donald Roy* proposed that he should conduct the wanderer to the main land; but young *Rasay* thought it too dangerous at that time, and said it would be better to conceal him in the island of Rasay, till old *Rasay* could be informed where he was, and give his advice what was best. But the difficulty was, how to get him to Rasay. They could not trust a Portree crew, and all the Rasay boats had been destroyed, or carried off by the military, except two belonging to Malcolm Macleod, which he had concealed somewhere.

Dr. Macleod, being informed of this difficulty, said he would risk his life once more for Prince Charles; and it having occurred, that there was a little boat upon a freshwater lake in the neighbourhood, young *Rasay* and Dr. Macleod, with the help of some women, brought it to the sea, by extraordinary exertion, across a Highland mile of land, one half of which was bog, and the other a steep precipice.

These gallant brothers, with the assistance of one little boy, rowed the small boat to Rasay, where they were to endeavour to find Captain Macleod, as Malcolm was then called, and get one of his good boats, with which they might return to Portree, and receive the wanderer; or, in case of not finding him, they were to make the small boat serve, though the danger was considerable.

Fortunately, on their first landing, they found their cousin Malcolm, who, with the utmost alacrity, got ready one of his boats, with two strong men, John McKenzie and Donald MFriar. Malcolm, being the oldest man, and most cautious, said, that as young *Rasay* had not hitherto appeared in the unfortunate business, he ought not to run any risk; but that Dr. Macleod and himself, who were already publicly engaged, should go on this expedition. Young *Rasay* answered, with an oath, that he would go at the risk of his life and fortune "In God's name then," said Malcolm, "let us proceed." The two boatmen, however, now stopped short, till they should

be informed of their destination; and McKenzie declared he would not move an oar till he knew where they were going. Upon which they were both sworn to secrecy; and the business being imparted to them, they were eager to put off to sea without loss of time. The boat soon landed about half a mile from the inn at Portree.

All this was negotiated before the wanderer got forward to Portree. Malcolm Macleod and MFriar were despatched to look for him. In a short time he appeared, and went into the public house. Here *Donald Roy*, whom he had seen at Mugstot, received him, and informed him of what had been concerted. He wanted silver for a guinea, but the landlord had only thirteen shillings. He was going to accept of this for his guinea; but *Donald Roy* very judiciously observed, that it would discover him to be some great man; so he desisted. He slipped out of the house, leaving his fair protectress, whom he never again saw; and Malcolm Macleod was presented to him by *Donald Roy*, as a captain in his army. Young *Rasay* and Dr. Macleod had waited, in impatient anxiety, in the boat. When he came, their names were announced to him. He would not permit the usual ceremonies of respect, but saluted them as his equals.

Donald Roy staid in Sky, to be in readiness to get intelligence, and give an alarm in case the troops should discover the retreat to Rasay; and Prince Charles was then conveyed in a boat to that island in the night. He slept a little upon the passage, and they landed about daybreak. There was some difficulty in accommodating him with a lodging, as almost all the houses in the island had been burnt by the soldiery. They repaired to a little hut, which some shepherds had lately built, and having prepared it as well as they could and made a bed of heath for the stranger, they kindled a fire, and partook of some provisions which had been sent with him from Kingsburgh. It was observed, that he would not taste wheat-bread or brandy, while oat-bread and whisky lasted; "for these," said he, "are my own country bread and drink." This was very engaging to the Highlanders.

Young *Rasay* being the only person of the company that durst appear with safety, he went in quest of something fresh for them to eat; but though he was amidst his own cows, sheep, and goats, he could not venture to take any of them for fear of a discovery, but was obliged to supply himself by stealth. He therefore caught a kid and brought it to the hut in his plaid, and it was killed and dressed, and furnished them a meal which they relished much. The distressed wanderer, whose health was now a good deal impaired by hunger, fatigue, and watching, slept a long time, but seemed to be frequently disturbed. Malcolm told me he would start from broken slumbers, and speak to himself in different languages,

French, Italian, and English. I must however acknowledge, that it is highly probable that my worthy friend Malcolm did not know precisely the difference between French and Italian. One of his expressions in English was, "O God! poor Scotland."

While they were in the hut, M'Kenzie and M'Friar, the two boatmen, were placed as sentinels upon different eminences; and one day an incident happened, which must not be omitted. There was a man wandering about the island, selling tobacco. Nobody knew him, and he was suspected to be a spy. M'Kenzie came running to the hut, and told that this suspected person was approaching. Upon which the three gentleman, young *Rasay*, Dr. Macleod, and Malcolm, held a council of war upon him, and were unanimously of opinion that he should instantly be put to death. Prince Charles, at once assuming a grave and even severe countenance, said, "God forbid that we should take away a man's life, who may be innocent, while we can preserve our own." The gentlemen however persisted in their resolution, while he as strenuously continued to take the merciful side. John M'Kenzie, who sat watching at the door of the hut, and overheard the debate, said in Erse, "Well, well; he must be shot. You are the king, but we are the parliament, and will do what we choose." Prince Charles, seeing the gentlemen smile, asked what the man had said, and being told it in English, he observed that he was a clever fellow, and, notwithstanding the perilous situation in which he was, laughed loud and heartily. Luckily the unknown person did not perceive that there were people in the hut, at least did not come to it, but walked on past it, unknowing of his risk. It was afterwards found out that he was one of the Highland army, who was himself in danger. Had he come to them, they were resolved to despatch him; for, as Malcolm said to me, "We could not keep him with us, and we durst not let him go. In such a situation, I would have shot my brother, if I had not been sure of him." John M'Kenzie was at *Rasay's* house when we were there.¹ About eighteen years before he hurt one of his legs while dancing, and being obliged to have it cut off, he was now going about with a wooden leg. The story of his being a *member of parliament* is not yet forgotten. I took him out a little way from the house, gave him a shilling to drink *Rasay's* health, and led him into a detail of the particulars which I have just related. With less foundation, some writers have traced the idea of a parliament, and of the British constitution, in rude and early times. I was curious to know if he had really heard, or understood, any thing of that subject, which, had he been a greater man, would

probably have been eagerly maintained. "Why, John," said I, "did you think the king should be controlled by a parliament?" He answered, "I thought, Sir, there were many voices against one."

The conversation then turning on the times, the wanderer said, that, to be sure, the life he had led of late was a very hard one; but he would rather live in the way he now did, for ten years, than fall into the hands of his enemies. The gentlemen asked him, what he thought his enemies would do with him, should he have the misfortune to fall into their hands. He said, he did not believe they would dare take his life publicly, but he dreaded being privately destroyed by poison or assassination. He was very particular in his inquiries about the wound which Dr. Macleod had received in the battle of Culloden, from a ball which entered at one shoulder, and went across to the other. The doctor happened still to have on the coat which he wore on that occasion. He mentioned, that he himself had his horse shot under him at Culloden; that the ball hit the horse about two inches from his knee, and made him so unruly that he was obliged to change him for another. He threw out some reflections on the conduct of the disastrous affair at Culloden, saying, however, that perhaps it was rash in him to do so. I am now convinced that his suspicions were groundless; for I have had a good deal of conversation upon the subject with my very worthy and ingenious friend, Mr. Andrew Lumisden, who was under secretary to Prince Charles, and afterwards principal secretary to his father at Rome, who, he assured me, was perfectly satisfied both of the abilities and honour of the generals who commanded the Highland army on that occasion. Mr. Lumisden has written an account of the three battles in 1745-6, at once accurate and classical. Talking of the different Highland corps, the gentlemen who were present wished to have his opinion which were the best soldiers. He said, he did not like comparisons among those corps: they were all best.

He told his conductors, he did not think it advisable to remain long in any one place; and that he expected a French ship to come for him to Lochbroom, among the Mackenzies. It then was proposed to carry him in one of Malcolm's boats to Lochbroom, though the distance was fifteen leagues coastwise. But he thought this would be too dangerous, and desired that, at any rate, they might first endeavour to obtain intelligence. Upon which young *Rasay* wrote to his friend, Mr. Mackenzie of Applecross, but received an answer, that there was no appearance of any French ship.

It was therefore resolved that they should return to Sky, which they did, and landed in Strath, where they reposed in a cow-house belonging to Mr. Nicolson of Scorbreck. The sea was very rough, and the boat took in a

¹ This old Scottish *member of parliament*, I am informed, is still living (1785). — BOSWELL.

good deal of water. The wanderer asked if there was danger, as he was not used to such a vessel. Upon being told there was not, he sung an Erse song with much vivacity. He had by this time acquired a good deal of the Erse language.

Young *Rasay* was now despatched to where *Donald Roy* was, that they might get all the intelligence they could; and the wanderer, with much earnestness, charged Dr. Macleod to have a boat ready, at a certain place about seven miles off, as he said he intended it should carry him upon a matter of great consequence; and gave the doctor a case¹, containing a silver spoon, knife and fork, saying, "Keep you that till I see you," which the Doctor understood to be two days from that time. But all these orders were only blinds: for he had another plan in his head, but wisely thought it safest to trust his secrets to no more persons than was absolutely necessary. Having then desired Malcolm to walk with him a little way from the house, he soon opened his mind, saying, "I deliver myself to you. Conduct me to the Laird of M'Kinnon's country." Malcolm objected that it was very dangerous, as so many parties of soldiers were in motion. He answered, "There is nothing now to be done without danger." He then said that Malcolm must be the master, and he the servant; so he took the bag, in which his linen was put up, and carried it on his shoulder; and observing that his waistcoat, which was of scarlet tartan, with a gold twist button, was finer than Malcolm's, which was of a plain ordinary tartan, he put on Malcolm's waistcoat, and gave him his; remarking at the same time, that it did not look well that the servant should be better dressed than the master.

Malcolm, though an excellent walker, found himself excelled by Prince Charles, who told him he should not much mind the parties that were looking for him, were he once but a musquet-shot from them; but that he was somewhat afraid of the Highlanders who were against him. He was well used to walking in Italy, in pursuit of game; and he was even now so keen a sportsman that, having observed some partridges, he was going to take a shot; but Malcolm cautioned him against it, observing that the firing might be heard by the tenders who were hovering upon the coast.

As they proceeded through the mountains, taking many a circuit to avoid any houses, Malcolm, to try his resolution, asked him what they should do, should they fall in with a party of soldiers: he answered, "Fight, to be sure!" Having asked Malcolm if he should be known in his present dress, and Malcolm having replied he would, he said, "Then I'll blacken my face with powder."

"That," said Malcolm, "would discover you at once." "Then," said he, "I must be put in the greatest dishabille possible." So he pulled off his wig, tied a handkerchief round his head, and put his nightcap over it, tore the ruffles from his shirt, took the buckles out of his shoes, and made Malcolm fasten them with strings; but still Malcolm thought he would be known. "I have so odd a face," said he, "that no man ever saw me but he would know me again."

He seemed unwilling to give credit to the horrid narrative of men being massacred in cold blood, after victory had declared for the army commanded by the Duke of Cumberland. He could not allow himself to think that a general could be so barbarous.

When they came within two miles of M'Kinnon's house, Malcolm asked if he chose to see the laird. "No," said he, "by no means. I know M'Kinnon to be as good and as honest a man as any in the world, but he is not fit for my purpose at present. You must conduct me to some other house; but let it be a gentleman's house." Malcolm then determined that they should go to the house of his brother-in-law, Mr. John M'Kinnon, and from thence be conveyed to the main land of Scotland, and claim the assistance of Macdonald of Scotchouse. The wanderer at first objected to this, because *Scotchouse* was cousin to a person of whom he had suspicions. But he acquiesced in Malcolm's opinion.

When they were near to Mr. John M'Kinnon's house, they met a man of the name of Ross, who had been a private soldier in the Highland army. He fixed his eye steadily on the wanderer in his disguise, and having at once recognised him, he clapped his hands, and exclaimed, "Alas! is this the case?" Finding that there was now a discovery, Malcolm asked, "What's to be done?" "Swear him to secrecy," answered Prince Charles. Upon which Malcolm drew his dirk, and on the naked blade made him take a solemn oath, that he would say nothing of his having seen the wanderer, till his escape should be made public.

Malcolm's sister, whose house they reached pretty early in the morning, asked him who the person was that was along with him. He said it was one Lewis Caw, from Crieff, who, being a fugitive like himself, for the same reason, he had engaged him as his servant, but that he had fallen sick. "Poor man!" said she, "I pity him. At the same time my heart warms to a man of his appearance." Her husband was gone a little way from home; but was expected every minute to return. She set down to her brother a plentiful Highland breakfast. Prince Charles acted the servant very well, sitting at

¹ The case with the silver spoon, knife, and fork, given by the Chevalier to Dr. Macleod, came into the hands of Mary, Lady Clerk of Pennykuik, who entrusted me with the

honourable commission of presenting them, in her ladyship's name, to his present Majesty, upon his visit to Scotland in 1822. — WALTER SCOTT

a respectful distance, with his bonnet off. Malcolm then said to him, "Mr. Caw, you have as much need of this as I have; there is enough for us both: you had better draw nearer and share with me." Upon which he rose, made a profound bow, sat down at table with his supposed master, and eat very heartily. After this there came in an old woman, who, after the mode of ancient hospitality, brought warm water and washed Malcolm's feet. He desired her to wash the feet of the poor man who attended him. She at first seemed averse to this, from pride, as thinking him beneath her, and in the periphrastic language of the Highlanders and the Irish, said warmly, "Though I wash your father's son's feet, why should I wash his father's son's feet?" She was, however, persuaded to do it.

They then went to bed, and slept for some time; and when Malcolm awaked, he was told that Mr. John M'Kinnon, his brother-in-law, was in sight. He sprang out to talk to him before he should see Prince Charles. After saluting him, Malcolm, pointing to the sea, said, "What, John, if the prince should be prisoner on board one of those tenders?" "God forbid!" replied John. "What if we had him here?" said Malcolm. "I wish we had," answered John; "we should take care of him." "Well, John," said Malcolm, "he is in your house." John, in a transport of joy, wanted to run directly in, and pay his obeisance; but Malcolm stopped him, saying, "Now is your time to behave well, and do nothing that can discover him." John composed himself, and having sent away all his servants upon different errands, he was introduced into the presence of his guest, and was then desired to go and get ready a boat lying near his house, which, though but a small leaky one, they resolved to take, rather than go to the Laird of M'Kinnon. John M'Kinnon, however, thought otherwise; and upon his return told them, that his chief and Lady M'Kinnon were coming in the laird's boat. Prince Charles said to his trusty Malcolm, "I am sorry for this, but must make the best of it." M'Kinnon then walked up from the shore, and did homage to the wanderer. His lady waited in a cave, to which they all repaired, and were entertained with cold meat and wine. Mr. Malcolm Macleod being now superseded by the Laird of M'Kinnon, desired leave to return, which was granted him, and Prince Charles wrote a short note, which he subscribed James Thompson, informing his friends that he had got away from Sky, and thanking them for their kindness; and he desired this might be speedily conveyed to young *Rasay* and Dr. Macleod, that they might not wait longer in expectation of seeing him again. He bade a cordial adieu to Malcolm, and insisted on his accepting of a silver stock-buckle, and ten guineas from his purse, though, as Malcolm told me, it did not appear to contain above forty. Malcolm at

first begged to be excused, saying, that he had a few guineas at his service; but Prince Charles answered, "You will have need of money: I shall get enough when I come upon the main land."

The Laird of M'Kinnon then conveyed him to the opposite coast of Knoidart. Old *Rasay*, to whom intelligence had been sent, was crossing at the same time to Sky; but as they did not know of each other, and each had apprehensions, the two boats kept aloof.

These are the particulars which I have collected concerning the extraordinary concealment and escapes of Prince Charles in the Hebrides. He was often in imminent danger. The troops traced him from the Long Island, across Sky, to Portree, but there lost him.

Here I stop, — having received no farther authentic information of his fatigues and perils before he escaped to France. Kings and subjects may both take a lesson of moderation from the melancholy fate of the house of Stuart; that kings may not suffer degradation and exile, and subjects may not be harassed by the evils of a disputed succession.

Let me close the scene on that unfortunate house with the elegant and pathetic reflections of Voltaire, in his *Histoire Générale*.

"Que les hommes privés," says that brilliant writer, speaking of Prince Charles, "qui se croient malheureux, jettent les yeux sur ce prince et ses ancêtres."

In another place he thus sums up the sad story of the family in general:—

"Il n'y a aucun exemple dans l'histoire d'une maison si longtems infortunée. Le premier des Rois d'Ecosse, qui eut le nom de Jacques, après avoir été dix-huit ans prisonnier en Angleterre, mourut assassiné, avec sa femme, par la main de ses sujets. Jacques II. son fils, fut tué à vingt-neuf ans en combattant contre les Anglais. Jacques III. mis en prison par son peuple, fut tué ensuite par les revoltés, dans une bataille. Jacques IV. périt dans un combat qu'il perdit. Marie Stuart, sa petite fille, chassée de son trône, fugitive en Angleterre, ayant languï dix-huit ans en prison, se vit condamnée à mort par des juges Anglais, et eut la tête tranchée. Charles I. petit fils de Marie, Roi d'Ecosse et d'Angleterre, vendu par les Ecossois, et jugé à mort par les Anglais, mourut sur un échafaut dans la place publique. Jacques, son fils, septième du nom, et deuxième en Angleterre, fut chassé de ses trois royaumes; et pour comble de malheur on contesta à son fils sa naissance; le fils ne tenta de remonter sur le trône de ses pères, que pour faire périr ses amis par des bourreaux; et nous avons vu le Prince Charles Edouard, réunissant en vain les vertus de ses pères, et le courage du Roi Jean Sobieski, son ayeul maternel, exécuter les exploits et essayer les malheurs les plus incroyables. Si quelque chose justifie ceux qui croient une fatalité à laquelle rien ne peut se soustraire, c'est cette suite continuelle de malheurs

qui a persécuté la maison de Stuart, pendant plus de trois cent années."¹

The gallant Malcolm² was apprehended in about ten days after they separated, put aboard a ship, and carried prisoner to London. He said, the prisoners in general were very ill treated in their passage; but there were soldiers on board who lived well, and sometimes invited him to share with them: that he had the good fortune not to be thrown into jail, but was confined in the house of a messenger of the name of Dick. To his astonishment, only one witness could be found against him, though he had been so openly engaged; and therefore, for want of sufficient evidence, he was set at liberty. He added, that he thought himself in such danger, that he would gladly have compounded for banishment. Yet, he said, "he should never be so ready for death as he then was." There is philosophical truth in this. A man will meet death much more firmly at one time than another. The enthusiasm even of a mistaken principle warms the mind, and sets it above the fear of death; which in our cooler moments, if we really think of it, cannot but be terrible, or at least very awful.

Miss Flora Macdonald being then also in London³, under the protection of Lady Primrose, that lady provided a post-chaise to convey her to Scotland, and desired that she

might choose any friend she pleased to accompany her. She chose Malcolm. "So," said he with a triumphant air, "I went to London to be hanged, and returned in a post-chaise with Miss Flora Macdonald."

Mr. Macleod of Muiravenside, whom we saw at Rasay, assured us that Prince Charles was in London in 1759⁴, and that there was then a plan in agitation for restoring his family. Dr. Johnson could scarcely credit this story, and said there could be no probable plan at that time. Such an attempt could not have succeeded, unless the King of Prussia had stopped the army in Germany; for both the army and the fleet would, even without orders, have fought for the king, to whom they had engaged themselves.

Having related so many particulars concerning the grandson of the unfortunate King James the Second; having given due praise to fidelity and generous attachment, which, however erroneous the judgment may be, are honourable for the heart; I must do the Highlanders the justice to attest, that I found every where amongst them a high opinion of the virtues of the king now upon the throne, and an honest disposition to be faithful subjects to his Majesty, whose family has possessed the sovereignty of this country so long, that a change, even for the abdicated family, would now hurt the best feelings of all his subjects.

The abstract point of right would involve

¹ The foregoing account is by no means so full, or so curious, as might have been expected from Mr. Boswell's activity of inquiry, and his means of information. It relates only to a few days of the Pretender's adventures, which, however, lasted five months. Even of Miss Flora Macdonald it tells less than had been already in print forty years before Mr. Boswell's publication. It does not say who she was, nor when she met the prince, nor why she was selected or induced to interfere, and, in short, tells as little as possible of her personal share in the events. We should particularly have liked to know, from her own report, the particulars of her examination and reception in London. The reader who may be curious to know more of the details of the Pretender's escape, will find them in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1747, pp. 531, 638.; in the little volume before referred to, called *Ascanius*; and in a *Journal* in the second volume of the *Lockhart Papers*.—CROKER.

² Who had succeeded Flora Macdonald as guide to the Prince, and had so greatly contributed to his escape.—CROKER.

³ When arrested, which was a few days after parting from the Prince, Flora was conveyed on board the *Furnace*, Captain Fergusson, and conveyed to Leith. There she was removed on board Commodore Smith's ship, and conveyed to the Nore, whence, on the 6th of December, after being five months on ship-board, she was transferred to the custody of the messenger Dick, in which she remained till July, 1747, when she was discharged, and returned to Edinburgh.—*Ascanius*. It seems strange that Mr. Boswell, affecting to give an accurate account of all this affair, should use expressions which not only give no intimation of Flora's arrest and confinement, but seem even to negative the fact. Is it possible that the lady's delicacy wished to suppress all recollection of her having been a prisoner? It will be seen, by a comparison of Mr. Boswell's account with other statements of the transaction, that Flora gave him very little information.—none, indeed,—that had not been already published. Lady Primrose's protection must have been very short, for Flora returned, it seems, to Scotland immediately after her release from confinement. Lady Primrose was Miss Drelicourt, daughter of the Dean of Armagh, and relict of Hugh, third Viscount Primrose. It is not known how she became so ardent a Jacobite; but she certainly was so, for she was in the secret of the young Pretender's visit to London, which (notwithstanding Dr. Johnson's disbelief) did certainly occur in 1753.—CROKER.

⁴ Dr. King states, *antè*, p. 92., the visit at which he saw the Pretender at Lady Primrose's to have been in 1750, while other authorities (if there were not two visits) place it in 1753. Of this last there can be no doubt.—Hume so stated it (see his letter to Sir John Pringle in the *Gent. Mag.* for 1788) on the separate, but concurring authority of Lord Marechal, who saw him at Lady Primrose's, and of Lord Holderness, Secretary of State from 1751 to 1754, who had official knowledge of the fact. I think it unlikely that there were two visits so near together, and I therefore still think that the date 1750 in King's *Memoirs* is an error for 1753. Hume adds, that he was assured, that on this occasion the Prince formally renounced the Roman Catholic religion in the New Church in the Strand. About this, however, Hume was, as he says, a sceptic. Lord Marechal further told him that the Pretender was present at the coronation of George III., but the evidence adduced is very slight. I find nowhere any confirmation of Mr. Macleod's statement of a visit in 1759, and believe that to be also a mistake for 1753.

⁵ Mr. Cole, of Norton Street, possesses, and permits me to print, an original letter of Flora Macdonald's, which proves that a small provision was made for her by her Jacobite friends, perhaps the Prince himself, through the hands of Lady Primrose. I give this *Jacobite relic* literatim.—CROKER.

"Kingsborrou, Aprile 23d, 1751.

Sir,—Few days agoe yours of the 26th March Came to hand, by which I understand my Lady Primrose hath Lodged in your hands for my behoof £627 Sterg, and that her Ladyship had in view, to add more, of which you would aqunt me So as to send a proper Discharge to my Lady, which I am ready Doe how soon you are pleas'd to advise me and as I am to have Security, to my friends satisfaction, on Sir James McDonald's estate its design'd, the whole shoud be payed next may to John McKinzie of Delrin written att Ednr, of which My father in Law spok to Kenneth McKenzie attorney who will give you proper directions, at the same time I shall be glad to hear from you as oft as you pleas, in order I may observe such directions as my Lady will be pleas'd to give you concerning me, I was uneasie before the receipt of your Letter that my Lady was not well, having writt frequently to her Ladyship, but has had no turn. Please be so good as to offer my humble Duty to my Lady, & Mrs. Drelicourt, and I am Sir Your most humble Servt.
FLORA McDONALD.

us in a discussion of remote and perplexed questions; and, after all, we should have no clear principle of decision. That establishment, which, from political necessity, took place in 1688, by a breach in the succession of our kings, and which, whatever benefits may have accrued from it, certainly gave a shock to our monarchy, the able and constitutional Blackstone wisely rests on the solid footing of authority. "Our ancestors having most indisputably a competent jurisdiction to decide this great and important question, and having, in fact, decided it, it is now become our duty, at this distance of time, to acquiesce in their determination."¹

Mr. Paley, the present Archdeacon of Carlisle, in his "Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy," having, with much clearness of argument, shown the duty of submission to civil government to be founded neither on an indefeasible *jus divinum*, nor on compact, but on expediency, lays down this rational position: "Irregularity in the first foundation of a state, or subsequent violence, fraud, or injustice, in getting possession of the supreme power, are not sufficient reasons for resistance, after the government is once peaceably settled. No subject of the British empire conceives himself engaged to vindicate the justice of the Norman claim or conquest, or apprehends that his duty in any manner depends upon that controversy. So likewise, if the house of Lancaster, or even the posterity of Cromwell, had been at this day seated upon the throne of England, we should have been as little concerned to inquire how the founder of the family came there."²

In conformity with this doctrine, I myself, though fully persuaded that the house of Stuart had originally no right to the crown of Scotland, for that Baliol, and not Bruce, was the lawful heir, should yet have thought it

very culpable to have rebelled, on that account, against Charles the First, or even a prince of that house much nearer the time, in order to assert the claim of the posterity of Baliol.

However convinced I am of the justice of that principle, which holds allegiance and protection to be reciprocal, I do, however, acknowledge, that I am not satisfied with the cold sentiment which would confine the exertions of the subject within the strict line of duty. I would have every breast animated with the fervour of loyalty; with that generous attachment which delights in doing somewhat more than is required, and makes "service perfect freedom." And, therefore, as our most gracious sovereign, on his accession to the throne, gloried in being *born a Briton*; so, in my more private sphere, *Ego me nunc* denique natum, *gratulor*. I am happy that a disputed succession no longer distracts our minds; and that a monarchy, established by law, is now so sanctioned by time, that we can fully indulge those feelings of loyalty which I am ambitious to excite. They are feelings which have ever actuated the inhabitants of the Highlands and the Hebrides. The plant of loyalty is there in full vigour, and the Brunswick graft now flourishes like a native shoot. To that spirited race of people I may with propriety apply the elegant lines of a modern poet, on the "facile temper of the beauteous sex:"

"Like birds new-caught, who flutter for a time,
And struggle with captivity in vain;
But by-and-by they rest, they smooth their
plumes,
And to new masters sing their former notes."³

Surely such notes are much better than the querulous growlings of suspicious Whigs and discontented republicans.

¹ Commentaries on the Laws of England, book i. chap. 3.

² Book vi. chap. 3. Since I have quoted Mr. Archdeacon Paley upon one subject, I cannot but transcribe, from his excellent work, a distinguished passage in support of the Christian revelation. After showing, in decent but strong terms, the unfairness of the *indirect* attempts of modern infidels to unsettle and perplex religious principles, and particularly the irony, banter, and sneer of one, whom he politely calls "an eloquent historian," the Archdeacon thus expresses himself:—

"Seriousness is not constraint of thought; nor levity, freedom. Every mind which wishes the advancement of truth and knowledge, in the most important of all human researches, must abhor this licentiousness, as violating no less the laws of reasoning than the rights of decency. There is but one description of men to whose principles it ought to be tolerable. I mean that class of reasoners who can see *little* in Christianity, even supposing it to be true. To such adversaries we address this reflection. Had Jesus Christ delivered no other declaration than the following, 'The hour is coming in the which all that are in the graves shall hear his voice, and shall come forth; they that have done well unto the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil unto the resurrection of damnation,' he had pronounced a message of inestimable importance, and well worthy of that splendid apparatus of prophecy and miracles with which his

mission was introduced and attested: a message in which the wisest of mankind would rejoice to find an answer to their doubts, and rest to their inquiries. It is idle to say that a future state had been discovered already. It had been discovered as the Copernican system was; it was one guess amongst many. He alone discovers who *proves*; and no man can prove this point but the teacher who testifies by miracles that his doctrine comes from God."—Book v. chap. 9.

If infidelity be disingenuously dispersed in every shape that is likely to allure, surprise, or beguile the imagination, in a fable, a tale, a novel, a poem, in books of travels, of philosophy, of natural history, as Mr. Paley has well observed, I hope it is fair in me thus to meet such poison with an unexpected antidote, which I cannot doubt will be found powerful.—BOSWELL. It is almost unnecessary to add, how much Paley increased and confirmed the early reputation acquired by the work so justly praised by Boswell, by his *Horæ Paulinæ*, 1790, *Evidences of Christianity*, 1794, *Natural Theology*, 1803,—and many of the best, as I venture to think, sermons in our language.—He was born in July, 1743, and died 25th May, 1805. Mr. Windham once pronounced to me a glowing panegyric on the intrinsic excellence and public utility of Paley's works.—CROKER, 1846.

³ Agis, a tragedy, by John Home.—BOSWELL.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

1773.

Emigration. — Dunvegan. — Female Chastity. — Dr. Cadogan. — Preaching and Practice. — Good Humour. — Sir George Mackenzie. — Burke. — Johnson's Hereditary Melancholy. — His "Seraglio." — Polygamy. — Dunvegan Castle. — Cunning. — "Temple of Anaitis." — Family Portraits. — Bacon's Henry VII. — Pennant.

KINGSBURGH conducted us in his boat across one of the lochs, as they call them, or arms of the sea, which flow in upon all the coasts of Sky, to a mile beyond a place called Grishinish. Our horses had been sent round by land to meet us. By this sail we saved eight miles of bad riding. Dr. Johnson said, "When we take into the computation what we have saved, and what we have gained, by this agreeable sail, it is a great deal." He observed, "It is very disagreeable riding in Sky. The way is so narrow, one only at a time can travel, so it is quite unsocial; and you cannot indulge in meditation by yourself, because you must be always attending to the steps which your horse takes." This was a just and clear description of its inconveniencies.

The topic of emigration being again introduced, Dr. Johnson said, that "a rapacious chief would make a wilderness of his estate." Mr. Donald McQueen told us, that the oppression, which then made so much noise, was owing to landlords listening to bad advice in the letting of their lands; that interested and designing people flattered them with golden dreams of much higher rents than could reasonably be paid; and that some of the gentlemen tacksmen, or upper tenants, were themselves in part the occasion of the mischief, by overrating the farms of others. That many of the tacksmen, rather than comply with exorbitant demands, had gone off to America, and impoverished the country, by draining it of its wealth: and that their places were filled by a number of poor people, who had lived under them, properly speaking, as servants, paid by a certain proportion of the produce of the lands, though called sub-tenants. I observed, that if the men of substance were once banished from a Highland estate, it might probably be greatly reduced in its value; for one bad year might ruin a set of poor tenants, and men of any property would not settle in such a country, unless from the temptation of getting land extremely cheap; for an inhabitant of any good county in Britain had better go to America than to the Highlands or the Hebrides. Here, therefore, was a consideration that ought

to induce a chief to act a more liberal part, from a mere motive of interest, independent of the lofty and honourable principle of keeping a clan together, to be in readiness to serve his king. I added, that I could not help thinking a little arbitrary power in the sovereign, to control the bad policy and greediness of the chiefs, might sometimes be of service. In France, a chief would not be permitted to force a number of the king's subjects out of the country. Dr. Johnson concurred with me, observing, that "were an oppressive chieftain a subject of the French king, he would, probably, be admonished by a *letter*."¹

During our sail, Dr. Johnson asked about the use of the dirk, with which he imagined the Highlanders cut their meat. He was told, they had a knife and fork besides to eat with. He asked, how did the women do? and was answered, some of them had a knife and fork too; but in general the men, when they had cut their meat, handed their knives and forks to the women, and they themselves eat with their fingers. The old *tutor*² of Macdonald always eat fish with his fingers, alleging that a knife and fork gave it a bad taste. I took the liberty to observe to Dr. Johnson, that he did so. "Yes," said he, "but it is because I am short-sighted, and afraid of bones, for which reason I am not fond of eating many kinds of fish, because I must use my fingers."

Dr. McPherson's "Dissertations on Scottish Antiquities," which he had looked at when at Corrichatachin, being mentioned, he remarked, that "you might read half an hour, and ask yourself what you had been reading: there were so many words to so little matter, that there was no getting through the book."

As soon as we reached the shore, we took leave of Kingsburgh, and mounted our horses. We passed through a wild moor, in many places so soft that we were obliged to walk, which was very fatiguing to Dr. Johnson. Once he had advanced on horseback to a very bad step. There was a steep declivity on his left, to which he was so near, that there was not room for him to dismount in the usual way. He tried to alight on the other side, as if he had been a young buck indeed, but in the attempt he fell at his length upon the ground; from which, however, he got up immediately without being hurt. During this dreary ride, we were sometimes relieved by a view of branches of the sea, that universal medium of connection amongst mankind. A guide, who had been sent with us from Kingsburgh, explored the way (much in the same manner as, I suppose, is pursued in the wilds of America) by observing certain marks known only to the inhabitants. We arrived at Dunvegan late in the afternoon. The great size of the castle, which is partly old and partly new,

¹ Meaning, no doubt, a "*lettre de cachet*." — CROKER.

² He means one of the family (an uncle probably) who

was guardian during the minority of the young heir. — CROKER.

and is built upon a rock close to the sea, while the land around it presents nothing but wild, moorish, hilly, and craggy appearances, gave a rude magnificence to the scene. Having dismounted, we ascended a flight of steps, which was made by the late Macleod, for the accommodation of persons coming to him by land, there formerly being, for security, no other access to the castle but from the sea; so that visitors who came by the land were under the necessity of getting into a boat, and sailed round to the only place where it could be approached. We were introduced into a stately dining-room, and received by Lady Macleod, mother of the Laird, who, with his friend *Talisher*, having been detained on the road, did not arrive till some time after us.

We found the lady of the house a very polite and sensible woman, who had lived for some time in London, and had there been in Dr. Johnson's company. After we had dined, we repaired to the drawing-room, where some of the young ladies of the family, with their mother, were at tea. This room had formerly been the bed-chamber of Sir Roderick Macleod, one of the old lairds: and he chose it, because behind it there was a considerable cascade, the sound of which disposed him to sleep. Above his bed was this inscription:—"Sir Rorie Macleod of Dunvegan, Knight. God send good rest!" Rorie is the contraction of Roderick. He was called *Rorie More*, that is, great Rorie, not from his size, but from his spirit. Our entertainment here was in so elegant a style, and reminded my fellow-traveller so much of England, that he became quite joyous. He laughed, and said, "Boswell, we came in at the wrong end of this island." "Sir," said I, "it was best to keep this for the last." He answered, "I would have it both first and last."

Tuesday, Sept. 14.—Dr. Johnson said in the morning, "Is not this a fine lady?"¹ There was not a word now of his "impatience to be in civilised life;" though indeed I should beg pardon—he found it here. We had slept well, and lain long. After breakfast we surveyed the castle and the garden. Mr. Bethune, the parish minister, Magnus Macleod of Claggan, brother to *Talisher*, and Macleod of Bay, two substantial gentlemen of the clan, dined with us. We had admirable venison, generous wine; in a word, all that a good table has. This was really the hall of a chief. Lady Macleod had been much obliged to my father, who had settled, by arbitration, a variety of perplexed claims between her and her relation,

the Laird of Brodie, which she now repaid by particular attention to me. Macleod started the subject of making women do penance in the church for fornication. JOHNSON. "It is right, Sir. Infamy is attached to the crime, by universal opinion, as soon as it is known. I would not be the man who would discover it, if I alone knew it, for a woman may reform; nor would I commend a parson who divulges a woman's first offence; but being once divulged, it ought to be infamous. Consider of what importance to society the chastity of women is. Upon that all the property in the world depends. We hang a thief for stealing a sheep, but the unchastity of a woman transfers sheep, and farm, and all, from the right owner.² I have much more reverence for a common prostitute than for a woman who conceals her guilt. The prostitute is known. She cannot deceive: she cannot bring a strumpet into the arms of an honest man, without his knowledge." BOSWELL. "There is, however, a great difference between the licentiousness of a single woman, and that of a married woman." JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir; there is a great difference between stealing a shilling and stealing a thousand pounds; between simply taking a man's purse, and murdering him first, and then taking it. But when one begins to be vicious, it is easy to go on. Where single women are licentious, you rarely find faithful married women." BOSWELL. "And yet we are told, that in some nations in India, the distinction is strictly observed." JOHNSON. "Nay, don't give us India. That puts me in mind of Montesquieu, who is really a fellow of genius too in many respects; whenever he wants to support a strange opinion, he quotes you the practice of Japan, or of some other distant country, of which he knows nothing. To support polygamy, he tells you of the island of Formosa, where there are ten women born for one man. He had but to suppose another island, where there are ten men born for one woman, and so make a marriage between them.³

At supper, Lady Macleod mentioned Dr. Cadogan's book on the gout. JOHNSON. "It is a good book in general, but a foolish one in particulars. It is good in general, as recommending temperance, and exercise, and cheerfulness. In that respect it is only Dr. Cheyne's book told in a new way; and there should come out such a book every thirty years, dressed in the mode of the times. It is foolish, in maintaining that the gout is not hereditary, and that one fit of it, when gone, is like a fever

¹ She was the daughter of Alexander Brodie, Esq., of Brodie, Lyon King at Arms. She had lately come with her daughters out of Hampshire, to superintend her son's household at Dunvegan. This respectable lady died in 1803. It has been said that she expressed considerable dissatisfaction at Dr. Johnson's rude behaviour at Dunvegan. Her grandson, the present Macleod, assures me that it was not so: "they were all," he says emphatically, "delighted with him;" and, indeed, his father's Memoirs give the same impression of satisfaction on all points but Ossian. — CROKER.

² See *post*, p. 237. and 10th Oct., 1779, where again Johnson argues, I think, this great moral question on too narrow grounds. — CROKER.

³ What my friend treated as so wild a supposition, has actually happened in the western islands of Scotland, if we may believe Martin, who tells it of the islands of Col and Tyr-yi, and says that it is proved by the parish registers.

when gone." Lady Macleod objected that the author does not practise what he teaches.¹ JOHNSON. "I cannot help that, Madam. That does not make his book the worse. People are influenced more by what a man says, if his practice is suitable to it, because they are blockheads. The more intellectual people are, the readier will they attend to what a man tells them. If it is just, they will follow it, be his practice what it will. No man practises so well as he writes. I have, all my life long, been lying till noon; yet I tell all young men, and tell them with great sincerity, that nobody who does not rise early will ever do any good. Only consider! You read a book; you are convinced by it; you do not know the author. Suppose you afterwards know him, and find that he does not practise what he teaches; are you to give up your former conviction? At this rate you would be kept in a state of equilibrium, when reading every book, till you knew how the author practised." "But," said Lady Macleod, "you would think better of Dr. Cadogan, if he acted according to his principles." JOHNSON. "Why, Madam, to be sure, a man who acts in the face of light is worse than a man who does not know so much; yet I think no man should be the worse thought of for publishing good principles. There is something noble in publishing truth, though it condemns one's self." I expressed some surprise at Cadogan's recommending good humour, as if it were quite in our own power to attain it. JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, a man grows better humoured as he grows older. He improves by experience. When young, he thinks himself of great consequence, and every thing of importance. As he advances in life, he learns to think himself of no consequence, and little things of little importance; and so he becomes more patient, and better pleased. All good humour and complaisance are acquired. Naturally a child seizes directly what it sees, and thinks of pleasing itself only. By degrees, it is taught to please others, and to prefer others; and that this will ultimately produce the greatest happiness. If a man is not convinced of that, he never will practise it. Common language speaks the truth as to this: we say, a person is *well bred*. As it is said, that all material motion is primarily in a right line, and is never *per circuitum*, never in another form, unless by some particular cause; so it may be said intellectual motion is." Lady Macleod asked, if no man was naturally good?

¹ This was a general reflection against Dr. Cadogan, when his very popular book was first published. It was said, that whatever precepts he might give to others, he himself indulged freely in the bottle. But I have since had the pleasure of becoming acquainted with him, and, if his own testimony may be believed (and I have never heard it impeached), his course of life has been conformable to his doctrine. — BOSWELL. Dr. Cadogan died in 1797, in the eighty-sixth year of his age. — WRIGHT.

² It seems as if Boswell and Lady Macleod had expected that Johnson would have excepted women from the general lot of mankind. — CROKER.

JOHNSON. "No, Madam, no more than a wolf." BOSWELL. "Nor no woman, Sir?" JOHNSON. "No, Sir." Lady Macleod started at this, saying, in a low voice, "This is worse than Swift?"²

Macleod of Ulinish had come in the afternoon. We were a jovial company at supper. The Laird, surrounded by so many of his clan, was to me a pleasing sight. They listened with wonder and pleasure, while Dr. Johnson harangued. I am vexed that I cannot take down his full strain of eloquence.

Wednesday, Sept. 15. — The gentlemen of the clan went away early in the morning to the harbour of Lochbraccadale, to take leave of some of their friends who were going to America. It was a very wet day. We looked at *Rorie More's* horn, which is a large cow's horn, with the mouth of it ornamented with silver curiously carved. It holds rather more than a bottle and a half. Every Laird of Macleod, it is said, must, as a proof of his manhood, drink it off full of claret without laying it down. From *Rorie More* many of the branches of the family are descended; in particular, the Talisker branch; so that his name is much talked of. We also saw his bow, which hardly any man now can bend, and his *glaymore*³, which was wielded with both hands, and is of a prodigious size. We saw here some old pieces of iron armour, immensely heavy. The broad-sword now used, though called the *glaymore* (i. e. the *great sword*), is much smaller than that used in *Rorie More's* time. There is hardly a target now to be found in the Highlands. After the disarming act, they made them serve as covers to their butter-milk barrels; a kind of change, like beating spears into pruning-hooks.

Sir George Mackenzie's Works (the folio edition) happened to lie in a window in the dining-room. I asked Dr. Johnson to look at the *Characteres Advocatorum*. He allowed him power of mind, and that he understood very well what he tells; but said, that there was too much declamation, and that the Latin was not correct. He found fault with *appropinquabant* in the character of Gilmour. I tried him with the opposition between *gloria* and *palma*, in the comparison between Gilmour and Nisbet, which Lord Hailes, in his "Catalogue of the Lords of Session," thinks difficult to be understood. The words are, "*penes illum gloria, penes hunc palma*."⁴ In a short Account of the Kirk of Scotland, which I published some years ago, I applied these words to

³ Commonly called *claymore*, but more properly *glaymore*, *quasi glaivemore*, the great sword. *Glaive* or *Glaive* is used in this sense both in English and French — derived, says Menage, from the Latin *gladius*. — CROKER.

⁴ "Opposuit Gilmorio providentia Nisbetum: qui summâ doctrinâ consummatâque eloquentiâ causas agebat, ut justitiæ scalæ in equilibrio essent; nimia tamen arte semper utens [Nisbetus] artem suam suspectam reddebat. Quoties ergo conflixerunt, penes Gilmorium gloria, penes Nisbetum palma fuit; quoniam in hoc plus artis et cultus, in illo plus naturæ et virium." — Mackenzie's Works, edited by Ruddiman, 2 vols. folio, 1722. — WRIGHT.

the two contending parties, and explained them thus: "The popular party has most eloquence; Dr. Robertson's party most influence." I was very desirous to hear Dr. Johnson's explanation. JOHNSON. "I see no difficulty. Gilmour was admired for his parts; Nisbet carried his cause by his skill in law. *Palma* is victory." I observed, that the character of Nicholson, in this book, resembled that of Burke; for it is said, in one place, "*in omnes lusus et jocos se sæpe resolvebat*;"¹ and, in another, "*sed accipitris more, è conspectu aliquando astantium sublimi se protrahens volatu, in prædam miro impetu descendebat*."² JOHNSON. "No, Sir; I never heard Burke make a good joke in my life."³ BOSWELL. "But, Sir, you will allow he is a hawk." Dr. Johnson, thinking that I meant this of his joking, said, "No, Sir, he is not the hawk there. He is the beetle in the mire." I still adhered to my metaphor; "but he *soars* as the hawk." JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir; but he catches nothing." Macleod asked, what is the particular excellence of Burke's eloquence? JOHNSON. "Copiousness and fertility of allusion; a power of diversifying his matter, by placing it in various relations. Burke has great information, and great command of language; though, in my opinion, it has not in every respect the highest elegance. BOSWELL. "Do you think, Sir, that Burke has read Cicero much?" JOHNSON. "I don't believe it, Sir. Burke has great knowledge, great fluency of words, and great promptness of ideas, so that he can speak with great illustration on any subject that comes before him. He is neither like Cicero, nor like Demosthenes, nor like any one else, but speaks as well as he can."

In the sixty-fifth page of the first volume of Sir George Mackenzie, Dr. Johnson pointed out a paragraph beginning with Aristotle, and told me there was an error in the text, which he bade me try to discover. I was lucky enough to hit it at once. As the passage is printed, it is said that the devil answers *even in engines*. I corrected it to — *ever in enigmas*. "Sir," said he, "you are a good critic. This would have been a great thing to do in the text of an ancient author."

Thursday, Sept. 16. — Last night much care was taken of Dr. Johnson, who was still distressed by his cold. He had hitherto most strangely slept without a nightcap. Miss Macleod made him a large flannel one, and he was prevailed with to drink a little brandy when he was going to bed. He has great virtue in not drinking wine or any fermented

liquor, because, as he acknowledged to us, he could not do it in moderation. Lady Macleod would hardly believe him, and said, "I am sure, Sir, you would not carry it too far." JOHNSON. "Nay, Madam, it carried me. I took the opportunity of a long illness to leave it off. It was then prescribed to me not to drink wine; and having broken off the habit, I have never returned to it."

In the argument on Tuesday night, about natural goodness, Dr. Johnson denied that any child was better than another, but by difference of instruction; though, in consequence of greater attention being paid to instruction by one child than another, and of a variety of imperceptible causes, such as instruction being counteracted by servants, a notion was conceived, that of two children, equally well educated, one was naturally much worse than another. He owned, this morning, that one might have a greater aptitude to learn than another, and that we inherit dispositions from our parents. "I inherited," said he, "*a vile melancholy from my father, which has made me mad all my life, at least not sober*." Lady Macleod wondered he should tell this. "Madam," said I, "he knows that with that madness⁴ he is superior to other men."

I have often been astonished with what exactness and perspicuity he will explain the process of any art. He this morning explained to us all the operation of coining, and, at night, all the operation of brewing, so very clearly, that Mr. M'Queen said, when he heard the first, he thought he had been bred in the Mint; when he heard the second, that he had been bred a brewer.

I was elated by the thought of having been able to entice such a man to this remote part of the world. A ludicrous, yet just image presented itself to my mind, which I expressed to the company. I compared myself to a dog who has got hold of a large piece of meat, and runs away with it to a corner, where he may devour it in peace, without any fear of others taking it from him. "In London, Reynolds, Beauclerk, and all of them, are contending who shall enjoy Dr. Johnson's conversation. We are feasting upon it, undisturbed, at Dunvegan."

It was still a storm of wind and rain. Dr. Johnson however walked out with Macleod, and saw *Rorie More's* cascade in full perfection. Colonel Macleod, instead of being all life and gaiety, as I have seen him, was at present grave, and somewhat depressed by his anxious concern about Macleod's affairs, and

¹ "He often indulged himself in every species of pleasantry and wit." — BOSWELL.

² "But like the hawk, having soared with a lofty flight to a height which the eye could not reach, he was wont to swoop upon his quarry with wonderful rapidity." — BOSWELL.

³ See *antiq.* p. 23, and p. 28, n. It should not be forgotten that all this passed at an early stage of Burke's public life — he had been but eight years in parliament, and had not yet attained nor deserved the great reputation of his subsequent days. — CROKER.

⁴ See *antiq.* p. 4. Mr. Boswell was, we see, the first to publish this fact, though he afterwards chose to blame others for alluding to it. Dryden's aphorism, that "great wit," meaning mental powers generally, "is nearly allied to madness," is so true as to have become a proverb: but it stands on older and graver authority. Seneca says, *Nullum magnum ingenium, sine mixtura dementiæ*. — De Tranq. Anim. c. xv. s. 77. — CROKER.

by finding some gentlemen of the clan by no means disposed to act a generous or affectionate part to their chief in his distress, but bargaining with him as with a stranger. However, he was agreeable and polite, and Dr. Johnson said he was a very pleasing man. My fellow-traveller and I talked of going to Sweden; and, while we were settling our plan, I expressed a pleasure in the prospect of seeing the king. JOHNSON. "I doubt, Sir, if he would speak to us." Colonel Macleod said, "I am sure Mr. Boswell would speak to *him*." But seeing me a little disconcerted by his remark, he politely added, "and with great propriety." Here let me offer a short defence of that propensity in my disposition, to which this gentleman alluded. It has procured me much happiness.¹ I hope it does not deserve so hard a name as either forwardness or impudence. If I know myself, it is nothing more than an eagerness to share the society of men distinguished either by their rank or their talents, and a diligence to attain what I desire. If a man is praised for seeking knowledge, though mountains and seas are in his way, may he not be pardoned, whose ardour, in the pursuit of the same object, leads him to encounter difficulties as great, though of a different kind?

After the ladies were gone from the table, we talked of the Highlanders not having sheets; and this led us to consider the advantage of wearing linen. JOHNSON. "All animal substances are less cleanly than vegetables. Wool, of which flannel is made, is an animal substance; flannel therefore is not so cleanly as linen. I remember I used to think tar dirty; but when I knew it to be only a preparation of the juice of the pine, I thought so no longer. It is not disagreeable to have the gum that oozes from a plum-tree upon your fingers, because it is vegetable; but if you have any candle-grease, any tallow upon your fingers, you are uneasy till you rub it off. — I have often thought that, if I kept a seraglio, the ladies should all wear linen gowns, or cotton — I mean stuffs made of vegetable substances. I would have no silk; you cannot tell when it is clean; it will be very nasty before it is perceived to be so. Linen detects its own dirtiness."

To hear the grave Dr. Samuel Johnson, "that majestic teacher of moral and religious wisdom," while sitting solemn in an arm-chair in the isle of Sky, talk, *ex cathedra*, of his keeping a seraglio, and acknowledge that the supposition had often been in his thoughts, struck me so forcibly with ludicrous contrast, that I could not but laugh immoderately. He was too proud to submit, even for a moment, to be the object of ridicule, and instantly

retaliated with such keen sarcastic wit, and such a variety of degrading images, of every one of which I was the object, that, though I can bear such attacks as well as most men, I yet found myself so much the sport of all the company, that I would gladly expunge from my mind every trace of this severe retort.

Talking of our friend Langton's house in Lincolnshire, he said "the old house of the family was burnt. A temporary building was erected in its room; and to this day they have been always adding as the family increased. It is like a shirt made for a man when he was a child, and enlarged always as he grows older."

We talked to-night of Luther's allowing the Landgrave of Hesse two wives, and that it was with the consent of the wife to whom he was first married. JOHNSON. "There was no harm in this, so far as she was only concerned, because *volenti non fit injuria*. But it was an offence against the general order of society, and against the law of the Gospel, by which one man and one woman are to be united. No man can have two wives, but by preventing somebody else from having one."²

Friday, Sept. 17. — After dinner yesterday, we had a conversation upon cunning. Macleod said that he was not afraid of cunning people; but would let them play their tricks about him like monkeys. "But," said I, "they'll scratch;" and Mr. McQueen added, "they'll invent new tricks, as soon as you find out what they do." JOHNSON. "Cunning has effect from the credulity of others, rather than from the abilities of those who are cunning. It requires no extraordinary talents to lie and deceive." This led us to consider whether it did not require great abilities to be very wicked. JOHNSON. "It requires great abilities to have the *power* of being very wicked; but not to *be* very wicked. A man who has the power, which great abilities procure him, may use it well or ill; and it requires more abilities to use it well, than to use it ill. Wickedness is always easier than virtue; for it takes the short cut to every thing. It is much easier to steal a hundred pounds, than to get it by labour, or any other way. Consider only what act of wickedness requires great abilities to commit it, when once the person who is to do it has the power; for *there* is the distinction. It requires great abilities to conquer an army, but none to massacre it after it is conquered."

The weather this day was rather better than any that we had since we came to Dunvegan. Mr. McQueen had often mentioned a curious piece of antiquity near this, which he called a temple of the goddess Anaitis. Having often talked of going to see it, he and I set out after breakfast, attended by his servant, a fellow

¹ And to the world much amusement and instruction. But for this obtrusive propensity we should not have had this work. — CROKER.

² This last argument is I think a false, and, at all events,

a too narrow ground on which to rest this great doctrine — a doctrine which is the foundation of all human civilisation, and of all individual happiness. See *anti*, p. 334., and *post*, 10th Oct. 1779. — CROKER.

quite like a savage. I must observe here, that in Sky there seems to be much idleness; for men and boys follow you, as colts follow passengers upon a road. The usual figure of a Sky-boy is a lown with bare legs and feet, a dirty kilt, ragged coat and waistcoat, a bare head, and a stick in his hand, which, I suppose, is partly to help the lazy rogue to walk, partly to serve as a kind of a defensive weapon. We walked what is called two miles, but is probably four, from the castle, till we came to the sacred place. The country round is a black dreary moor on all sides, except to the sea-coast, towards which there is a view through a valley; and the farm of Bay shows some good land. The place itself is green ground, being well drained, by means of a deep glen on each side, in both of which there runs a rivulet with a good quantity of water, forming several cascades, which make a considerable appearance and sound. The first thing we came to was an earthen mound, or dyke, extending from the one precipice to the other. A little farther on was a strong stone wall, not high, but very thick, extending in the same manner. On the outside of it were the ruins of two houses, one on each side of the entry or gate to it. The wall is built all along of uncemented stones, but of so large a size as to make a very firm and durable rampart. It has been built all about the consecrated ground, except where the precipice is steep enough to form an enclosure of itself. The sacred spot contains more than two acres. There are within it the ruins of many houses, none of them large, — a cairn, — and many graves marked by clusters of stones. Mr. M^cQueen insisted that the ruin of a small building, standing east and west, was actually the temple of the goddess Anaitis, where her statue was kept, and from whence processions were made to wash it in one of the brooks. There is, it must be owned, a hollow road visible for a good way from the entrance; but Mr. M^cQueen, with the keen eye of an antiquary, traced it much farther than I could perceive it. There is not above a foot and a half in height of the walls now remaining; and the whole extent of the building was never, I imagine, greater than an ordinary Highland house. Mr. M^cQueen has collected a great deal of learning on the subject of the temple of Anaitis; and I had endeavoured, in my Journal, to state such particulars as might give some idea of it, and of the surrounding scenery; but from the great difficulty of describing visible objects, I found my account so unsatisfactory, that my readers would probably have exclaimed,

"And write about it, goddess, and about it;"¹ and therefore I have omitted it.

When we got home, and were again at table

with Dr. Johnson, we first talked of portraits. He agreed in thinking them valuable in families. I wished to know which he preferred, fine portraits, or those of which the merit was resemblance. JOHNSON. "Sir, their chief excellence is being like." BOSWELL. "Are you of that opinion as to the portraits of ancestors, whom one has never seen?" JOHNSON. "It then becomes of more consequence that they should be like; and I would have them in the dress of the times, which makes a piece of history."² One should like to see how *Rorie More* looked. Truth, Sir, is of the greatest value in these things." Mr. M^cQueen observed, that if you think it of no consequence whether portraits are like, if they are but well painted, you may be indifferent whether a piece of history is true or not, if well told.

Dr. Johnson said at breakfast to-day, "that it was but of late that historians bestowed pains and attention in consulting records, to attain to accuracy. Bacon, in writing his History of Henry VII., does not seem to have consulted any, but to have just taken what he found in other histories, and blended it with what he learned by tradition." He agreed with me that there should be a chronicle kept in every considerable family, to preserve the characters and transactions of successive generations.

After dinner I started the subject of the temple of Anaitis. Mr. M^cQueen had laid stress on the name given to the place by the country people, — *Ainnit*; and added, "I knew not what to make of this piece of antiquity, till I met with the *Anaitidis delubrum* in Lydiæ, mentioned by Pausanias and the elder Pliny." Dr. Johnson, with his usual acuteness, examined Mr. M^cQueen as to the meaning of the word *Ainnit*, in Erse; and it proved to be a water-place, or a place near water, "which," said Mr. M^cQueen, "agrees with all the descriptions of the temples of that goddess, which were situated near rivers, that there might be water to wash the statue." JOHNSON. "Nay, Sir, the argument from the name is gone. The name is exhausted by what we see. We have no occasion to go to a distance for what we can pick up under our feet. Had it been an accidental name, the similarity between it and *Anaitis* might have had something in it; but it turns out to be a mere physiological name." Macleod said, Mr. M^cQueen's knowledge of etymology had destroyed his conjecture. JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir; Mr. M^cQueen is like the eagle mentioned by Waller, who was shot with an arrow feathered from his own wing." Mr. M^cQueen would not, however, give up his conjecture. JOHNSON. "You have one possibility for you, and all possibilities against you. It is possible it may be the temple

¹ Dunciad, b. 4. v. 252. — C.

² The simple common sense of this remark should silence those who pretend to undervalue portrait painting, and to prefer, as a higher branch of the art, what they call *history*, but which is generally a mere fable, and a very uninteresting one, while portraiture as Johnson described it, and as

Vandyke, Reynolds, and Lawrence practised it, is real history. I do not hesitate to record my opinion, that what is commonly called *history* is an inferior walk of art, and in our days practised chiefly by those who are incapable of the higher task of representing living nature. — CROKER 1845.

of Anaitis; but it is also possible that it may be a fortification; or it may be a place of Christian worship, as the first Christians often chose remote and wild places, to make an impression on the mind; or, if it was an heathen temple, it may have been built near a river, for the purpose of lustration; and there are such a multitude of divinities, to whom it may have been dedicated, that the chance of its being a temple of Anaitis is hardly any thing. It is like throwing a grain of sand upon the seashore to-day, and thinking you may find it to-morrow. No, Sir, this temple, like many an ill-built edifice, tumbles down before it is roofed it." In his triumph over the reverend antiquarian, he indulged himself in a conceit; for, some vestige of the altar of the goddess being much insisted on in support of the hypothesis, he said, "Mr. M^{rs} Queen is fighting *pro aris et focis*."

It was wonderful how well time passed in a remote castle, and in dreary weather. After supper, we talked of Pennant. It was objected that he was superficial. Dr. Johnson defended him warmly. He said, "Pennant has greater variety of inquiry than almost any man, and has told us more than perhaps one in ten thousand could have done, in the time that he took. He has not said what he was to tell; so you cannot find fault with him for what he has not told. If a man comes to look for fishes, you cannot blame him if he does not attend to fowls." "But," said Colonel Macleod, "he mentions the unreasonable rise of rents in the Highlands, and says, 'the gentlemen are for emptying the bag without filling it,' for that is the phrase he uses. Why does he not tell how to fill it?" JOHNSON. "Sir, there is no end of negative criticism. He tells what he observes, and as much as he chooses. If he tells what is not true, you may find fault with him; but, though he tells that the land is not well cultivated, he is not obliged to tell how it may be well cultivated. If I tell that many of the Highlanders go barefooted, I am not obliged to tell how they may get shoes. Pennant tells a fact. He need go no farther, except he pleases. He exhausts nothing; and no subject whatever has yet been exhausted. But Pennant has surely told a great deal. Here is a man six feet high, and you are angry because he is not seven." Notwithstanding this eloquent *Oratio pro Pennantio*, which they who have read this gentleman's *Tours*, and recollect the savage and the shopkeeper at Monboddo, will probably impute to the spirit of contradiction, I still think that he had better have given more attention to fewer things, than have thrown together such a number of imperfect accounts.

¹ Johnson writes: "Boswell, with some of his troublesome kindness, has informed this family, and reminded me, that the 18th of September is my birthday. The return of my birthday, if I remember it, fills me with thoughts which it seems to be the general care of humanity to escape. I can now look back upon three score and four years, in which little has been done, and little has been enjoyed; a life diversified

CHAPTER XXXIX.

1773.

Johnson's Birth-day.—*Languages the Pedigree of Nations.*—*The Laird of Muck.*—*Choice of a Wife.*—*Boswell's Journal.*—*Lady Grange.*—*Poetry of Savages.*—*French Literature.*—*Prize Fighting.*—*French and English Soldiers.*—*Duelling.*—*Change of Manners.*—*Landed and trading Interests.*—*Lovel's Pyramid.*—*Ulinish.*—*Lord Orrery, &c. &c.*

Saturday, Sept. 18.—BEFORE breakfast, Dr. Johnson came up to my room, to forbid me to mention that it was his birthday; but I told him I had done it already; at which he was displeased—I suppose from wishing to have nothing particular done on his account.¹ Lady Macleod and I got into a warm dispute. She wanted to build a house upon a farm which she has taken, about five miles from the castle, and to make gardens and other ornaments there; all of which I approved of; but insisted that the seat of the family should always be upon the rock of Dunvegan. JOHNSON. "Ay, in time we'll build all round this rock. You may make a very good house at the farm; but it must not be such as to tempt the Laird of Macleod to go thither to reside. Most of the great families of England have a secondary residence, which is called a jointure-house; let the new house be of that kind." The lady insisted that the rock was very inconvenient; that there was no place near it where a good garden could be made; that it must always be a rude place; that it was a *Herculean* labour to make a dinner here. I was vexed to find the alloy of modern refinement in a lady who had so much old family spirit. "Madam," said I, "if once you quit this rock, there is no knowing where you may settle. You move five miles first; then to St. Andrew's, as the late Laird did; then to Edinburgh; and so on till you end at Hampstead, or in France. No, no; keep to the rock; it is the very jewel of the estate. It looks as if it had been let down from heaven by the four corners, to be the residence of a chief. Have all the comforts and conveniences of life upon it, but never leave *Rorie More's* cascade." "But," said she, "is it not enough if we keep it? Must we never have more convenience than *Rorie More* had? he had his beef brought to dinner in one basket,

by misery, spent part in the sluggishness of penury, and part under the violence of pain, in gloomy discontent or importunate distress. But, perhaps, I am better than I should have been, if I had been less afflicted. With this I will try to be content."—*Letters.* See post, Sept. 17. 1777, his dislike to hear his birthday noticed.—CROKER.

and his bread in another. Why not as well be *Rorie More* all over, as live upon his rock? And should not we tire, in looking perpetually on this rock? It is very well for you, who have a fine place, and every thing easy, to talk thus, and think of chaining honest folks to a rock. You would not live upon it yourself." "Yes, Madam," said I, "I would live upon it, were I Laird of Macleod, and should be unhappy if I were not upon it." JOHNSON (with a strong voice and most determined manner). "Madam, rather than quit the old rock, Boswell would live in the pit; he would make his bed in the dungeon." I felt a degree of elation, at finding my resolute feudal enthusiasm thus confirmed by such a sanction. The lady was puzzled a little. She still returned to her pretty farm—rich ground—fine garden. "Madam," said Dr. Johnson, "were they in Asia, I would not leave the rock."¹ My opinion on this subject is still the same. An ancient family residence ought to be a primary object; and though the situation of Dunvegan be such that little can be done here in gardening or pleasure ground, yet, in addition to the veneration acquired by the lapse of time, it has many circumstances of natural grandeur, suited to the seat of a Highland chief: it has the sea— islands—rocks—hills—a noble cascade; and when the family is again in opulence, something may be done by art.²

Mr. Donald McQueen went away to-day, in order to preach at Braccadale next day. We were so comfortably situated at Dunvegan, that Dr. Johnson could hardly be moved from it. I proposed to him that we should leave it on Monday. "No, Sir," said he, "I will not go before Wednesday. I will have some more of this good." However, as the weather was at this season so bad, and so very uncertain, and we had a great deal to do yet, Mr. McQueen and I prevailed with him to agree to set out on Monday, if the day should be good. Mr. McQueen, though it was inconvenient for him to be absent from his harvest, engaged to wait on Monday at Ulinish for us. When he was going away, Dr. Johnson said, "I shall

ever retain a great regard for you:" then asked him if he had the "Rambler." Mr. McQueen said, "No, but my brother has it." JOHNSON. "Have you the "Idler?" McQUEEN. "No, Sir." JOHNSON. "Then I will order one for you at Edinburgh, which you will keep in remembrance of me." Mr. McQueen was much pleased with this. He expressed to me, in the strongest terms, his admiration of Dr. Johnson's wonderful knowledge, and every other quality for which he is distinguished. I asked Mr. McQueen if he was satisfied with being a minister in Sky. He said he was; but he owned that his forefathers having been so long there, and his having been born there, made a chief ingredient in forming his contentment. I should have mentioned, that on our left hand, between Portree and Dr. Macleod's house, Mr. McQueen told me there had been a college of the Knights Templars; that tradition said so; and that there was a ruin remaining of their church, which had been burnt: but I confess Dr. Johnson has weakened my belief in remote tradition. In the dispute about *Anaitis*, Mr. McQueen said, Asia Minor was peopled by Scythians, and, as they were the ancestors of the Celts, the same religion might be in Asia Minor and Sky. JOHNSON. "Alas! Sir, what can a nation that has not letters tell of its original? I have always difficulty to be patient when I hear authors gravely quoted, as giving accounts of savage nations, which accounts they had from the savages themselves. What can the Mc Craas tell about themselves a thousand years ago?"³ There is no tracing the connection of ancient nations, but by language; and therefore I am always sorry when any language is lost, because languages are the pedigree of nations. If you find the same language in distant countries, you may be sure that the inhabitants of each have been the same people; that is to say, if you find the languages a good deal the same; for a word here and there being the same, will not do. Thus Butler, in his 'Hudibras,' remembering that *penguin*, in the Straits of Magellan, signifies a bird with a white head,

¹ Dunvegan well deserves the stand which was made by Dr. Johnson in its defence. Its greatest inconvenience was that of access. This had been originally obtained from the sea, by a subterranean staircase, partly arched, partly cut in the rock, which, winding up through the cliff, opened into the court of the castle. This passage, at all times very inconvenient, had been abandoned, and was ruinous. A very indifferent substitute had been made by a road, which, rising from the harbour, reached the bottom of the moat, and then ascended to the gate by a very long stair. The present chief, whom I am happy to call my *friend*, has made a perfectly convenient and characteristic access, which gives a direct approach to the further side of the moat, in front of the castle gate, and surmounts the chasm by a drawbridge, which would have delighted *Rorie More* himself. I may add, that neither Johnson nor Boswell were antiquaries, otherwise they must have remarked, amongst the *Cimelia* of Dunvegan, the faded or fairy banner, said to be given to the clan by a Banshee, and a curious drinking cup (probably), said to have belonged to the family when kings of the Isle of Man—certainly of most venerable antiquity.—WALTER SCOTT.

² Something has indeed been, partly in the way of accommodation and ornament, partly in improvements yet more estimable, under the direction of the present beneficent Lady

of Macleod [Miss Stephenson]. She has completely acquired the language of her husband's clan, in order to qualify herself to be their effectual benefactress. She has erected schools, which she superintends herself, to introduce among them the benefits, knowledge, and comforts of more civilised society; and a young and beautiful woman has done more for the enlarged happiness of this primitive people, than has been achieved for ages before.—WALTER SCOTT.

³ "What can the Mc Craas tell of themselves a thousand years ago?" More than the Doctor would suppose. I have a copy of their family history, written by Mr. John Mac Ra minister of Dingwall, in Ross-shire, in 1702. In this history they are avowed to have come over with those Fitzgeralds now holding the name of McKenzie, at the period of the battle of Largs, in 1263. I was indulged with a copy of the pedigree, by the consent of the principal persons of the clan in 1826, and had the original in my possession for some time. It is modestly drawn up, and apparently with all the accuracy which can be expected when tradition must be necessarily much relied upon. The name was in Irish, Mac Grath softened in the Highlands into Mac Ra, Mac Corow, Mc Rae, &c.; and in the Lowlands, where the patronymic was often dropped, by the names of Crow, Craw, &c.—WALTER SCOTT.

and that the same word has, in Wales, the signification of a white-headed wench (*pen* head, and *gain* white), by way of ridicule, concludes that the people of those straits are Welsh."

A young gentleman of the name of M'Lean, nephew to the Laird of the Isle of Muck, came this morning; and just as we sat down to dinner came the Laird of the Isle of Muck himself, his lady, sister to *Talisker*, two other ladies, their relations, and a daughter of the late M'Leod of Hamer, who wrote a treatise on the second sight, under the designation of "Theophilus Insulanus."¹ It was somewhat droll to hear this laird called by his title. *Muck* would have sounded ill; so he was called *Isle of Muck*, which went off with great readiness. The name, as now written, is unseemly, but is not so bad in the original Erse, which is *Mouach*, signifying the Sows' Island.² Buchanan calls it *Insula Porcorum*. It is so called from its form. Some call it the Isle of *Monk*. The Laird insists that this is the proper name. It was formerly church-land belonging to Icolmkill, and a hermit lived in it. It is two miles long, and about three quarters of a mile broad. The Laird said, he had seven score of souls upon it. Last year he had eighty persons inoculated, mostly children, but some of them eighteen years of age. He agreed with the surgeon to come and do it at half a crown a head. It is very fertile in corn, of which they export some; and its coasts abound in fish. A tailor comes there six times in a year. They get a good blacksmith from the Isle of Egg.

Sunday, Sept. 19.—It was rather worse weather than any that we had yet. At breakfast Dr. Johnson said, "Some cunning men choose fools for their wives, thinking to manage them, but they always fail. There is a spaniel fool, and a mule fool. The spaniel fool may be made to do by beating. The mule fool will neither do by words nor blows; and the spaniel fool often turns mule at last: and suppose a fool to be made do pretty well, you must have the continual trouble of making her do. Depend upon it, no woman is the worse for sense and knowledge." Whether afterwards he meant merely to say a polite thing, or to give his opinion, I could not be

sure; but he added, "Men know that women are an over-match for them, and therefore they choose the weakest or most ignorant. If they did not think so, they never could be afraid of women knowing as much as themselves." In justice to the sex, I think it but candid to acknowledge, that in a subsequent conversation he told me that he was serious in what he had said.

He came to my room this morning before breakfast, to read my Journal, which he has done all along. He often before said, "I take great delight in reading it." To-day he said, "You improve: it grows better and better." I observed, there was a danger of my getting a habit of writing in a slovenly manner. "Sir," said he, "it is not written in a slovenly manner. It might be printed, were the subject fit for printing."³ While Mr. Bethune preached to us in the dining-room, Dr. Johnson sat in his own room, where I saw lying before him a volume of Lord Bacon's works, "The Decay of Christian Piety," Monboddo's "Origin of Language," and Sterne's Sermons. He asked me to-day, how it happened that we were so little together; I told him my Journal took up much time. Yet, on reflection, it appeared strange to me, that although I will run from one end of London to another, to pass an hour with him, I should omit to seize any spare time to be in his company, when I am settled in the same house with him. But my Journal is really a task of much time and labour, and he forbids me to contract it.

I omitted to mention, in its place, that Dr. Johnson told Mr. M'Queen that he had found the belief of the second sight universal in Sky, except among the clergy, who seemed determined against it. I took the liberty to observe to Mr. M'Queen, that the clergy were actuated by a kind of vanity. "The world," say they, "takes us to be credulous men in a remote corner. We'll show them that we are more enlightened than they think." The worthy man said, that his disbelief of it was from his not finding sufficient evidence; but I could perceive that he was prejudiced⁴ against it.

After dinner to-day, we talked of the extraordinary fact of Lady Grange's⁵ being sent to

¹ The work of "Theophilus Insulanus" was written in as credulous a style as either Dr. Johnson or his biographer could have desired. — WALTER SCOTT.

² Properly, — Mr. William Macpherson informed me, — of *sea-swine* or *seals*. — CROKER.

³ As I have faithfully recorded so many minute particulars, I hope I shall be pardoned for inserting so flattering an encomium on what is now offered to the public. — BOSWELL.

⁴ By the very use of this word, Mr. Boswell shows, that he himself was prejudiced in favour of the second sight, either because it suited the credulous temper of his own mind, or because it looked like a national honour. The clergy were probably not prejudiced against it, otherwise than as, being the best educated and most intelligent persons in those regions, they saw the absurdity of the fables on which the superstition was supported. General Macleod found Johnson more willing to believe in the second sight than in Ossian. And Boswell boasts of being an absolute believer. See *post*, under 24th March, 1775. — CROKER.

⁵ The true story of this lady, which happened in this cen-

tury, is as frightfully romantic as if it had been the fiction of a gloomy fancy. She was the wife of one of the Lords of Session in Scotland, a man of the very first blood of his country. For some mysterious reasons, which have never been discovered, she was seized and carried off in the dark, she knew not by whom, and by nightly journeys was conveyed to the Highland shores, from whence she was transported by sea to the remote rock of St. Kilda, where she remained, amongst its few wild inhabitants, a forlorn prisoner, but had a constant supply of provisions, and a woman to wait on her. No inquiry was made after her, till she at last found means to convey a letter to a confidential friend, by the daughter of a Catechist, who concealed it in a clue of yarn. Information being thus obtained at Edinburgh, a ship was sent to bring her off; but intelligence of this being received, she was conveyed to Macleod's island of Herries, where she died. — BOSWELL.

The story of Lady Grange is well known. I have seen her Journal. She had become privy to some of the Jacobite intrigues, in which her husband, Lord Grange (an Erskine

St. Kilda, and confined there for several years, without any means of relief.¹ Dr. Johnson said, if Macleod would let it be known that he had such a place for naughty ladies, he might make it a very profitable island. We had, in the course of our tour, heard of St. Kilda poetry. Dr. Johnson observed, "It must be very poor, because they have very few images." BOSWELL. "There may be a poetical genius shown in combining these, and in making poetry of them." JOHNSON. "Sir, a man cannot make fire but in proportion as he has fuel. He cannot coin guineas but in proportion as he has gold." At tea he talked of his intending to go to Italy in 1775. Macleod said, he would like Paris better. JOHNSON. "No, Sir: there are none of the French literati now alive, to visit whom I would cross a sea. I can find in Buffon's book all that he can say."²

After supper he said, "I am sorry that prize-fighting is gone out; every art should be preserved, and the art of defence is surely important. It is absurd that our soldiers should have swords, and not be taught the use of them. Prize-fighting³ made people accustomed not to be alarmed at seeing their own blood, or feeling a little pain from a wound. I think the heavy *glaymore* was an ill-contrived weapon. A man could only strike once with it. It employed both his hands, and he must of course be soon fatigued with wielding it; so that if his antagonist could only keep playing awhile, he was sure of him. I would fight with a dirk against *Rorie More's* sword. I could ward off a blow with a dirk, and then run in upon my enemy. When within that heavy sword, I have him; he is quite helpless, and I

could stab him at my leisure, like a calf. It is thought by sensible military men, that the English do not enough avail themselves of their superior strength of body against the French; for that must always have a great advantage in pushing with bayonets. I have heard an officer say, that if women could be made to stand, they would do as well as men in mere interchange of bullets from a distance; but if a body of men should come close up to them, then to be sure they must be overcome; now," said he, "in the same manner the weaker-bodied French must be overcome by our strong soldiers."

The subject of duelling was introduced. JOHNSON. "There is no case in England where one or other of the combatants *must* die⁴: if you have overcome your adversary by disarming him, that is sufficient, though you should not kill him; your honour, or the honour of your family, is restored, as much as it can be by a duel. It is cowardly to force your antagonist to renew the combat, when you know that you have the advantage of him by superior skill. You might just as well go and cut his throat while he is asleep in his bed. When a duel begins, it is supposed there may be an equality; because it is not always skill that prevails. It depends much on presence of mind; nay, on accidents. The wind may be in a man's face. He may fall.⁵ Many such things may decide the superiority. A man is sufficiently punished by being called out, and subjected to the risk that is in a duel." But on my suggesting that the injured person is equally subjected to risk, he fairly owned he could not explain the rationality of duelling.

Monday, Sept. 20. — When I awaked, the

brother of the Earl of Mar, and a Lord of Session), and his family were engaged. Being on indifferent terms with her husband, she is said to have thrown out hints that she knew as much as would cost him his life. The judge probably thought with Mrs. Peachum, that it is rather an awkward state of domestic affairs, when the wife has it in her power to hang the husband. Lady Grange was the more to be dreaded, as she came of a vindictive race, being the grandchild of that Chiesley of Dalry, who assassinated Sir George Lockhart, the Lord President. Many persons of importance in the Highlands were concerned in removing her testimony. The notorious Lovat, with a party of his men, were the direct agents in carrying her off (see *anté*, p. 55, n. 3.); and St. Kilda, belonging then to Macleod, was selected as the place of confinement. The name by which she was spoken or written of was *Corpach*, an ominous distinction, corresponding to what is called *subject* in the lecture-room of an anatomist, or *shot* in the slang of the Westport murderers. — WALTER SCOTT. Rachel Chiesley was, as Mr. Chambers informs me, the daughter, not the grand-daughter, of the murderer. The Earl of Mar, restored in 1824, was her grandson. She was buried, as Macleod informs me, at Dunvegan. — CROKER.

¹ In "Carstare's State Papers," we find an authentic narrative of Connor, a catholic priest, who turned protestant, being seized by some of Lord Seaforth's people, and detained prisoner in the island of Harris several years: he was fed with bread and water, and lodged in a house where he was exposed to the rains and cold. Sir James Ogilvy writes, June 18, 1667, "that the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Advocate, and himself, were to meet next day, to take effectual methods to have this redressed. Connor was then still detained." — p. 310. This shows what private oppression might in the last century be practised in the Hebrides. In the same collection, the Earl of Argyll gives a picturesque account of an embassy from the great M'Neil of Barra, as that insular chief used to be denominated. "I

received a letter yesterday from M'Neil of Barra, who lives very far off, sent by a gentleman in all formality, offering his service, which had made you laugh to see his entry. The style of his letter runs as if he were of another kingdom." — p. 643. — BOSWELL. It was said of M'Neil of Barra, that when he dined, his bagpipes blew a particular strain, intimating that all the world might go to dinner. — WALTER SCOTT.

² I doubt the justice of my fellow-traveller's remark concerning the French literati, many of whom, I am told, have considerable merit in conversation, as well as in their writings. That of M. de Buffon, in particular, I am well assured, is highly instructive and entertaining. — BOSWELL. At all events he would have had more literary conversation in France, than he could have expected in Italy: he knew little or no Italian, and his pronunciation of Latin would have been hardly intelligible. — CROKER, 1846.

³ Mrs. Piozzi says, "Mr. Johnson was very conversant in the art of attack and defence by boxing, which science he had learned from his uncle Andrew, I believe; and I have heard him descant upon the age when people were received, and when rejected, in the schools once held for that brutal amusement, much to the admiration of those who had no expectation of his skill in such matters. — See *anté*, p. 198, n. 2. — CROKER.

⁴ I think it right, as matter of historical fact, to record that Johnson was mistaken in saying that there was no case in which one of the parties "must die." Duelling has happily gone out of fashion of late years, but there always were, and still I suppose would be, cases in which mortal reparation would be required; such as personal indignity to a man, or the dishonour of a woman. — CROKER, 1846.

⁵ Johnson considers duels as only fought with swords, a practice now wholly superseded, in these countries, by the use of pistols, a weapon which, generally speaking, is more equal than the sword could be. — CROKER.

storm was higher still. It abated about nine, and the sun shone; but it rained again very soon, and it was not a day for travelling. At breakfast, Dr. Johnson told us, "there was once a pretty good tavern in Catharine Street in the Strand, where very good company met in an evening, and each man called for his own half-pint of wine, or gill, if he pleased; they were frugal men, and nobody paid but for what he himself drank. The house furnished no supper; but a woman attended with mutton pies, which any body might purchase. I was introduced to this company by Cumming the Quaker¹, and used to go there sometimes when I drank wine. In the last age, when my mother lived in London, there were two sets of people, those who gave the wall, and those who took it; the peaceable and the quarrelsome. When I returned to Lichfield, after having been in London, my mother asked me, whether I was one of those who gave the wall, or those who took it. Now, it is fixed that every man keeps to the right; or, if one is taking the wall, another yields it, and it is never a dispute." He was very severe on a lady whose name was mentioned. He said, he would have sent her to St. Kilda. That she was as bad as negative badness could be, and stood in the way of what was good: that insipid beauty would not go a great way; and that such a woman might be cut out of a cabbage, if there was a skilful artificer.

Macleod was too late in coming to breakfast. Dr. Johnson said, laziness was worse than the tooth-ache. BOSWELL. "I cannot agree with you, Sir; a basin of cold water, or a horse-whip, will cure laziness." JOHNSON. "No, Sir; it will only put off the fit; it will not cure the disease. I have been trying to cure my laziness all my life, and could not do it." BOSWELL. "But if a man does in a shorter time what might be the labour of a life, there is nothing to be said against him." JOHNSON (perceiving at once that I alluded to him and his Dictionary). "Suppose that flattery to be true, the consequence would be, that the world would have no right to censure a man; but that will not justify him to himself."

After breakfast, he said to me, "A Highland chief should now endeavour to do every thing to raise his rents, by means of the industry of his people. Formerly, it was right for him to have his house full of idle fellows; they were

his defenders, his servants, his dependants, his friends. Now they may be better employed. The system of things is now so much altered, that the family cannot have influence but by riches, because it has no longer the power of ancient feudal times. An individual of a family may have it; but it cannot now belong to a family, unless you could have a perpetuity of men with the same views. Macleod has four times the land that the Duke of Bedford has. I think, with his spirit, he may in time make himself the greatest man in the king's dominions; for land may always be improved to a certain degree. I would never have any man sell land, to throw money into the funds, as is often done, or to try any other species of trade. Depend upon it, this rage of trade will destroy itself. You and I shall not see it; but the time will come when there will be an end of it. Trade is like gaming. If a whole company are gamblers, play must cease; for there is nothing to be won. When all nations are traders, there is nothing to be gained by trade, and it will stop first where it is brought to the greatest perfection. Then the proprietors of land only will be the great men." I observed, it was hard that Macleod should find ingratitude in so many of his people. JOHNSON. "Sir, gratitude is a fruit of great cultivation; you do not find it among gross people." I doubt of this. Nature seems to have implanted gratitude in all living creatures. The lion, mentioned by Aulus Gellius, had it.² It appears to me that culture, which brings luxury and selfishness with it, has a tendency rather to weaken than promote this affection.

Dr. Johnson said this morning, when talking of our setting out, that he was in the state in which Lord Bacon represents kings. He desired the end, but did not like the means. He wished much to get home, but was unwilling to travel in Sky. "You are like kings too in this, Sir," said I, "that you must act under the direction of others."

Tuesday, Sept. 21. — The uncertainty of our present situation having prevented me from receiving any letters from home for some time, I could not help being uneasy. Dr. Johnson had an advantage over me in this respect, he having no wife or child to occasion anxious apprehensions in his mind. It was a good morning; so we resolved to set out. But,

¹ Thomas Cumming was a bold and busy man, who mistook his vocation when he turned Quaker (for he was not born in that sect). He planned and almost commanded a military expedition to the coast of Africa, in 1758, which ended in the capture of Senegal. It and its author make a considerable figure in Smollett's *History of England*, vol. ii. p. 278., where the anomaly of a *Quaker's* heading an army is attempted to be excused by the event of the enemy's having surrendered without fighting; and a protest that Cumming would not have engaged in it, had he not been assured, that against an overpowering force the enemy could not have resisted. This reminds us of another story of Cumming, told by Johnson (*post*, sub April 28. 1783.) During the rebellion of 1745, he was asked whether the time was not come when even he, as a Quaker, ought to take arms for the civil and religious liberties of his country? "No," said Cum-

ming, "but I will drive an ammunition cart." Yet this bustling man was, it seems, morbidly sensitive. Mrs. Piozzi says, "Dr. Johnson once told me that Cumming, the famous Quaker, whose friendship he valued very highly, fell a sacrifice to the insults of the newspapers, having declared on his death-bed, that the pain of an anonymous letter, written in some of the common prints of the day, fastened on his heart, and threw him into the slow fever of which he died." — *Anecdotes*, p. 143. One libel, in which *Tomacomingo* is severely handled, will be found in the *Town and Country Magazine* of January 1774; and though it seems nothing to die of, Cumming's death that very year gives countenance to Johnson's anecdote. — CROKER.

² Aul. Gellius, lib. v. c. xiv. — BOSWELL. The celebrated story of Androcles. — CROKER, 1846.

before quitting this castle, where we have been so well entertained, let me give a short description of it.

Along the edge of the rock, there are the remains of a wall, which is now covered with ivy. A square court is formed by buildings of different ages, particularly some towers, said to be of great antiquity; and at one place there is a row of false cannon¹ of stone. There is a very large unfinished pile, four stories high, which we were told was here when Leod, the first of the family, came from the Isle of Man, married the heiress of the McCrails, the ancient possessors of Dunvegan, and afterwards acquired by conquest as much land as he had got by marriage. He surpassed the house of Austria; for he was *felix* both *bella gerere* et *nubere*.² John Breck³ Macleod, the grandfather of the late laird, began to repair the castle, or rather to complete it: but he did not live to finish his undertaking. Not doubting, however, that he should do it, he, like those who have had their epitaphs written before they died, ordered the following inscription, composed by the minister of the parish, to be cut upon a broad stone above one of the lower windows, where it still remains to celebrate what was not done, and to serve as a memento of the uncertainty of life, and the presumption of man.⁴

"Joannes Macleod, Beganoduni Dominus, gentis suæ Philarchus⁵ Durinesie, Haraizæ, Vaternesie, &c. Baro: D. Floræ Macdonald matrimoniali vinculo conjugatus, turrem hanc Beganodunensem, proavorum habitaculum longe vetustissimum, diu penitus labefectam, Anno æræ vulgaris MDCLXXXVI instauravit.

"Quem stabilire juvat proavorum tecta vetusta,
Omne scelus fugiat, justitiamque colat.
Vertit in ærias turres magalia virtus,
Inque casas humiles tecta superba nefas."

Macleod and Talisher accompanied us. We passed by the parish church of Durinish. The churchyard is not enclosed, but a pretty murmuring brook runs along one side of it. In it is a pyramid erected to the memory of Thomas Lord Lovat, by his son Lord Simon, who suf-

fered on Tower Hill. It is of freestone, and, I suppose, about thirty feet high. There is an inscription on a piece of white marble inserted in it, which I suspect to have been the composition of Lord Lovat himself, being much in his pompous style.

I have preserved this inscription⁶, though of no great value, thinking it characteristical of a man who has made some noise in the world. Dr. Johnson said, it was poor stuff, such as Lord Lovat's butler might have written.

I observed, in this churchyard, a parcel of people assembled at a funeral, before the grave was dug. The coffin, with the corpse in it, was placed on the ground, while people alternately assisted in making a grave. One man, at a little distance, was busy cutting a long turf for it, with the crooked spade⁷ which is used in Sky; a very awkward instrument. The iron part of it is like a plough-coulter. It has a rude tree for a handle, in which a wooden pin is placed for the foot to press upon. A traveller might, without further inquiry, have set this down as the mode of burying in Sky. I was told, however, that the usual way is to have a grave previously dug.

I observed to-day, that the common way of carrying home their grain here is in loads on horseback. They have also a few sleds, or *cars*, as we call them in Ayrshire, clumsily made, and rarely used.

We got to Ulinish about six o'clock, and found a very good farm-house, of two stories. Mr. Macleod of Ulinish, the sheriff-substitute of the island, was a plain honest gentleman, a good deal like an English justice of peace; not much given to talk, but sufficiently sagacious, and somewhat droll. His daughter, though she was never out of Sky, was a very well-bred woman. Our reverend friend, Mr. Donald McQueen, kept his appointment, and met us here.

Talking of Phipps's voyage to the North Pole, Dr. Johnson observed, that it was "conjectured that our former navigators have kept too near land, and so have found the sea frozen far north, because the land hinders the free motion of the tide; but, in the wide ocean, where the waves tumble at their full conve-

¹ Dunvegan Castle is mounted with real cannon; not unnecessarily, for its situation might expose it in war time to be plundered by privateers. — WALTER SCOTT.

² This is an allusion to a celebrated epigram, so aptly quoted by the late Mr. Whitbread, in a speech in the House of Commons (9th March, 1810), in allusion to the marriage of the Archduchess Maria Louisa with Buonaparte: —

"Bella gerant alii; tu, felix Austria, nube;
Quæ dat Mars aliis, dat tibi regna Venus." — CROKER.

³ Breck — spotted — means marked with the small-pox. — CROKER.

⁴ It is now finished, though not on so lofty a scale as was originally designed. — CROKER, 1831.

⁵ This should have been *Phylarchus*. Macleod's titles run in English, "*Lord of Dunvegan, Chief of his Clan, Baron of Durinish, Harris, Watcruss,*" &c. — CROKER.

⁶ This pyramid was erected by Simon Lord Fraser, of Lovat, in honour of Lord Thomas his father, a peer of Scotland, and chief of the great and ancient clan of the Frasers.

Being attacked for his birthright by the family of Atholl, then in power and favour with King William, yet, by the valour and fidelity of his clan, and the assistance of the Campbells, the old friends and allies of his family, he defended his birthright with such greatness and firmety of soul, and such valour and activity, that he was an honour to his name, and a good pattern to all brave chiefs of clans. He died in the month of May, 1699, in the sixty-third year of his age, in Dunvegan, the house of the Laird of Macleod, whose sister he had married; by whom he had the above Simon Lord Fraser, and several other children. And, for the great love he bore to the family of Macleod, he desired to be buried near his wife's relations, in the place where two of her uncles lay. And his son Lord Simon, to show to posterity his great affection for his mother's kindred, the brave Macleods, chooses rather to leave his father's bones with them, than carry them to his own burial-place, near Lovat." — BOSWELL.

⁷ An implement somewhat like this (if not the same) is still in general use in Ireland, but from some subsequent remarks the Scotch seems a heavier tool. — CROKER.

nience, it is imagined that the frost does not take effect."

Wednesday, Sept. 22. — In the morning I walked out, and saw a ship, the Margaret of Clyde, pass by with a number of emigrants on board. It was a melancholy sight. After breakfast, we went to see what was called a subterraneous house, about a mile off. It was upon the side of a rising ground. It was discovered by a fox's having taken up his abode in it, and in chasing him, they dug into it. It was very narrow and low, and seemed about forty feet in length. Near it, we found the foundations of several small huts, built of stone. Mr. McQueen, who is always for making every thing as ancient as possible, boasted that it was the dwelling of some of the first inhabitants of the island, and observed, what a curiosity it was to find here a specimen of the houses of the *aborigines*, which he believed could be found nowhere else; and it was plain that they lived without fire. Dr. Johnson remarked, that they who made this were not in the rudest state; for that it was more difficult to make it than to build a house; therefore certainly those who made it were in possession of houses, and had this only as a hiding-place. It appeared to me, that the vestiges of houses just by it confirmed Dr. Johnson's opinion.

From an old tower, near this place, is an extensive view of Loch-Braccadale, and, at a distance, of the isles of Barra and South Uist; and, on the land-side, the Cuillin¹, a prodigious range of mountains, capped with rocky pinnacles in a strange variety of shapes. They resemble the mountains near Corté, in Corsica, of which there is a very good print. They make part of a great range for deer, which, though entirely devoid of trees, is in these countries called a *forest*.

In the afternoon, *Ulinish* carried us in his boat to an island possessed by him, where we saw an immense cave, much more deserving the title of *antrum immane* than that of the Sibyl described by Virgil, which I likewise have visited. It is one hundred and eighty feet long, about thirty feet broad, and at least thirty feet high. This cave, we were told, had a remark-

able echo; but we found none. They said it was owing to the great rains having made it damp. Such are the excuses by which the exaggeration of Highland narratives is palliated. There is a plentiful garden at Ulinish (a great rarity in Sky), and several trees; and near the house is a hill, which has an Erse name, signifying "the hill of strife," where, Mr. McQueen informed us, justice was of old administered. It is like the *mons placiti* of Scone, or those hills which are called *laws*, such as Kelly *law*, North-Berwick *law*, and several others. It is singular that this spot should happen now to be the sheriff's residence.

We had a very cheerful evening, and Dr. Johnson talked a good deal on the subject of literature. Speaking of the noble family of Boyle, he said, that all the Lord Orrerys, till the present, had been writers. The first wrote several plays; the second² was Bentley's antagonist; the third wrote the *Life of Swift*, and several other things; his son Hamilton wrote some papers in the *Adventurer* and *World*. He told us he was well acquainted with Swift's Lord Orrery. He said he was a feeble-minded man: that, on the publication of Dr. Delany's *Remarks* on his book, he was so much alarmed that he was afraid to read them. Dr. Johnson comforted him, by telling him they were both in the right; that Delany had seen most of the good side of Swift, — Lord Orrery most of the bad. Macleod asked, if it was not wrong in Orrery to expose the defects of a man with whom he lived in intimacy. JOHNSON. "Why no, Sir, after the man is dead; for then it is done historically." He added, "If Lord Orrery had been rich, he would have been a very liberal patron.³ His conversation was like his writings, neat and elegant, but without strength. He grasped at more than his abilities could reach; tried to pass for a better talker, a better writer, and a better thinker than he was. There was a quarrel between him and his father, in which his father was to blame; because it arose from the son's not allowing his wife to keep company with his father's mistress. The old lord showed his resentment in his will⁴, leaving his library

¹ These picturesque mountains of Sky take their name from the ancient hero *Cuchullin*. The name is pronounced Cuillin. I wonder that Boswell nowhere mentions *Macleod's Maidens* — two or three immense stacks of rock, like the Needles at the Isle of Wight; and *Macleod's Dining-Tables* — hills which derive their name from their elevated, steep sides, and flat tops. — WALTER SCOTT.

² Dr. Johnson is not quite accurate in his enumeration. The first Lord Orrery wrote, as he says, several plays. Horace Walpole called him "a man who never made a bad figure but as an author." Roger, the second, and Lionel, the third, Earls, are not known as authors. Charles, the fourth, was the antagonist of Bentley, and wrote a comedy; John, the fifth Earl, was the biographer of Swift and friend of Johnson. — CROKER.

³ Mr. Tyers, in reference to his opinion that Johnson expected pecuniary assistance from Lord Chesterfield, contrasts his patronage with that of Lord Orrery, and seems to believe that Lord Orrery had done Johnson some kindness of this sort, but not as much as he would have done if he were richer. — CROKER.

⁴ The young lord was married on the 8th of May, 1728, and the father's will is dated the 6th of Nov. following. "Hav-

ing," says the testator, "never observed that my son hath showed much taste or inclination, either for the entertainment or knowledge which study and learning afford, I give and bequeath all my books and mathematical instruments (except my Journals of the House of Lords, and except those books and instruments which, at the time of my death, shall be in and belonging to my houses at Marston and Britwell) to Christchurch College, in Oxford, &c.: my said son, within two years next after my decease, taking thereout, and which I do hereby give him for his sole use and benefit, such books relating to the English constitution and parliamentary affairs, as he shall think fit to make choice of." The quarrel, however, was probably made up, as Earl John is represented as being excessively grieved by the death of his father, and he himself, in an affectionate copy of verses on that loss, says,

"I weep a father, but I've lost a friend."

And Theobald published a poetical epistle of condolence to the young lord on that same occasion, in terms which would have been too glaringly ridiculous if he had been on notorious bad terms with his father. — CROKER.

from his son, and assigning, as his reason, that he could not make use of it."

I mentioned the affectation of Orrery, in ending all his letters on the Life of Swift in studied varieties of phrase, and never in the common mode of "I am," &c. — an observation which I remember to have been made several years ago by old Mr. Sheridan. This species of affectation in writing, as a foreign lady of distinguished talents once remarked to me, is almost peculiar to the English. I took up a volume of Dryden, containing the Conquest of Granada, and several other plays, of which all the dedications had such studied conclusions. Dr. Johnson said, such conclusions were more elegant, and, in addressing persons of high rank (as when Dryden dedicated to the Duke of York), they were likewise more respectful. I agreed that *there* it was much better: it was making his escape from the royal presence with a genteel sudden timidity, in place of having the resolution to stand still, and make a formal bow.

Lord Orrery's unkind treatment of his son in his will led us to talk of the dispositions a man should have when dying. I said, I did not see why a man should act differently with respect to those of whom he thought ill when in health, merely because he was dying. JOHNSON. "I should not scruple to speak against a party, when dying; but should not do it against an individual. It is told of Sixtus Quintus, that on his deathbed, in the intervals of his last pangs, he signed death-warrants." Mr. M^cQueen said, he should not do so; he would have more tenderness of heart. JOHNSON. "I believe I should not either; but Mr. M^cQueen and I are cowards. It would not be from tenderness of heart; for the heart is as tender when a man is in health as when he is sick, though his resolution may be stronger. Sixtus Quintus was a sovereign as well as a priest; and, if the criminals deserved death, he was doing his duty to the last. You would not think a judge died ill, who should be carried off by an apoplectic fit while pronouncing sentence of death. Consider a class of men whose business it is to distribute death: — soldiers, who die scattering bullets. Nobody thinks they die ill on that account."

Talking of biography, he said, he did not think that the life of any literary man in England had been well written. Beside the common incidents of life, it should tell us his studies, his mode of living, the means by which he attained to excellence, and his opinion of his own works. He told us he had sent Derrick

to Dryden's relations, to gather materials for his life; and he believed Derrick had got all that he himself should have got; but it was nothing. He added, he had a kindness for Derrick, and was sorry he was dead.

His notion as to the poems published by Mr. M^cPherson, as the works of Ossian, was not shaken here. Mr. M^cQueen always evaded the point of authenticity, saying only that Mr. M^cPherson's pieces fell far short of those he knew in Erse, which were said to be Ossian's. JOHNSON. "I hope they do. I am not disputing that you may have poetry of great merit; but that M^cPherson's is not a translation from ancient poetry. You do not believe it. I say before you, you do not believe it, though you are very willing that the world should believe it." Mr. M^cQueen made no answer to this. Dr. Johnson proceeded: "I look upon M^cPherson's *Fingal* to be as gross an imposition as ever the world was troubled with. Had it been really an ancient work, a true specimen how men thought at that time, it would have been a curiosity of the first rate. As a modern production, it is nothing." He said he could never get the meaning of an Erse song explained to him. They told him the chorus was generally unmeaning. "I take it," said he, "Erse songs are like a song which I remember: it was composed in Queen Elizabeth's time on the Earl of Essex; and the burthen was —

'Radaratoo, radarate, radara, tadara tandore.'

"But surely," said Mr. M^cQueen, "there were words to it which had meaning." JOHNSON. "Why, yes, Sir; I recollect a stanza, and you shall have it: —

'Oh! then bespoke the prentices all,
Living in London, both proper and tall,
For Essex's sake they would fight all.

Radaratoo, radarate, radara, tadara, tandore.'"¹

When Mr. M^cQueen began again to expatiate on the beauty of Ossian's poetry, Dr. Johnson entered into no further controversy, but with a pleasant smile, only cried, "Ay, ay; *Radaratoo, radarate*."

Thursday, Sept. 23. — I took *Fingal* down to the parlour in the morning, and tried a test proposed by Mr. Roderick Macleod, son to *Ulinish*. Mr. M^cQueen had said he had some of the poem in the original. I desired him to mention any passage in the printed book, of which he could repeat the original. He pointed out one in page 50. of the quarto edition, and read the Erse, while Mr. Roderick Macleod

¹ This droll quotation, I have since found, was from a song in honour of the Earl of Essex, called "*Queen Elizabeth's Champion*," which is preserved in a collection of Old Ballads, in three volumes, published in London in different years, between 1720 and 1730. The full verse is as follows: —

"Oh! then bespoke the prentices all,
Living in London, both proper and tall,
In a kind letter sent straight to the queen,
For Essex's sake they would fight all.

Raderer too, tandaro te,
Raderer, tandorer, tan do re." — BOSWELL.

The old ballad here mentioned also occurs in Mr. Evans's collection of historical ballads, published as a Supplement to Percy's *Reliques*, under the inspection, I believe, of William Julius Mickle, who inserted many modern imitations of the heroic ballads of his own composing. — WALTER SCOTT.

and I looked on the English; and Mr. Macleod said that it was pretty like what Mr. M'Queen had recited. But when Mr. M'Queen read a description of Cuchullin's sword in Erse, together with a translation of it in English verse, by Sir James Foulis, Mr. Macleod said, that was much more like than Mr. M'Pherson's translation of the former passage. Mr. M'Queen then repeated in Erse a description of one of the horses in Cuchullin's car. Mr. Macleod said, Mr. M'Pherson's English was nothing like it.

When Dr. Johnson came down, I told him that I had now obtained some evidence concerning Fingal; for that Mr. M'Queen had repeated a passage in the original Erse, which Mr. M'Pherson's translation was pretty like¹; and reminded him that he himself had once said, he did not require Mr. M'Pherson's Ossian to be more like the original than Pope's Homer. JOHNSON. "Well, Sir, this is just what I always maintained. He has found names, and stories, and phrases, nay passages in old songs, and with them has blended his own compositions, and so made what he gives to the world as the translation of an ancient poem."² If this was the case, I observed, it was wrong to publish it as a poem in six books. JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir; and to ascribe it to a time too when the Highlanders knew nothing of books, and nothing of *six*; or perhaps were got the length of counting six. We have been told, by Condamine, of a nation that could count no more than four. This should be told to Monboddoo; it would help him. There is as much charity in helping a man down-hill, as in helping him up-hill." BOSWELL. "I don't think there is as much charity." JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir, if his tendency be downwards. Till he is at the bottom, he flounders; get him once there, and he is quiet. Swift tells, that Stella had a trick, which she learned from Addison, of encouraging a man in absurdity, instead of endeavouring to extricate him."³

Mr. M'Queen's answers to the inquiries concerning Ossian were so unsatisfactory, that I

could not help observing, that, were he examined in a court of justice, he would find himself under a necessity of being more explicit. JOHNSON. "Sir, he has told Blair a little too much, which is published; and he sticks to it. He is so much at the head of things here, that he has never been accustomed to be closely examined; and so he goes on quite smoothly." BOSWELL. "He has never had any body to work him." JOHNSON. "No, Sir; and a man is seldom disposed to work himself, though he ought to work himself, to be sure." Mr. M'Queen made no reply.⁴

Having talked of the strictness with which witnesses are examined in courts of justice, Dr. Johnson told us, that Garrick, though accustomed to face multitudes, when produced as a witness in Westminster Hall, was so disconcerted by a new mode of public appearance, that he could not understand what was asked. It was a cause where an actor claimed a free benefit, that is to say, a benefit without paying the expense of the house; but the meaning of the term was disputed. Garrick was asked, "Sir, have you a free benefit?" "Yes." "Upon what terms have you it?" "Upon — the terms — of — a free benefit." He was dismissed as one from whom no information could be obtained. Dr. Johnson is often too hard on our friend Mr. Garrick. When I asked him, why he did not mention him in the Preface to his Shakspeare, he said, "Garrick has been liberally paid for any thing he has done for Shakspeare. If I should praise him, I should much more praise the nation who paid him. He has not made Shakspeare better known⁵; he cannot illustrate Shakspeare: so I have reasons enough against mentioning him, were reasons necessary. There should be reasons for it." I spoke of Mrs. Montagu's very high praises of Garrick. JOHNSON. "Sir, it is fit she should say so much, and I should say nothing. Reynolds is fond of her book, and I wonder at it; for neither I, nor Beauclerk, nor Mrs. Thrale, could get through it."⁶

¹ Mr. Boswell seems to have reported but half the evidence to Dr. Johnson. He tells him of the passage which was *something* like M'Pherson's version; but he does not appear to have noticed the other, which was *nothing* like it. — CROKER.

² This account of Ossian's Poems, as published by M'Pherson, is that at which most sensible people have arrived, though there may be some difference between the plus and minus of the ancient ingredients employed by the translator. — WALTER SCOTT. I think we may now venture to pronounce them to be altogether fabrications. So much keen and intelligent inquiry as has been made, could not have failed to discover some *disjecti membra poetæ*, had such existed, — the fragments of Erse poetry that have been found are contemptible as compared with Ossian. — CROKER.

³ "When she saw any of the company very warm in a wrong opinion, she was more inclined to confirm them in it than oppose them. The excuse she gave was, 'that it prevented noise, and saved time.' Yet I have known her very angry with some, whom she much esteemed, for sometimes falling into that infirmity." — SWIFT'S *Character of Stella*. — WRIGHT.

⁴ I think it but justice to say, that I believe Dr. Johnson meant to ascribe Mr. M'Queen's conduct to inaccuracy and enthusiasm, and did not mean any severe imputation against him. — BOSWELL.

⁵ It has been triumphantly asked, "Had not the plays of Shakspeare lain dormant for many years before the appearance of Mr. Garrick? Did he not exhibit the most excellent of them frequently for thirty years together, and render them extremely popular by his own inimitable performance?" He undoubtedly did. But Dr. Johnson's assertion has been misunderstood. Knowing as well as the objectors what has been just stated, he must necessarily have meant, that "Mr. Garrick did not, as a critic, make Shakspeare better known; he did not illustrate any one passage in any of his plays by acuteness of disquisition, or sagacity of conjecture;" and what has been done with any degree of excellence in that way, was the proper and immediate subject of his preface. I may add in support of this explanation the following anecdote, related to me by one of the ablest commentators on Shakspeare, who knew much of Dr. Johnson: "Now I have quitted the theatre," cries Garrick, "I will sit down and read Shakspeare." "'Tis time you should," exclaimed Johnson, "for I much doubt if you ever examined one of his plays, from the first scene to the last." — BOSWELL.

⁶ No man has less inclination to controversy than I have, particularly with a lady. But as I have claimed, and am conscious of being entitled to, credit for the strictest fidelity, my respect for the public obliges me to take notice of an insinuation which tends to impeach it. Mrs. Piozzi (late Mrs.

CHAPTER XL.

1773.

Ulinish. — *Tanning.* — *Butchers.* — *Learning of the Scots.* — *Ship worse than Jail.* — *Peter the Great.* — *"Island Isa."* — *Talisher.* — *Scottish Clergy.* — *French Hunting.* — *Cuchilla's Well.* — *Young Col. Birch.* — *Percy.* — *"Every Island is a Prison."* — *Corrichatachin.* — *Good Fellowship* — and *Headache.* — *Kingsburgh's Song.* — *Lady Margaret Macdonald.* — *Threshing and Thatching.* — *Price of Labour.* — *Ostig.* — *Shenstone.* — *Hammond.* — *Sir C. H. Williams.* — *Burke.* — *Young.* — *Doddridge's Motto.* — *"Adventures of a Guinea."* — *Armistade.* — *German Courts.* — *Goldsmith's Love of Talk.* — *St. Kilda.*

LAST night Dr. Johnson gave us an account of the whole process of tanning, and of the nature of milk, and the various operations upon it, as making whey, &c. His variety of information is surprising¹; and it gives one much satisfaction to find such a man bestowing his attention on the useful arts of life. *Ulinish* was much struck with his knowledge; and said, "He is a great orator, Sir; it is music to hear this man speak." A strange thought struck me, to try if he knew any thing of an art, or whatever it should be called, which is no doubt very useful in life, but which lies far out of the way of a philosopher and poet; I mean the trade of a butcher. I enticed him into the subject, by connecting it with the various researches into the manners and customs of uncivilised nations, that have been made by our

late navigators into the South Seas. I began with observing, that Mr. (now Sir Joseph) Banks tells us, that the art of slaughtering animals was not known in Otaheite, for, instead of bleeding to death their dogs (a common food with them), they strangle them. This he told me himself; and I supposed that their hogs were killed in the same way. Dr. Johnson said, "This must be owing to their not having knives, though they have sharp stones with which they can cut a carcass in pieces tolerably." By degrees, he showed that he knew something even of butchery. "Different animals," said he, "are killed differently. An ox is knocked down, and a calf stunned; and a sheep has its throat cut, without any thing being done to stupify it. The butchers have no view to the ease of the animals, but only to make them quiet, for their own safety and convenience. A sheep can give them little trouble. Hales is of opinion that every animal should be bled, without having any blow given to it, because it bleeds better." BOSWELL. "That would be cruel." JOHNSON. "No, Sir; there is not much pain, if the jugular vein be properly cut." Pursuing the subject, he said, the kennels of Southwark ran with blood two or three days in the week; that he was afraid there were slaughter-houses in more streets in London than one supposes (speaking with a kind of horror of butchering); "and yet," he added, "any of us would kill a cow, rather than not have beef." I said we *could* not. "Yes," said he, "any one may. The business of a butcher is a trade indeed, that is to say, there is an apprenticeship served to it; but it may be learnt in a month."

I mentioned a club in London, at the Boar's Head in Eastcheap, the very tavern² where

Thrale), to her "Anecdotes of Dr. Johnson," added the following postscript:—

"Naples, 10th Feb. 1786.

"Since the foregoing went to press, having seen a passage from Mr. Boswell's 'Tour to the Hebrides,' in which it is said, that *I could not get through Mrs. Montagu's 'Essay on Shakspeare.'* I do not delay a moment to declare, that, on the contrary, I have always commended it myself, and heard it commended by every one else; and few things would give me more concern than to be thought incapable of tasting, or unwilling to testify my opinion of its excellence."

It is remarkable, that this postscript is so expressed, as not to point out the person who said that Mrs. Thrale could not get through Mrs. Montagu's book; and, therefore, I think it necessary to remind Mrs. Piozzi, that the assertion concerning her was Dr. Johnson's, and not mine. The second observation that I shall make on this postscript is, that it does not deny the fact asserted, though I must acknowledge, from the praise it bestows on Mrs. Montagu's book, it may have been designed to convey that meaning.

What Mrs. Thrale's opinion is, or was, or what she may or may not have said to Dr. Johnson concerning Mrs. Montagu's book, it is not necessary for me to inquire. It is only incumbent on me to ascertain what Dr. Johnson said to me. I shall therefore confine myself to a very short state of the fact.

The unfavourable opinion of Mrs. Montagu's book, which Dr. Johnson is here reported to have given, is known to have been that which he uniformly expressed, as many of his friends well remember. So much for the authenticity of the paragraph, as far as it relates to his own sentiments. The words containing the assertion, to which Mrs. Piozzi objects, are printed from my manuscript Journal, and were taken down at the time. The Journal was read by Dr. Johnson, who pointed out some inaccuracies, which I corrected, but did not mention any inaccuracy in the paragraph in ques-

tion: and what is still more material, and very flattering to me, a considerable part of my Journal, containing this paragraph, was *read several years ago by Mrs. Thrale herself*, who had it for some time in her possession, and returned it to me, without intimating that Dr. Johnson had mistaken her sentiments.

When the first edition of my Journal was passing through the press, it occurred to me, that a peculiar delicacy was necessary to be observed in reporting the opinion of one literary lady concerning the performance of another; and I had such scruples on that head, that, in the proof sheet, I struck out the name of Mrs. Thrale from the above paragraph, and two or three hundred copies of my book were actually printed and published without it; of these Sir Joshua Reynolds's copy happened to be one. But while the sheet was working off, a friend, for whose opinion I have great respect, suggested that I had no right to deprive Mrs. Thrale of the high honour which Dr. Johnson had done her, by stating her opinion along with that of Mr. Beauceln, as coinciding with, and, as it were, sanctioning his own. The observation appeared to me so weighty and conclusive, that I hastened to the printing-house, and, as a piece of justice, restored Mrs. Thrale to that place from which a too scrupulous delicacy had excluded her. On this simple state of facts I shall make no observation whatever. — BOSWELL.

The fact of Mrs. Piozzi's having read his Journal, and made no objection, completely justifies Mr. Boswell, and throws some doubt over her own veracity. Yet it is just possible that this giddy lady may not have read every line of the manuscript. Mrs. Montagu's Essay is lively, and not long, and it would have been very strange if Mrs. Piozzi had not been able to read it through. See *anté*, p. 118. — CROKER.

¹ We have already seen that he had an early opportunity of learning the details of the art of tanning, and no doubt of other trades connected with it. — CROKER.

² Not the very tavern which was burned down in the great

Falstaff and his joyous companions met; the members of which all assume Shakspeare's characters. One is Falstaff, another Prince Henry, another Bardolph, and so on. JOHNSON. "Don't be of it, Sir. Now that you have a name, you must be careful to avoid many things, not bad in themselves, but which will lessen your character.¹ This every man who has a name must observe. A man who is not publicly known may live in London as he pleases, without any notice being taken of him; but it is wonderful how a person of any consequence is watched. There was a member of parliament², who wanted to prepare himself to speak on a question that was to come on in the house; and he and I were to talk it over together. He did not wish it should be known that he talked with me; so he would not let me come to his house, but came to mine. Some time after he had made his speech in the house, Mrs. Cholmondeley³, a very airy lady, told me, 'Well, you could make nothing of him!' naming the gentleman; which was a proof that he was watched. I had once some business⁴ to do for government, and I went to Lord North's. Precaution was taken that it should not be known. It was dark before I went; yet a few days after I was told, 'Well, you have been with Lord North.' That the door of the prime minister should be watched is not strange; but that a member of parliament should be watched is wonderful."⁵

We set out this morning on our way to Talisker, in *Ulinish's* boat, having taken leave of him and his family. Mr. Donald McQueen still favoured us with his company, for which we were much obliged to him. As we sailed along, Dr. Johnson got into one of his fits of railing at the Scots. He owned that they had been a very learned nation for a hundred years, from about 1550 to about 1650; but that they afforded the only instance of a people among whom the arts of civil life did not advance in proportion with learning; that they had hardly any trade, any money, or any elegance, before the Union; that it was strange that, with all the advantages possessed by other nations, they had not any of those conveniences and embellishments which are the fruit of industry, till they came in contact with a civilised people. "We have taught you," said he, "and we'll do the same in time to all barbarous nations, to the Cherokees, and at

last to the Ouran-Outangs," laughing with as much glee as if Monboddo had been present. BOSWELL. "We had wine before the Union." JOHNSON. "No, Sir; you had some weak stuff, the refuse of France, which would not make you drunk." BOSWELL. "I assure you, Sir, there was a great deal of drunkenness." JOHNSON. "No, Sir; there were people who died of dropsies, which they contracted in trying to get drunk."

I must here glean some of his conversation at *Ulinish*, which I have omitted. He repeated his remark, that a man in a ship was worse than a man in a jail. "The man in a jail," said he, "has more room, better food, and commonly better company, and is in safety." "Ay; but," said Mr. McQueen, "the man in the ship has the pleasing hope of getting to shore." JOHNSON. "Sir, I am not talking of a man's getting to shore, but of a man while he is in a ship; and then, I say, he is worse than a man while he is in jail. A man in a jail *may* have the '*pleasing hope*' of getting out. A man confined for only a limited time actually *has* it."⁶ Macleod mentioned his schemes for carrying on fisheries with spirit, and that he would wish to understand the construction of boats. I suggested that he might go to a dock-yard and work, as Peter the Great did. JOHNSON. "Nay, Sir, he need not work. Peter the Great had not the sense to see that the mere mechanical work may be done by any body, and that there is the same art in constructing a vessel, whether the boards are well or ill wrought. Sir Christopher Wren might as well have served his time to a bricklayer, and first, indeed, to a brickmaker."

There is a beautiful little island in the Loch of Dunvegan, called *Isa*. Macleod said, he would give it to Dr. Johnson, on condition of his residing on it three months in the year; nay one month. Dr. Johnson was highly amused with the fancy. I have seen him please himself with little things, even with mere ideas like the present. He talked a great deal of this island; how he would build a house there — how he would fortify it — how he would have cannon — how he would plant — how he would sally out, and *take* the Isle of Muck?; and then he laughed with uncommon glee, and could hardly leave off. I have seen him do so at a small matter that struck him,

fire. Goldsmith and Washington Irving have fallen into the same mistake. — P. CUNNINGHAM. The house rebuilt on the original site had a stone sign of a *boar's head* with the date of 1668, let into the wall. — CROKER, 1846.

¹ I do not see why I might not have been of this club without lessening my character. But Dr. Johnson's caution against supposing one's self concealed in London may be very useful to prevent some people from doing many things, not only foolish, but criminal. — BOSWELL.

² Was this Mr. Fitzherbert? of whom no speech is preserved — or, as I rather suspect, Mr. Gerrard Hamilton? with whom Johnson had some political dealings, but who did not speak with any considerable success after his first celebrated speech in Nov. 1755. See *anté*, pp. 168, 169. — CROKER.

³ Mrs. Cholmondeley was a younger sister of the celebrated Margaret Woffington. She married the Hon. and Rev. George Cholmondeley. — CROKER.

⁴ No doubt about one of his political pamphlets; probably that respecting the Falkland Islands. — CROKER.

⁵ It is more probable that the fact transpired by some other means. I do not believe that any such system of *watching* was ever employed in England. — CROKER.

⁶ See *anté*, p. 308, and *post*, 18th March, 1776. — C.
⁷ When Buonaparte first surveyed his new sovereignty of Elba, he talked jocularly of *taking* the little island of Pianosa. So natural to mankind seems to be the desire of conquest, that it was the first thought of the speculative moralist as well as of the dethroned usurper. — CROKER.

and was a sport to no one else. Mr. Langton told me, that one night he did so while the company were all grave about him;—only Garrick, in his significant smart manner, darting his eyes around, exclaimed, “*Very jocose, to be sure!*” Macleod encouraged the fancy of Dr. Johnson’s becoming owner of an island; told him, that it was the practice in this country to name every man by his lands; and begged leave to drink to him in that mode: “*Island Isa, your health!*” *Ulinish, Talisher*, Mr. M’Queen, and I, all joined in our different manners, while Dr. Johnson bowed to each, with much good humour.

We had good weather and a fine sail this day. The shore was varied with hills, and rocks, and corn-fields, and bushes, which are here dignified with the name of natural *wood*. We landed near the house of Ferneley, a farm possessed by another gentleman of the name of Macleod, who, expecting our arrival, was waiting on the shore, with a horse for Dr. Johnson. The rest of us walked. At dinner, I expressed to Macleod the joy which I had in seeing him on such cordial terms with his clan. “Government,” said he, “has deprived us of our ancient power; but it cannot deprive us of our domestic satisfactions. I would rather drink punch in one of their houses (meaning the houses of his people), than be enabled, by their hardships, to have claret in my own.” This should be the sentiment of every chieftain. All that he can get by raising his rents is mere luxury in his own house. Is it not better to share the profits of his estate, to a certain degree, with his kinsmen, and thus have both social intercourse and patriarchal influence?

We had a very good ride, for about three miles, to Talisker, where Colonel Macleod introduced us to his lady. We found here Mr. Donald M’Lean, the young Laird of Col (nephew to *Talisker*), to whom I delivered the letter with which I had been favoured by his uncle, Professor Macleod, at Aberdeen. He was a little lively young man. We found he had been a good deal in England, studying farming, and was resolved to improve the value of his father’s lands, without oppressing his tenants, or losing the ancient Highland fashions.

Talisker is a better place than one commonly finds in Sky. It is situated in a rich bottom. Before it is a wide expanse of sea, on each hand of which are immense rocks; and, at some distance in the sea, there are three columnal rocks rising to sharp points. The

billows break with prodigious force and noise on the coast of Talisker. There are here a good many well-grown trees. Talisker is an extensive farm. The possessor of it has, for several generations, been the next heir to *Macleod*, as there has been but one son always in that family. The court before the house is most injudiciously paved with the round bluish-grey pebbles which are found upon the sea-shore; so that you walk as if upon cannon balls driven into the ground.

After supper, I talked of the assiduity of the Scottish clergy, in visiting and privately instructing their parishioners, and observed how much in this they excelled the English clergy. Dr. Johnson would not let this pass. He tried to turn it off, by saying, “There are different ways of instructing. Our clergy pray and preach.” Macleod and I pressed the subject, upon which he grew warm, and broke forth: “I do not believe your people are better instructed. If they are, it is the blind leading the blind; for your clergy are not instructed themselves.” Thinking he had gone a little too far, he checked himself, and added, “When I talk of the ignorance of your clergy, I talk of them as a body: I do not mean that there are not individuals who are learned (looking at Mr. M’Queen). I suppose there are such among the clergy in Muscovy. The clergy of England have produced the most valuable books in support of religion, both in theory and practice. What have your clergy done, since you sunk into presbyterianism? Can you name one book of any value, on a religious subject, written by them?” We were silent. “I’ll help you. Forbes wrote very well; but I believe he wrote before episcopacy was quite extinguished.” And then pausing a little, he said, “Yes, you have Wishart *AGAINST Repentance*.”¹ Boswell. “But, Sir, we are not contending for the superior learning of our clergy, but for their superior assiduity.” He bore us down again, with thundering against their ignorance, and said to me, “I see you have not been well taught; for you have not charity.” He had been in some measure forced into this warmth, by the exulting air which I assumed; for, when he began, he said, “Since you *will* drive the nail!” He again thought of good Mr. M’Queen, and, taking him by the hand, said, “Sir, I did not mean any disrespect to you.”

Here I must observe, that he conquered by deserting his ground, and not meeting the argument as I had put it. The assiduity of the Scottish clergy is certainly greater than that

¹ This was a dexterous mode of description, for the purpose of his argument; for what he alluded to was, a sermon published by the learned Dr. William Wishart, formerly principal of the college at Edinburgh, to warn men against confiding in a *death-bed* repentance, of the inefficacy of which he entertained notions *very different from those of Dr. Johnson*.—Boswell. Mr. Boswell seems here to have been betrayed by the personal or national offence which he took at Dr. Johnson’s depreciation of the Scottish clergy, into making

an uncharitable and, as it would seem, unfounded charge on his great friend’s religious tenets. It does not—that I am aware of—appear that Johnson ever expressed any confidence in a *death-bed* repentance; on the contrary, his whole life was a practical contradiction of his entertaining any such belief. His *Prayers and Meditations* refute such an imputation in every page; and, in his conversations, Boswell himself records numberless instances of an absolutely opposite opinion.—CROKER.

of the English. His taking up the topic of their not having so much learning, was, though ingenious, yet a fallacy. It was as if there should be a dispute whether a man's hair is well dressed, and Dr. Johnson should say, "Sir, his hair cannot be well dressed; for he has a dirty shirt. No man who has not clean linen has his hair well dressed." When some days afterwards he read this passage, he said, "No, Sir; I did not say that a man's hair could not be well dressed because he has not clean linen, but because he is bald."

He used one argument against the Scottish clergy being learned, which I doubt was not good. "As we believe a man dead till we know that he is alive; so we believe men ignorant till we know that they are learned." Now our maxim in law is, to presume a man alive, till we know he is dead. However, indeed, it may be answered, that we must first know he has lived; and that we have never known the learning of the Scottish clergy. Mr. McQueen, though he was of opinion that Dr. Johnson had deserted the point really in dispute, was much pleased with what he said, and owned to me, he thought it very just; and Mrs. Macleod was so much captivated by his eloquence, that she told me, "I was a good advocate for a bad cause."

Friday, Sept. 24.—This was a good day. Dr. Johnson told us, at breakfast, that he rode harder at a fox chase than any body.¹ "The English," said he, "are the only nation who ride hard a-hunting. A Frenchman goes out upon a managed horse, and capers in the field, and no more thinks of leaping a hedge² than of mounting a breach. Lord Powerscourt³ laid a wager, in France, that he would ride a great many miles in a certain short time. The French academicians set to work, and calculated that, from the resistance of the air, it was impossible. His lordship, however, performed it."

Our money being nearly exhausted, we sent a bill for thirty pounds, drawn on Sir William Forbes and Co., to Lochbraccadale, but our messenger found it very difficult to procure cash for it; at length, however, he got us value from the master of a vessel which was to carry away some emigrants. There is a great scarcity of specie in Sky.⁴ Mr. McQueen said he had the utmost difficulty to pay his servants' wages, or to pay for any little thing which he has to buy. The rents are paid in bills, which

the drovers give. The people consume a vast deal of snuff and tobacco, for which they must pay ready money; and pedlars, who come about selling goods, as there is not a shop in the island, carry away the cash. If there were encouragement given to fisheries and manufactures, there might be a circulation of money introduced. I got one and twenty shillings in silver at Portree, which was thought a wonderful store.⁵

Talisker, Mr. McQueen, and I, walked out, and looked at no less than fifteen different waterfalls, near the house, in the space of about a quarter of a mile. We also saw Cuchillin's well, said to have been the favourite spring of that ancient hero. I drank of it. The water is admirable. On the shore are many stones full of crystallisations in the heart.

Though our obliging friend, Mr. McLean, was but the young laird⁶, he had the title of *Col* constantly given him. After dinner he and I walked to the top of Prieswell, a very high rocky hill, from whence there is a view of Barra—the Long Island⁷—Bernera—the Loch of Dunvegan—part of Rum—part of Rasay—and a vast deal of the Isle of Sky. *Col*, though he had come into Sky with an intention to be at Dunvegan, and pass a considerable time in the island, most politely resolved first to conduct us to Mull, and then to return to Sky. This was a very fortunate circumstance; for he planned an expedition for us of more variety than merely going to Mull. He proposed we should see the islands of Egg, Muck, Col, and Tyr-yi. In all these islands he could show us every thing worth seeing; and in Mull he said he should be as if at home, his father having lands there, and he at a farm.

Dr. Johnson did not talk much to-day, but seemed intent in listening to the schemes of future excursion, planned by *Col*. Dr. Birch, however, being mentioned, he said, he had more anecdotes than any man. I said, Percy had a great many; that he flowed with them like one of the brooks here. JOHNSON. "If Percy is like one of the brooks here, Birch was like the river Thames. Birch excelled Percy in that, as much as Percy excels Goldsmith." I mentioned Lord Hales as a man of anecdote. He was not pleased with him, for publishing only such memorials and letters as were unfavourable for the Stuart family. "If," said he,

¹ This startling assertion is corroborated by Hawkins and Mrs. Piozzi. She says that "he certainly rode on Mr. Thrale's old hunter with a good firmness, and though he would follow the hounds fifty miles an end sometimes, would never own himself either tired or amused." All this seems very strange. That he might now and then have ridden out with the harriers, on Brighton Downs, I can understand; but that he ever was a fox-hunter I cannot believe. — CROKER.

² Because, in the greater part of France, there are no hedges; nor do they hunt, in the sense—in which we use that word—of running down the animal. — CROKER.

³ Edward Wingfield, second Viscount of the last creation,

born in 1729, succeeded his brother in 1762, and died in 1764. He was called the *French* Lord Powerscourt. — CROKER.

⁴ This scarcity of cash still exists on the islands, in several of which five shilling notes are necessarily issued to have some circulating medium. If you insist on having change, you must purchase something at a shop. — WALTER SCOTT.

⁵ See *anté*, p. 327., the Pretender's difficulty in getting change of a guinea at Portree.

⁶ Because he was considered the actual possessor of the property. See *post*, p. 379. — CROKER.

⁷ A series of islands; the two Uists, Benbecula, and some others, are called by the general name of *Long Island*. — CROKER.

"a man fairly warns you, 'I am to give all the ill — do you find the good,' he may; but if the object which he professes be to give a view of a reign, let him tell all the truth. I would tell truth of the two Georges, or of that scoundrel, King William. Granger's 'Biographical History' is full of curious anecdote¹, but might have been better done. The dog is a Whig. I do not like much to see a Whig in any dress; but I hate to see a Whig in a parson's gown."

Saturday, Sept. 25. — It was resolved that we should set out, in order to return to Slate, to be in readiness to take a boat whenever there should be a fair wind. Dr. Johnson remained in his chamber writing a letter, and it was long before we could get him into motion. He did not come to breakfast, but had ^a sent to him. When he had finished his letter, it was twelve o'clock, and we should have set out at ten. When I went up to him, he said to me, "Do you remember a song which begins —²

'Every island is a prison
Strongly guarded by the sea;
Kings and princes, for that reason,
Prisoners are as well as we?'"

I suppose he had been thinking of our confined situation.³ He would fain have got in a boat from hence, instead of riding back to Slate. A scheme for it was proposed. He said, "We'll not be driven tamely from it:" but it proved impracticable.

We took leave of Macleod and *Talisker*, from whom we parted with regret. *Talisker*, having been bred to physic, had a tincture of scholarship in his conversation, which pleased Dr. Johnson, and he had some very good books; and being a colonel in the Dutch service, he and his lady, in consequence of having lived abroad, had introduced the ease and politeness of the continent into this rude region.

Young *Col* was now our leader. Mr. M^cQueen was to accompany us half a day more. We stopped at a little hut, where we saw an old woman grinding with the *quern*, the ancient Highland instrument, which it is said was used by the Romans; but which, being very slow in its operation, is almost entirely gone into disuse.

The walls of the cottages in Sky, instead of being one compacted mass of stones, are often formed by two exterior surfaces of stone, filled up with earth in the middle, which

makes them very warm. The roof is generally bad. They are thatched, sometimes with straw, sometimes with heath, sometimes with fern. The thatch is secured by ropes of straw, or of heath; and, to fix the ropes, there is a stone tied to the end of each. These stones hang round the bottom of the roof, and make it look like a lady's hair in papers; but I should think that, when there is wind, they would come down, and knock people on the head.

We dined at the inn at Sconser, where I had the pleasure to find a letter from my wife. Here we parted from our learned companion, Mr. Donald M^cQueen. Dr. Johnson took leave of him very affectionately, saying, "Dear Sir, do not forget me!" We settled, that he should write an account of the Isle of Sky, which Dr. Johnson promised to revise. He said, Mr. M^cQueen should tell all that he could; distinguishing what he himself knew, what was traditional, and what conjectural.⁴

We sent our horses round a point of land, that we might shun some very bad road; and resolved to go forward by sea. It was seven o'clock when we got into our boat. We had many showers, and it soon grew pretty dark. Dr. Johnson sat silent and patient. Once he said, as he looked on the black coast of Sky, — black, as being composed of rocks seen in the dusk, — "This is very solemn." Our boatmen were rude singers, and seemed so like wild Indians, that a very little imagination was necessary to give one an impression of being upon an American river. We landed at Strolimus, from whence we got a guide to walk before us, for two miles, to Corrichatachin. Not being able to procure a horse for our baggage, I took one portmanteau before me, and Joseph another. We had but a single star to light us on our way. It was about eleven when we arrived. We were most hospitably received by the master and mistress, who were just going to bed, but, with unaffected ready kindness, made a good fire, and at twelve o'clock at night had supper on the table.

James Macdonald, of Knockow, *Kingsburgh's* brother, whom we had seen at Kingsburgh, was there. He showed me a bond granted by the late Sir James Macdonald, to old *Kingsburgh*, the preamble of which does so much honour to the feelings of that much-lamented gentleman, that I thought it worth transcribing. It was as follows: —

"I, Sir James Macdonald, of Macdonald, Baronet, now, after arriving at my perfect age, from the

¹ The Rev. James Granger, Vicar of Shiplake, died in 1776. His *Biographical History of England*, dedicated to Horace Walpole, was published in 1769. A continuation, by the Rev. Mark Noble, appeared in 1806. In a letter to Boswell, Aug. 30. 1776, Dr. Johnson says, "I have read every word of Granger: it has entertained me exceedingly." — WRIGHT.

² The song begins —

"Welcome, welcome, brother dear,
To this poor but merry place."

The stanza quoted by Johnson is the sixth. See *Ritson's Songs*, vol. ii. p. 105. — CROKER.

³ The letter Johnson had been writing was to Mrs. Thrale, and it begins with the same question, — "Do you remember the song, 'Every island, &c.'?" — WRIGHT.

⁴ The Rev. Donald M^cQueen died at Edinburgh, Oct. 24. 1776; but without fulfilling this project. See *Nichols's Illustr.* vol. v. p. 405, and *Gent. Mag.* vol. lxiv. p. 881. — CROKER.

friendship I bear to Alexander Macdonald, of Kingsburgh, and in return for the long and faithful services done and performed by him to my deceased father, and to myself during my minority, when he was one of my tutors and curators; being resolved, now that the said Alexander Macdonald is advanced in years, to contribute my endeavours for making his old age placid and comfortable,"—therefore he grants him an annuity of fifty pounds sterling.

Dr. Johnson went to bed soon. When one bowl of punch was finished, I rose, and was near the door, in my way up stairs to bed; but *Corrichatachin* said it was the first time *Col* had been in his house, and he should have his bowl;—and would not I join in drinking it? The heartiness of my honest landlord, and the desire of doing social honour to our very obliging conductor, induced me to sit down again. *Col's* bowl was finished; and by that time we were well warmed. A third bowl was soon made, and that too was finished. We were cordial, and merry to a high degree; but of what passed I have no recollection, with any accuracy. I remember calling *Corrichatachin* by the familiar appellation of *Corri*, which his friends do. A fourth bowl was made, by which time *Col*, and young McKinnon, *Corrichatachin's* son, slipped away to bed. I continued a little with *Corri* and *Knockow*; but at last I left them. It was near five in the morning when I got to bed.

Sunday, Sept. 26.—I awaked at noon, with a severe headache. I was much vexed, that I should have been guilty of such a riot, and afraid of a reproof from Dr. Johnson. I thought it very inconsistent with that conduct which I ought to maintain, while the companion of the *Rambler*. About one he came into my room, and accosted me, "What, drunk yet?" His tone of voice was not that of severe upbraiding; so I was relieved a little. "Sir," said I, "they kept me up." He answered, "No, you kept them up, you drunken dog." This he said with good-humoured English pleasantry. Soon afterwards, *Corrichatachin*, *Col*, and other friends, assembled round my bed. *Corri* had a brandy-bottle and glass with him, and insisted I should take a dram. "Ay," said Dr. Johnson, "fill him drunk again. Do it in the morning, that

we may laugh at him all day. It is a poor thing for a fellow to get drunk at night, and skulk to bed, and let his friends have no sport." Finding him thus joocular, I became quite easy; and when I offered to get up, he very good-naturedly said, "You need be in no such hurry now."¹ I took my host's advice, and drank some brandy, which I found an effectual cure for my headache. When I rose, I went into Dr. Johnson's room, and taking up Mrs. McKinnon's Prayer-book, I opened it at the twentieth Sunday after Trinity, in the epistle for which I read, "And be not drunk with wine, wherein there is excess." Some would have taken this as divine interposition.

Mrs. McKinnon told us at dinner, that old *Kingsburgh*, her father, was examined at Mugstot, by General Campbell², as to the particulars of the dress of the person who had come to his house in woman's clothes, along with Miss Flora Macdonald; as the general had received intelligence of that disguise. The particulars were taken down in writing, that it might be seen how far they agreed with the dress of the *Irish girl* who went with Miss Flora from the Long Island. *Kingsburgh*, she said, had but one song, which he always sung when he was merry over a glass. She dictated the words to me, which are foolish enough:—

"Green sleeves and pudding pies,
Tell me where my mistress lies,
And I'll be with her before she rise,
Fiddle and aw' together.

"May our affairs abroad succeed,
And may our king come home with speed,
And all pretenders shake for dread,
And let his health go round.

"To all our injured friends in need,
This side and beyond the Tweed!—
Let all pretenders shake for dread,
And let his health go round.

Green sleeves, &c."³

While the examination was going on, the present *Talisher*, who was there as one of Macleod's militia⁴, could not resist the pleasantry of asking *Kingsburgh*, in allusion to his only song, "Had she green sleeves?" *Kingsburgh* gave him no answer. Lady Margaret

¹ My ingenuously relating this occasional instance of intemperance has, I find, been made the subject both of serious criticism and ludicrous banter. With the banterers I shall not trouble myself, but I wonder that those who pretend to the appellation of serious critics should not have had sagacity enough to perceive that here, as in every other part of the present work, my principal object was to delineate Dr. Johnson's manners and character. In justice to him I would not omit an anecdote, which, though in some degree to my own disadvantage, exhibits in so strong a light the indulgence and good humour with which he could treat those excesses in his friends of which he highly disapproved. In some other instances, the critics have been equally wrong as to the true motive of my recording particulars, the objections to which I saw as clearly as they. But it would be an endless task for an author to point out upon every occasion the precise object he has in view. Contenting himself with the approbation of readers of discernment and taste, he

ought not to complain that some are found who cannot or will not understand him.—BOSWELL.

² General Campbell, it seems, was accompanied by Captain Fergusson, of the *Furnace*, part of whose share in this examination we have already seen, *anté*, p. 325.—CROKER.

³ "Green sleeves," however, is a song a great deal older than the Revolution. "His disposition and words no more adhere and keep pace together, than the hundredth psalm and the tune of *Green sleeves*," says Mrs. Ford, in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*.—CROKER.

⁴ Macleod and Macdonald, after some hesitation, which the Jacobites called treachery, took part with the Hanoverian monarch, and arrayed their clans on that side. *Talisher*, who commanded a body of Macleod's people, seems to have been the person who actually arrested Flora Macdonald. (*Ascanius*).—But he probably did so, to prevent her falling into rude hands.—CROKER.

Macdonald¹ was very angry at *Talisker* for joking on such a serious occasion, as *Kingsburgh* was really in danger of his life. Mrs. McKinnon added, that Lady Margaret was quite adored in Sky. That when she travelled through the island, the people ran in crowds before her, and took the stones off the road, lest her horse should stumble and she be hurt.² Her husband, Sir Alexander, is also remembered with great regard. We were told that every week a hogshead of claret was drunk at his table.

This was another day of wind and rain; but good cheer and good society helped to beguile the time. I felt myself comfortable enough in the afternoon. I then thought that my last night's riot was no more than such a social excess as may happen without much moral blame; and recollected that some physicians maintained, that a fever produced by it was, upon the whole, good for health: so different are our reflections on the same subject, at different periods; and such the excuses with which we palliate what we know to be wrong.

Monday, Sept. 27. — Mr. Donald Macleod, our original guide, who had parted from us at Dunvegan, joined us again to-day. The weather was still so bad that we could not travel. I found a closet here, with a good many books, besides those that were lying about. Dr. Johnson told me, he found a library in his room at *Talisker*; and observed, that it was one of the remarkable things of Sky, that there were so many books in it.

Though we had here great abundance of provisions, it is remarkable that *Corrichatachin* has literally no garden: not even a turnip, a carrot, or a cabbage. After dinner, we talked of the crooked spade used in Sky, already described, and they maintained that it was better than the usual garden-spade, and that there was an art in tossing it, by which those who were accustomed to it could work very easily with it. "Nay," said Dr. Johnson, "it may be useful in land where there are many stones to raise; but it certainly is not a good instrument for digging good land. A man may toss it, to be sure; but he will toss a light spade much better: its weight makes it an incumbrance. A man may dig any land with it; but he has no occasion for such a weight in digging good land. You may take a field-piece to shoot sparrows; but all the sparrows you can bring home will not be worth the charge." He was quite social and easy amongst them; and, though he drank no fermented liquor, toasted Highland beauties with great readiness. His conviviality engaged them so much, that they seemed eager to show their attention to him, and vied with each other in crying out,

with a strong Celtic pronunciation, "Tactor Shonson, Tactor Shonson, your health!"

This evening one of our married ladies, a lively pretty little woman, good humouredly sat down upon Dr. Johnson's knee, and, being encouraged by some of the company, put her hands round his neck, and kissed him. "Do it again," said he, "and let us see who will tire first." He kept her on his knee some time, while he and she drank tea. He was now like a *buck* indeed. All the company were much entertained to find him so easy and pleasant. To me it was highly comic, to see the grave philosopher — the Rambler — toying with a Highland beauty! But what could he do? He must have been surly, and weak too, had he not behaved as he did. He would have been laughed at, and not more respected, though less loved.

He read to-night, to himself, as he sat in company, a great deal of my Journal, and said to me, "The more I read of this, I think the more highly of you."³ The gentlemen sat a long time at their punch, after he and I had retired to our chambers. The manner in which they were attended struck me as singular. The bell being broken, a smart lad lay on a table in the corner of the room, ready to spring up and bring the kettle whenever it was wanted. They continued drinking, and singing Erse songs, till near five in the morning, when they all came into my room, where some of them had beds. Unluckily for me, they found a bottle of punch in a corner, which they drank; and *Corrichatachin* went for another, which they also drank. They made many apologies for disturbing me. I told them, that, having been kept awake by their mirth, I had once thoughts of getting up and joining them again. Honest *Corrichatachin* said, "To have had you done so, I would have given a cow."

Tuesday, Sept. 28. — The weather was worse than yesterday. I felt as if imprisoned. Dr. Johnson said it was irksome to be detained thus: yet he seemed to have less uneasiness, or more patience, than I had. What made our situation worse here was, that we had no rooms that we could command; for the good people had no notion that a man could have any occasion but for a mere sleeping place; so, during the day, the bed-chambers were common to all the house. Servants eat in Dr. Johnson's, and mine was a kind of general rendezvous of all under the roof, children and dogs not excepted. As the gentlemen occupied the parlour, the ladies had no place to sit in, during the day, but Dr. Johnson's room. I had always some quiet time for writing in it, before he was up and, by degrees, I accustomed the ladies to let me sit in it after breakfast, at my Journal without minding me.

¹ See *ante*, p. 326. — C.

² Johnson made a compliment on this subject to Lady M.

Macdonald, when he afterwards met her, at dinner, in London. See 8th April, 1773. — CROKER.

³ Of you! — CROKER.

Dr. Johnson was this morning for going to see as many islands as we could, not recollecting the uncertainty of the season, which might detain us in one place for many weeks. He said to me, "I have more the spirit of adventure than you." For my part, I was anxious to get to Mull, from whence we might almost any day reach the main land.

Dr. Johnson mentioned, that the few ancient Irish gentlemen yet remaining have the highest pride of family; that Mr. Sandford, a friend of his, whose mother was Irish, told him, that O'Hara (who was true Irish, both by father and mother) and he, and Mr. Ponsonby, son to the Earl of Besborough, the greatest man of the three, but of an English family, went to see one of those ancient Irish, and that he distinguished them thus: "O'Hara, you are welcome! Mr. Sandford, your mother's son is welcome! Mr. Ponsonby, you may sit down!"

He talked both of threshing and thatching. He said it was very difficult to determine how to agree with a thresher. "If you pay him by the day's wages, he will thresh no more than he pleases: though, to be sure, the negligence of a thresher is more easily detected than that of most labourers, because he must always make a sound while he works. If you pay him by the piece, by the quantity of grain which he produces, he will thresh only while the grain comes freely, and though he leaves a good deal in the ear, it is not worth while to thresh the straw over again; nor can you fix him to do it sufficiently, because it is so difficult to prove how much less a man threshes than he ought to do. Here then is a dilemma: but, for my part, I would engage him by the day; I would rather trust his idleness than his fraud." He said, a roof thatched with Lincolnshire reeds would last seventy years, as he was informed when in that county; and that he told this in London to a great thatcher, who said, he believed it might be true. Such are the pains that Dr. Johnson takes to get the best information on every subject.

He proceeded: "It is difficult for a farmer in England to find day-labourers, because the lowest manufacturers can always get more than a day-labourer. It is of no consequence how high the wages of manufacturers are; but it would be of very bad consequence to raise the wages of those who procure the immediate necessities of life, for that would raise the price of provisions. Here then is a problem for politicians. It is not reasonable that the most useful body of men should be the worst paid; yet it does not appear how it can be ordered otherwise. It were to be wished, that a mode for its being otherwise were found out. In the mean time, it is better to give temporary assistance by charitable contributions to poor

labourers, at times when provisions are high, than to raise their wages; because, if wages are once raised, they will never get down again."

Happily the weather cleared up between one and two o'clock, and we got ready to depart; but our kind host and hostess would not let us go without taking a *snatch*, as they called it; which was in truth a very good dinner. While the punch went round, Dr. Johnson kept a close whispering conference with Mrs. McKinnon, which, however, was loud enough to let us hear that the subject of it was the particulars of Prince Charles's escape.¹ The company were entertained and pleased to observe it. Upon that subject, there was something congenial between the soul of Dr. Samuel Johnson and that of an Isle of Sky farmer's wife. It is curious to see people, how far soever removed from each other in the general system of their lives, come close together on a particular point which is common to each. We were merry with *Corrichatachin*, on Dr. Johnson's whispering with his wife. She, perceiving this, humorously cried, "I am in love with him. What is it to live and not to love?" Upon her saying something, which I did not hear, or cannot recollect, he seized her hand eagerly, and kissed it.

As we were going, the Scottish phrase of "*honest man*!" which is an expression of kindness and regard, was again and again applied by the company to Dr. Johnson. I was also treated with much civility; and I must take some merit from my assiduous attention to him, and from my contriving that he shall be easy wherever he goes, that he shall not be asked twice to eat or drink any thing (which always disgusts him), that he shall be provided with water at his meals, and many such little things, which, if not attended to, would fret him. I also may be allowed to claim some merit in leading the conversation: I do not mean leading, as in an orchestra, by playing the first fiddle; but leading as one does in examining a witness — starting topics, and making him pursue them. He appears to me like a great mill, into which a subject is thrown to be ground. It requires, indeed, fertile minds to furnish materials for this mill. I regret whenever I see it unemployed; but sometimes I feel myself quite barren, and having nothing to throw in. I know not if this mill be a good figure; though Pope makes his mind a mill for turning verses.

We set out about four. Young *Corrichatachin* went with us. We had a fine evening, and arrived in good time at Ostig, the residence of Mr. Martin M'Pherson, minister of Slate. It is a pretty good house, built by his father, upon a farm near the church. We were received here with much kindness by Mr. and

¹ It must be remembered that Mrs. McKinnon was old *Kingsburgh's* daughter, and was in the house when the Prender was there in woman's clothes. *Ascanius* relates an anecdote of her being alarmed (she was then very young)

with the masculine manners and bold strides of the "*muckle woman*" in the hall. Mrs. McKinnon was the maternal grandmother of my friend Major-General Macdonald, now (1846) Adjutant-General. — CROKER.

Mrs. M'Pherson, and his sister, Miss M'Pherson, who pleased Dr. Johnson much by singing Erse songs, and playing on the guitar. He afterwards sent her a present of his "Rasselas." In his bed-chamber was a press stored with books, Greek, Latin, French, and English, most of which had belonged to the father of our host, the learned Dr. M'Pherson; who, though his "Dissertations" have been mentioned in a former page as unsatisfactory, was a man of distinguished talents. Dr. Johnson looked at a Latin paraphrase of the Song of Moses, written by him, and published in the "Scots Magazine" for 1747, and said, "It does him honour; he has a great deal of Latin, and good Latin." Dr. M'Pherson published also in the same Magazine, June, 1739, an original Latin ode, which he wrote from the Isle of Barra, where he was minister for some years. It is very poetical, and exhibits a striking proof how much all things depend upon comparison: for Barra, it seems, appeared to him so much worse than Sky, his *natale solum*, that he languished for its "blessed mountains," and thought himself buried alive amongst barbarians where he was. My readers will probably not be displeased to have a specimen of this ode:—

"Hei mihi! quantos patior dolores,
Dum procul specto juga ter beata,
Dum feræ Barrae steriles arenas
Solus oberror.

"Ingemo, indignor, crucior, quod inter
Barbaros Thulen lateam colentes;
Torpeo languens, morior sepultus
Carcere cæco."

After wishing for wings to fly over to his dear country, which was in his view, from what he calls Thule, as being the most western isle of Scotland, except St. Kilda; after describing the pleasures of society, and the miseries of solitude; he at last, with becoming propriety, has recourse to the only sure relief of thinking men, — *Sursum corda*¹, — the hope of a better world, and disposes his mind to resignation:

"Interim, fiat tua, rex, voluntas:
Erigor sursum quoties subit spes
Certa migrandi Solymam supernam
Numinis aulam."

He concludes in a noble strain of orthodox piety:

"Vita tum demum vocitanda vita est.
Tum licet gratos socios habere,
Seraphim et sanctos TRIADEM verendam
Concelebrantes."

[JOHNSON TO MACLEOD.²

"Ostig, 28th Sept. 1773.

"DEAR SIR, — We are now on the margin of the sea, waiting for a boat and a wind. Boswell grows impatient; but the kind treatment which I find wherever I go, makes me leave, with some heaviness of heart, an island which I am not very likely to see again. Having now gone as far as horses can carry us, we thankfully return them. My steed will, I hope, be received with kindness; — he has borne me, heavy as I am, over ground both rough and steep, with great fidelity; and for the use of him, as for your other favours, I hope you will believe me thankful, and willing, at whatever distance we may be placed, to show my sense of your kindness, by any offices of friendship that may fall within my power.

"Lady Macleod and the young ladies have, by their hospitality and politeness, made an impression on my mind, which will not easily be effaced. Be pleased to tell them, that I remember them with great tenderness, and great respect. — I am, Sir, your most obliged and most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

"P.S. — We passed two days at Talisker very happily, both by the pleasantness of the place and elegance of our reception."]
—Macleod MSS.

Wednesday, Sept. 29. — After a very good sleep, I rose more refreshed than I had been for some nights. We were now at but a little distance from the shore, and saw the sea from our windows, which made our voyage seem nearer. Mr. M'Pherson's manners and address pleased us much. He appeared to be a man of such intelligence and taste as to be sensible of the extraordinary powers of his illustrious guest. He said to me, "Dr. Johnson is a honour to mankind, and, if the expression may be used, is an honour to religion."

Col, who had gone yesterday to pay a visit to Camuscross, joined us this morning at breakfast. Some other gentlemen also came to enjoy the entertainment of Dr. Johnson's conversation. The day was windy and rainy, so that we had just seized a happy interval for our journey last night. We had good entertainment here, better accommodation than at Corrichatachin, and time enough to ourselves. The hours slipped along imperceptibly. We talked of Shenstone. Dr. Johnson said, I was a good layer-out of land, but would not allow him to approach excellence as a poet. He said, he believed he had tried to read his "Love Pastorals," but did not get through them. I repeated the stanza,

"She gazed as I slowly withdrew;
My path I could hardly discern;
So sweetly she bade me adieu,
I thought that she bade me return."³

¹ The Latin for the apostrophe in the Communion Service. "Lift up your hearts." — CROKER.

² For this letter I am indebted to the present Macleod. — CROKER, 1831.

³ He quotes this and some other stanzas from the stanza poem in his Life of Shenstone. — P. CUNNINGHAM.

He said, "That seems to be pretty." I observed that Shenstone, from his short maxims in prose, appeared to have some power of thinking; but Dr. Johnson would not allow him that merit. He agreed, however, with Shenstone, that it was wrong in the brother of one of his correspondents to burn his letters; "for," said he, "Shenstone was a man whose correspondence was an honour." He was this afternoon full of critical severity, and dealt about his censures on all sides. He said, Hammond's "Love Elegies" were poor things.¹ He spoke contemptuously of our lively and elegant, though too licentious lyric bard, Hanbury Williams, and said, "he had no fame, but from boys who drank with him."²

While he was in this mood, I was unfortunate enough, simply perhaps, but I could not help thinking undeservedly, to come within "the whiff and wind of his fell sword." I asked him, if he had ever been accustomed to wear a nightcap. He said, "No." I asked, if it was best not to wear one. JOHNSON. "Sir, I had this custom by chance, and perhaps no man shall ever know whether it is best to sleep with or without a night-cap." Soon afterwards he was laughing at some deficiency in the Highlands, and said, "One might as well go without shoes and stockings." Thinking to have a little hit at his own deficiency, I ventured to add, "or without a night-cap, Sir." But I had better have been silent, for he retorted directly, "I do not see the connection there (laughing). Nobody before was ever foolish enough to ask whether it was best to wear a night-cap or not. This comes of being a little wrong-headed." He carried the company along with him: and yet the truth is, that if he had always worn a night-cap, as is the common practice, and found the Highlanders did not wear one, he would have wondered at their barbarity; so that my hit was fair enough.

Thursday, Sept. 30. — There was as great a storm of wind and rain as I have almost ever seen, which necessarily confined us to the house; but we were fully compensated by Dr. Johnson's conversation. He said, he did not grudge Burke's being the first man in the House of Commons, for he was the first man

every where; but he grudged that a fellow who makes no figure in company, and has a mind as narrow as the neck of a vinegar cruet, should make a figure in the House of Commons, merely by having the knowledge of a few forms, and being furnished with a little occasional information.³ He told us, the first time he saw Dr. Young was at the house of Mr. Richardson, the author of "Clarissa." He was sent for, that the doctor might read to him his "Conjectures on Original Composition," which he did, and Dr. Johnson made his remarks; and he was surprised to find Young receive as novelties, what he thought very common maxims. He said, he believed Young was not a great scholar, nor had studied regularly the art of writing; that there were very fine things in his "Night Thoughts," though you could not find twenty lines together without some extravagance. He repeated two passages from his "Love of Fame," — the characters of Brunetta and Stella⁴, which he praised highly. He said Young pressed him much to come to Welwyn. He always intended it, but never went. He was sorry when Young died. The cause of quarrel between Young and his son, he told us, was, that his son insisted Young should turn away a clergyman's widow, who lived with him, and who, having acquired great influence over the father, was saucy to the son. Dr. Johnson said, she could not conceal her resentment at him, for saying to Young, that "an old man should not resign himself to the management of any body." I asked him if there was any improper connection between them. "No, Sir, no more than between two statues. He was past fourscore, and she a very coarse woman. She read to him, and, I suppose, made his coffee, and frothed his chocolate, and did such things as an old man wishes to have done for him."⁵

Dr. Doddridge⁶ being mentioned, he observed, "he was author of one of the finest epigrams in the English language. It is in Orton's Life of him. The subject is his family motto, '*Dum vivimus vivamus*,' which, in its primary signification, is, to be sure, not very suitable to a Christian divine; but he paraphrased it thus: —

¹ "The truth is, these Elegies have neither passion, nature, nor manners. Where there is fiction, there is no passion: he that describes himself as a shepherd, and his Neera or Delia as a shepherdess, and talks of goats and lambs, feels no passion. He that courts his mistress with Roman imagery deserves to lose her; for she may with good reason suspect his sincerity." JOHNSON, *Life of Hammond*. — CROKER.

² See *anté*, p. 184. — C.

³ He did not mention the name of any particular person; but those who are conversant with the political world will probably recollect more persons than one to whom this observation may be applied. — BOSWELL. I have little doubt that this very unjust portrait was meant for Lord North. — CROKER, 1846.

⁴ "Brunetta's wise in actions great and rare —
But scorns on trifles to bestow her care;

Think nought a trifle, though it small appear:
Small sands the mountain, moments make the year,
And trifles, life."

— "See Stella; her eyes shine as bright
As if her tongue was never in the right:
And yet what real learning, judgment, fire!
She seems inspired, and can herself inspire."

YOUNG'S *Love of Fame*.

⁵ Mrs. Hallows was a woman of piety, improved by reading. She was always treated by Dr. Young and by his guests, even those of the highest rank, with the politeness and respect due to a gentlewoman. She died in 1780. — ANDERSON.

⁶ Dr. Philip Doddridge, an eminent dissenting divine, born in 1702, died at Lishon (whither he had gone for the recovery of his health) in 1751. Some of his letters have been recently published, with no great advantage to his fame. — CROKER.

'Live while you live, the *Epicure* would say,
And seize the pleasures of the present day.
Live while you live, the sacred *Preacher* cries,
And give to God each moment as it flies.
Lord, in my views let both united be;
I live in pleasure, when I live to thee.'

I asked if it was not strange that government should permit so many infidel writings to pass without censure. JOHNSON. "Sir, it is mighty foolish. It is for want of knowing their own power. The present family on the throne came to the crown against the will of nine tenths of the people. Whether those nine tenths were right or wrong, it is not our business now to inquire. But such being the situation of the royal family, they were glad to encourage all who would be their friends. Now you know every bad man is a Whig; every man who has loose notions. The church was all against this family. They were, as I say, glad to encourage any friends; and, therefore, since their accession, there is no instance of any man being kept back on account of his bad principles; and hence this inundation of impiety." I observed that Mr. Hume, some of whose writings were very unfavourable to religion, was, however, a Tory. JOHNSON. "Sir, Hume is a Tory by chance, as being a Scotchman; but not upon a principle of duty, for he has no principle. If he is any thing, he is a Hobbit."

There was something not quite serene in his humour to-night, after supper; for he spoke of hastening away to London, without stopping much at Edinburgh. I reminded him that he had General Oughton, and many others, to see. JOHNSON. "Nay, I shall neither go in jest, nor stay in jest. I shall do what is fit." BOSWELL. "Ay, Sir, but all I desire is, that you will let me tell you when it is fit." JOHNSON. "Sir, I shall not consult you." BOSWELL. "If you are to run away from us, as soon as you get loose, we will keep you confined in an island." He was, however, on the whole, very good company. Mr. Donald Macleod expressed very well the gradual impression made by Dr. Johnson on those who are so fortunate as to obtain his acquaintance. "When you see him first, you are struck with awful reverence; then you admire him; and then you love him cordially."

I read this evening some part of Voltaire's "History of the War in 1741," and of Lord Kames against "Hereditary Indefeasible Right." This is a very slight circumstance, with which I should not trouble my reader, but for the sake of observing, that every man should keep minutes of whatever he reads. Every circum-

stance of his studies should be recorded; what books he has consulted; how much of them he has read; at what times; how often the same authors; and what opinions he formed of them, at different periods of his life. Such an account would much illustrate the history of his mind.

Friday, Oct. 1.—I showed to Dr. Johnson verses in a Magazine, on his Dictionary, composed of uncommon words taken from it;

"Little of *Anthropopathy* has he," &c.

He read a few of them, and said, "I am not answerable for all the words in my Dictionary." I told him, that Garrick kept a book of all who had either praised or abused him. On the subject of his own reputation, he said, "Now that I see it has been so current a topic, I wish I had done so too; but it could not well be done now, as so many things are scattered in newspapers." He said he was angry at a boy of Oxford¹, who wrote in his defence against Kenrick; because it was doing him hurt to answer Kenrick. He was told afterwards, the boy was to come to him to ask a favour. He first thought to treat him rudely on account of his meddling in that business; but then he considered he had meant to do him all the service in his power, and he took another resolution: he told him he would do what he could for him, and did so; and the boy was satisfied. He said, he did not know how his pamphlet was done, as he had read very little of it. The boy made a good figure at Oxford, but died. He remarked, that attacks on authors did them much service. "A man, who tells me my play is very bad, is less my enemy than he who lets it die in silence. A man, whose business it is to be talked of, is much helped by being attacked." Garrick, I observed, had often been so helped. JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir; though Garrick had more opportunities than almost any man, to keep the public in mind of him, by exhibiting himself to such numbers, he would not have had so much reputation, had he not been so much attacked. Every attack produces a defence; and so attention is engaged. There is no sport in mere praise, when people are all of a mind." BOSWELL. "Then Hume is not the worse for Beattie's attack?" JOHNSON. "He is, because Beattie has confuted him.² I do not say but that there may be some attacks which will hurt an author. Though Hume suffered from Beattie, he was the better for other attacks." (He certainly could not include in that number those of Dr. Adams and Mr. Tytler.)³ BOSWELL. "Goldsmith is the

¹ Mr. Barclay. See *ant.* p. 171. Johnson's desire to express his contempt of Kenrick is shown by his perseverance in representing this young gentleman as a *boy*; as if to say, it was too much honour for Kenrick that even a *boy* should answer him. — CROKER.

² Dr. Beattie's "Essay on the Nature and Immutability of Truth" appeared in May 1770. — CROKER.

³ Mr. Boswell adds this parenthesis, probably, because the gentlemen alluded to were friends of his; but if Dr. Johnson "did not mean to include *them*," *whom* did he mean? for they were certainly (after Beattie) Hume's most prominent antagonists. — CROKER.

better for attacks." JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir; but he does not think so yet. When Goldsmith and I published, each of us something, at the same time, we were given to understand that we might review each other. Goldsmith was for accepting the offer. I said, no; set reviewers at defiance. It was said to old Bentley, upon the attacks against him, 'Why, they'll write you down.' 'No, Sir,' he replied; 'depend upon it, no man was ever written down but by himself.'" He observed to me afterwards, that the advantages authors derived from attacks were chiefly in subjects of taste, where you cannot confute, as so much may be said on either side. He told me he did not know who was the author of the "Adventures of a Guinea;"¹ but that the bookseller had sent the first volume to him in manuscript, to have his opinion if it should be printed; and he thought it should.

The weather being now somewhat better, Mr. James McDonald, factor to Sir Alexander McDonald, in Slate, insisted that all the company at Ostig should go to the house at Armidale, which Sir Alexander had left, having gone with his lady to Edinburgh, and be his guests, till we had an opportunity of sailing to Mull. We accordingly got there to dinner; and passed our day very cheerfully, being no less than fourteen in number.

Saturday, Oct. 2. — Dr. Johnson said, that "a chief and his lady should make their house like a court. They should have a certain number of the gentlemen's daughters to receive their education in the family, to learn pastry and such things from the housekeeper, and manners from my lady. That was the way in the great families in Wales; at Lady Salusbury's, Mrs. Thrale's grandmother, and at Lady Philips's. I distinguish the families by the ladies, as I speak of what was properly their province. There were always six young ladies at Sir John Philips's; when one was married, her place was filled up. There was a large school-room, where they learnt needlework and other things." I observed, that, at some courts in Germany, there were academies for the pages, who are the sons of gentlemen, and receive their education without expense to their parents. Dr. Johnson said, that manners were best learnt at those courts. "You are admitted with great facility to the prince's company, and yet must treat him with much respect. At a great court, you are at such a distance that you get no good." I said, "Very true: a man sees the court of Ver-

sailles, as if he saw it on a theatre." He said, "The best book that ever was written upon good breeding, 'Il Cortegiano,' by Castiglione, grew up at the little court of Urbino, and you should read it."² I am glad always to have his opinion of books. At Mr. Macpherson's, he commended "Whitby's Commentary,"³ and said, he had heard him called rather lax; but he did not perceive it. He had looked at a novel, called "The Man of the World," at Rassy, but thought there was nothing in it.⁴ He said to-day, while reading my Journal, "This will be a great treasure to us some years hence."

Talking of a very penurious gentleman of our acquaintance⁵, he observed, that he exceeded L'Avare in the play. I concurred with him, and remarked that he would do well, if introduced in one of Foote's farces; that the best way to get it done would be to bring Foote to be entertained at his house for a week, and then it would be *fuit indignatio*. JOHNSON. "Sir, I wish he had him. I, who have eaten his bread, will not give him to him; but I should be glad he came honestly by him."

He said he was angry at Thrale, for sitting at General Oglethorpe's without speaking. He censured a man for degrading himself to a non-entity. I observed, that Goldsmith was on the other extreme; for he spoke at ventures. JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir; Goldsmith, rather than not speak, will talk of what he knows himself to be ignorant, which can only end in exposing him." "I wonder," said I, "if he feels that he exposes himself. If he was with two tailors" — "Or with two founders," said Dr. Johnson, interrupting me, "he would fill a talking on the method of making cannon, though both of them would soon see that he did not know what metal a cannon is made of." We were very social and merry in his room this forenoon. In the evening the company danced as usual. We performed, with much activity, a dance which, I suppose, the emigration from Sky has occasioned. They call it *America*. Each of the couples, after the common *involutions* and *evolutions*, successively whirls round in a circle, till all are in motion; and the dance seems intended to show how emigration catches, till a whole neighbourhood is set afloat. Mrs. McKinnon told me, that last year, when a ship sailed from Portree for America, the people on shore were almost distracted when they saw their relations go off; they lay down on the

¹ It is strange that Johnson should not have known that the "Adventures of a Guinea" was written by a namesake of his own, Charles Johnson. Being disqualified for the bar, which was his profession, by a supervening deafness, he went to India, and made some fortune, and died there about 1800. — WALTER SCOTT. He died, says the *Biographical Dictionary*, in Bengal, about 1800. He must not be confounded with an earlier Charles Johnson, also bred to the bar, but who became a very voluminous dramatic writer, and died about 1744. — CROKER.

² Count Castiglione was born at Mantua in 1478, and died

in 1529, after having been employed by Ludovico Sforza, both as a soldier and a statesman. — WRIGHT.

³ Dr. Daniel Whitby, born 1638, died 1726. His celebrated Paraphrase and Commentary on the New Testament was first published in 1703. — WRIGHT.

⁴ By Henry Mackenzie. Though not, perhaps, so popular as the "Man of Feeling" by the same amiable author [*ante*, p. 122.], the "Man of the World" is a very pathetic tale. — WALTER SCOTT. The *Man of the World* was published in 1773, without the name of the author. — CROKER.

⁵ Sir Alexander Macdonald. — CROKER.

ground, tumbled, and tore the grass with their teeth. This year there was not a tear shed. The people on the shore seemed to think that they would soon follow. This indifference is a mortal sign for the country.

We danced to-night to the music of the bagpipe, which made us beat the ground with prodigious force. I thought it better to endeavour to conciliate the kindness of the people of Sky, by joining heartily in their amusements, than to play the abstract scholar. I looked on this tour to the Hebrides as a copartnership between Dr. Johnson and me. Each was to do all he could to promote its success; and I have some reason to flatter myself, that my gayer exertions were of service to us. Dr. Johnson's immense fund of knowledge and wit was a wonderful source of admiration and delight to them; but they had it only at times; and they required to have the intervals agreeably filled up, and even little elucidations of his learned text. I was also fortunate enough frequently to draw him forth to talk, when he would otherwise have been silent. The fountain was at times locked up, till I opened the spring. It was curious to hear the Hebridiens, when any dispute happened while he was out of the room, saying, "Stay till Dr. Johnson comes; say that to him!"

Yesterday, Dr. Johnson said, "I cannot but laugh, to think of myself roving among the Hebrides at sixty. I wonder where I shall rove at fourscore!" This evening he disputed the truth of what is said as to the people of St. Kilda catching cold whenever strangers come. "How can there," said he, "be a physical effect without a physical cause?" He added, laughing, "the arrival of a ship full of strangers would kill them; for, if one stranger gives them one cold, two strangers must give them two colds; and so in proportion." I wondered to hear him ridicule this, as he had praised M'Aulay for putting it in his book; saying, that it was manly in him to tell a fact, however strange, if he himself believed it. He said, the evidence was not adequate to the improbability of the thing; that if a physician, rather disposed to be incredulous, should go to St. Kilda, and report the fact, then he would begin to look about him. They said, it was annually proved by Macleod's steward, on whose arrival all the inhabitants caught cold. He jocularly remarked, "The steward always comes to demand something from them; and so they fall a coughing.¹ I suppose the people in Sky all take a cold when² — (naming a certain person) comes." They said, he came only in summer. JOHNSON. "That is out of tenderness to you. Bad weather and he, at the same time, would be too much."

CHAPTER XLI.

1773.

Johnson leaves the Isle of Sky. — A Storm. — Driven into Col. — His Appearance on a Sheltie. — Sea Sickness. — "Burnet's Own Times." — Rev. Hector McLean. — Bayle, Leibnitz, and Clarke. — Survey of Col. — Grissipol. — Cucumbers. — Insular Life. — Song, "Hatyin foam' eri." — Breacacha. — Johnson's Power of Ridicule. — Happiness in a Cottage. — Advice to Landlords. — Pretended Brother of Johnson. — Carte's Life of Ormond. — Family of Col. — Letters by Montrose.

Sunday, Oct. 3. — JOSEPH reported that the wind was still against us. Dr. Johnson said, "A wind, or not a wind? that is the question;" for he can amuse himself at times with a little play of words, or rather sentences. I remember when he turned his cup at Aberbrothick, where we drank tea, he muttered, *Claudite jam rivos, pueri*. I must again and again apologize to fastidious readers, for recording such minute particulars. They prove the scrupulous fidelity of my Journal. Dr. Johnson said it was a very exact picture of a portion of his life.

While we were chatting in the indolent style of men who were to stay here all this day at least, we were suddenly roused at being told that the wind was fair, that a little fleet of herring-busses was passing by for Mull, and that Mr. Simpson's vessel was about to sail. Hugh McDonald, the skipper, came to us, and was impatient that we should get ready, which we soon did. Dr. Johnson, with composure and solemnity, repeated the observation of Epictetus, that, "as man has the voyage of death before him, — whatever may be his employment, he should be ready at the master's call; and an old man should never be far from the shore, lest he should not be able to get himself ready." He rode, and I and the other gentlemen walked, about an English mile to the shore, where the vessel lay. Dr. Johnson said he should never forget Sky, and returned thanks for all civilities. We were carried to the vessel in a small boat which she had, and we set sail very briskly about one o'clock. I was much pleased with the motion for many hours. Dr. Johnson grew sick, and retired under cover, as it rained a good deal. I kept above, that I might have fresh air, and finding myself not affected by the motion of the vessel, I exulted in being a stout seaman, while Dr. Johnson was quite in a state of annihilation. But I was soon humbled; for after imagining that I could go with ease to America or the

¹ See *antè*, p. 191., an, at least, ingenious solution of this enigma. — CROKER.

² Sir A. Macdonald. — CROKER.

East Indies, I became very sick, but kept above board though it rained hard.

As we had been detained so long in Sky by bad weather, we gave up the scheme that *Col* had planned for us of visiting several islands, and contented ourselves with the prospect of seeing Mull, and Icolmkill and Inch Kenneth, which lie near to it.

Mr. Simpson was sanguine in his hopes for awhile, the wind being fair for us. He said he would land us at Icolmkill that night. But when the wind failed, it was resolved we should make for the Sound of Mull, and land in the harbour of Tobermorie. We kept near the five herring vessels for some time; but afterwards four of them got before us, and one little wherry fell behind us. When we got in full view of the point of Ardnamurchan, the wind changed, and was directly against our getting into the Sound. We were then obliged to tack, and get forward in that tedious manner. As we advanced, the storm grew greater, and the sea very rough. *Col* then began to talk of making for Egg, or Canna, or his own island. Our skipper said, he would get us into the Sound. Having struggled for this a good while in vain, he said, he would push forward till we were near the land of Mull, where we might cast anchor, and lie till the morning; for although, before this, there had been a good moon, and I had pretty distinctly seen not only the land of Mull, but up the Sound, and the country of Morven as at one end of it, the night was now grown very dark. Our crew consisted of one M'Donald, our skipper, and two sailors, one of whom had but one eye; Mr. Simpson, himself, *Col*, and Hugh M'Donald his servant, all helped. Simpson said, he would willingly go for *Col*, if young *Col* or his servant would undertake to pilot us to a harbour; but, as the island is low land, it was dangerous to run upon it in the dark. *Col* and his servant appeared a little dubious. The scheme of running for Canna seemed then to be embraced; but Canna was ten leagues off, all out of our way; and they were afraid to attempt the harbour of Egg. All these different plans were successively in agitation. The old skipper still tried to make for the land of Mull; but then it was considered that there was no place there where we could anchor in safety. Much time was lost in striving against the storm. At last it became so rough, and threatened to be so much worse, that *Col* and his servant took more courage, and said they would undertake to hit one of

the harbours in Col. "Then let us run for it in God's name," said the skipper; and instantly we turned towards it. The little wherry which had fallen behind us had hard work. The master begged that, if we made for Col, we should put out a light to him. Accordingly, one of the sailors waved a glowing peat for some time. The various difficulties that were started gave me a good deal of apprehension, from which I was relieved, when I found we were to run for a harbour before the wind. But my relief was but of short duration; for I soon heard that our sails were very bad, and were in danger of being torn in pieces, in which case we should be driven upon the rocky shore of Col. It was very dark, and there was a heavy and incessant rain. The sparks of the burning peat flew so much about, that I dreaded the vessel might take fire. Then, as *Col* was a sportsman, and had powder on board, I figured that we might be blown up. Simpson and he appeared a little frightened, which made me more so; and the perpetual talking, or rather shouting, which was carried on in Erse, alarmed me still more. A man is always suspicious of what is saying in an unknown tongue; and, if fear be his passion at the time, he grows more afraid. Our vessel often lay so much on one side, that I trembled lest she should be overset; and indeed they told me afterwards, that they had run her sometimes to within an inch of the water, so anxious were they to make what haste they could before the night should be worse. I now saw what I never saw before, a prodigious sea, with immense billows coming upon a vessel, so as that it seemed hardly possible to escape. There was something grandly horrible in the sight. I am glad I have seen it once. Amidst all these terrifying circumstances, I endeavoured to compose my mind. It was not easy to do it; for all the stories that I had heard of the dangerous sailing among the Hebrides, which is proverbial, came full upon my recollection. When I thought of those who were dearest to me, and would suffer severely, should I be lost, I upbraided myself, as not having a sufficient cause for putting myself in such danger. Piety afforded me comfort; yet I was disturbed by the objections that have been made against a particular providence, and by the arguments of those who maintain that it is in vain to hope that the petitions of an individual, or even of congregations, can have any influence with the Deity; objections which have been often made, and which Dr. Hawkesworth¹ has lately revived, in his Preface to the Voyages to the

¹ "The general disapprobation with which the doctrines unhappily advanced by Hawkesworth in this preface were received, deprived him," says the Biographical Dictionary, "of peace of mind and of life itself;" and Mrs. Piozzi says, (*Anecdotes*, p. 143.) "Hawkesworth, the pious, the virtuous, and the wise, fell a lamented sacrifice to newspaper abuse;" and Mr. Malone, in a MS. note on that passage, in his copy of Piozzi's *Anecdotes* (which Mr. Markland has been so good as to communicate to me), states, that, "after Hawkesworth had published Cooke's first voyage, he was attacked severely in the newspapers, by a writer who signed himself *A Chris-*

tian, for some tenets in that work, which so preyed on his spirits that he put an end to his life by a large dose of opium." There is some reason, however, to believe that these accounts — both of the public indignation, and of Dr. Hawkesworth's consequent distress of mind — were exaggerated; for he was, between the publication of his preface in Spring, 1773. and his death in the November of the same year, elected a *Director of the East India Company*, — a distinction which, if the accounts before-mentioned were true, it is not likely that he should have either solicited or obtained. In the periodicals of the day he is stated to have "died of a linger-

South Seas; but Dr. Ogden's excellent doctrine on the efficacy of intercession prevailed.

It was half an hour after eleven before we set ourselves in the course for Col. As I saw them all busy doing something, I asked *Col*, with much earnestness, what I could do. He, with a happy readiness, put into my hand a rope, which was fixed to the top of one of the masts, and told me to hold it till he bade me pull. If I had considered the matter, I might have seen that this could not be of the least service; but his object was to keep me out of the way of those who were busy working the vessel, and at the same time to divert my fear, by employing me, and making me think that I was of use. Thus did I stand firm to my post, while the wind and rain beat upon me, always expecting a call to pull my rope.

The man with one eye steered; old M'Donald, and *Col* and his servant, lay upon the fore-castle, looking sharp out for the harbour. It was necessary to carry much *cloth*, as they termed it, that is to say, much sail, in order to keep the vessel off the shore of Col. This made violent plunging in a rough sea. At last they spied the harbour of Lochiern, and *Col* cried, "Thank God, we are safe!" We ran up till we were opposite to it, and soon afterwards we got into it, and cast anchor.

Dr. Johnson had all this time been quiet and unconcerned. He had lain down on one of the beds, and having got free from sickness, was satisfied. The truth is, he knew nothing of the danger we were in¹; but, fearless and unconcerned, might have said, in the words which he has chosen for the motto to his "Rambler,"

"Quo me cunque rapit tempestas, deferor hospes."²

Once, during the doubtful consultations, he asked whither we were going; and upon being told that it was not certain whether to Mull or Col, he cried, "Col for my money!" I now went down, with *Col* and Mr. Simpson, to visit him. He was lying in philosophic tranquillity with a greyhound of *Col*'s at his back, keeping him warm. *Col* is quite the *Juvenis qui gaudet canibus*. He had, when we left Talisker, two greyhounds, two terriers, a pointer, and a large

Newfoundland water-dog. He lost one of his terriers by the road, but had still five dogs with him. I was very ill, and very desirous to get to shore. When I was told that we could not land that night, as the storm had now increased, I looked so miserably, as *Col* afterwards informed me, that what Shakspeare has made the Frenchman say of the English soldiers, when scantily dieted, "Piteous they will look, like drowned mice!" might, I believe, have been well applied to me. There was in the harbour, before us, a Campbell-town vessel, the *Betty*, Kenneth Morison master, taking in kelp, and bound for Ireland. We sent our boat to beg beds for two gentlemen, and that the master would send his boat, which was larger than ours. He accordingly did so, and *Col* and I were accommodated in his vessel till the morning.

Monday, Oct. 4.—About eight o'clock we went in the boat to Mr. Simpson's vessel, and took in Dr. Johnson. He was quite well, though he had tasted nothing but a dish of tea since Saturday night. On our expressing some surprise at this, he said, that "when he lodged in the Temple, and had no regular system of life, he had fasted for two days at a time, during which he had gone about visiting, though not at the hours of dinner or supper; that he had drunk tea, but eaten no bread; that this was no intentional fasting³, but happened just in the course of a literary life."

There was a little miserable public-house close upon the shore, to which we should have gone, had we landed last night: but this morning *Col* resolved to take us directly to the house of Captain Lauchlan M'Lean, a descendant of his family, who had acquired a fortune in the East Indies, and taken a farm in Col. We had about an English mile to go to it. *Col* and Joseph, and some others, ran to some little horses, called here *shelties*, that were running wild on a heath, and caught one of them. We had a saddle with us, which was clapped upon it, and a straw halter was put on its head. Dr. Johnson was then mounted, and Joseph very slowly and gravely led the horse. I said to Dr. Johnson, "I wish, Sir, the club saw you in this attitude."⁴

ing fever." One is willing to hope that a life like Hawkesworth's, spent in advocating the interests of morality and religion, was not so miserably clouded at its very close.—CROKER.

¹ He at least made light of it, in his letters to Mrs Thrale. "After having been detained by storms many days at Skie, we left it, as we thought, with a fair wind; but a violent gust, which Boswell had a great mind to call a tempest, forced us into Col, an obscure island; on which—"nulla campis arbor æstivâ recreatur aurâ."—*Letters*.—CROKER. Their risque, in a sea full of islands, was very considerable. Indeed, the whole expedition was highly perilous, considering the season of the year, the precarious chance of getting sea-worthy boats, and the ignorance of the Hebrideans, who, notwithstanding the opportunities, I may say the necessities, of their situation, are very careless and unskilful sailors.—WALTER SCOTT.

² "For as the tempest drives, I shape my way."—*Francis*. Hor. l. Ep. l. 15.—BOSWELL.

³ This was probably the same kind of *unintentional fasting* as that which suggested to him, at an earlier period, the affecting epithet *inpransus* (*anté*, p. 39).—WALTER SCOTT.

⁴ This curious exhibition may, perhaps, remind some of my readers of the ludicrous lines made, during Sir Robert Walpole's administration (1741), on Mr. George (afterward Lord) Lyttelton, though the figures of the two personages must be allowed to be very different:—

"But who is this astride the pony,
So long, so lean, so lank, so bony?
Dat be de great orator, Littletony."—BOSWELL.

These lines are part of a song printed under a political caricature print, levelled against Sir Robert Walpole, called *The Motion*, representing a chariot drawn by six spirited horses, in and about which are the chiefs of the opposition of the day, Lords Chesterfield and Carteret, Duke of Argyll, Mr. Sandys, &c.—CROKER.

The exact words are:—

Who's dat who ride astride de Pony,
So long, so lean, so lank, and bony?
O he be de great orator Little-Tony.

The print contains an interesting view of Whitehall. "I have received," says Horace Walpole, "a print by this post

It was a very heavy rain, and I was wet to the skin. Captain McLean had but a poor temporary house, or rather hut; however, it was a very good haven to us. There was a blazing peat fire, and Mrs. McLean, daughter of the minister of the parish, got us tea. I felt still the motion of the sea. Dr. Johnson said, it was not in the imagination, but a continuation of motion on the fluids, like that of the sea itself after the storm is over.

There were some books on the board which served as a chimney-piece. Dr. Johnson took up "Burnet's History of his own Times." He said, "The first part of it is one of the most entertaining books in the English language; it is quite dramatic: while he went about every where, saw every where, and heard every where. By the first part, I mean so far as it appears that Burnet himself was actually engaged in what he has told; and this may be easily distinguished." Captain McLean censured Burnet, for his high praise of Lauderdale in a dedication, when he shows him in his history to have been so bad a man. JOHNSON. "I do not think, myself, that a man should say in a dedication what he could not say in a history. However, allowance should be made; for there is a great difference. The known style of a dedication is flattery: it professes to flatter. There is the same difference between what a man says in a dedication, and what he says in a history, as between a lawyer's pleading a cause, and reporting it."

The day passed away pleasantly enough. The wind became fair for Mull in the evening, and Mr. Simpson resolved to sail next morning; but having been thrown into the island of Col, we were unwilling to leave it unexamined, especially as we considered that the Campbell-town vessel would sail for Mull in a day or two; and therefore we determined to stay.

Tuesday, Oct. 5.—I rose, and wrote my Journal till about nine, and then went to Dr. Johnson, who sat up in bed and talked and laughed. I said, it was curious to look back ten years, to the time when we first thought of visiting the Hebrides. How distant and improbable the scheme then appeared! Yet here we were actually among them. "Sir," said he, "people may come to do any thing almost, by talking of it. I really believe I could talk myself into building a house upon Island Isa, though I should probably never come back again to see it. I could easily persuade Reynolds to do it; and there would be no great sin in persuading him to do it. Sir, he would reason thus: 'What will it cost me to be there once in two or three summers? Why, perhaps, five hundred pounds; and what is that, in comparison of having a fine retreat, to which a man can go, or to which he can send a friend?' He would never find out that he may have this

within twenty miles of London. Then I would tell him, that he may marry one of the Miss Macleods, a lady of great family. Sir, it is surprising, how people will go to a distance, for what they may have at home. I knew a lady¹ who came up from Lincolnshire to Knightsbridge with one of her daughters, and gave five guineas a week for a lodging and a warm bath; that is, mere warm water. *That*, you know, could not be had in *Lincolnshire*! She said, it was made either too hot or too cold there."

After breakfast, Dr. Johnson and I, and Joseph, mounted horses, and Col and the captain walked with us about a short mile across the island. We paid a visit to the Rev. Mr. Hector McLean. His parish consists of the islands of Col and Tyr-yi. He was about seventy-seven years of age, a decent ecclesiastic, dressed in a full suit of black clothes, and a black wig. He appeared like a Dutch pastor, or one of the "*Assembly of Divines*" at Westminster. Dr. Johnson observed to me afterwards, "that he was a fine old man, and was as well dressed, and had as much dignity in his appearance, as the dean of a cathedral." We were told that he had a valuable library, though but poor accommodation for it, being obliged to keep his books in large chests. It was curious to see him and Dr. Johnson together. Neither of them heard very distinctly; so each of them talked in his own way, and at the same time. Mr. McLean said, he had a confutation of Bayle, by Leibnitz. JOHNSON. "A confutation of Bayle, Sir! What part of Bayle do you mean? The greatest part of his writings is not confutable: it is historical and critical." Mr. McLean said, "the irreligious part;" and proceeded to talk of Leibnitz's controversy with Clarke, calling Leibnitz a great man. JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, Leibnitz persisted in affirming that Newton called space *sensorium numinis*, notwithstanding he was corrected, and desired to observe that Newton's words were *quasi sensorium numinis*. No, Sir; Leibnitz was as paltry a fellow as I know. Out of respect to Queen Caroline, who patronised him, Clarke treated him too well."

During the time that Dr. Johnson was thus going on, the old minister was standing with his back to the fire, cresting up erect, pulling down the front of his periwig, and talking what a great man Leibnitz was. To give an idea of the scene would require a page with two columns; but it ought rather to be represented by two good players. The old gentleman said, Clarke was very wicked, for going so much into the Arian system. "I will not say he was wicked," said Dr. Johnson; "he might be mistaken." McLEAN. "He was wicked, to shut his eyes against the Scriptures; and worthy men in England have since confuted him to all intents and purposes." JOHNSON.

that diverts me extremely,—*The Motion*. Tell me, dear, now who made the design, and who took the likenesses; they are admirable: the lines are as good as one sees on such

occasions." *Walpole to Conway*, March 25. 1741.—P. CUNNINGHAM.

¹ Mrs. Langton, the mother of his friend.—CROKER.

"I know not *who* has confuted him to *all intents and purposes*." Here again there was a double talking, each continuing to maintain his own argument, without hearing exactly what the other said.

I regretted that Dr. Johnson did not practise the art of accommodating himself to different sorts of people. Had he been softer with this venerable old man, we might have had more conversation; but his forcible spirit, and impetuosity of manner, may be said to spare neither sex nor age.¹ I have seen even Mrs. Thrale stunned; but I have often maintained, that it is better he should retain his own manner. Pliability of address I conceive to be inconsistent with that majestic power of mind which he possesses, and which produces such noble effects. A lofty oak will not bend like a supple willow.

He told me afterwards, he liked firmness in an old man, and was pleased to see Mr. M^cLean so orthodox. "At his age, it is too late for a man to be asking himself questions as to his belief."

We rode to the northern part of the island, where we saw the ruins of a church or chapel. We then proceeded to a place called Grissipol, or the rough pool.

At Grissipol we found a good farm-house, belonging to the Laird of Col, and possessed by Mr. M^cSweyn. On the beach here there is a singular variety of curious stones. I picked up one very like a small cucumber. By the by, Dr. Johnson told me that Gay's line in the "Beggars Opera," "As men should serve a cucumber," &c.², has no waggish meaning, with reference to men flinging away cucumbers as too *cooling*, which some have thought; for it has been a common saying of physicians in England, that a cucumber should be well sliced, and dressed with pepper and vinegar, and then thrown out, as good for nothing. Mr. M^cSweyn's predecessors had been in Sky

from a very remote period, upon the estate belonging to Macleod; probably before Macleod had it. The name is certainly Norwegian³, from *Sueno*, King of Norway. The present Mr. M^cSweyn left Sky upon the late Macleod's raising his rents. He then got this farm from Col.

He appeared to be near fourscore; but looked as fresh, and was as strong, as a man of fifty. His son Hugh looked older; and, as Dr. Johnson observed, had more the manners of an old man than he. I had often heard of such instances, but never saw one before. Mrs. M^cSweyn was a decent old gentlewoman. She was dressed in tartan, and could speak nothing but Erse. She said, she taught Sir James M^cDonald Erse, and would teach me soon. I could now sing a verse of the song *Hatyin foam' er'it*, made in honour of Allan, the famous captain of Clanranald, who fell at Sheriff-muir: whose servant, who lay on the field watching his master's dead body, being asked next day who that was, answered, "He was a man yesterday."

We were entertained here with a primitive heartiness. Whisky was served round in a shell, according to the ancient Highland custom. Dr. Johnson would not partake of it; but, being desirous to do honour to the modes "of other times," drank some water out of the shell.

In the forenoon Dr. Johnson said, "It would require great resignation to live in one of these islands." BOSWELL. "I don't know, Sir; I have felt myself at times in a state of almost mere physical existence, satisfied to eat, drink, and sleep, and walk about, and enjoy my own thoughts: and I can figure a continuation of this." JOHNSON. "Ay, Sir; but if you were shut up here, your own thoughts would torment you: you would think of Edinburgh, or of London, and that you could not be there."

We set out after dinner for Breacacha, the

¹ If Dr. Johnson had not been in the habit of reading the Journal, we should, instead of this remonstrance, sweetened with so much extenuation and flattery, have here had the details of the harshness which Boswell regrets, and which must have been pretty severe to remind Boswell that his violence "spared neither age nor sex." — CROKER.

² "I wonder any man alive should ever rear a daughter; For when she's dress'd with care and cost, all tempting, fine, and gay, As men should serve a cucumber, she flings herself away." — WRIGHT.

³ M^cSweyn has an awkward sound, but the name is held to be of high antiquity, both in the Hebrides and the north of Ireland. — WALTER SCOTT. In the county of Donegal, in the North of Ireland, a singular hole in a cliff, communicating with a cave below, through which, in certain circumstances of the sea and wind, the spray is driven up with great force, is called *M^cSwine's* (for M^cSweyn's) *Gun*. The name, no doubt, was originally Scandinavian, but seems to have been established in England before the Conquest. "In Ferleia (Ferneley, Yorkshire) Goduin et Suen habuerunt, &c. ubi nunc habet Ilbertus de Lacy." — *Doomsday book*. — CROKER.

⁴ *Hatyin foam* (see *anté*, p. 316.). A very popular air in the Hebrides, written to the praise and glory of Allan Muidartach, or Allan of Muidart, a chief of the Clanranald family. The following is a translation of it by a fair friend of mine [the late Margaret Maclean Clephane, Marchioness of Northampton]:—

"Come, here's a pledge to young and old,
We quaff the blood-red wine;
A health to Allan Muidart bold,
The dearest love of mine.

CHORUS. "Along, along, then haste along,
For here no more I'll stay;
I'll braid and bind my tresses long,
And o'er the hills away.

"When waves blow gully off the strand,
And none the bark may steer;
The grasp of Allan's strong right hand
Compels her home to veer. Along, along, &c.

"And when to old Kilphedar * came
Such troops of damselfs gay;
Say, came they there for Allan's fame,
Or came they there to pray? Along, along, &c.

"And when these dames of beauty rare
Were dancing in the hall,
On some were gems and jewels rare,
And cambric coifs on all. "Along, along, &c." WALTER SCOTT.

The song seems to break off imperfectly, but I copy Sir Walter's MS. — CROKER.

* St. Peter's Church in Sky. — CROKER.

family seat of the Laird of Col, accompanied by the young laird, who had now got a horse, and by the younger Mr. M'Sweyn, whose wife had gone thither before us, to prepare every thing for our reception, the Laird and his family being absent at Aberdeen. It is called Breacacha, or the Spotted Field, because in summer it is enamelled with clover and daisies, as young Col told me. We passed by a place where there is a very large stone, I may call it a *rock*; "a vast weight for Ajax."¹ The tradition is, that a giant threw such another stone at his mistress, up to the top of a hill, at a small distance; and that she, in return, threw this mass down to him. It was all in sport.

"Malo me petit lasciva puella."²

As we advanced, we came to a large extent of plain ground. I had not seen such a place for a long time. Col and I took a gallop upon it by way of race. It was very refreshing to me, after having been so long taking short steps in hilly countries. It was like stretching a man's legs after being cramped in a short bed. We also passed close by a large extent of sand-hills, near two miles square. Dr. Johnson said, "he never had the image before. It was horrible, if barrenness and danger could be so." I heard him, after we were in the house of Breacacha, repeating to himself, as he walked about the room,

"And smother'd in the dusty whirlwind, dies."

Probably he had been thinking of the whole of the simile in Cato, of which that is the concluding line; the sandy desert had struck him so strongly. The sand has of late been blown over a good deal of meadow; and the people of the island say, that their fathers remembered much of the space which is now covered with sand to have been under tillage. Col's house is situated on a bay called Breacacha Bay. We found here a neat new-built gentleman's house, better than any we had been in since we were at Lord Errol's. Dr. Johnson relished it much at first, but soon remarked to me, that "there was nothing becoming a chief³ about it: it was a mere tradesman's box." He seemed quite at home, and no longer found any difficulty in using the Highland address; for as soon as we arrived, he said, with a spirited familiarity, "Now, Col, if you could get us a dish of tea." Dr. Johnson and I had each an excellent bedchamber. We had a dispute which of us had the best curtains. His were rather the best, being of linen; but I insisted that my bed had the best posts, which was undeniable. "Well," said he, "if you have the

best posts, we will have you tied to them and whipped." I mention this slight circumstance, only to show how ready he is, even in mere trifles, to get the better of his antagonist, by placing him in a ludicrous view. I have known him sometimes use the same art, when hard pressed in serious disputation. Goldsmith, I remember, to retaliate for many a severe defeat which he has suffered from him, applied to him a lively saying in one of Cibber's comedies, which puts this part of his character in a strong light—"There is no arguing with Johnson; for, if his pistol misses fire, he knocks you down with the butt end of it."⁴

Wednesday, Oct. 6.—After a sufficiency of sleep, we assembled at breakfast. We were just as if in barracks. Every body was master. We went and viewed the old castle of Col, which is not far from the present house, near the shore, and founded on a rock. It has never been a large feudal residence, and has nothing about it that requires a particular description. Like other old inconvenient buildings of the same age, it exemplified Gray's picturesque lines,

"Huge⁵ windows that exclude the light,
And passages that lead to nothing."

It may, however, be worth mentioning, that on the second story we saw a vault which was, and still is, the family prison. There was a woman put into it by the Laird, for theft, within these ten years; and any offender would be confined there yet; for, from the necessity of the thing, as the island is remote from any power established by law, the Laird must exercise his jurisdiction to a certain degree.

We were shown, in a corner of this vault, a hole, into which Col said greater criminals used to be put. It was now filled up with rubbish of different kinds. He said, it was of a great depth. "Ay," said Dr. Johnson, smiling, "all such places that are filled up were of a great depth." He is very quick in showing that he does not give credit to careless or exaggerated accounts of things. After seeing the castle, we looked at a small hut near it. It is called *Teigh Franchich*, i. e. the Frenchman's house. Col could not tell us the history of it. A poor man with a wife and children now lived in it. We went into it, and Dr. Johnson gave them some charity. There was but one bed for all the family, and the hut was very smoky. When we came out, he said to me, "*Et hoc secundum sententiam philosophorum est esse beatus*."⁶ BOSWELL. "The philosophers, when they placed happiness in a cottage, supposed cleanliness and no smoke." JOHNSON. "Sir, they did not think about either."

¹ "When Ajax strives some rock's vast weight to throw,
The line too labours, and the words move slow." POPE.

² "My Phyllis me with pelted apples plies."
Virg. 3 Ecl. — DRYDEN. — C.

³ Col, though a gentleman of landed estate, could hardly

be called a *chief*; and it was assuredly a mark of good sense to suit the character of his house to the state and times in which he lived. — CROKER.

⁴ See *ant.* p. 208. — C.

⁵ *Rich.* — CROKER.

⁶ "And this, according to the philosophers, is happiness." — C.

We walked a little in the Laird's garden, in which endeavours have been used to rear some trees; but, as soon as they got above the surrounding wall, they died. Dr. Johnson recommended sowing the seeds of hardy trees, instead of planting.

Col and I rode out this morning, and viewed a part of the island. In the course of our ride, we saw a turnip-field, which he had hoed with his own hands. He first introduced this kind of husbandry into the Western Islands. We also looked at an appearance of lead, which seemed very promising. It has been long known; for I found letters to the late laird, from Sir John Areskine and Sir Alexander Murray, respecting it.

After dinner came Mr. McLean, of Corneck, brother to *Isle-of-Muck*, who is a cadet of the family of Col. He possesses the two ends of Col, which belong to the Duke of Argyll. Corneck had lately taken a lease of them at a very advanced rent, rather than let the Campbells get a footing in the island, one of whom had offered nearly as much as he. Dr. Johnson well observed, that "landlords err much when they calculate merely what their land may yield. The rent must be in a proportionate ratio of what the land may yield, and of the power of the tenant to make it yield. A tenant cannot make by his land, but according to the corn and cattle which he has. Suppose you should give him twice as much land as he has, it does him no good, unless he gets also more stock. It is clear then, that the Highland landlords, who let their substantial tenants leave them, are infatuated; for the poor small tenants cannot give them good rents, from the very nature of things. They have not the means of raising more from their farms." Corneck, Dr. Johnson said, was the most distinct man that he had met with in these isles; he did not shut his eyes, or put his finger in his ears; which he seemed to think was a good deal the mode with most of the people whom we have seen of late.

Thursday, Oct. 7. — Captain McLean joined us this morning at breakfast. There came on a dreadful storm of wind and rain, which continued all day, and rather increased at night. The wind was directly against our getting to Mull. We were in a strange state of abstraction from the world: we could neither hear from our friends, nor write to them. Col had brought Daille¹ "on the Fathers," Lucas² "on Happiness," and More's³ "Dialogues," from the Rev. Mr. McLean's, and Burnet's "History of

his own Times" from Captain McLean's; and he had of his own some books of farming, and Gregory's "Geometry." Dr. Johnson read a good deal of Burnet, and of Gregory, and I observed he made some geometrical notes in the end of his pocket-book. I read a little of Young's "Six Weeks' Tour through the Southern Counties," and Ovid's "Epistles," which I had bought at Inverness, and which helped to solace many a weary hour.

We were to have gone with Dr. Johnson this morning to see the mine, but were prevented by the storm. While it was raging, he said, "We may be glad we are not *damnati ad metalla*."⁴

Friday, Oct. 8. — Dr. Johnson appeared to-day very weary of our present confined situation. He said, "I want to be on the main land, and go on with existence. This is a waste of life."

I shall here insert, without regard to chronology, some of his conversation at different times.

"There was a man some time ago, who was well received for two years, among the gentlemen of Northamptonshire, by calling himself my brother. At last he grew so impudent, as by his influence to get tenants turned out of their farms. Allen the printer⁵, who is of that county, came to me, asking, with much appearance of doubtfulness, if I had a brother; and upon being assured I had none alive, he told me of the imposition, and immediately wrote to the country, and the fellow was dismissed. It pleased me to hear that so much was got by using my name. It is not every name that can carry double; do both for a man's self and his brother (laughing). I should be glad to see the fellow. However, I could have done nothing against him. A man can have no redress for his name being used, or ridiculous stories being told of him in the newspapers, except he can show that he has suffered damage. Some years ago a foolish piece was published, said to be written 'by S. Johnson.' Some of my friends wanted me to be very angry about this. I said, it would be in vain; for the answer would be, 'S. Johnson may be Simon Johnson, or Simeon Johnson, or Solomon Johnson;' and even if the full name, Samuel Johnson, had been used, it might be said, 'It is not you; it is a much cleverer fellow.'⁶

"Beauclerk, and I, and Langton, and Lady Sydney Beauclerk, mother to our friend, were one day driving in a coach by Cuper's Gardens⁷, which were then unoccupied. I, in

¹ A French Protestant divine, born 1594, died 1670. His treatise *de Usu Patrum* was translated into English in 1651. — CROKER.

² Dr. Richard Lucas, Prebendary of Westminster, born 1648, died 1715, printed, in 1685, "*An Enquiry after Happiness*," which has been several times reprinted. — CROKER, 1846.

³ No doubt Dr. Henry More's "*Divine Dialogues*." — CROKER.

⁴ "*In metallum*." — Plin. Ep. — *Condemned to the mines*. — C.

⁵ Edmund Allen, a worthy and reputable printer in Bolt-

court. He was for many years Johnson's neighbour, landlord, and friend (*ant2*, p. 160.). He was the son of the Rev. Thomas Allen, a pious and learned man, who for forty years was rector of Kettering, in Northamptonshire. — Nichols. — CROKER.

⁶ The eccentric author of "*Hurlo Thrumbo*" was named Samuel Johnson. He was originally a dancing master, but went on the stage, where his acting was as extravagant as his pieces. He died in this very year, 1773, and was probably one of the persons whose death is alluded to, *post*, 17th April, 1778. — CROKER.

⁷ An inferior place of popular amusement, over the site of

sport, proposed that Beauclerk, and Langton, and myself should take them; and we amused ourselves with scheming how we should all do our parts. Lady Sydney grew angry, and said, 'an old man should not put such things in young people's heads.' She had no notion of a joke, Sir; had come late into life, and had a mighty unpliant understanding.¹

"Carte's 'Life of the Duke of Ormond' is considered as a book of authority; but it is ill-written. The matter is diffused in too many words; there is no animation, no compression, no vigour. Two good volumes in duodecimo might be made out of the two² in folio."

Talking of our confinement here, I observed, that our discontent and impatience could not be considered as very unreasonable; for that we were just in the state of which Seneca complains so grievously, while in exile in Corsica. "Yes," said Dr. Johnson; and he was not farther from home than we are." The truth is, he was much nearer.³

There was a good deal of rain to-day, and the wind was still contrary. Corneek attended me, while I amused myself in examining a collection of papers belonging to the family of Col. The first laird was a younger son of the chieftain McLean, and got the middle part of Col for his patrimony. Dr. Johnson having given a very particular account⁴ of the connection between this family and a branch of the family of Camerons, called M'Lonich, I shall only insert the following document (which I found in Col's cabinet), as a proof of its continuance, even to a late period:—

"To the Laird of Col."

"Strome, 11th March, 1737.

"DEAR SIR, — The long-standing tract of firm affectionate friendship 'twixt your worthy predeces-

which the southern approach to Waterloo-bridge now passes. — CROKER.

¹ Mary, daughter of Thomas Norris, Esq., of Speke, in Lancashire, married Lord Sydney in 1736. — CROKER.

² Carte's Life of Ormond is in three vols. folio. — P. CUNNINGHAM.

³ "Barbara prænuptis inclusa est Corsica saxis
Horrida," &c. *Epigr. antè, De Consilio. Libr.*

Corsica is about one hundred and fifty miles from Rome. Col is from London upwards of four hundred. — CROKER.

⁴ Johnson's account is as follows:—

"Very near the house of Maclean stands the castle of Col, which was the mansion of the Laird till the house was built. On the wall was, not long ago, a stone with an inscription, importing, that 'if any man of the clan of Macleloch shall appear before this castle, though he come at midnight, with a man's head in his hand, he shall there find safety and protection against all but the king.' This is an old Highland treaty made upon a very memorable occasion. Maclean, the son of John Gernes [one of the ancient lairds], who recovered Col, and conquered Barra, had obtained, it is said, from James II., a grant of the lands of Lochiel, forfeited, I suppose, by some offence against the state. Forfeited estates were not in those days quietly resigned; Maclean, therefore, went with an armed force to seize his new possessions, and I know not for what reason, took his wife with him. The Camerons rose in defence of their chief, and a battle was fought at the head of Loch Ness, near the place where Fort Augustus now stands, in which Lochiel obtained the victory, and Maclean, with his followers, was defeated and destroyed. The lady fell into the hands of the conquerors, and, being found pregnant, was placed in the custody of Macleloch, one of a tribe or family branched from Cameron, with orders, if she brought a boy, to destroy him, if a girl, to spare her. Macleloch's wife, who was with child likewise, had a girl

sors and ours affords us such assurance, as that we may have full reliance on your favour and undoubted friendship, in recommending the bearer, Ewen Cameron, our cousin, son to the deceased Dugall M'Connill of Innermaillie, sometime in Glenpean, to your favour and conduct, who is a man of undoubted honesty and discretion, only that he has the misfortune of being alledged to have been accessory to the killing of one of M'Martin's family about fourteen years ago, upon which alledgeance the M-Martins are now so sanguine on revenging of his life; to the preventing of which you are relied on by us, as the only fit instrument, and a most capable person. Therefore your favour and protection is expected and intreated, during his good behaviour; and failing of which behaviour, you'll please to use him as a most insignificant person deserves. — Sir, he had, upon the alledgeance aforesaid, been transported, at Lochiel's desire, to France, to gratify the M-Martins, and, upon his return home, about five years ago, married. But now he is so much threatened by the M-Martins, that he is not secure enough to stay where he is, being Ardmurhan, which occasions this trouble to you. Wishing prosperity and happiness to attend still yourself, worthy lady, and good family, we are, in the most affectionate manner, dear Sir, your most obliged, affectionate, and most humble servants,

Dugall Cameron, of Strone,

Dugall Cameron, of Burr.

Dugall Cameron, of Inveriskvovilline.

Dugall Cameron, of Invinvalie."

Ewen Cameron was protected, and his son has now a farm from the Laird of Col, in Mull.

The family of Col was very loyal in the time of the great Montrose⁵, from whom I found two letters in his own handwriting. The first is as follows:—

about the same time at which Lady Maclean brought a boy, and Macleloch, with more generosity to his captive than fidelity to his trust, contrived that the children should be changed. Maclean, being thus preserved from death, in time recovered his original patrimony; and, in gratitude to his friend, made his castle a place of refuge to any of the clan that should think himself in danger; and, as a proof of reciprocal confidence, Maclean took upon himself and his posterity the care of educating the heir of Macleloch." — *Journal.* — CROKER.

⁵ The third Earl and first Marquis, born in 1612, beheaded at Edinburgh the 21st of May, 1650. — CROKER, 1831. Mr. Macaulay censures this note in the following terms, which are worth preserving as a specimen of equal accuracy of statement and courtesy of style.

"Mr. Croker tells us the great Marquis of Montrose was beheaded in Edinburgh in 1650. There is not a forward boy at any school in England who does not know that the Marquis was *hanged*. The account of the execution is one of the finest passages in Lord Clarendon's History. We can scarcely suppose that Mr. Croker had never read that passage; and yet we can scarcely suppose that any one who had ever perused so noble and pathetic a story can have utterly forgotten all its most striking circumstances." — *Ed. Rev.*

To which a critic in Blackwood's Magazine replied:— "We really almost suspect that the *Reviewer* [Mr. Macaulay] himself has not read the passage to which he refers, or he could hardly have accused Mr. Croker of showing — by having said that Montrose was 'beheaded,' when the *Reviewer* thinks he should have said 'hanged' — that he had forgotten the most 'striking passage' of Clarendon's noble 'account of the execution.' For it is not on the execution itself that Lord Clarendon dwells with the most pathos and effect, but on the previous indignities at and after his trial which Montrose so magnanimously endured. Clarendon, with scrupulous delicacy, avoids all mention of the

"For my very loving Friend, the Laird of Coal.

"Strethearn, 20th Jan. 1646.

"SIR, — I must heartily thank you for all your willingness and good affection to his Majesty's service, and particularly the sending alongs of your son, to who I will heave ane particular respect, hoping also that you will still continue ane goode instrument for the advancing ther of the king's service, for which, and all your former loyal carriages, be confident you shall find the effects of his ma's favour, as they can be witnessed you by your very faithful friende,
MONTROSE."

The other is,

"For the Laird of Col.

"Petty, 17th April, 1646.

"SIR, — Having occasion to write to your fields, I cannot be forgetful of your willingness and good affection to his Majesty's service. I acknowledge to you, and thank you heartily for it, assuring, that in what lies in my power, you shall find the good. Meanwhile, I shall expect that you will continue your loyal endeavours, in wishing those slack people that are about you, to appear more obedient than they do, and loyal in their prince's service; where-by I assure you, you shall find me ever your faithful friende,
"MONTROSE."¹

I found some uncouth lines on the death of the present laird's father, entitled "Nature's Elegy upon the Death of Donald Maclean of Col." They are not worth insertion. I shall only give what is called his Epitaph, which Dr. Johnson said "was not so very bad."

"Nature's minion, Virtue's wonder,
Art's corrective here lyes under."

I asked, what "Art's corrective" meant. "Why, Sir," said he, "that the laird was so exquisite, that he set Art right, when she was wrong."

I found several letters to the late Col, from my father's old companion at Paris, Sir Hector McLean, one of which was written at the time of settling the colony in Georgia. It dissuades Col from letting people go there, and assures him there will soon be an opportunity of employing them better at home.² Hence it appears that emigration from the Highlands, though not in such numbers at a time as of late, has always been practised. Dr. Johnson observed, that "the lairds, instead of improving their country, diminished their people."

There are several districts of sandy desert in Col. There are forty-eight lochs of fresh

water; but many of them are very small — mere pools. About one half of them, however, have trout and eel. There is a great number of horses in the island, mostly of a small size. Being overstocked, they sell some in Tir-yi, and on the main land. Their black cattle, which are chiefly rough-haired, are reckoned remarkably good. The climate being very mild in winter, they never put their beasts in any house. The lakes are never frozen so as to bear a man; and snow never lies above a few hours. They have a good many sheep, which they eat mostly themselves, and sell but a few. They have goats in several places. There are no foxes; no serpents, toads, or frogs, nor any venomous creature. They have otters and mice here; but had no rats till lately that an American vessel brought them. There is a rabbit-warren on the north-east of the island, belonging to the Duke of Argyle. Young Col intends to get some hares, of which there are none at present. There are no black-cock, muir-fowl, nor partridges; but there are snipe, wild-duck, wild-geese, and swans, in winter; wild-pigeons, plover, and great numbers of starlings: of which I shot some, and found them pretty good eating. Woodcocks come hither, though there is not a tree upon the island. There are no rivers in Col; but only some brooks, in which there is a great variety of fish. In the whole island there are but three hills, and none of them considerable, for a Highland country. The people are very industrious. Every man can tan. They get oak and birch bark, and lime, from the main land. Some have pits; but they commonly use tubs. I saw brogues very well tanned; and every man can make them. They all make candles of the tallow of their beasts, both moulded and dipped; and they all make oil of the livers of fish. The little fish called cundies produce a great deal. They sell some oil out of the island, and they use it much for light in their houses, in little iron lamps, most of which they have from England; but of late their own blacksmith makes them. He is a good workman; but he has no employment in shoeing horses, for they all go unshod here, except some of a better kind belonging to young Col, which were now in Mull. There are two carpenters in Col; but most of the inhabitants can do something as boat-carpenters. They can all dye. Heath is used for yellow; and for red, a moss which grows on stones. They make broad-cloth, and tartan, and linen, of

peculiar mode of death, and is wholly silent as to any of the circumstances of the execution, leaving the reader's imagination to supply, from the terms of the sentence, the odious details: but the Reviewer, if he had really known or felt the true pathos of the story, would have remembered that the sentence was, that the Marquess should be *hanged and beheaded*, and that his head should 'be stuck on the Tolbooth of Edinburgh;' and it was this very circumstance of the *beheading*, which excited in Montrose that burst of eloquence which is the most striking beauty of the whole of the 'noble and pathetic story.' 'I am prouder,' said he to his persecutors, 'to have my head set upon the place it is

appointed to be, than I should be to have my picture hung in the King's bedchamber!" — *Ed. Mag.* Nov. 1831. To this I beg leave to add that I might certainly have said "*langed* and beheaded," but if I had only said, as my critic would have it, "*hanged*," I should certainly have shown an utter forgetfulness of "the noble and pathetic story." — CROKER, 1846.

¹ It is observable, that men of the first rank spelt very ill in the last century. In the first of these letters I have preserved the original spelling. — BOSWELL.

² No doubt in some projected rising. — CROKER.

their own wool and flax, sufficient for their own use; as also stockings. Their bonnets come from the main land. Hardware and several small articles are brought annually from Greenock, and sold in the only shop in the island, which is kept near the house, or rather hut, used for public worship, there being no church in the island. The inhabitants of Col have increased considerably within these thirty years, as appears from the parish registers. There are but three considerable tacksmen on Col's part of the island: the rest is let to small tenants, some of whom pay so low a rent as four, three, or even two guineas. The highest is seven pounds, paid by a farmer, whose son goes yearly on foot to Aberdeen for education, and in summer returns, and acts as a schoolmaster in Col. Dr. Johnson said, "There is something noble in a young man's walking two hundred miles and back again every year for the sake of learning."

This day a number of people came to Col, with complaints of each other's trespasses. Corneek, to prevent their being troublesome, told them that the lawyer from Edinburgh was here, and if they did not agree, he would take them to task. They were alarmed at this; said, they had never been used to go to law, and hoped Col would settle matters himself. In the evening Corneek left us.

CHAPTER XLII.

1773.

Col. — *Blenheim*. — *Tenants and Landlords*. — *London and Pekin*. — *Superstitions*. — *Coarse Manners*. — *Bustle not necessary to Despatch*. — *Oats*. — *Mull*. — *Addison*. — *French Ana*. — *Racine*. — *Corneille*. — *Molière*. — *Fenelon*. — *Voltaire*. — *Bossuet*. — *Massillon*. — *Bourdoulouc*. — *A Printing House*. — *Erse Poetry*. — *Music*. — *Reception of Travellers*. — *Spence*. — *Miss Maclean*. — *Account of Mull*. — *Ulva*. — *Second Sight*. — *Mercheta Mulierum*. — *Inch-Kenneth*. — *Sir Allan Maclean*. — *Sunday Reading*. — *Dr. Campbell*. — *Drinking*. — *Verses on Inch Kenneth*. — *Young Col's good Qualities*. — *Solander*. — *Burke*. — *Johnson's Intrepidity*. — *Singular Customs*. — *French Credulity*.

Saturday, Oct. 9. — As, in our present confinement, any thing that had even the name of curious was an object of attention, I proposed that Col should show me the great stone, mentioned in a former page, as having been thrown by a giant to the top of a mountain. Dr. Johnson, who did not like to be left alone, said he would accompany us as far as riding was practicable. We ascended a part of the hill on horseback, and Col and I scrambled up

the rest. A servant held our horses, and Dr. Johnson placed himself on the ground, with his back against a large fragment of rock. The wind being high, he let down the cocks of his hat, and tied it with his handkerchief under his chin. While we were employed in examining the stone, which did not repay our trouble in getting to it, he amused himself with reading "Gataker on Lots and on the Christian Watch," a very learned book, of the last age, which had been found in the garret of Col's house, and which he said was a treasure here. When we descried him from above, he had a most eremitical appearance; and on our return told us, he had been so much engaged by Gataker¹, that he had never missed us. His avidity for variety of books, while we were in Col, was frequently expressed; and he often complained that so few were within his reach. Upon which I observed to him, it was strange he should complain of want of books, when he could at any time make such good ones.

We next proceeded to the lead mine. In our way we came to a strand of some extent, where we were glad to take a gallop, in which my learned friend joined with great alacrity. Dr. Johnson, mounted on a large bay mare without shoes, and followed by a foal, which had some difficulty in keeping up with him, was a singular spectacle.

After examining the mine, we returned through a very uncouth district, full of sand-hills; down which, though apparent precipices, our horses carried us with safety, the sand always gently sliding away from their feet. Vestiges of houses were pointed out to us, which Col, and two others who had joined us, asserted had been overwhelmed with sand blown over them. But, on going close to one of them, Dr. Johnson showed the absurdity of the notion, by remarking, that "it was evidently only a house abandoned, the stones of which had been taken away for other purposes; for the large stones, which form the lower part of the walls, were still standing higher than the sand. If they were not blown over, it was clear nothing higher than they could be blown over." This was quite convincing to me; but it made not the least impression on Col and the others, who were not to be argued out of a Highland tradition.

We did not sit down to dinner till between six and seven. We lived plentifully here, and had a true welcome. In such a season, good firing was of no small importance. The peats were excellent, and burned cheerfully. Those at Dunvegan, which were damp, Dr. Johnson called "a sullen fuel." Here a Scottish phrase was singularly applied to him. One of the company having remarked that he had gone out on a stormy evening, and brought in a

¹ Thomas Gataker, a voluminous divine and critic, born 1574, died 1654, published, in 1616, "On the Nature and Use of Lots, a Treatise Historical and Theological." — CROKER.

supply of peats from the stack, old Mr. M'Sweyn said, "that was *main honest!*"

Blenheim being occasionally mentioned, he told me he had never seen it: he had not gone formerly; and he would not go now, just as a common spectator, for his money: he would not put it in the power of some man about the Duke of Marlborough¹ to say, "Johnson was here; I knew him, but I took no notice of him." He said, he should be very glad to see it, if properly invited, which in all probability would never be the case, as it was not worth his while to seek for it. I observed, that he might be easily introduced there by a common friend of ours², nearly related to the Duke. He answered, with an uncommon attention to delicacy of feeling, "I doubt whether our friend be on such a footing with the Duke as to carry anybody there; and I would not give him the uneasiness of seeing that I knew he was not, or even of being himself reminded of it."

Sunday, Oct. 10. — There was this day the most terrible storm of wind and rain that I ever remember. It made such an awful impression on us all, as to produce, for some time, a kind of dismal quietness in the house. The day was passed without much conversation; only, upon my observing that there must be something bad in a man's mind who does not like to give leases to his tenants, but wishes to keep them in a perpetual wretched dependence on his will, Dr. Johnson said, "You are right; it is a man's duty to extend comfort and security among as many people as he can. He should not wish to have his tenants mere *ephemera*, mere beings of an hour." BOSWELL. "But, Sir, if they have leases, is there not some danger that they may grow insolent? I remember you yourself once told me, an English tenant was so independent, that, if provoked, he would *throw* his rent at his landlord." JOHNSON. "Depend upon it, Sir, it is the landlord's own fault, if it is thrown at him. A man may always keep his tenants in dependence enough, though they have leases. He must be a good tenant indeed, who will not fall behind in his rent, if his landlord will let him; and if he does fall behind, his landlord has him at his mercy. Indeed, the poor man is always much at the mercy of the rich; no matter whether landlord or tenant. If the tenant lets his landlord have a little rent beforehand, or has lent him money, then the landlord is in his power. There cannot be a greater man than a tenant who has lent money to his landlord; for he has under subjection the very man to whom he should be subjected."

Monday, Oct. 11. — We had some days ago

engaged the Campbelltown vessel to carry us to Mull, from the harbour where she lay. The morning was fine, and the wind fair and moderate; so we hoped at length to get away.

Mrs. M'Sweyn, who officiated as our landlady here, had never been on the main land. On hearing this, Dr. Johnson said to me, before her, "That is rather being behind-hand with life. I would at least go and see Glenelg." BOSWELL. "You yourself, Sir, have never seen, till now, any thing but your native island." JOHNSON. "But, Sir, by seeing London, I have seen as much of life as the world can show." BOSWELL. "You have not seen Pekin." JOHNSON. "What is Pekin? Ten thousand Londoners would *drive* all the people of Pekin: they would drive them like deer."

We set out about eleven for the harbour; but, before we reached it, so violent a storm came on, that we were obliged again to take shelter in the house of Captain M'Lean, where we dined, and passed the night.

Tuesday, Oct. 12. — After breakfast, we made a second attempt to get to the harbour; but another storm soon convinced us that it would be in vain. Captain M'Lean's house being in some confusion, on account of Mrs. M'Lean being expected to lie-in, we resolved to go to Mr. M'Sweyn's, where we arrived very wet, fatigued, and hungry. In this situation, we were somewhat disconcerted by being told that we should have no dinner till late in the evening; but should have tea in the mean time. Dr. Johnson opposed this arrangement; but they persisted, and he took the tea very readily. He said to me afterwards, "You must consider, Sir, a dinner here is a matter of great consequence. It is a thing to be first planned, and then executed. I suppose the mutton was brought some miles off, from some place where they knew there was a sheep killed."

Talking of the good people with whom we were, he said, "Life has not got at all forward by a generation in M'Sweyn's family; for the son is exactly formed upon the father. What the father says, the son says; and what the father looks, the son looks."

There being little conversation to-night, I must endeavour to recollect what I may have omitted on former occasions. When I boasted, at Rasay, of my independency of spirit, and that I could not be bribed, he said, "Yes, you may be bribed by flattery." At the Rev. Mr. M'Lean's, Dr. Johnson asked him if the people of Col had any superstitions. He said, "No." The cutting peats at the increase of the moon was mentioned as one; but he would not

¹ This, no doubt, alludes to Jacob Bryant, who was at this period secretary or librarian at Blenheim, and with whom Johnson had had, perhaps, in one of his Oxford visits, some coolness now forgotten: when, however, he, the year after, visited Blenheim with the Thrales, he notes that Mr. Bryant showed him the library with great civility. — CROKER, 1846.

² Mr. Beauchlerk, who had married the Duke's sister, but under circumstances which might well justify Johnson's suspicion that he might not be on the most satisfactory terms with his Grace. — See *ante*, p. 260. n. 2. — CROKER.

allow it, saying it was not a superstition, but a whim. Dr. Johnson would not admit the distinction. There were many superstitions, he maintained, not connected with religion; and this was one of them. On Monday we had a dispute at the Captain's, whether sand-hills could be fixed down by art. Dr. Johnson said, "How the devil can you do it?"¹ but instantly corrected himself, "How can you do it?" I never before heard him use a phrase of that nature.

He has particularities which it is impossible to explain. He never wears a night-cap, as I have already mentioned; but he puts a handkerchief on his head in the night. The day that we left Talisker, he bade us ride on. He then turned the head of his horse back towards Talisker, stopped for some time; then wheeled round to the same direction with ours, and then came briskly after us. He sets open a window in the coldest day or night, and stands before it. It may do with his constitution; but most people, among whom I am one, would say, with the frogs in the fable, "This may be sport to you; but it is death to us." It is in vain to try to find a meaning in every one of his particularities, which, I suppose, are mere habits, contracted by chance; of which every man has some that are more or less remarkable. His speaking to himself, or rather repeating, is a common habit with studious men accustomed to deep thinking; and, in consequence of their being thus rapt, they will even laugh by themselves, if the subject which they are musing on is a merry one. Dr. Johnson is often uttering pious ejaculations, when he appears to be talking to himself; for sometimes his voice grows stronger, and parts of the Lord's Prayer are heard. I have sat beside him with more than ordinary reverence on such occasions.²

In our tour, I observed that he was disgusted whenever he met with coarse manners. He said to me, "I know not how it is, but I cannot bear low life; and I find others, who have as good a right as I to be fastidious, bear it better, by having mixed more with different sorts of men. You would think that I have mixed pretty well too."

He read this day a good deal of my Journal, written in a small book with which he had supplied me, and was pleased, for he said, "I wish thy books were twice as big." He helped me to fill up blanks which I had left in first writing it, when I was not quite sure of what he had said, and he corrected any mistakes that I had made. "They call me a scholar," said he, "and yet how very little literature is there in my conversation." BOSWELL. "That, Sir, must be according to your company.

You would not give literature to those who cannot taste it. Stay till we meet Lord Elibank."

We had at last a good dinner, or rather supper, and were very well satisfied with our entertainment.

Wednesday, Oct. 13. — Col called me up, with intelligence that it was a good day for a passage to Mull; and just as we rose, a sailor from the vessel arrived for us. We got all ready with despatch. Dr. Johnson was displeased at my bustling and walking quickly up and down. He said, "It does not hasten us a bit. It is getting on horseback in a ship.³ All boys do it; and you are longer a boy than others." He himself has no alertness, or whatever it may be called; so he may dislike it, as "*Oderunt hilarem tristes*."

Before we reached the harbour, the wind grew high again. However, the small boat was waiting, and took us on board. We remained for some time in uncertainty what to do; at last it was determined, that, as a good part of the day was over, and it was dangerous to be at sea at night, in such a vessel and such weather, we should not sail till the morning tide, when the wind would probably be more gentle. We resolved not to go ashore again, but lie here in readiness. Dr. Johnson and I had each a bed in the cabin. Col sat at the fire in the fore-castle, with the captain, and Joseph, and the rest. I eat some dry oatmeal, of which I found a barrel in the cabin. I had not done this since I was a boy. Dr. Johnson owned that he too was fond of it when a boy; a circumstance which I was highly pleased to hear from him, as it gave me an opportunity of observing that, notwithstanding his joke on the article of oats, he was himself a proof that this kind of food was not peculiar to the people of Scotland.

Thursday, Oct. 14. — When Dr. Johnson awaked this morning, he called "*Lanky!*" having, I suppose, been thinking of Langton, but corrected himself instantly, and cried, "*Bozzy!*" He has a way of contracting the names of his friends. Goldsmith feels himself so important now, as to be displeased at it. I remember one day, when Tom Davies was telling that Dr. Johnson said, "We are all in labour for a name to *Goldy's* play, Goldsmith cried, "I have often desired him not to call me Goldy."⁴

Between six and seven we hauled our anchor, and set sail with a fair breeze; and, after a pleasant voyage, we got safely and agreeably into the harbour of Tobermorie, before the wind rose, which it always has done, for some days, about noon.

Tobermorie is an excellent harbour. An

¹ The question which Johnson asked with such unusual warmth, might have been answered, "by sowing the bent, or couch grass." — WALTER SCOTT.

² It is remarkable that Dr. Johnson should have read this account of some of his own peculiar habits, without saying

any thing on the subject, which I hoped he would have done. — BOSWELL. See *anté*, p. 166.

³ This is from the *Jests* of Hierocles. — CROKER.

⁴ See *anté*, p. 264. — C.

island lies before it, and it is surrounded by a hilly theatre. The island is too low, otherwise this would be quite a secure port; but, the island not being a sufficient protection, some storms blow very hard here. Not long ago, fifteen vessels were blown from their moorings. There are sometimes sixty or seventy sail here: to-day there were twelve or fourteen vessels. To see such a fleet was the next thing to seeing a town. The vessels were from different places; Clyde, Campbell-town, Newcastle, &c. One was returning to Lancaster from Hamburgh. After having been shut up so long in Col, the sight of such an assemblage of moving habitations, containing such a variety of people, engaged in different pursuits, gave me much gaiety of spirit. When we had landed, Dr. Johnson said, "Boswell is now all alive. He is like Antæus; he gets new vigour whenever he touches the ground." I went to the top of a hill fronting the harbour, from whence I had a good view of it. We had here a tolerable inn. Dr. Johnson had owned to me this morning, that he was out of humour. Indeed, he showed it a good deal in the ship; for when I was expressing my joy on the prospect of our landing in Mull, he said, he had no joy, when he recollected that it would be five days before he should get to the main land. I was afraid he would now take a sudden resolution to give up seeing Icolmkill. A dish of tea, and some good bread and butter, did him service, and his bad humour went off. I told him, that I was diverted to hear all the people whom we had visited in our tour say, "*Honest man!* he's pleased with every thing; he's always content!" "Little do they know," said I. He laughed, and said, "You rogue!"

We sent to hire horses to carry us across the island of Mull to the shore opposite to Inch-kenneth, the residence of Sir Allan M'Lean, uncle to young Col, and chief of the M'Leans, to whose house we intended to go the next day. Our friend Col went to visit his aunt, the wife of Dr. Alexander M'Lean, a physician, who lives about a mile from Tobermorie.

Dr. Johnson and I sat by ourselves at the inn, and talked a good deal. I told him, that I had found, in Leandro Alberti's "Description of Italy," much of what Addison has given us in his "Remarks."¹ He said, "The collection of passages from the Classics has been made by another Italian: it is, however, impossible to detect a man as a plagiarist in such a case, because all who set about making such a collection must find the same passages;

but, if you find the same applications in another book, then Addison's learning in his 'Remarks' tumbles down. It is a tedious book; and, if it were not attached to Addison's previous reputation, one would not think much of it. Had he written nothing else, his name would not have lived. Addison does not seem to have gone deep in Italian literature: he shows nothing of it in his subsequent writings. He shows a great deal of French learning. There is, perhaps, more knowledge circulated in the French language than in any other. 'There is more original knowledge in English.' "But the French," said I, "have the art of accommodating literature."² JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir; we have no such book as Moreri's 'Dictionary.'" BOSWELL. "Their 'Ana' are good." JOHNSON. "A few of them are good; but we have one book of that kind better than any of them, Selden's 'Table-talk.' As to original literature, the French have a couple of tragic poets who go round the world, Racine and Corneille, and one comic poet, Molière." BOSWELL. "They have Fenelon." JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, Telemachus is pretty well." BOSWELL. "And Voltaire, Sir." JOHNSON. "He has not stood his trial yet. And what makes Voltaire chiefly circulate is collection, such as his 'Universal History.'" BOSWELL. "What do you say to the Bishop of Meaux?" JOHNSON. "Sir, nobody reads him."³ He would not allow Massillon and Bourdaloue to go round the world. In general, however, he gave the French much praise for their industry.

He asked me whether he had mentioned, in any of the papers of the "Rambler," the description in Virgil of the entrance into Hell, with an application to the press; "for," said he, "I do not much remember them." I told him, "No." Upon which he repeated it:—

"Vestibulum ante ipsum, primisque in faucibus Orci,

Luctus et ultrices posuere cubilia Cura;

Pallentesque habitant Morbi, tristisque Senectus,
Et Metus, et malesuada Fames, et turpis Egestas,

Terribiles visu formæ; Lethumque, Laborque."⁴

"Now," said he, "almost all these apply exactly to an author; all these are the concomitants of a printing-house." I proposed to him to dictate an essay on it, and offered to write it. He said he would not do it then, but perhaps would write one at some future period.

The Sunday evening that we sat by ourselves at Aberdeen, I asked him several par-

¹ See post, 7th April, 1775. — C.

² The French use *accomoder* for dressing up or cooking meats, and Mr. Boswell probably meant, by "*accommodating literature*," making it more accessible and readier for ordinary use; but I cannot with reference to this use of it say, with Master Shallow, that "*accommodate* is a very commendable phrase." — CROKER.

³ I take leave to enter my strongest protest against this judgment. Bossuet I hold to be one of the first luminaries

of religion and literature. If there are who do not read him it is full time they should begin. — BOSWELL.

⁴ Just in the gate, and in the jaws of Hell,
Revengeful Cares and sullen Sorrows dwell;
And pale Diseases, and repining Age;
Want, Fear, and Famine's unresisted rage;
Here Torments and Death, and Death's half-brother, Sleep,
Forms terrible to view, their sentry keep. — DRYDEN.

ticulars of his life, from his early years, which he readily told me; and I wrote them down before him. This day I proceeded in my inquiries, also writing them in his presence. I have them on detached sheets. I shall collect authentic materials for *The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.*, and, if I survive him, I shall be one who will most faithfully do honour to his memory. I have now a vast treasure of his conversation, at different times, since the year 1762, when I first obtained his acquaintance; and, by assiduous inquiry, I can make up for not knowing him sooner.¹

A Newcastle ship-master, who happened to be in the house, intruded himself upon us. He was much in liquor, and talked nonsense about his being a man for *Wilkes and Liberty*, and against the ministry. Dr. Johnson was angry, that "a fellow should come into *our* company, who was fit for *no* company." He left us soon.

Col returned from his aunt, and told us, she insisted that we should come to her house that night. He introduced to us Mr. Campbell, the Duke of Argyle's factor in Tyr-yi. He was a genteel, agreeable man. He was going to Inverary, and promised to put letters into the post-office for us. I now found that Dr. Johnson's desire to get on the main land arose from his anxiety to have an opportunity of conveying letters to his friends.

After dinner, we proceeded to Dr. M'Lean's, which was about a mile from our inn. He was not at home, but we were received by his lady and daughter, who entertained us so well, that Dr. Johnson seemed quite happy. When we had supped, he asked me to give him some paper to write letters. I begged he would write short ones, and not *expatiate*, as we ought to set off early. He was irritated by this, and said, "What must be done, must be done: the thing is past a joke."—"Nay, Sir," said I, "write as much as you please; but do not blame me, if we are kept six days before we get to the main land. You were very impatient in the morning: but no sooner do you find yourself in good quarters, than you forget that you are to move." I got him paper enough, and we parted in good humour.

Let me now recollect whatever particulars I have omitted. In the morning I said to him, before we landed at Tobermorie, "We shall see Dr. M'Lean, who has written the *History of the M'Leans*." JOHNSON. "I have no great patience to stay to hear the history of the M'Leans. I would rather hear the history of the *Thrales*." When on Mull, I said, "Well, Sir, this is the fourth of the Hebrides that

we have been upon." JOHNSON. "Nay, we cannot boast of the number we have seen. We thought we should see many more. We thought of sailing about easily from island to island; and so we should, had we come at a better² season; but we, being wise men, thought it would be summer all the year where *we* were. However, Sir, we have seen enough to give us a pretty good notion of the system of insular life."

Let me not forget, that he sometimes amused himself with very slight reading; from which, however, his conversation showed that he contrived to extract some benefit. At Captain M'Lean's he read a good deal in "*The Charmer*," a collection of songs.

Friday, Oct. 15.—We this morning found that we could not proceed, there being a violent storm of wind and rain, and the rivers being impassable. When I expressed my discontent at our confinement, Dr. Johnson said, "Now that I have had an opportunity of writing to the main land, I am in no such haste." I was amused with his being so easily satisfied; for the truth was, that the gentleman who was to convey our letters, as I was now informed, was not to set out for Inverary for some time; so that it was probable we should be there as soon as he: however, I did not undeceive my friend, but suffered him to enjoy his fancy.

Dr. Johnson asked, in the evening, to see Dr. M'Lean's books. He took down "*Willis de Anima Brutorum*,"³ and pored over it a good deal.

Miss M'Lean produced some Erse poems by John M'Lean, who was a famous bard in Mull, and had died only a few years ago. He could neither read nor write. She read and translated two of them; one, a kind of elegy on Sir John M'Lean's being obliged to fly his country in 1715; another, a dialogue between two Roman Catholic young ladies, sisters, whether it was better to be a nun or to marry. I could not perceive much poetical imagery in the translation. Yet all of our company who understood Erse seemed charmed with the original. There may, perhaps, be some choice of expression, and some excellence of arrangement, that cannot be shown in translation.

After we had exhausted the Erse poems, of which Dr. Johnson said nothing, Miss M'Lean gave us several tunes on a spinnet, which, though made so long ago as in 1667, was still very well toned. She sung along with it. Dr. Johnson seemed pleased with the music, though he owns he neither likes it, nor has hardly any perception of it. At Mr. M'Pherson's, in Slate, he told us, that "he knew a drum from a

¹ It is no small satisfaction to me to reflect, that Dr. Johnson read this, and after being apprised of my intentions, communicated to me, at subsequent periods, many particulars of his life, which probably could not otherwise have been preserved.—BOSWELL. This is a conclusive answer to those who affected to blame Boswell's publication on the score of breach of confidence to Johnson.—CROKER.

² This observation is very just. The time for the Hebrides

was too late by a month or six weeks. I have heard those who remembered their tour express surprise they were not drowned.—WATER SCOTT.

³ Dr. Thomas Willis, an eminent physician, born 1622, died 1674, published many Latin works on *Anatomy and Physiology*. I do not find that his *Treatise de Anima Brutorum* has been either translated or reprinted.—CROKER.

trumpet, and a bagpipe from a guitar, which was about the extent of his knowledge of music." To-night he said, that, "if he had learnt music, he should have been afraid he would have done nothing else but play. It was a method of employing the mind, without the labour of thinking at all, and with some applause from a man's self."

We had the music of the bagpipe every day, at Armidale, Dunvegan, and Col. Dr. Johnson appeared fond of it, and used often to stand for some time with his ear close to the great drone.

The penurious gentleman of our acquaintance, formerly alluded to, afforded us a topic of conversation to-night.¹ Dr. Johnson said, I ought to write down a collection of the instances of his narrowness, as they almost exceeded belief. Col told us, that O'Kane, the famous Irish harper, was once at that gentleman's house. He could not find in his heart to give him any money, but gave him a key for a harp, which was finely ornamented with gold and silver, and with a precious stone, and was worth eighty or a hundred guineas. He did not know the value of it; and when he came to know it, he would fain have had it back; but O'Kane took care that he should not. JOHNSON. "They exaggerate the value; every body is so desirous that he should be fleeced. I am very willing it should be worth eighty or a hundred guineas; but I do not believe it." BOSWELL. "I do not think O'Kane was obliged to give it back." JOHNSON. "No, Sir. If a man with his eyes open, and without any means used to deceive him, gives me a thing, I am not to let him have it again when he grows wiser. I like to see how avarice defeats itself: how, when avoiding to part with money, the miser gives something more valuable." Col said, the gentleman's relations were angry at his giving away the harp key, for it had been long in the family. JOHNSON. "Sir, he values a new guinea more than an old friend."

Col also told us, that the same person having come up with a sergeant and twenty men, working on the high road, he entered into discourse with the sergeant, and then gave him sixpence for the men to drink. The sergeant asked, "Who is this fellow?" Upon being informed, he said, "If I had known who he was, I should have thrown it in his face." JOHNSON. "There is much want of sense in all this. He had no business to speak with the sergeant. He might have been in haste, and trotted on. He has not learnt to be a miser: I believe we must take him apprentice." BOSWELL. "He would grudge giving half a guinea to be taught." JOHNSON. "Nay, Sir,

you must teach him *gratis*. You must give him an opportunity to practise your precepts."

Let me now go back, and glean *Johnsoniana*. The Saturday before we sailed from Slate, I sat awhile in the afternoon with Dr. Johnson in his room, in a quiet serious frame. I observed, that hardly any man was accurately prepared for dying; but almost every one left something undone, something in confusion; that my father, indeed, told me he knew one man (Carlisle of Limekilns), after whose death all his papers were found in exact order; and nothing was omitted in his will. JOHNSON. "Sir, I had an uncle² who died so; but such attention requires great leisure, and great firmness of mind. If one was to think constantly of death, the business of life would stand still. I am no friend to making religion appear too hard. Many good people have done harm, by giving severe notions of it. In the same way as to learning; I never frighten young people with difficulties; on the contrary, I tell them that they may very easily get as much as will do very well. I do not indeed tell them that they will be *Bentleys*."

The night we rode to Col's house, I said, "Lord Elibank is probably wondering what is become of us." JOHNSON. "No, no; he is not thinking of us." BOSWELL. "But recollect the warmth with which he wrote. Are we not to believe a man, when he says he has a great desire to see another? Don't you believe that I was very impatient for your coming to Scotland?" JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir; I believe you were; and I was impatient to come to you. A young man feels so, but seldom an old man." I however convinced him that Lord Elibank, who has much of the spirit of a young man, might feel so. He asked me if our jaunt had answered expectation. I said it had much exceeded it. I expected much difficulty with him, and had not found it. "And," he added, "wherever we have come, we have been received like princes in their progress."

He said, he would not wish not to be disgusted in the Highlands; for that would be to lose the power of distinguishing, and a man might then lie down in the middle of them. He wished only to conceal his disgust.

At Captain M'Lean's, I mentioned Pope's friend, Spence. JOHNSON. "He was a weak conceited man."³ BOSWELL. "A good scholar, Sir?" JOHNSON. "Why, no, Sir." BOSWELL. "He was a pretty scholar." JOHNSON. "You have about reached him."

Last night at the inn, when the factor in Tyr-yi spoke of his having heard that a roof was put on some part of the buildings at Icolnkill, I unluckily said, "It will be fortu-

¹ Sir Alexander Macdonald. — CROKER.

² Johnson's volunteering to make this allusion would, of itself, have refuted Miss Seward's malevolent fable of his having had an uncle hanged. — CROKER.

³ Mr. Langton thinks this must have been the hasty expression of a splenetic moment, as he has heard Dr. Johnson

speak of Mr. Spence's judgment in criticism with so high a degree of respect, as to show that this was not his settled opinion of him. Let me add that, in the preface to the *Preceptor*, he recommends Spence's Essay on Pope's Odyssey and that his admirable Lives of the English Poets are much enriched by Spence's Anecdotes of Pope. — BOSWELL.

nate if we find a cathedral with a roof on it." I said this from a foolish anxiety to engage Dr. Johnson's curiosity more. He took me short at once. "What, Sir? how can you talk so? If we shall find a cathedral roofed! as if we were going to a *terra incognita*: when every thing that is at Icolmkill is so well known. You are like some New England-men who came to the mouth of the Thames. 'Come,' said they, 'let us go up and see what sort of inhabitants there are here.' They talked, Sir, as if they had been to go up the Susquehannah, or any other American river."

Saturday, Oct. 16.—This day there was a new moon, and the weather changed for the better. Dr. Johnson said of Miss McLean, "She is the most accomplished lady that I have found in the Highlands. She knows French, music, and drawing, sews neatly, makes shell-work, and can milk cows; in short, she can do every thing. She talks sensibly, and is the first person whom I have found, that can translate Erse poetry literally." We set out, mounted on little Mull horses. Mull corresponded exactly with the idea which I had always had of it; a hilly country, diversified with heath and grass, and many rivulets. Dr. Johnson was not in very good humour. He said, it was a dreary country, much worse than Sky. I differed from him. "O, Sir," said he, "a most dolorous country!"

We had a very hard journey to-day. I had no bridle for my sheltie, but only a halter; and Joseph rode without a saddle. At one place, a loch having swelled over the road, we were obliged to plunge through pretty deep water. Dr. Johnson observed, how helpless a man would be, were he travelling here alone, and should meet with any accident; and said, "he longed to get to a *country of saddles and bridles*." He was more out of humour to-day than he has been in the course of our tour, being fretted to find that his little horse could scarcely support his weight; and having suffered a loss, which, though small in itself, was of some consequence to him, while travelling the rugged steepes of Mull, where he was at times obliged to walk. The loss that I allude to was that of the large oak-stick, which, as I formerly mentioned, he had brought with him from London. It was of great use to him in our wild peregrinations; for, ever since his last illness in 1766, he has had a weakness in his knees, and has not been able to walk easily. It had too the properties of a measure; for one nail was driven into it at the length of a foot; another at that of a yard. In return for the services it had done him, he said, this morning, he would make a present of it to some museum; but he little thought he was so soon to lose it. As he preferred riding with a switch, it was intrusted to a fellow to be de-

livered to our baggage-man, who followed us at some distance; but we never saw it more. I could not persuade him out of a suspicion that it had been stolen. "No, no, my friend," said he; "it is not to be expected that any man in Mull, who has got it, will part with it. Consider, Sir, the value of such a *piece of timber* here!"

As we travelled this forenoon, we met Dr. McLean, who expressed much regret at his having been so unfortunate as to be absent while we were at his house.

We were in hopes to get to Sir Allan Maclean's at Inch Kenneth, to-night; but the eight miles of which our road was said to consist, were so very long, that we did not reach the opposite coast of Mull till seven at night, though we had set out about eleven in the forenoon; and when we did arrive there, we found the wind strong against us. Col determined that we should pass the night at McQuarrie's, in the island of Ulva, which lies between Mull and Inch Kenneth; and a servant was sent forward to the ferry, to secure the boat for us: but the boat was gone to the Ulva side, and the wind was so high that the people could not hear him call; and the night so dark that they could not see a signal. We should have been in a very bad situation, had there not fortunately been lying in the little sound of Ulva an Irish vessel, the Bonnetta, of Londonderry, Captain McLure, master. He himself was at McQuarrie's; but his men obligingly came with their long-boat, and ferried us over.

McQuarrie's house was mean; but we were agreeably surprised with the appearance of the master, whom we found to be intelligent, polite, and much a man of the world.¹ Though his clan is not numerous, he is a very ancient chief, and has a burial-place at Icolmkill. He told us, his family had possessed Ulva for nine hundred years; but I was distressed to hear that it was soon to be sold for payment of his debts.

Captain McLure, whom we found here, was of Scotch extraction, and properly a Macleod, being descended of some of the Macleods who went with Sir Norman of Bernera to the battle of Worcester; and after the defeat of the royalists, fled to Ireland, and, to conceal themselves, took a different name. He told me, there was a great number of them about Londonderry; some of good property. I said, they should now resume their real name. The Laird of Macleod should go over, and assemble them, and make them all drink the large horn full, and from that time they should be Macleods. The captain informed us, he had named his ship the Bonnetta, out of gratitude to Providence; for once when we was sailing to America with a good number of passengers, the ship in which he then sailed was becalmed for five weeks, and during all that time, numbers of the fish Bonnetta swam close to her,

¹ McQuarrie was hospitable to an almost romantic degree. He lived to an extreme old age. — WALTER SCOTT.

and were caught for food; he resolved, therefore, that the ship he should next get should be called the Bonnetta.

M^cQuarrie told us a strong instance of the *second sight*.¹ He had gone to Edinburgh, and taken a man-servant along with him. An old woman, who was in the house, said one day, "M^cQuarrie will be at home to-morrow, and will bring two gentlemen with him;" and she said, she saw his servant return in red and green. He did come home next day. He had two gentlemen with him, and his servant had a new red and green livery, which M^cQuarrie had bought for him at Edinburgh, upon a sudden thought, not having the least intention when he left home to put his servant in livery; so that the old woman could not have heard any previous mention of it. This, he assured us, was a true story.

M^cQuarrie insisted that the *Mercheta Mulierum*, mentioned in our old charters, did really mean the privilege which a lord of the manor or a baron had, to have the first night of all his vassal's wives. Dr. Johnson said, the belief of such a custom having existed was also held in England, where there is a tenure called Borough-English, by which the eldest child does not inherit, from a doubt of his being the son of the tenant.² M^cQuarrie told us, that still, on the marriage of each of his tenants, a sheep is due to him; for which the composition is fixed at five shillings. I suppose, Ulva is the only place where this custom remains.³

Talking of the sale of an estate of an ancient family, which was said to have been purchased much under its value by the confidential lawyer of that family, and it being mentioned that the sale would probably be set aside by a suit in equity, Dr. Johnson said, "I am very willing that this sale should be set aside, but I doubt

much whether this suit will be successful; for the argument for avoiding the sale is founded on vague and indeterminate principles,—as that the price was too low, and that there was a great degree of confidence placed by the seller in the person who became the purchaser. Now, how low should a price be? or what degree of confidence should there be to make a bargain be set aside? a bargain, which is a wager of skill between man and man. If, indeed, any fraud can be proved, that will do."

When Dr. Johnson and I were by ourselves at night, I observed of our host, "*aspectum generosum habet*;" "*et generosum animum*," he added. For fear of being overheard in the small Highland houses, I often talked to him in such Latin as I could speak, and with as much of the English accent as I could assume, so as not to be understood, in case our conversation should be too loud for the space.

We had each an elegant bed in the same room; and here it was that a circumstance occurred, as to which he has been strangely misunderstood. From his description of his chamber, it has erroneously been supposed, that his bed being too short for him, his feet, during the night, were in the mire; whereas he has only said, that when he undressed, he felt his feet in the mire⁴: that is, the clay floor of the room, which he stood upon before he went into bed, was wet, in consequence of the windows being broken, which let in the rain.

Sunday, Oct. 17.—Being informed that there was nothing worthy of observation in Ulva, we took boat, and proceeded to Inch Kenneth, where we were introduced by our friend Col to Sir Allan M^cLean, the chief of his clan, and to two young ladies, his daughters. Inch Kenneth is a pretty little island, a mile long, and about half a mile broad, all good land.⁵

¹ For some curious letters, relating to the *second sight*, between George, third Lord Reay, Henry, Earl of Clarendon, &c., in 1699, see *Pepys's Diary and Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 174. 4th edition. — WRIGHT.

² Sir William Blackstone says in his "*Commentaries*," that "he cannot find that ever this custom prevailed in England;" and, therefore, he is of opinion, that it could not have given rise to Borough-English. There are traditions of the same custom in continental countries, as well as in Great Britain. But there seems, I think, no reason to believe that it ever had a legal or legalised existence anywhere, and it seems to be a vulgar error, arising out of the old (and in the east of Europe still subsisting) *serf* system, where the lord has a kind of personal property in the peasantry, as *adscripti glebe*. This view is strongly corroborated by the very name of the custom *Mercheta Mulierum*—the market of women, which implies a *pecuniary* bargain, and by its definition in all our law books, as "a fine or composition from inferior tenants to the lord, for liberty to marry off their daughters." (*Bracton*, &c.) In some cases it was payable on sending the sons to school (*Kennet*), on the same principle, that it severed them from the soil; and it is added in our books, that no freeman was subject to this constraint. The right to the grosser personal tribute may, I think, be considered as a fable. — CROKER, 1831—1846. The main part of the plot of Beaumont and Fletcher's *Custom of the Country* turns on the alleged existence of this right in Italy to its coarsest extent. — MARKLAND.

³ This custom still continues in Ulva. — WALTER SCOTT.

⁴ I see nothing in Johnson's words to justify such a misconstruction. "When I was conducted to my chamber, I found an elegant bed of India cotton spread with fine sheets. The accommodation was flattering. I undressed myself, and found my feet on the mire. The bed stood on the bare earth,

which a long course of rain had softened into a puddle," *Journey*. — CROKER.

⁵ Inch Kenneth is a most beautiful little islet, of the most verdant green, while all the neighbouring shore of Greban, as well as the large islands of Colinsay and Ulva, are as black as heath and moss can make them. But Ulva has a good anchorage, and Inch Kenneth is surrounded by shoals. It is now uninhabited. The ruins of the huts, in which Dr. Johnson was received by Sir Allan M^cLean, were still to be seen, and some tatters of the paper hangings were to be seen on the walls. Sir George Onesiphorus Paul [a Gloucestershire Baronet] was at Inch Kenneth with the same party of which I was a member. He seemed to me to suspect many of the Highland tales which he heard, but he showed most incredulity on the subject of Johnson's having been entertained in the wretched huts of which we saw the ruins. He took me aside, and conjured me to tell him the truth of the matter. "This Sir Allan," said he, "was a regular baronet, or was his title such a traditional one as you find in Ireland?" I assured my excellent acquaintance that, "for my own part, I should have paid more respect to a knight of Kerry, or knight of Glynn; yet Sir Allan M^cLean was a regular baronet by patent;" and, having given him this information, I took the liberty of asking him, in return, whether he would not in conscience prefer the worst cell in the jail at Gloucester (which he had been very active in overlooking while the building was going on) to those exposed hovels where Johnson had been entertained by rank and beauty. He looked round the little islet, and allowed Sir Allan had some advantage in exercising ground: but in other respects he thought the compulsory tenants of Gloucester had greatly the advantage. Such was his opinion of a place, concerning which Johnson has recorded that "it wanted little which palaces could afford." — WALTER SCOTT. Three branches of the great house of Fitzgerald it

As we walked up from the shore, Dr. Johnson's heart was cheered by the sight of a road marked with cart-wheels, as on the main land; a thing which we had not seen for a long time. It gave us a pleasure similar to that which a traveller feels, when, whilst wandering on what he fears is a desert island, he perceives the print of human feet.

Military men acquire excellent habits of having all conveniences about them. Sir Allan McLean, who had been long in the army, and had now a lease of the island, had formed a commodious habitation, though it consisted but of a few small buildings, only one story high. He had, in his little apartments, more things than I could enumerate in a page or two.

Among other agreeable circumstances, it was not the least, to find here a parcel of the "Caledonian Mercury," published since we left Edinburgh; which I read with that pleasure which every man feels who has been for some time secluded from the animated scenes of the busy world.

Dr. Johnson found books here. He bade me buy Bishop Gastrell's "Christian Institutes,"¹ which was lying in the room. He said, "I do not like to read any thing on a Sunday², but what is theological; not that I would scrupulously refuse to look at any thing which a friend should show me in a newspaper; but in general, I would read only what is theological. I read just now some of 'Drummond's Travels,' before I perceived what books were here. I then took up 'Derham's Physico-Theology.'"

Every particular concerning this island having been so well described by Dr. Johnson, it would be superfluous in me to present the public with the observations that I made upon it in my Journal.

I was quite easy with Sir Allan almost instantaneously. He knew the great intimacy there had been between my father and his predecessor, Sir Hector, and was himself of a very frank disposition. After dinner, Sir Allan said he had got Dr. Campbell about a hundred subscribers to his "Britannia Elucidata" (a work since published under the title of "A Political Survey of Great Britain"), of whom he believed twenty were dead, the publication having been so long delayed. JOHNSON. "Sir, I imagine the delay of publication is owing to this; — that, after publication, there will be no more subscribers, and few will send the additional guinea to get their books: in which they will be wrong; for there will be a great deal of instruction in the work. I think highly of Campbell. In the first place, he has very good parts. In the second place, he has

very extensive reading, not, perhaps, what is properly called learning, but history, politics, and, in short, that popular knowledge which makes a man very useful. In the third place, he has learned much by what is called the *vox viva*. He talks with a great many people."

Speaking of this gentleman, at Rasay, he told us, that he one day called on him, and they talked of "Tull's Husbandry." Dr. Campbell said something. Dr. Johnson began to dispute it. "Come," said Dr. Campbell, "we do not want to get the better of one another; we want to increase each other's ideas." Dr. Johnson took it in good part, and the conversation then went on coolly and instructively. His candour in relating this anecdote does him much credit, and his conduct on that occasion proves how easily he could be persuaded to talk from a better motive than for "victory."

Dr. Johnson here showed so much of the spirit of a Highlander, that he won Sir Allan's heart: indeed, he has shown it during the whole of our tour. One night, in Col, he strutted about the room with a broad sword and target, and made a formidable appearance: and, another night, I took the liberty to put a large blue bonnet on his head. His age, his size, and his bushy gray wig, with this covering on it, presented the image of a venerable *Senachi*: and however unfavourable to the Lowland Scots, he seemed much pleased to assume the appearance of an ancient Caledonian. We only regretted that he could not be prevailed with to partake of the social glass. One of his arguments against drinking appears to me not convincing. He urged, that, "in proportion as drinking makes a man different from what he is before he has drunk, it is bad; because it has so far affected his reason." But may it not be answered, that a man may be altered by it *for the better*; that his spirits may be exhilarated, without his reason being affected? On the general subject of drinking, however, I do not mean positively to take the other side. I am *dubius non improbus*.

In the evening, Sir Allan informed us that it was the custom of the house to have prayers every Sunday; and Miss McLean read the evening service, in which we all joined. I then read Ogden's second and ninth Sermons on Prayer, which, with their other distinguished excellence, have the merit of being short. Dr. Johnson said, that it was the most agreeable Sunday he had ever passed; and it made such an impression on his mind, that he afterwards wrote the following ode upon Inchken-neth: —

Ireland, are distinguished by the knightly titles alluded to by Sir Walter — The White Knight, the Knight of Kerry, and the Knight of Glynn. The former is extinct, or merged by a *male antient* into, I think, the Earldom of Kingsborough. — CROKER, 1846.

¹ Dr. T. Gastrell, Bishop of Chester, 1714; died 1725. — WRIGHT.

² See *antient*, p. 199. and p. 285. — C.

INSULA SANCTI KENNETHI.

Parva quidem regio, sed religione priorum
 Nota, Caledonias panditur intra aquas;
 Voce ubi Cennethus populos domuisse feroces
 Dicitur, et vanos dedocuisse deos.
 Huc ego delatus placido per cœrula cursu
 Scire locum volui quid daret ille novi.
 Ille Leniades humili regnabat in aula,
 Leniades magnis nobilitatus avis;
 Una duas habuit casa cum genitore puellas,
 Quas Amor undarum fingeret esse deas:
 Non tamen inculci gelidis latuere sub antris,
 Accola Danubii qualia sævus habet;
 Mollia non deerant vacuæ solatia vitæ,
 Sive libros poscant otia, sive lyram.
 Luxerat illa dies, legis gens docta supernæ
 Spes hominum ac curas cum procul esse jubet.
 Ponti inter strepitus sacri non munera cultus
 Cessarunt; pietas hic quoque cura fuit:
 Quid quod sacrifici versavit femina libros,
 Legitimas faciunt pectora pura preces.
 Quo vagor ulterius? quod ubique requiritur hic
 est;

Hic secura quies, hic et honestus amor.¹

Monday, Oct. 18th. — We agreed to pass the day with Sir Allan, and he engaged to have every thing in order for our voyage to-morrow.

Being now soon to be separated from our amiable friend young *Col*, his merits were all remembered. At Ulyva, he had appeared in a new character, having given us a good prescription for a cold. On my mentioning him with warmth, Dr. Johnson said, "*Col* does every thing for us: we will erect a statue to *Col*." "Yes," said I, "and we will have him with his various attributes and characters, like Mercury, or any other of the heathen gods. We will have him as a pilot; we will have him as a fisherman, as a hunter, as a husbandman, as a physician."

I this morning took a spade, and dug a little grave in the floor of a ruined chapel², near Sir

Allan McLean's house, in which I buried some human bones I found there. Dr. Johnson praised me for what I had done, though he owned he could not have done it. He showed in the chapel at Rasay his horror at dead men's bones. He showed it again at *Col*'s house. In the charter-room there was a remarkably large shin-bone, which was said to have been a bone of John Garve³, one of the lairds. Dr. Johnson would not look at it, but started away.

At breakfast, I asked, "What is the reason we are angry at a trader's having opulence?" JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, the reason is (though I don't undertake to prove that there is a reason) we see no qualities in trade that should entitle a man to superiority. We are not angry at a soldier's getting riches, because we see that he possesses qualities which we have not. If a man returns from a battle, having lost one hand, and with the other full of gold, we feel that he deserves the gold; but we cannot think that a fellow, by sitting all day at a desk, is entitled to get above us." BOSWELL. "But, Sir, may we not suppose a merchant to be a man of an enlarged mind, such as Addison in the Spectator describes Sir Andrew Freeport to have been?" JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, we may suppose any fictitious character. We may suppose a philosophical day-labourer, who is happy in reflecting that, by his labour, he contributes to the fertility of the earth, and to the support of his fellow-creatures; but we find no such philosophical day-labourer. A merchant may, perhaps, be a man of enlarged mind; but there is nothing in trade connected with an enlarged mind."

I mentioned that I had heard Dr. Solander say he was a Swedish Laplander. JOHNSON. "Sir, I don't believe he is a Laplander. The Laplanders are not much above four feet high. He is as tall as you; and he has not the copper

¹ The sentiments of these lines are very beautiful, but many of the expressions are awkward: of this Johnson himself was so well aware, that although he did not send these verses to Boswell till Jan. 1775, he even after that long pause, was still so little satisfied with them, that he made a great many amendments and additions, as will appear from the following copy of these verses, as printed from his Works. The variations are marked in italics.

INSULA KENNETHI, INTER HEBRIDAS.

Parva quidem regio, sed religione priorum
Clara Caledonias panditur intra aquas.
 Voce ubi Cennethus populos domuisse feroces
 Dicitur, et vanos dedocuisse deos.
 Huc ego delatus placido per cœrula cursu,
 Scire locum volui quid daret iste novi.
 Illic Leniades humili regnabat in aula,
 Leniades, magnis nobilitatus avis.
 Una duas cepit casa cum genitore puellas,
 Quas Amor undarum non erederet esse deas.
 Nec tamen inculci gelidis latuere sub antris,
 Accola Danubii qualia sævus habet.
 Mollia non desunt vacuæ solatia vitæ
 Sive libros poscant otia, sive lyram.
Fuiscrat illa dies, legis qua docta supernæ
 Spes hominum et curas gens procul esse jubet.
Ut precibus justas avertat nimis iras
Et summi accendat pectus amore boni.
 Ponti inter strepitus non sacri munera cultus
 Cessarunt, pietas hic quoque cura fuit.
Nid opus est aeris surra de turris sonantis
Admonitu, ipsa suas nunciat hora vicis.

Quid, quod sacrifici versavit femina libros?

Sunt pro legitimis pura libella sacris.

Quo vagor ulterius? quod ubique requiritur hic est,

Hic secura quies, hic et honestus amor.

The reader will observe that most of the alterations are improvements. The change of the third line from the end, "*Legitimas faciunt*," seems not so happy, and requires some explanation. The original draft of these verses in Johnson's autograph is now before me. He had first written

Sunt pro legitimis pectora pura sacris;

he then wrote

Legitimas faciunt pura libella preces;

which more nearly approaches Mr. Boswell's version, and alludes, happily, I think, to the prayers having been read by the young lady. This, however, as we shall see presently (sub 2d Feb. 1775), was objected to as rather unorthodox, and that line was erased, and the line as it stands in the Works is substituted in Mr. Langton's hand, as is also an alteration in the 16th line, *velit* into *jubet*. As I have reason to believe that Mr. Langton assisted in editing these Latin poemata, I conclude that these alterations were his own while superintending the press. — CROKER.

² Mr. Boswell does not tell us that he had visited this chapel the evening before; but Johnson says to Mrs. Thrale, "Boswell, who is very pious, went into it at night to perform his devotions, but came back in haste for fear of spectres." — Letters, vol. i. p. 173. — CROKER.

³ John Garves, or John the Giant," of whose romantic reconquest of Col from an invading Macneil, Johnson gives an interesting sketch. — Journey. — CROKER, 1846.

colour of a Laplander."¹ BOSWELL. "But what motive could he have to make himself a Laplander?" JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, he must either mean the word Laplander in a very extensive sense, or may mean a voluntary degradation of himself. 'For all my being the great man that you see me now, I was originally a barbarian;' as if Burke should say, 'I came over a wild Irishman'—which he might say in his present state of exaltation."

Having expressed a desire to have an island like Inchkenneth, Dr. Johnson set himself to think what would be necessary for a man in such a situation.

"Sir, I should build me a fortification, if I came to live here; for, if you have it not, what should hinder a parcel of ruffians to land in the night, and carry off every thing you have in the house, which, in a remote country, would be more valuable than cows and sheep? add to all this the danger of having your throat cut," BOSWELL. "I would have a large dog." JOHNSON. "So you may, Sir; but a large dog is of no use but to alarm." He, however, apprehend, thinks too lightly of the power of that animal. I have heard him say that he is afraid of no dog. "He would take him up by the hinder legs, which would render him quite helpless; and then knock his head against a stone, and beat out his brains." Topham Beauclerk told me, that at his house in the country, two large ferocious dogs were fighting. Dr. Johnson looked steadily at them for a little while; and then, as one would separate two little boys, who are foolishly hurting each other, he ran up to them, and cuffed their heads till he drove them asunder.² But few men have his intrepidity, Herculean strength, or presence of mind. Most thieves or robbers would be afraid to encounter a mastiff.

I observed, that when young Col talked of the lands belonging to his family, he always said "*my lands*." For this he had a plausible pretence; for he told me, there has been a custom in this family, that the Laird resigns the estate to the eldest son when he comes of age, reserving to himself only a certain life-

rent. He said, it was a voluntary custom; but I think I found an instance in the charter-room, that there was such an obligation in a contract of marriage. If the custom was voluntary, it was only curious; but if founded on obligation, it might be dangerous; for I have been told, that in Otaheite, whenever a child is born (a son, I think), the father loses his right to the estate and honours, and that this unnatural, or rather absurd custom, occasions the murder of many children.³

Young Col told us he could run down a greyhound; "for," said he, "the dog runs himself out of breath, by going too quick, and then I get up with him."⁴ I accounted for his advantage over the dog, by remarking that Col had the faculty of reason, and knew how to moderate his pace, which the dog had not sense enough to do. Dr. Johnson said, "He is a noble animal. He is as complete an islander as the mind can figure. He is a farmer, a sailor, a hunter, a fisher: he will run you down a dog: if any man has a *tail*⁵, it is Col. He is hospitable; and he has an intrepidity of talk, whether he understands the subject or not. I regret that he is not more intellectual."

Dr. Johnson observed, that there was nothing of which he would not undertake to persuade a Frenchman in a foreign country. "I'll carry a Frenchman to St. Paul's Churchyard, and I'll tell him, 'by our law you may walk half round the church, but, if you walk round the whole, you will be punished capitally;' and he will believe me at once. Now, no Englishman would readily swallow such a thing: he would go and inquire of somebody else." The Frenchman's credulity, I observed, must be owing to his being accustomed to implicit submission; whereas every Englishman reasons upon the laws of his country, and instructs his representatives, who compose the legislature.

This day was passed in looking at a small island adjoining Inchkenneth, which afforded nothing worthy of observation; and in such social and gay entertainments as our little society could furnish.

¹ Solander (Daniel Charles) was born in *Norland*, in Sweden, in 1736, came to England in 1760, and became F. R. S. in 1764. In 1768 he accompanied Banks in his voyage with Cook, and died one of the Librarians of the British Museum in 1782. The Biog. Dict. says, that "he was a short fair man, rather fat, with small eyes, and good-humoured countenance;" now Boswell was not short. I believe that *Norland* may be popularly included under the general name of *Lapland*, and there could be, I suppose, no better authority on the point than Solander's own.—CROKER

² "When we inquired," says Mrs. Piozzi, "into the truth of this story, he answered, the dogs have been somewhat magnified, I believe. They were, as I remember, two stout young pointers; but the story has gained but little."—Piozzi, p. 88. The story has gained everything. Two ferocious mastiffs and two puppy pointers are very different things to handle.—CROKER, 1846.

³ It seems, however, that in this instance the custom was carried out. All that Boswell relates of Col, from his very title to the end, looks like an actual ownership. Johnson says, "Mr. Maclean of Col (the father), having a numerous family, has for some time past resided in Aberdeen, that he may superintend their education, and leaves the young gentleman our friend to govern his dominions with the full power of a Highland Chief," and when poor Col was soon after drowned, Boswell talks (sub 18th Feb. 1775) of the next brother as his successor, though there is no reason to suppose that the father had died in that short interval.—CROKER.

⁴ This is not spoken of hare-coursing, where the game is taken or lost before the dog gets out of wind: but in chasing deer with the great Highland greyhound, Col's exploit is feasible enough.—WALTER SCOTT.

⁵ In allusion to Momboddo's theory, that a perfect man would have a tail.—CROKER.

CHAPTER XLIII.

1773.

Voyage to Iona.—Death of young Col.—M'Kinnon's Cave. — "La Crédulité des Incrédules." — Coast of Mull. — Nuns' Island. — Icolmkill. — Quotation from Johnson's Tour. — Return to Mull. — Putney. — Pitt. — Walpole. — Wilkes. — English and Jewish History compared. — "Turkish Spy." — Moy. — Lockbuy's War-saddle. — Sheep's-heads. — Sail to Oban. — Goldsmith's "Traveller." — Shenstone's Observation on Pope. — Inverary. — Letter from Garrick. — Hervey's "Meditations." — "Meditation on a Pudding." — Country Neighbours. — Castle of Inverary. — Duke and Duchess of Argyle. — Influence of Peers.

Tuesday, Oct. 19.—AFTER breakfast we took leave of the young ladies, and of our excellent companion Col, to whom we had been so much obliged. He had now put us under the care of his chief; and was to hasten back to Sky. We parted from him with very strong feelings of kindness and gratitude, and we hoped to have had some future opportunity of proving to him the sincerity of what we felt; but in the following year he was unfortunately lost in the Sound between Ulva and Mull¹; and this imperfect memorial, joined to the high honour of being tenderly and respectfully mentioned by Dr. Johnson, is the only return which the uncertainty of human events has permitted us to make to this deserving young man.

Sir Allan, who obligingly undertook to accompany us to Icolmkill, had a strong good boat, with four stout rowers. We coasted along Mull till we reached *Gribon*, where is what is called Mackinnon's cave, compared with which that at Ulinish is inconsiderable. It is in a rock of great height, close to the sea. Upon the left of its entrance there is a cascade, almost perpendicular from the top to the bottom of the rock. There is a tradition that it was conducted thither artificially, to supply the inhabitants of the cave with water. Dr. Johnson gave no credit to this tradition. As, on the one hand, his faith in the Christian religion is firmly founded upon good grounds; so, on the other, he is incredulous when there is no sufficient reason for belief; being in this respect just the reverse of modern infidels, who, however nice and scrupulous in weighing the evi-

dences of religion, are yet often so ready to believe the most absurd and improbable tales of another nature, that Lord Hailes well observed, a good essay might be written *Sur la Crédulité des Incrédules*.

The height of this cave I cannot tell with any tolerable exactness; but it seemed to be very lofty, and to be a pretty regular arch. We penetrated, by candle-light, a great way; by our measurement, no less than four hundred and eighty-five feet. Tradition says, that a piper and twelve men once advanced into this cave, nobody can tell how far², and never returned. At the distance to which we proceeded the air was quite pure; for the candle burned freely, without the least appearance of the flame growing globular; but as we had only one, we thought it dangerous to venture farther, lest, should it have been extinguished, we should have had no means of ascertaining whether we could remain without danger. Dr. Johnson said, this was the greatest natural curiosity he had ever seen.

We saw the island of Staffa, at no very great distance, but could not land upon it, the surge was so high on its rocky coast.

Sir Allan, anxious for the honour of Mull, was still talking of its woods, and pointing them out to Dr. Johnson, as appearing at a distance on the skirts of that island, as we sailed along. JOHNSON. "Sir, I saw at Tobermorie what they called a wood, which I unluckily took for *heath*. If you show me what I shall take for *furze*, it will be something."

In the afternoon we went ashore on the coast of Mull, and partook of a cold repast, which we carried with us. We hoped to have procured some rum or brandy for our boatmen and servants, from a public-house near where we landed; but unfortunately a funeral a few days before had exhausted all their store. Mr. Campbell, however, one of the Duke of Argyle's tacksmen, who lived in the neighbourhood, on receiving a message from Sir Allan, sent us a liberal supply.

We continued to coast along Mull, and passed by Nuns' Island, which, it is said, belonged to the nuns of Icolmkill, and from which, we were told, the stone for the buildings there was taken. As we sailed along by moonlight, in a sea somewhat rough, and often between black and gloomy rocks, Dr. Johnson said, "If this be not *roving among the Hebrides*,

¹ Just opposite to M'Quarrie's house the boat was swamped by the intoxication of the sailors, who had partaken too largely of M'Quarrie's wonted hospitality.—WALTER SCOTT. Johnson says in his *Journey*, "Here we had the last embrace of this amiable man, who, while these pages were preparing to attest his virtues, perished in the passage between Ulva and Ick Kenneth." The account given in the *Journey* of young Donald Maclean made him a popular character. The *Laird of Col* is a character in O'Keefe's "Highland Reel." Johnson writes from Lichfield, 13th June, 1775:—"There is great lamentation here for poor Col;" and a review of the *Journey*, *Gent. Mag.* 1775, thus concludes:—"But, whatever Dr. Johnson saw, whatever he described, will now be perpetuated; and though the buildings of Icolmkill are mouldering into dust, and the young Laird of Col is insensible of

praise, readers yet unborn will feel their piety warmed by the ruins of Iona, and their sensibility touched by the untimely fate of the amiable Maclean."—CROKER.

² There is little room for supposing that any person ever went farther into M'Kinnon's cave than any man may now go. Johnson's admiration of it seems exaggerated. A great number of the M'Kinnons, escaping from some powerful enemy, hid themselves in this cave till they could get over to the isle of Sky. It concealed themselves and their birlings, or boats; and they show M'Kinnon's harbour, M'Kinnon's dining-table, and other localities. M'Kinnon's candlestick was a fine piece of spar, destroyed by some traveller in the frantic rage for appropriation, with which tourists are sometimes animated.—WALTER SCOTT.

nothing is." The repetition of words which he had so often previously used made a strong impression on my imagination; and, by a natural course of thinking, led me to consider how our present adventures would appear to me at a future period.

I have often experienced, that scenes through which a man has passed improve by lying in the memory; they grow mellow. *Acti labores sunt jucundi*. This may be owing to comparing them with present listless ease. Even harsh scenes acquire a softness by length of time¹; and some are like very loud sounds, which do not please, or at least do not please so much, till you are removed to a certain distance. They may be compared to strong coarse pictures, which will not bear to be viewed near. Even pleasing scenes improve by time, and seem more exquisite in recollection, than when they were present; if they have not faded to dimness in the memory. Perhaps, there is so much evil in every human enjoyment, when present,—so much dross mixed with it, that it requires to be refined by time; and yet I do not see why time should not melt away the good and the evil in equal proportions;—why the shade should decay, and the light remain in preservation.

After a tedious sail, which, by our following various turnings of the coast of Mull, was extended to about forty miles, it gave us no small pleasure to perceive a light in the village at Icolmkill, in which almost all the inhabitants of the island live, close to where the ancient building stood. As we approached the shore, the tower of the cathedral, just discernible in the air, was a picturesque object.

When we had landed upon the sacred place, which, as long as I can remember, I had thought on with veneration, Dr. Johnson and I cordially embraced. We had long talked of visiting Icolmkill; and, from the lateness of the season, were at times very doubtful whether we should be able to effect our purpose. To have seen it, even alone, would have given me great satisfaction; but the venerable scene was rendered much more pleasing by the company of my great and pious friend, who was no less affected by it than I was; and who has described the impressions it should make on the mind, with such strength of thought, and energy of language, that I shall quote his words, as conveying my own sensations much more forcibly than I am capable of doing:—

"We were now treading that illustrious island, which was once the luminary of the Caledonian regions, whence savage clans and roving barbarians

derived the benefits of knowledge, and the blessings of religion. To abstract the mind from all local emotion would be impossible if it were endeavoured, and would be foolish if it were possible. Whatever withdraws us from the power of our senses, whatever makes the past, the distant, or the future, predominate over the present, advances us in the dignity of thinking beings. Far from me, and from my friends, be such frigid philosophy as may conduct us indifferent and unmoved over any ground which has been dignified by wisdom, bravery, or virtue. That man is little to be envied, whose patriotism would not gain force upon the plain of Marathon, or whose piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of Iona!"²

Upon hearing that Sir Allan M'Lean was arrived, the inhabitants, who still consider themselves as the people of M'Lean, to whom the island formerly belonged, though the Duke of Argyre has at present possession of it, ran eagerly to him.

We were accommodated this night in a large barn, the island affording no lodging that we should have liked so well. Some good hay was strewed at one end of it, to form a bed for us, upon which we lay with our clothes on; and we were furnished with blankets from the village. Each of us had a portmanteau for a pillow. When I awaked in the morning, and looked around me, I could not help smiling at the idea of the chief of the M'Leans, the great English moralist, and myself, lying thus extended in such a situation.

Wednesday, Oct. 20.—Early in the morning we surveyed the remains of antiquity at this place, accompanied by an illiterate fellow, as *cicerone*, who called himself a descendant of a cousin of Saint Columba, the founder of the religious establishment here. As I knew that many persons had already examined them, and as I saw Dr. Johnson inspecting and measuring several of the ruins of which he has since given so full an account, my mind was quiescent; and I resolved to stroll among them at my ease, to take no trouble to investigate minutely, and only receive the general impression of solemn antiquity, and the particular ideas of such objects as should of themselves strike my attention.

We walked from the monastery of nuns to the great church or cathedral, as they call it, along an old broken causeway. They told us that this had been a street, and that there were good houses built on each side. Dr. Johnson doubted if it was any thing more than a paved road for the nuns. The convent of monks, the great church, Oran's chapel, and four other chapels, are still to be discerned.

¹ I have lately observed that this thought has been elegantly expressed by Cowley:—

"Things which offend when present, and affright,
In memory, well-painted, move delight."—BOSWELL.

It is odd that Mr. Boswell, who had lately made so apt a quotation from the *Æneid*, should have forgotten the

"Forsan et hæc olim meminisse juvabit."

Æn. l. 203.

An hour will come, with pleasure to relate
Your sorrows past, as benefits of fate.—Dryden.

CROKER.

² Had our tour produced nothing else but this sublime passage, the world must have acknowledged that it was not made in vain. The present respectable President of the Royal Society [Sir Joseph Banks] was so much struck on reading it, that he clasped his hands together and remained for some time in an attitude of silent admiration.—BOSWELL.

But I must own that Icolmkill did not answer my expectations; for they were high, from what I had read of it, and still more from what I had heard and thought of it, from my earliest years. Dr. Johnson said it came up to his expectations, because he had taken his impression from an account of it subjoined to Sacheverel's History of the Isle of Man, where it is said, there is not much to be seen here. We were both disappointed, when we were shown what are called the monuments of the kings of Scotland, Ireland, and Denmark, and of a king of France. There are only some grave-stones flat on the earth, and we could see no inscriptions. How far short was this of marble monuments, like those in Westminster Abbey, which I had imagined here! The grave-stones of Sir Allan M'Lean's family, and of that of McQuarrie, had as good an appearance as the royal grave-stones, if they were royal; we doubted.

My easiness to give credit to what I heard in the course of our Tour was too great. Dr. Johnson's peculiar accuracy of investigation detected much traditional fiction, and many gross mistakes. It is not to be wondered at that he was provoked by people carelessly telling him, with the utmost readiness and confidence, what he found, on questioning them a little more, was erroneous. Of this there were innumerable instances.¹

I left him and Sir Allan at breakfast in our barn, and stole back again to the cathedral, to indulge in solitude and devout meditation. While contemplating the venerable ruins, I reflected with much satisfaction, that the solemn scenes of piety never lose their sanctity and influence, though the cares and follies of life may prevent us from visiting them, or may even make us fancy that their effects are only "as yesterday, when it is past," and never again to be perceived. I hoped that ever after having been in this holy place, I should maintain an exemplary conduct. One has a strange propensity to fix upon some point of time from whence a better course of life may begin.

Being desirous to visit the opposite shore of the island, where Saint Columba is said to have landed, I procured a horse from one M'Ginnis, who ran along as my guide. The M'Ginnises are said to be a branch of the clan of M'Lean. Sir Allan had been told that this man had refused to send him some rum, at which the knight was in great indignation. "You rascal!" said he, "don't you know that I can hang you, if I please?" Not adverting to the chieftain's power over his clan, I imagined that Sir Allan had known of some capital crime that the fellow had committed, which he could discover, and so get him condemned;

and said, "How so?"—"Why," said Sir Allan, "are they not all my people?" Sensible of my inadvertency, and most willing to contribute what I could towards the continuation of feudal authority, "Very true," said I. Sir Allan went on; "Refuse to send rum to me, you rascal! Don't you know that if I order you to go and cut a man's throat, you are to do it?"—"Yes, an't please your honour! and my own too, and hang myself too." The poor fellow denied that he had refused to send the rum. His making these professions was not merely a pretence in presence of his chief; for after he and I were out of Sir Allan's hearing, he told me, "Had he sent his dog for the rum, I would have given it: I would cut my bones for him." It was very remarkable to find such an attachment to a chief, though he had then no connection with the island, and had not been there for fourteen years. Sir Allan, by way of upbraiding the fellow, said, "I believe you are a *Campbell*."

The place which I went to see is about two miles from the village. They call it Portawherry, from the wherry in which Columba came; though, when they show the length of his vessel, as marked on the beach by two heaps of stones, they say, "Here is the length of the *Currah*," using the Erse word.

Icolmkill is a fertile island. The inhabitants export some cattle and grain; and I was told they import nothing but iron and salt. They are industrious, and make their own woollen and linen cloth; and they brew a good deal of beer, which we did not find in any of the other islands.

We set sail again about mid-day, and in the evening landed on Mull, near the house of the Rev. Mr. Neil Macleod, who having been informed of our coming, by a message from Sir Allan, came out to meet us. We were this night very agreeably entertained at his house. Dr. Johnson observed to me that he was the cleanest-headed² man that he had met with in the Western Islands. He seemed to be well acquainted with Dr. Johnson's writings, and courteously said, "I have been often obliged to you, though I never had the pleasure of seeing you before."

He told us he had lived for some time in St. Kilda, under the tuition of the minister or catechist there, and had there first read Horace and Virgil. The scenes which they describe must have been a strong contrast to the dreary waste around him.

Thursday, Oct. 21.—This morning the subject of politics was introduced. JOHNSON. "Pulteney³ was as paltry a fellow as could be. He was a Whig who pretended to be honest; and you know it is ridiculous for a Whig to pretend to be honest. He cannot hold it out."

¹ See post, 7th Feb. 1775. — C.

² Quere *clearest*? but it is *cleanest* in all the editions, and probably rightly. Dr. Johnson — whichever word he

used — meant, no doubt, most logical — freest from prejudice. — CROKER.

³ The 'great Earl of Bath.' — CROKER.

He called Mr. Pitt a meteor; Sir Robert Walpole a fixed star. He said, "It is wonderful to think that all the force of government was required to prevent Wilkes from being chosen the chief magistrate of London, though the liverymen knew he would rob their shops, — knew he would debauch their daughters."¹

BOSWELL. "The History of England is so strange, that, if it were not so well vouched as it is, it would hardly be credible." JOHNSON. "Sir, if it were told as shortly, and with as little preparation for introducing the different events, as the History of the Jewish Kings, it would be equally liable to objections of improbability." Mr. Macleod was much pleased with the justice and novelty of the thought. Dr. Johnson illustrated what he had said as follows: "Take, as an instance, Charles the First's concessions to his parliament, which were greater and greater, in proportion as the parliament grew more insolent, and less deserving of trust. Had these concessions been related nakedly, without any detail of the circumstances which generally led to them, they would not have been believed."

Sir Allan McLean bragged, that Scotland had the advantage of England by its having more water. JOHNSON. "Sir, we would not have your water, to take the vile bogs which produce it. You have too much! A man who is drowned has more water than either of us;" — and then he laughed. (But this was surely robust sophistry; for the people of taste in England, who have seen Scotland, own that its variety of rivers and lakes makes it naturally more beautiful than England, in that respect.) Pursuing his victory over Sir Allan, he proceeded; "Your country consists of two things, stone and water. There is, indeed, a little earth above the stone in some places, but a very little; and the stone is always appearing. It is like a man in rags — the naked skin is still peeping out."

He took leave of Mr. Macleod, saying, "Sir, I thank you for your entertainment, and your conversation."

Mr. Campbell, who had been so polite yesterday, came this morning on purpose to breakfast with us, and very obligingly furnished us

with horses to proceed on our journey to Mr. McLean's of Lochbuy, where we were to pass the night. We dined at the house of Dr. Alexander McLean, another physician in Mull, who was so much struck with the uncommon conversation of Dr. Johnson, that he observed to me, "This man is just a *hogshead* of sense."²

Dr. Johnson said of the "Turkish Spy," which lay in the room, that it told nothing but what every body might have known at that time; and that what was good in it did not pay you for the trouble of reading to find it.

After a very tedious ride, through what appeared to me the most gloomy and desolate country I had ever beheld, we arrived, between seven and eight o'clock, at Moy, the seat of the Laird of Lochbuy. *Buy*, in Erse, signifies yellow, and I at first imagined that the loch or branch of the sea here was thus denominated, in the same manner as the *Red Sea*; but I afterwards learned that it derived its name from a hill above it, which, being of a yellowish hue, has the epithet of *Buy*.

We had heard much of *Lochbuy's* being a great roaring braggadocio, a kind of Sir John Falstaff, both in size and manners; but we found that they had swelled him up to a fictitious size, and clothed him with imaginary qualities. *Col's* idea of him was equally extravagant, though very different: he told us he was quite a Don Quixote; and said, he would give a great deal to see him and Dr. Johnson together. The truth is, that *Lochbuy* proved to be only a bluff, comely, noisy, old gentleman, proud of his hereditary consequence, and a very hearty and hospitable landlord. Lady *Lochbuy* was sister to Sir Allan McLean, but much older. He said to me, "They are quite *Antediluvians*." Being told that Dr. Johnson did not hear well, *Lochbuy* bawled out to him, "Are you of the Johnstons of Glencero, or of Ardnamurchan?" Dr. Johnson gave him a significant look, but made no answer; and I told *Lochbuy* that he was not Johnstons, but Johnsons, and that he was an Englishman.³

Lochbuy some years ago tried to prove himself a weak man, liable to imposition, or, as

¹ I think it incumbent on me to make some observation on this strong satirical sally on my classical companion, Mr. Wilkes. Reporting it lately from memory, in his presence, I expressed it thus: — They knew he would rob their shops, if he durst; they knew he would debauch their daughters, if he could; which, according to the French phrase, may be said *renchérir* on Dr. Johnson; but on looking into my Journal, I found it as above, and would by no means make any addition. Mr. Wilkes received both readings with a good humour that I cannot enough admire. Indeed both he and I (as, with respect to myself, the reader has more than once had occasion to observe in the course of this Journal) are too fond of a *bon mot*, not to relish it, though we should be ourselves the object of it. Let me add, in justice to the gentleman here mentioned, that, at a subsequent period, he was elected chief magistrate of London, and discharged the duties of that high office with great honour to himself, and advantage to the city. Some years before Dr. Johnson died, I was fortunate enough to bring him and Mr. Wilkes together; the consequence of which was, that they were ever afterwards on easy and not unfriendly terms. The particulars I shall have great pleasure in relating hereafter. — BOSWELL.

See *post*, sub 15th May, 1776, 8th May, 1781, and 21st May, 1783. See also, as to Wilkes's magisterial services during the riots, sub June 1780. — CROKER.

² A metaphor which might rather have been expected from Mr. Quarrie than the Doctor; but I believe that it is a common northern expression to signify great capacity of intellect. — CROKER.

³ Boswell totally misapprehended *Lochbuy's* meaning. There are two septes of the powerful clan of Mc Donald, who are called Mac-lan, that is, *John's-son*; and as Highlanders often translate their names when they go to the Lowlands, — as Gregor-son for Mac Gregor, Farquhar-son for Mac Farquhar, — *Lochbuy* supposed that Dr. Johnson might be one of the Mac-lans of Ardnamurchan, or of Glencero. Boswell's explanation was nothing to the purpose. The Johnstons are a clan distinguished in Scottish border history, and as brave as any Highland clan that ever wore brogues; but they lay entirely out of *Lochbuy's* knowledge — nor was he thinking of them. — WALTER SCOTT. The Mac-lans of Ardnamurchan, a distinguished clan, are descended from Ian — John, a younger son of Angus More, King of the Isles. — CHAMBERS, 1846.

we term it in Scotland, a *facile* man, in order to set aside a lease which he had granted; but failed in the attempt. On my mentioning this circumstance to Dr. Johnson, he seemed much surprised that such a suit was admitted by the Scottish law, and observed, that "in England no man is allowed to *stultify* himself."¹

Sir Allan, *Lochbui*, and I, had the conversation chiefly to ourselves to-night. Dr. Johnson, being extremely weary, went to bed soon after supper.

Friday, Oct. 22. — Before Dr. Johnson came to breakfast, Lady *Lochbui* said, "he was a *dungeon* of wit;" a very common phrase in Scotland to express a profoundness of intellect, though he afterwards told me that he never had heard it.² She proposed that he should have some cold sheep's head for breakfast. Sir Allan seemed displeased at his sister's vulgarity, and wondered how such a thought should come into her head. From a mischievous love of sport, I took the lady's part; and very gravely said, "I think it is but fair to give him an offer of it. If he does not choose it, he may let it alone." "I think so," said the lady, looking at her brother with an air of victory. Sir Allan, finding the matter desperate, strutted about the room, and took snuff. When Dr. Johnson came in, she called to him, "Do you choose any cold sheep's head, Sir?" "No, Madam," said he, with a tone of surprise and anger.³ "It is here, sir," said she, supposing he had refused it to save the trouble of bringing it in. They thus went on at cross purposes, till he confirmed his refusal in a manner not to be misunderstood; while I sat quietly by and enjoyed my success.

After breakfast, we surveyed the old castle, in the pit or dungeon of which *Lochbui* had some years before taken upon him to imprison several persons; and though he had been fined in a considerable sum by the Court of Justiciary, he was so little affected by it, that while we were examining the dungeon, he said to me, with a smile, "Your father knows something of this;" (alluding to my father's having sat as one of the judges on his trial.) Sir Allan whispered me, that the laird could not be persuaded that he had lost his heritable jurisdiction.⁴

We then set out for the ferry, by which we were to cross to the main land of Argyleshire. *Lochbui* and Sir Allan accompanied us. We were told much of a war-saddle, on which this reputed Don Quixote used to be mounted; but we did not see it, for the young laird had applied it to a less noble purpose, having taken it to Falkirk fair with a *drove of black cattle*.

We bade adieu to *Lochbui*, and to our very kind conductor⁵, Sir Allan M'Lean, on the shore of Mull, and then got into the ferry-boat, the bottom of which was strewn with branches of trees or bushes, upon which we sat. We had a good day and a fine passage, and in the evening landed at Oban, where we found a tolerable inn. After having been so long confined at different times in islands, from which it was always uncertain when we could get away, it was comfortable to be now on the main land, and to know that, if in health, we might get to any place in Scotland or England in a certain number of days.

Here we discovered, from the conjectures which were formed, that the people of the main land were entirely ignorant of our motions; for in a Glasgow newspaper we found a paragraph, which, as it contains a just and well-turned compliment to my illustrious friend, I shall here insert: —

"We are well assured that Dr. Johnson is confined by tempestuous weather to the isle of Sky; it being unsafe to venture in a small boat upon such a stormy surge as is very common there at this time of the year. Such a philosopher, detained on an almost barren island, resembles a whale left upon the strand. The latter will be welcome to every body, on account of his oil, his bone, &c., and the other will charm his companions, and the rude inhabitants, with his superior knowledge and wisdom, calm resignation, and unbounded benevolence."

Saturday, Oct. 23. — After a good night's rest, we breakfasted at our leisure. We talked of Goldsmith's Traveller, of which Dr. Johnson spoke highly; and while I was helping him on with his great coat, he repeated from it the character of the British nation, which he did with such energy, that the tear started into his eye: —

¹ This maxim, however, has been controverted. See "*Blackstone's Commentaries*," vol. ii. p. 292.; and the authorities there quoted. — BOSWELL.

² It is also common in the north of Ireland, and is somewhat more emphatic than the eulogy in a former page, of being a *hog'shead* of sense. — CROKER.

³ Begging pardon of the Doctor and his conductor, I have often seen and partaken of cold sheep's head at as good breakfast-tables as ever they sat at. This protest is something in the manner of the late Culrossie, who fought a duel for the honour of Aberdeen butter. I have passed over all the Doctor's other reproaches upon Scotland, but the sheep's head I will defend *totis viribus*. Dr. Johnson himself must have forgiven my zeal on this occasion; for if, as he says, *dinner* is the thing of which a man thinks *oftenest during the day*, breakfast must be that of which he thinks *first in the morning*. — WALTER SCOTT.

⁴ The criminal jurisdictions exercised by the feudal proprietors in Scotland were suppressed after the rebellion by statute 20 Geo. II. — CROKER, 1846.

⁵ Sir Allan M'Lean, like many Highland chiefs, was em-

barrassed in his private affairs, and exposed to unpleasant solicitations from attorneys, called, in Scotland, *writers* (which indeed was the chief motive of his retiring to Inch Kenneth). Upon one occasion he made a visit to a friend, then residing at Carron lodge, on the banks of the Carron, where the banks of that river are studded with pretty villas: Sir Allan, admiring the landscape, asked his friend, whom that handsome seat belonged to. "M——, the writer to the signet," was the reply. "Umph!" said Sir Allan, but not with an accent of assent, "I mean that other house." "Oh! that belongs to a very honest fellow, Jamie——, also a writer to the signet." "Umph!" said the Highland chief of M'Lean, with more emphasis than before, "And yon smaller house?" "That belongs to a Stirling man; I forget his name, but I am sure he is a writer too; for——," Sir Allan, who had recoiled a quarter of a circle backward at every response, now wheeled the circle entire, and turned his back on the landscape, saying, "My good friend, I must own you have a pretty situation here; but d—n your neighbourhood." — WALTER SCOTT.

"Stern o'er each bosom reason holds her state,
With daring aims irregularly great,
Pride in their port, defiance in their eye,
I see the lords of humankind pass by,
Intent on high designs, a thoughtful band,
By forms unfashion'd, fresh from nature's hand;
Fierce in their native hardness of soul,
True to imagined right, above controul,
While even the peasant boasts these rights to scan,
And learns to venerate himself as man."¹

We could get but one bridle here, which, according to the maxim *detur digniori*, was appropriated to Dr. Johnson's sheltie. I and Joseph rode with halters. We crossed in a ferry-boat a pretty wide lake, and on the farther side of it, close by the shore, found a hut for our inn. We were much wet. I changed my clothes in part, and was at pains to get myself well dried. Dr. Johnson resolutely kept on all his clothes, wet as they were, letting them steam before the smoky turf fire. I thought him in the wrong; but his firmness was, perhaps, a species of heroism.

I remember but little of our conversation. I mentioned Shenstone's saying of Pope, that he had the art of condensing sense more than any body. Dr. Johnson said, "It is not true, Sir. There is more sense in a line of Cowley than in a page (or a sentence, or ten lines — I am not quite certain of the very phrase) of Pope."²

He maintained that Archibald, Duke of Argyle, was a narrow man. I wondered at this; and observed, that his building so great a house at Inverary was not like a narrow man. "Sir," said he, "when a narrow man has resolved to build a house, he builds it like another man. But Archibald, Duke of Argyle, was narrow in his ordinary expenses, in his quotidian expenses."³

The distinction is very just. It is in the ordinary expenses of life that a man's liberality or narrowness is to be discovered. I never heard the word *quotidian* in this sense, and I imagined it to be a word of Dr. Johnson's own fabrication; but I have since found it in Young's *Night Thoughts* (Night fifth),

¹ Miss Reynolds, in her *Recollections*, says that Johnson told her that he had written these lines for Goldsmith; but this is another instance of the inaccuracy of even the most plausible witnesses. See *anté*, p. 174. Johnson was fond of repeating these beautiful lines, and his having done so to Miss Reynolds, no doubt, led to her mistake: he was incapable of any such deceit. — CROKER.

² "Pope's talent lay remarkably in what one may naturally enough term the condensation of thoughts. I think no other English poet ever brought so much sense into the same number of lines with equal smoothness, ease, and poetical beauty. Let him who doubts of this peruse the *Essay on Man* with attention." — *Shenstone's Essays on Men and Manners*. "He [Gray] approved an observation of Shenstone, that 'Pope had the art of condensing a thought.'" — *Nicholls's Reminiscences of Gray*, p. 37. And Swift, himself a great condenser, says,

"In Pope I cannot read a line
But with a sigh I wish it mine;
When he can in one couplet fix
More sense than I can do in six."

P. CUNNINGHAM.

"Death's a destroyer of quotidian prey,"

and in my friend's Dictionary, supported by the authorities of Charles I. and Dr. Donne.⁴

It rained very hard as we journeyed on after dinner. The roar of torrents from the mountains, as we passed along in the dusk, and the other circumstances attending our ride this evening, have been mentioned with so much animation by Dr. Johnson, that I shall not attempt to say any thing on the subject.⁵

We got at night to Inverary, where we found an excellent inn. Even here, Dr. Johnson would not change his wet clothes.

The prospect of good accommodation cheered us much. We supped well; and after supper, Dr. Johnson, whom I had not seen taste any fermented liquor during all our travels, called for a gill of whisky. "Come," said he, "let me know what it is that makes a Scotchman happy!" He drank it all but a drop, which I begged leave to pour into my glass, that I might say we had drunk whisky together. I proposed Mrs. Thrale should be our toast. He would not have her drunk in whisky, but rather "some insular lady;" so we drank one of the ladies whom we had lately left. He owned to-night, that he got as good a room and bed as at an English inn.

I had here the pleasure of finding a letter from home, which relieved me from the anxiety I had suffered, in consequence of not having received any account of my family for many weeks. I also found a letter from Mr. Garrick, which was a regale as agreeable as a pine-apple would be in a desert. He had favoured me with his correspondence for many years; and when Dr. Johnson and I were at Inverness, I had written to him as follows: —

BOSWELL TO GARRICK.

"Inverness, Sunday, August 29th, 1773.

"MY DEAR SIR, — Here I am, and Mr. Samuel Johnson actually with me. We were a night at Fores, in coming to which, in the dusk of the evening, we passed over the bleak and blasted heath where Macbeth met the witches. Your old preceptor repeated, with much solemnity, the speech,

³ This information Johnson, no doubt, derived through his early friends, the Misses Cottrell, who were acquaintances of the widow of Duke Archibald's predecessor. See *anté*, p. 79. — CROKER.

⁴ Chaucer, Shakespeare, and Milton use it substantively, for an age, returning every day. But Phillips's *World of Words* has it in the general sense of *daily*. So has Blount in his *Glossographia*. — CROKER. Phillips stole every thing that is good in the *World of Words* from the *Glossographia*. — P. CUNNINGHAM.

⁵ As the fine passage referred to is short as well as striking, I shall venture to give it: —

"The night came on while we had yet a great part of the way to go, though not so dark but that we could discern the cataracts which poured down the hills on one side, and fell into one general channel that ran with great violence on the other. The wind was loud, the rain was heavy, and the whistling of the blast, the fall of the shower, the rush of the cataracts, and the roar of the torrent, made a nobler chorus of the rough music of nature than it had ever been my chance to hear before." — *Journey*. — CROKER.

'How far is 't called to Fores? What are these,
So wither'd and so wild in their attire?' &c.

This day we visited the ruins of Macbeth's castle at Inverness. I have had great romantic satisfaction in seeing Johnson upon the classical scenes of Shakspeare in Scotland; which I really looked upon as almost as improbable as that 'Birnam Wood should come to Duunsinane.' Indeed, as I have always been accustomed to view him as a permanent London object, it would not be much more wonderful to me to see St. Paul's church moving along where we now are. As yet we have travelled in post-chaises; but to-morrow we are to mount on horseback, and ascend into the mountains by Fort Augustus, and so on to the ferry, where we are to cross to Sky. We shall see that island fully, and then visit some more of the Hebrides; after which we are to land in Argyleshire, proceed by Glasgow to Auchinleck, repose there a competent time, and then return to Edinburgh, from whence the Rambler will depart for old England again, as soon as he finds it convenient. Hitherto we have had a very prosperous expedition. I flatter myself, *servetur ad inum, qualis ab incepto processerit*. He is in excellent spirits, and I have a rich journal of his conversation. Look back, *Davy*¹, to Lichfield; run up through the time that has elapsed since you first knew Mr. Johnson, and enjoy with me his present extraordinary tour. I could not resist the impulse of writing to you from this place. The situation of the old castle corresponds exactly to Shakspeare's description. While we were there to-day, it happened oddly, that a raven perched upon one of the chimney-tops, and croaked. Then I in my turn repeated —

'The raven himself is hoarse,
That croaks the fatal entrance of Duncan
Under my battlements.'

"I wish you had been with us. Think what enthusiastic happiness I shall have to see Mr. Samuel Johnson walking among the romantic rocks and woods of my ancestors at Auchinleck! Write to me at Edinburgh. You owe me his verses on great George and tuneful Cibber, and the bad verses which led him to make his fine ones on Philips the musician. Keep your promise, and let me have them. I offer my very best compliments to Mrs. Garrick, and ever am your warm admirer and friend,
JAMES BOSWELL."

His answer was as follows: —

GARRICK TO BOSWELL.

"Hampton, 14th September, 1773.

"DEAR SIR, — You stole away from London, and left us all in the lurch; for we expected you one night at the club, and knew nothing of your departure. Had I paid you what I owed you for the book you bought for me, I should only have grieved for the loss of your company, and slept with

¹ I took the liberty of giving this familiar appellation to my celebrated friend, to bring in a more lively manner to his remembrance the period when he was Dr. Johnson's pupil. — BOSWELL.

² I have suppressed my friend's name from an apprehension of wounding his sensibility; but I would not withhold from my readers a passage which shows Mr. Garrick's mode of writing as the manager of a theatre, and contains a pleasing trait of his domestic life. His judgment of dramatic pieces, so far as concerns their exhibition on the stage, must be

a quiet conscience; but, wounded as it is, it must remain so till I see you again, though I am sure our good friend Mr. Johnson will discharge the debt for me, if you will let him. Your account of your journey to Fores, the raven, old castle, &c. &c. made me half mad. Are you not rather too late in the year for fine weather, which is the life and soul of seeing places? I hope your pleasure will continue *qualis ab incepto*, &c.

"Your friend, —² threatens me much. I only wish that he would put his threats in execution, and, if he prints his play, I will forgive him. I remember he complained to you that his bookseller called for the money for some copies of his [*Lusiad*], which I subscribed for, and that I desired him to call again. The truth is, that my wife was not at home, and that for weeks together I have not ten shillings in my pocket. However, had it been otherwise, it was not so great a crime to draw his poetical vengeance upon me. I despise all that he can do, and am glad that I can so easily get rid of him and his ingratitude. I am hardened both to abuse and ingratitude. You, I am sure, will no more recommend your poetasters to my civility and good offices.

"Shall I recommend to you a play of Eschylus (the Prometheus), published and translated by poor old Morell, who is a good scholar, and an acquaintance of mine? It will be but half-a-guinea, and your name shall be put in the list I am making for him. You will be in very good company. Now for the epitaphs!

[This refers to the epitaph on Philips, and the verses on George the Second, and Colley Cibber, as his poet laureat, for which see *anté*, p. 43.]

"I have no more paper, or I should have said more to you. My love to you, and respects to Mr. Johnson. Yours, ever,
D. GARRICK.

"I can't write. I have the gout in my hand."

Sunday, Oct. 24. — We passed the forenoon calmly and placidly. I prevailed on Dr. Johnson to read aloud Ogden's sixth Sermon on Prayer, which he did with a distinct expression, and pleasing solemnity. He praised my favourite preacher, his elegant language, and remarkable accuteness; and said, he fought infidels with their own weapons.

As a specimen of Ogden's manner, I insert the following passage from the sermon which Dr. Johnson now read. The preacher, after arguing against that vain philosophy which maintains, in conformity with the hard principle of eternal necessity, or unchangeable predetermination, that the only effect of prayer for others, although we are exhorted to pray for them, is to produce good dispositions in ourselves towards them, thus expresses himself: —

allowed to have considerable weight. But from the effect which a perusal of the tragedy here condemned had upon myself, and from the opinions of some eminent critics, I venture to pronounce that it has much poetical merit; and its author has distinguished himself by several performances, which show that the epithet *poetaster* was, in the present instance, much misapplied. — BOSWELL. The author was Mickle; the play, *The Siege of Marseilles*; and two of the eminent critics referred to by Boswell, the two Waitons. See *anté*, p. 248. — CROKER.

"A plain man may be apt to ask, But if this then, though enjoined in the Holy Scriptures, is to be my real aim and intention, when I am taught to pray for other persons, why is it that I do not plainly so express it? Why is not the form of the petition brought nearer to the meaning? Give them, say I to our heavenly Father, what is good. But this, I am to understand, will be as it will be, and is not for me to alter. What is it then that I am doing? I am desiring to become charitable myself; and why may I not plainly say so? Is there shame in it, or impiety? The wish is laudable: why should I form designs to hide it? — Or is it, perhaps, better to be brought about by indirect means, and in this artful manner? Alas! who is it that I would impose on? From whom can it be, in this commerce, that I desire to hide any thing? When, as my Saviour commands me, I have 'entered into my closet, and shut my door,' there are but two parties privy to my devotions, God and my own heart: which of the two am I deceiving?"

He wished to have more books, and, upon inquiring if there were any in the house, was told that a waiter had some, which were brought to him; but I recollect none of them, except Hervey's *Meditations*. He thought slightly of this admired book. He treated it with ridicule, and would not allow even the scene of the dying husband and father to be pathetic. I am not an impartial judge; for Hervey's *Meditations* engaged my affections in my early years. He read a passage concerning the moon, ludicrously, and showed how easily he could, in the same style, make reflections on that planet, the very reverse of Hervey's, representing her as treacherous to mankind. He did this with much humour; but I have not preserved the particulars. He then indulged a playful fancy, in making a Meditation on a Pudding, of which I hastily wrote down, in his presence, the following note; which, though imperfect, may serve to give my readers some idea of it.

"MEDITATION ON A PUDDING.

"Let us seriously reflect of what a pudding is composed. It is composed of flour that once waved in the golden grain, and drank the dews of the morning; of milk pressed from the swelling udder by the gentle hand of the beauteous milkmaid, whose beauty and innocence might have recommended a worse draught; who, while she stroked the udder, indulged no ambitious thoughts of wandering in palaces, formed no plans for the destruction of her fellow-creatures: milk, which is drawn from the cow, that useful animal, that eats the grass of the field, and supplies us with that which made the greatest part of the food of mankind in the age which the poets have agreed to call golden. It is made with an egg, that miracle of nature, which the

theoretical Burnet has compared to creation. An egg contains water within its beautiful smooth surface; and an unformed mass, by the incubation of the parent, becomes a regular animal, furnished with bones and sinews, and covered with feathers. Let us consider: can there be more wanting to complete the meditation on a pudding? If more is wanting, more may be found. It contains salt, which keeps the sea from putrefaction: salt, which is made the image of intellectual excellence, contributes to the formation of a pudding."

In a Magazine I found a saying of Dr. Johnson's something to this purpose; that the happiest part of a man's life is what he passes lying awake in bed in the morning. I read it to him. He said, "I may, perhaps, have said this; for nobody, at times, talks more laxly than I do." I ventured to suggest to him, that this was dangerous from one of his authority.

I spoke of living in the country, and upon what footing one should be with neighbours. I observed that some people were afraid of being on too easy a footing with them, from an apprehension that their time would not be their own. He made the obvious remark, that it depended much on what kind of neighbours one has, whether it was desirable to be on an easy footing with them or not. I mentioned a certain baronet, who told me he never was happy in the country, till he was not on speaking terms with his neighbours, which he contrived in different ways to bring about. "Lord —," said he, "stuck long; but at last the fellow pounded my pigs, and then I got rid of him." JOHNSON. "Nay, Sir, my lord got rid of Sir John, and showed how little he valued him, by putting his pigs in the pound."

I told Dr. Johnson I was in some difficulty how to act at Inverary. I had reason to think that the Duchess of Argyll disliked me, on account of my zeal in the Douglas cause¹; but the Duke of Argyll² had always been pleased to treat me with great civility. They were now at the castle, which is a very short walk from our inn; and the question was whether I should go and pay my respects there. Dr. Johnson, to whom I had stated the case, was clear that I ought; but, in his usual way, he was very shy of discovering a desire to be invited there himself. Though, from a conviction of the benefit of subordination to society, he has always shown great respect to persons of high rank, when he happened to be in their company, yet his pride of character has ever made him guard against any appearance of courting the great. Besides, he was impatient to go to Glasgow, where he expected letters. At the same time he was, I believe,

¹ Elizabeth Gunning, celebrated (like her sister, Lady Coventry) for her personal charms, had been previously Duchess of Hamilton, and was mother of Douglas, Duke of Argyll, the competitor for the Douglas property with the late Lord Douglas: she was, of course, prejudiced against Boswell, who had shown all the bustling importance of his

character in the Douglas cause, and it was said, I know not on what authority, that he headed the mob which broke the windows of some of the judges, and of Lord Auchinleck, his father, in particular. — WALTER SCOTT.

² John, fifth Duke of Argyll, who died in 1806, æt. 83, the senior officer of the British army. — CROKER.

secretly, not unwilling to have attention paid him by so great a chieftain, and so exalted a nobleman. He insisted that I should not go to the castle this day before dinner, as it would look like seeking an invitation. "But," said I, "if the duke invites us to dine with him to-morrow, shall we accept?" "Yes, Sir," I think he said, "to be sure." But he added, "He won't ask us." I mentioned, that I was afraid my company might be disagreeable to the duchess. He treated this objection with a manly disdain: "That, Sir, he must settle with his wife." We dined well. I went to the castle just about the time when I supposed the ladies would be retired from dinner. I sent in my name; and, being shown in, found the amiable duke sitting at the head of his table with several gentlemen. I was most politely received, and gave his grace some particulars of the curious journey which I had been making with Dr. Johnson. When we rose from table, the duke said to me, "I hope you and Dr. Johnson will dine with us to-morrow." I thanked his grace; but told him, my friend was in a great hurry to get back to London. The duke, with a kind complacency, said, "He will stay one day; and I will take care he shall see this place to advantage." I said, I should be sure to let him know his grace's invitation. As I was going away, the duke said, "Mr. Boswell, won't you have some tea?" I thought it best to get over the meeting with the duchess this night; so respectfully agreed. I was conducted to the drawing-room by the duke, who announced my name; but the duchess, who was sitting with her daughter, Lady Betty Hamilton¹, and some other ladies, took not the least notice of me. I should have been mortified at being thus coldly received by a lady of whom I, with the rest of the world, have always entertained a very high admiration, had I not been consoled by the obliging attention of the duke.

When I returned to the inn, I informed Dr. Johnson of the Duke of Argyle's invitation, with which he was much pleased, and readily accepted of it. We talked of a violent contest which was then carrying on, with a view to the next general election for Ayrshire; where one of the candidates, in order to undermine the old and established interest, had artfully held himself out as a champion for the independency of the county against aristocratic influence, and had persuaded several gentlemen into a resolution to oppose every candidate who was supported by peers. "Foolish fellows!" said Dr. Johnson, "don't they see that they are as much dependent upon the peers one way as the other. The peers have but to oppose a candidate, to insure him success. It is said, the only way to make a pig go forward is to pull him back by the tail. These people must be treated like pigs."

¹ Afterwards Countess of Derby. — CROKER.

² On reflection, at the distance of several years, I wonder

CHAPTER XLIII.

1773.

Inverary Castle. — Bishop Archibald Campbell. — Douglas. — Juvenal. — Religious Buildings. — Rosedown House. — Lochlomond. — Cameron House. — Smollett's Monument. — Glasgow. — The Foulises, &c. — Loudoun Castle. — Treesbank. — Dundonald Castle. — Eglintoun Castle. — Auchinleck. — Boswell's Father. — Anecdotes. — Hamilton. — Edinburgh.

Monday, Oct. 25. — My acquaintance, the Rev. Mr. John M'Aulay, one of the ministers of Inverary, and brother to our good friend at Calder, came to us this morning, and accompanied us to the castle, where I presented Dr. Johnson to the Duke of Argyle. We were shown through the house; and I never shall forget the impression made upon my fancy by some of the ladies' maids tripping about in neat morning dresses. After seeing for a long time little but rusticity, their lively manner, and gay inviting appearance, pleased me so much, that I thought for a moment I could have been a knight-errant for them.²

We then got into a low one-horse chair ordered for us by the duke, in which we drove about the place. Dr. Johnson was much struck by the grandeur and elegance of this princely seat. He thought, however, the castle too low, and wished it had been a story higher. He said, "What I admire here is the total defiance of expense." I had a particular pride in showing him a great number of fine old trees, to compensate for the nakedness which had made such an impression on him on the eastern coast of Scotland.

When we came in, before dinner, we found the duke and some gentlemen in the hall. Dr. Johnson took much notice of the large collection of arms, which are excellently disposed there. I told what he had said to S. Alexander McDonald, of his ancestors not suffering their arms to rust. "Well," said the doctor, "but let us be glad we live in times when arms *may* rust. We can sit to-day at his grace's table, without any risk of being attacked and perhaps sitting down again wounded and maimed." The duke placed Dr. Johnson near himself at table. I was in fine spirits; although sensible that I had the misfortune, not being in favour with the duchess, I was not in the least disconcerted, and offered his grace some of the dish that was before me. It must be owned that I was in the right to be quite unconcerned, if I could. I was the Duke of Argyle's guest; and I had no reason to suppose that he had adopted the prejudices and resentments of the Duchess of Hamilton.

that my venerable fellow-traveller should have read this passage without censuring my levity. — BOSWELL.

I knew it was the rule of modern high life not to drink to any body; but, that I might have the satisfaction for once to look the duchess in the face, with a glass in my hand, I with a respectful air addressed her, "My Lady Duchess, I have the honour to drink your grace's good health." I repeated the words audibly, and with a steady countenance. This was, perhaps, rather too much; but some allowance must be made for human feelings.

The duchess was very attentive to Dr. Johnson. I know not how a *middle state* came to be mentioned. Her grace wished to hear him on that point. "Madam," said he, "your own relation, Mr. Archibald Campbell, can tell you better about it than I can. He was a bishop of the nonjuring communion, and wrote a book upon the subject."¹ He engaged to get it for her grace. He afterwards gave a full history of Mr. Archibald Campbell, which I am sorry I do not recollect particularly. He said, Mr. Campbell had been bred a violent Whig, but afterwards "kept *better company*, and became a Tory." He said this with a smile, in pleasant allusion, as I thought, to the opposition between his own political principles and those of the duke's clan. He added that Mr. Campbell, after the Revolution², was thrown into gaol on account of his tenets; but, on application by letter to the old Lord Townshend, was released: that he always spoke of his lordship with great gratitude, saying, "though a *Whig*, he had humanity."

Dr. Johnson and I passed some time together, in June, 1784, at Pembroke college, Oxford, with the Rev. Dr. Adams, the master; and I having expressed a regret that my note relative to Mr. Archibald Campbell was imperfect, he was then so good as to write with his own hand, on the blank page of my journal, opposite to that which contains what I have now mentioned, the following paragraph; which, however, is not quite so full as the narrative he gave at Inverary:—

"The Honourable Archibald Campbell was, I believe, the nephew³ of the Marquis of Argyle. He began life by engaging in Monmouth's rebellion, and, to escape the law, lived some time in Surinam. When he returned, he became zealous for episcopacy and monarchy; and at the revolution adhered not only to the nonjurors, but to those who refused to communicate with the church of England, or to be present at any worship where the usurper

was mentioned as king. He was, I believe, more than once apprehended in the reign of King William, and once at the accession of George. He was the familiar friend of Hickee and Nelson; a man of letters, but injudicious; and very curious and inquisitive, but credulous. He lived in 1743, or 44, about seventy-five years old."⁴

The subject of luxury having been introduced, Dr. Johnson defended it. "We have now," said he, "a splendid dinner before us; which of all these dishes is unwholesome?" The duke asserted, that he had observed the grandees of Spain diminished in their size by luxury. Dr. Johnson politely refrained from opposing directly an observation which the duke himself had made; but said, "Man must be very different from other animals, if he is diminished by good living; for the size of all other animals is increased by it." I made some remark that seemed to imply a belief in *second sight*. The duchess said, "I fancy you will be a *methodist*." This was the only sentence her grace deigned to utter to me; and I take it for granted, she thought it a good hit on my *credulity* in the Douglas cause.

A gentleman in company, after dinner, was desired by the duke to go to another room, for a specimen of curious marble, which his grace wished to show us. He brought a wrong piece, upon which the duke sent him back again. He could not refuse; but, to avoid any appearance of servility, he whistled as he walked out of the room, to show his independency. On my mentioning this afterwards to Dr. Johnson, he said, it was a nice trait of character.

Dr. Johnson talked a great deal, and was so entertaining, that Lady Betty Hamilton, after dinner, went and placed her chair close to his, leaned upon the back of it, and listened eagerly. It would have made a fine picture to have drawn the sage and her at this time in their several attitudes. He did not know, all the while, how much he was honoured. I told him afterwards, I never saw him so gentle and complaisant as this day.⁵

We went to tea. The duke and I walked up and down the drawing-room, conversing. The duchess still continued to show the same marked coldness for me; for which, though I suffered from it, I made every allowance, considering the very warm part that I had taken for Douglas, in the cause in which she thought

¹ As this book is now become very scarce, I shall subjoin the title, which is curious:—

"The Doctrines of a Middle State between Death and the Resurrection: of Prayers for the Dead; And the Necessity of Purification; plainly proved from the holy Scriptures, and the Writings of the Fathers of the Primitive Church: And acknowledged by several learned Fathers and great Divines of the Church of England and others since the Reformation. To which is added, an Appendix concerning the Descent of the Soul of Christ into Hell, while his Body lay in the Grave. Together with the Judgment of the Reverend Dr. Hickee concerning this Book, so far as relates to Middle State, particular Judgment, and Prayers for the Dead, as it appeared in the first Edition. And a Manuscript of the Right Reverend Bishop Overal upon the subject of a

Middle State, and never before printed. Also, a Preservative against several of the Errors of the Roman Church, in six small Treatises. By the Honourable Archibald Campbell." Folio, 1721. — BOSWELL.

² It was not after the *Revolution*, but after the *accession* of the Hanover family, that this transaction occurred. Lord Townshend was not secretary of state till 1714; when he was so for a couple of years, and became so again in Feb. 1720-1. — CROKER.

³ He was the marquis's grandson, son of his second son, Lord Neil Campbell. He was a bishop of the episcopal church in Scotland, and died in London in 1784. — CROKER.

⁴ See *ante*, p. 213., and *post*, sub 9th June, 1784. — C

⁵ Because, perhaps, he had never before seen him in such high company. — CROKER.

her son deeply interested. Had not her grace discovered some displeasure towards me, I should have suspected her of insensibility or dissimulation.

Her grace made Dr. Johnson come and sit by her, and asked him why he made his journey so late in the year. "Why, Madam," said he, "you know Mr. Boswell must attend the court of session, and it does not rise till the twelfth of August." She said, with some sharpness, "I know nothing of Mr. Boswell." Poor Lady Lucy Douglas¹, to whom I mentioned this, observed, "She knew too much of Mr. Boswell." I shall make no remark on her grace's speech. I indeed felt it as rather too severe; but when I recollected that my punishment was inflicted by so dignified a beauty, I had that kind of consolation which a man would feel who is strangled by a *silken cord*. Dr. Johnson was all attention to her grace. He used afterwards a droll expression, upon her enjoying the three titles of Hamilton, Brandon, and Argyle. Borrowing an image from the Turkish empire, he called her a *duchess with three tails*.

He was much pleased with our visit at the castle of Inverary. The Duke of Argyle was exceedingly polite to him, and, upon his complaining of the shelties which he had hitherto ridden being too small for him, his grace told him he should be provided with a good horse to carry him next day.

Mr. John M'Aulay passed the evening with us at our inn. When Dr. Johnson spoke of people whose principles were good, but whose practice was faulty, Mr. M'Aulay said, he had no notion of people being in earnest in their good professions, whose practice was not suitable to them. The doctor grew warm, and said, "Sir, are you so grossly ignorant of human nature, as not to know that a man may be very sincere in good principles, without having good practice?"

Dr. Johnson was unquestionably in the right; and whoever examines himself candidly will be satisfied of it, though the inconsistency between principles and practice is greater in some men than in others.

I recollect very little of this night's conversation. I am sorry that indolence came upon me towards the conclusion of our journey, so that I did not write down what passed with the same assiduity as during the greatest part of it.

¹ Lady Lucy Graham, daughter of the second Duke of Montrose, and wife of Mr. Douglas, the successful claimant: she died in 1780, whence Boswell calls her "*poor Lady Lucy*." — CROKER.

² Having mentioned, more than once, that my Journal was perused by Dr. Johnson, I think it proper to inform my readers that this is the last paragraph which he read. — BOSWELL.

³ "An honest guardian, arbitrator just,
Be thou; thy station deem a secret trust.
With thy good sword maintain thy country's cause;
In every action venerate its laws:
The he suborn'd if falsely urged to swear,
Though torture wait thee, torture firmly bear;

Tuesday, Oct. 26. — Mr. M'Aulay breakfasted with us, nothing hurt or dismayed by his last night's correction. Being a man of good sense, he had a just admiration of Dr. Johnson.

Either yesterday morning, or this, I communicated to Dr. Johnson, from Mr. M'Aulay's information, the news that Dr. Beattie had got a pension of two hundred pounds a year. He sat up in his bed, clapped his hands, and cried, "O brave we!" — a peculiar exclamation of his when he rejoices.²

As we sat over our tea, Mr. Home's tragedy of Douglas was mentioned. I put Dr. Johnson in mind, that once, in a coffee-house at Oxford, he called to old Mr. Sheridan, "How came you, Sir, to give Home a gold medal for writing that foolish play?" and defied Mr. Sheridan to show ten good lines in it. He did not insist they should be together; but that there were not ten good lines in the whole play. He now persisted in this. I endeavoured to defend that pathetic and beautiful tragedy, and repeated the following passage: —

"Sincerity,
Thou first of virtues! let no mortal leave
Thy onward path, although the earth should gape,
And from the gulf of hell destruction cry,
To take dissimulation's winding way."

JOHNSON. "That will not do, Sir. Nothing is good but what is consistent with truth or probability, which this is not. Juvenal, indeed, gives us a noble picture of inflexible virtue: —

"*Esto bonus miles, tutor bonus, arbiter idem
Integer: ambigue si quando citabere testis
Incertaque rei, Phalaris licet imperet, ut sis
Falsus, et admoto nefas perjuria tauro,
Summum crede dictas animam præferre pudori,
Et propter vitam vivendi perdere causas.*"³

He repeated the lines with great force and dignity; then added, "And, after this, comes Johnny Home, with his *earth gaping*, and his *destruction crying*! — pooh!"⁴

While we were lamenting the number of ruined religious buildings which we had lately seen, I spoke with peculiar feeling of the miserable neglect of the chapel belonging to the palace of Holyrood-house, in which are deposited the remains of many of the kings of Scotland, and of many of our nobility. I said it was a disgrace to the country that it was no

To forfeit honour, think the highest shame,
And life too dearly bought by loss of fame;
Nor, to preserve it, with thy virtue give
That for which only man should wish to live."

For this and the other translations to which no signature is affixed, I am indebted to the friend whose observations are mentioned in the notes, *ante*, p. 289, and *post*, 403. — BOSWELL. Probably Dr. Hugh Blair. — WALTER SCOTT.

⁴ I am sorry that I was unlucky in my quotation. But notwithstanding the acuteness of Dr. Johnson's criticism and the power of his ridicule, the tragedy of Douglas still continues to be generally and deservedly admired. — BOSWELL.

repaired; and particularly complained that my friend Douglas, the representative of a great house, and proprietor of a vast estate, should suffer the sacred spot where his mother lies interred to be unroofed, and exposed to all the inclemencies of the weather. Dr. Johnson, who, I knew not how, had formed an opinion on the Hamilton side, in the Douglas cause, silyly answered, "Sir, Sir, don't be too severe upon the gentleman; don't accuse him of want of filial piety! Lady Jane Douglas was not *his* mother." He roused my zeal so much that I took the liberty to tell him he knew nothing of the cause; which I do most seriously believe was the case.

We were now "in a country of bridles and saddles," and set out fully equipped. The Duke of Argyle was obliging enough to mount Dr. Johnson on a stately steed from his grace's stable. My friend was highly pleased, and Joseph said, "He now looks like a bishop."

We dined at the inn at Tarbat, and at night came to Rosedow, the beautiful seat of Sir James Colquhoun, on the banks of Lochlomond, where I, and any friends whom I have introduced, have ever been received with kind and elegant hospitality.

Wednesday, Oct. 27. — When I went into Dr. Johnson's room this morning, I observed to him how wonderfully courteous he had been at Inverary, and said, "You were quite a fine gentleman when with the duchess." He answered, in good humour, "Sir, I look upon myself as a very polite man:" and he was right, in a proper manly sense of the word. As an immediate proof of it, let me observe that he would not send back the Duke of Argyle's horse without a letter of thanks, which I copied.

JOHNSON TO THE DUKE OF ARGYLE.

"Rosedow, 29th Oct. 1773.

"MY LORD, — That kindness which disposed your grace to supply me with the horse, which I have now returned, will make you pleased to hear that he has carried me well.

"By my diligence in the little commission with which I was honoured by the duchess, I will endeavour to show how highly I value the favours which I have received, and how much I desire to be thought, my lord, your grace's most obedient and most humble servant,
SAM. JOHNSON."

The duke was so attentive to his respectable guest, that, on the same day, he wrote him an answer, which was received at Auchinleck:—

THE DUKE OF ARGYLE TO JOHNSON.

"Inverary, 29th Oct. 1773.

"SIR, — I am glad to hear your journey from this place was not unpleasant, in regard to your horse. I wish I could have supplied you with good weather, which I am afraid you felt the want of.

"The Duchess of Argyle desires her compliments to you, and is much obliged to you for remembering her commission. I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,
ARGYLE."

I am happy to insert every memorial of the honour done to my great friend. Indeed, I was at all times desirous to preserve the letters which he received from eminent persons, of which, as of all other papers, he was very negligent; and I once proposed to him that they should be committed to my care, as his *custos rotulorum*. I wish he had complied with my request, as by that means many valuable writings might have been preserved that are now lost.¹

After breakfast, Dr. Johnson and I were furnished with a boat, and sailed about upon Lochlomond, and landed on some of the islands which are interspersed. He was much pleased with the scene, which is so well known by the accounts of various travellers that it is unnecessary for me to attempt any description of it.

I recollect none of his conversation, except that, when talking of dress, he said, "Sir, were I to have any thing fine, it should be very fine. Were I to wear a ring, it should not be a bauble, but a stone of great value. Were I to wear a laced or embroidered waistcoat, it should be very rich. I had once a very rich laced waistcoat, which I wore the first night of my tragedy."

Lady Helen Colquhoun² being a very pious woman, the conversation, after dinner, took a religious turn. Her ladyship defended the presbyterian mode of public worship; upon which Dr. Johnson delivered those excellent arguments for a form of prayer which he has introduced into his "*Journey*." I am myself fully convinced that a form of prayer for public worship is in general most decent and edifying. *Solennia verba* have a kind of prescriptive sanctity, and make a deeper impression on the mind than extemporaneous effusions, in which, as we know not what they are to be, we cannot readily acquiesce. Yet I would allow also of a certain portion of extempore address, as occasion may require. This is the practice of the French protestant churches. And although the office of forming supplications to the throne of Heaven is, in my mind, too great a trust to be indiscriminately

¹ As a remarkable instance of his negligence, I remember some years ago to have found lying loose in his study, and without the cover which contained the address, a letter to him from Lord Thurlow, to whom he had made an application, as chancellor, in behalf of a poor literary friend. It was expressed in such terms of respect for Dr. Johnson, that in my zeal for his reputation, I remonstrated warmly with

him on his strange inattention, and obtained his permission to take a copy of it; by which probably it has been preserved, as the original, I have reason to suppose, is lost. — BOSWELL.

See post, 24th Oct. 1780. — CROKER.

² The Hon. Helen Sutherland, eldest daughter of Lord Strathnaver, who died before his father, the fifteenth Earl of Sutherland. She died in 1791. — CROKER.

committed to the discretion of every minister, I do not mean to deny that sincere devotion may be experienced when joining in prayer with those who use no Liturgy.

We were favoured with Sir James Colquhoun's coach to convey us in the evening to Cameron, the seat of Commissary Smollett.¹ Our satisfaction of finding ourselves again in a comfortable carriage was very great. We had a pleasing conviction of the commodiousness of civilisation, and heartily laughed at the ravings of those absurd visionaries who have attempted to persuade us of the superior advantages of a state of nature.

Mr. Smollett was a man of considerable learning, with abundance of animal spirits; so that he was a very good companion for Dr. Johnson, who said to me, "We have had more solid talk here than at any place where we have been."

I remember Dr. Johnson gave us this evening an able and eloquent discourse on the Origin of Evil, and on the consistency of moral evil with the power and goodness of God. He showed us how it arose from our free agency, an extinction of which would be a still greater evil than any we experience. I know not that he said any thing absolutely new, but he said a great deal wonderfully well: and perceiving us to be delighted and satisfied, he concluded his harangue with an air of benevolent triumph over an objection which has distressed many worthy minds; "This then is the answer to the question, *Ποθεν το Κακον?*"² Mrs. Smollett whispered me, that it was the best sermon she had ever heard. Much do I upbraid myself for having neglected to preserve it.³

Thursday, Oct. 28. — Mr. Smollett pleased Dr. Johnson, by producing a collection of newspapers in the time of the usurpation, from which it appeared that all sorts of crimes were very frequent during that horrible anarchy. By the side of the high road to Glasgow, at some distance from his house, he had erected a pillar to the memory of his ingenious kinsman, Dr. Smollett; and he consulted Dr. Johnson as to an inscription for it. Lord Kames, who, though he had a great store of knowledge, with much ingenuity, and uncommon activity of mind, was no profound scholar, had it seems recommended an English inscription. Dr.

Johnson treated this with great contempt, saying, "An English inscription would be a disgrace to Dr. Smollett;"⁴ and, in answer to what Lord Kames had urged, as to the advantage of its being in English, because it would be generally understood, I observed, that all to whom Dr. Smollett's merit could be an object of respect and imitation would understand it as well in Latin; and that surely it was not meant for the Highland drovers, or other such people, who pass and repass that way.

We were then shown a Latin inscription, proposed for this monument. Dr. Johnson sat down with an ardent and liberal earnestness to revise it, and greatly improved it by several additions and variations. I unfortunately did not take a copy of it, as it originally stood; but I have happily preserved every fragment of what Dr. Johnson wrote: —

Quisquis ades, viator,
Vel mente felix, vel studiis cultus,
Immorare paululum memoriae
TOBIE SMOLLETT, M.D.

Viri iis virtutibus
Quas in homine et cive
Et laudes, et imiteris,

* * * * *
Postquam mira * * *
Se * * * * *

* * * * *
Tali tantoque viro, suo patrueli,
* * * * *

Hanc columnam,
Amoris, eheu! inane monumentum,
In ipsis Levinæ ripis

Quas primis infans vagitibus personuit,
Versiculisque jam fere moriturus illustravit,
Ponendam curavit
* * * * *

We had this morning a singular proof of Dr. Johnson's quick and retentive memory. Hay's translation of "Martial" was lying in a window; I said, I thought it was pretty well done, and showed him a particular epigram, I think, of ten, but am certain, of eight lines. He read it, and tossed away the book, saying, "No, it is *not* pretty well." As I persisted in my opinion, he said, "Why, Sir, the original is thus," and he repeated it, "and this man's

¹ Commissary Smollett was the cousin-german of Dr. Smollett: he died without issue; and the family estate would have descended to the Doctor had he been alive, but his sister succeeded to it. Boswell spells the name *Smollett* with one *t*, but I have followed Smollett's own invariable practice. — CROKER.

² *Whence is evil?* — CROKER.

³ This was a subject which had engaged much of Johnson's attention. See his review of Jenyns's *Nature and Origin of Evil*, and *Idler*, No. 89. — MARKLAND.

⁴ See *ante*, p. 313., what I have ventured to advance in favour of vernacular inscriptions. How should an English inscription disgrace a writer whose fame is exclusively English? — CROKER.

⁵ The epitaph which has been inscribed on the pillar erected on the banks of the Leven, in honour of Dr. Smollett, is as follows: — The part which was written by Dr. Johnson, it appears, has been altered; whether for the better, the

reader will judge. The alterations are distinguished by Italics.

"Eiste viator! Si lepores ingenique venam benignam, si morum callidissimum pictorem, unquam es miratus, immorare paululum memoriae TOBIE SMOLLETT, M.D. Viri virtutibus *hæc* quas in homine et cive et laudes, et imiteris, haud modiciter ornat: qui in literis versatus, postquam felicitate *sibi propria* sese posteris commendaverat, morte acerba raptus anno ætatis 51. Eheu! quam procul a patria! Prope Liburni portum in Italia, jacet sepultus. Tali tantoque viro, patrueli suo, cui in dekursu lampada se potius tradidisse decuit, hanc Columnam, amoris, eheu! inane monumentum, in ipsis Levinæ ripis, quas *versiculis sub ætate vite illustratus* primis infans vagitibus personuit, ponendam curavit JACOBUS SMOLLETT de Bonhill. Abi et reminiscere, hoc quidem honore, non modo defuncti memorie, verum etiam exemplo, prospectum esse; aliis enim, si modo digni sint, idem erit virtutis præmium!" — BOSWELL.

translation is thus," and then he repeated that also, exactly, though he had never seen it before, and read it over only once, and that, too, without any intention of getting it by heart.

Here a post-chaise, which I had ordered from Glasgow, came for us, and we drove on in high spirits. We stopped at Dumbarton, and though the approach to the castle there is very steep, Dr. Johnson ascended it with alacrity, and surveyed all that was to be seen. During the whole of our Tour he showed uncommon spirit, could not bear to be treated like an old or infirm man, and was very unwilling to accept of any assistance, insomuch that at our landing at Icolmkill, when Sir Allan M'Lean and I submitted to be carried on men's shoulders from the boat to the shore, as it could not be brought quite close to land, he sprang into the sea, and waded vigorously out.

On our arrival at the Saracen's Head inn, at Glasgow, I was made happy by good accounts from home; and Dr. Johnson, who had not received a single letter since we left Aberdeen, found here a great many, the perusal of which entertained him much. He enjoyed in imagination the comforts which we could not now command, and seemed to be in high glee. I remember, he put a leg upon each side of the grate, and said, with a mock solemnity, by way of soliloquy, but loud enough for me to hear it, "Here am I, an *Englishman*, sitting by a coal fire."

Friday, Oct. 29.—The professors of the university being informed of our arrival, Dr. Stevenson, Dr. Reid, and Mr. Anderson breakfasted with us. Mr. Anderson accompanied us while Dr. Johnson viewed this beautiful city. He had told me, that one day in London, when Dr. Adam Smith¹ was boasting of it, he turned to him and said, "Pray, Sir, have you ever seen Brentford?" This was surely a strong instance of his impatience, and spirit of contradiction. I put him in mind of it to-day, while he expressed his admiration of the elegant buildings, and whispered him, "Don't you feel some remorse?"

We were received in the college by a number of the professors, who showed all due respect

to Dr. Johnson; and then we paid a visit to the principal, Dr. Leechman, [*antè*, p. 285.] at his own house, where Dr. Johnson had the satisfaction of being told that his name had been gratefully celebrated in one of the parochial congregations in the Highlands, as the person to whose influence it was chiefly owing that the New Testament was allowed to be translated into the Erse language. It seems some political members of the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge had opposed this pious undertaking, as tending to preserve the distinction between the Highlanders and Lowlanders. Dr. Johnson wrote a long letter upon the subject to a friend [Mr. Drummond], which being shown to them, made them ashamed, and afraid of being publicly exposed; so they were forced to a compliance. It is now in my possession, and is, perhaps, one of the best productions of his masterly pen. (*Antè*, p. 181.)

Professors Reid and Anderson, and the two Messieurs Foulis, the Elzevirs of Glasgow, dined and drank tea with us at our inn, after which the professors went away; and I, having a letter to write, left my fellow-traveller with Messieurs Foulis. Though good and ingenious men, they had that unsettled speculative mode of conversation which is offensive to a man regularly taught at an English school and university. I found that, instead of listening to the dictates of the sage, they had teased him with questions and doubtful disputations. He came in a flutter to me, and desired I might come back again, for he could not bear these men. "O ho! Sir," said I, "you are flying to me for refuge!" He never, in any situation, was at a loss for a ready repartee. He answered, with quick vivacity, "It is of two evils choosing the least." I was delighted with this flash bursting from the cloud which hung upon his mind, closed my letter directly, and joined the company.

We supped at Professor Anderson's. The general impression upon my memory is, that we had not much conversation at Glasgow, where the professors, like their brethren at Aberdeen, did not venture to expose themselves much to the battery of cannon which they knew might play upon them.² Dr. John-

¹ Mr. Boswell has chosen to omit, for reasons which will be presently obvious, that Johnson and Adam Smith met at Glasgow; but I have been assured by Professor John Miller that they did so, and that Smith, leaving the party in which he had met Johnson, happened to come to another company where Miller was. Knowing that Smith had been in Johnson's society, they were anxious to know what had passed, and the more so as Dr. Smith's temper seemed much ruffled. At first Smith would only answer, "He's a brute—he's a brute;" but on closer examination, it appeared that Johnson no sooner saw Smith than he attacked him for some point of his famous letter on the death of Hume (*antè*, p. 272). Smith vindicated the truth of his statement. "What did Johnson say?" was the universal inquiry. "Why, he said," replied Smith, with the deepest impression of resentment, "he said, *you lie!*" "And what did you reply?" "I said, you are a son of a—!" On such terms did these two great moralists meet and part, and such was the classical dialogue between two great teachers of philosophy. — WALTER SCOTT.

This story is certainly erroneous in the important particulars of the *time, place, and subject* of the alleged quarrel; for Hume did not die for three years after Johnson's only visit to Glasgow; nor was Smith then there. Johnson had, previous to his visit to Scotland, indeed previous to 1763 (see *antè*, p. 146, and *post*, April 29. 1778), had an altercation with Adam Smith at Mr. Strahan's table. This, of which, however, we know neither the subject (unless that was the occasion of the allusion to *Brentford*) nor the degree of warmth, may have been the foundation of Professor Miller's strange misrepresentation. But, even then, nothing of this very offensive kind could have passed, as, if it had, Smith could certainly not have afterwards solicited admission to the Club of which Johnson was the leader, to which he was admitted 1st Dec. 1775, and where he and Johnson met frequently on civil terms. I, therefore, disbelieve the whole story; and repeat it only for the sake of the contradiction, and as another specimen of how loosely men, even so respectable as Professor Miller, will adulterate anecdotes. — CROKER, 1835.

² Boswell himself was callous to the contacts of Dr. John-

son, who was fully conscious of his own superior powers, afterwards praised Principal Robertson for his caution in this respect. He said to me, "Robertson, Sir, was in the right. Robertson is a man of eminence, and the head of a college at Edinburgh. He had a character to maintain, and did well not to risk its being lessened."

Saturday, Oct. 30.—We set out towards Ayrshire. I sent Joseph on to Loudoun, with a message, that if the earl was at home, Dr. Johnson and I would have the honour to dine with him. Joseph met us on the road, and reported that the earl "*jumped for joy*," and said, "I shall be very happy to see them." We were received with a most pleasing courtesy by his lordship, and by the countess his mother¹, who, in her ninety-fifth year, had all her faculties quite unimpaired. This was a very cheering sight to Dr. Johnson, who had an extraordinary desire for long life. Her ladyship was sensible and well-informed, and had seen a great deal of the world. Her lord had held several high offices, and she was sister to the great Earl of Stair.

I cannot here refrain from paying a just tribute to the character of John, Earl of Loudoun², who did more service to the county of Ayr in general, as well as to individuals in it, than any man we have ever had. It is painful to think that he met with much ingratitude from persons both in high and low rank: but such was his temper, such his knowledge of "base mankind,"³ that, as if he had expected no other return, his mind was never soured, and he retained his good humour and benevolence to the last. The tenderness of his heart was proved in 1745-6, when he had an important command in the Highlands, and behaved with a generous humanity to the unfortunate. I cannot figure a more honest politician; for though his interest in our county was great and generally successful, he not only did not deceive by fallacious promises, but was anxious that people should not deceive themselves by too sanguine expectations. His kind and dutiful attention to his mother was unremitted. At his house was true hospitality; a plain but a plentiful table; and every guest being left at perfect freedom, felt himself quite easy and happy. While I live, I shall honour the memory of this amiable man.

At night, we advanced a few miles farther, to the house of Mr. Campbell of Treesbank,

who was married to one of my wife's sisters, and were entertained very agreeably by a worthy couple.

Sunday, Oct. 31.—We reposed here in tranquillity. Dr. Johnson was pleased to find a numerous and excellent collection of books, which had mostly belonged to the Rev. Mr. John Campbell, brother of our host. I was desirous to have procured for my fellow-traveller, to-day, the company of Sir John Cuninghame, of Caprington, whose castle was but two miles from us. He was a very distinguished scholar, was long abroad, and during part of the time lived much with the learned Cuninghame, the opponent of Bentley as a critic upon Horace. He wrote Latin with great elegance, and what is very remarkable, read Homer and Ariosto through every year.

I wrote to him to request he would come to us; but unfortunately he was prevented by indisposition.

Monday, Nov. 1.—Though Dr. Johnson was lazy and averse to move, I insisted that he should go with me, and pay a visit to the Countess of Eglintoune, mother of the late and present earl. I assured him he would find himself amply recompensed for the trouble; and he yielded to my solicitations, though with some unwillingness. We were well mounted, and had not many miles to ride. He talked of the attention that is necessary in order to distribute our charity judiciously. "If thoughtlessly done, we may neglect the most deserving objects; and, as every man has but a certain portion to give, if it is lavished upon those who first present themselves, there may be nothing left for such as have a better claim. A man should first relieve those who are nearly connected with him, by whatever tie; and then, if he has any thing to spare, may extend his bounty to a wider circle."

As we passed very near the castle of Dundonald, which was one of the many residences of the kings of Scotland, and in which Robert the Second lived and died, Dr. Johnson wished to survey it particularly. It stands on a beautiful rising ground, which is seen at a great distance on several quarters, and from whence there is an extensive prospect of the rich district of Cuninghame, the western sea, the isle of Arran, and a part of the northern coast of Ireland. It has long been unroofed; and, though of considerable size, we could not,

son; and when telling them, always reminds one of a jockey receiving a kick from the horse which he is showing off to a customer, and is grinning with pain while he is trying to cry out, "pretty rogue—no vice—all fun." To him Johnson's rudeness was only "*pretty Fanny's way*." Dr. Robertson had a sense of good breeding which inclined him rather to forego the benefit of Johnson's conversation than awaken his rudeness. — WALTER SCOTT.

¹ Lady Margaret Dalrymple, only daughter of John Earl of Stair, married, in 1700, to Hugh, third Earl of Loudoun. She died in 1777, aged *one hundred*. Of this venerable lady, and of the Countess of Eglintoune, whom Johnson visited next day, he thus speaks in his *Journey*:—"Length of life is distributed impartially to very different modes of life in

very different climates; and the mountains have no greater examples of age and health than the Lowlands, where I was introduced to two ladies of high quality, one of whom (Lady Loudoun), in her ninety-fourth year, presided at her table with the full exercise of all her powers; and the other (Lady Eglintoune) had attained her eighty-fourth year, without any diminution of her vivacity, and little reason to accuse time of depredations on her beauty." — CROKER.

² Fourth Earl, born in 1705, died in 1782. He had had considerable military commands, and was the person who brought Johnson's friend, Lord Charles Hay, to a court martial, as we shall see hereafter. — CROKER.

³ "The unwilling gratitude of base mankind." — Pope. — BOSWELL.

by any power of imagination, figure it as having been a suitable habitation for majesty. Dr. Johnson, to irritate my old Scottish enthusiasm, was very jocular on the homely accommodation of "King Bob," and roared and laughed till the ruins echoed.

Lady Eglintoune¹, though she was now in her eighty-fifth year, and had lived in the retirement of the country for almost half a century, was still a very agreeable woman. She was of the noble house of Kennedy, and had all the elevation which the consciousness of such birth inspires. Her figure was majestic, her manners high bred, her reading extensive, and her conversation elegant. She had been the admiration of the gay circles of life, and the patroness of poets. Dr. Johnson was delighted with his reception here. Her principles in church and state were congenial with his. She knew all his merit, and had heard much of him from her son, Earl Alexander², who loved to cultivate the acquaintance of men of talents in every department.

All who knew his lordship will allow that his understanding and accomplishments were of no ordinary rate. From the gay habits which he had early acquired, he spent too much of his time with men, and in pursuits, far beneath such a mind as his. He afterwards became sensible of it, and turned his thoughts to objects of importance; but was cut off in the prime of his life. I cannot speak but with emotions of the most affectionate regret of one, in whose company many of my early days were passed, and to whose kindness I was much indebted.

Often must I have occasion to upbraid myself that soon after our return to the main land, I allowed indolence to prevail over me so much as to shrink from the labour of continuing my journal with the same minuteness as before; sheltering myself in the thought that we had done with the Hebrides; and not considering that Dr. Johnson's *memorabilia* were likely to be more valuable when we were restored to a more polished society. Much has thus been irrecoverably lost.

In the course of her conversation this day it came out that Lady Eglintoune was married the year before Dr. Johnson was born; upon which she graciously said to him that she might have been his mother, and that she now adopted him; and when we were going away, she embraced him, saying, "My dear son, farewell!" My friend was much pleased with this day's entertainment, and owned that I had done well to force him out.

Tuesday, Nov. 2. — We were now in a country not only of "*saddles and bridles*," but

of post-chaises; and having ordered one from Kilmarnock, we got to Auchinleck before dinner.

My father was not quite a year and a half older than Dr. Johnson; but his conscientious discharge of his laborious duty as a judge in Scotland, where the law proceedings are almost all in writing, — a severe complaint which ended in his death, — and the loss of my mother³, a woman of almost unexampled piety and goodness, — had before this time in some degree affected his spirits, and rendered him less disposed to exert his faculties: for he had originally a very strong mind, and cheerful temper. He assured me he never had felt one moment of what is called low spirits, or uneasiness, without a real cause. He had a great many good stories, which he told uncommonly well, and he was remarkable for "humour, *incolumi gravitate*," as Lord Monboddo used to characterise it. His age, his office, and his character had long given him an acknowledged claim to great attention, in whatever company he was; and he could ill brook any diminution of it. He was as sanguine a Whig and presbyterian as Dr. Johnson was a Tory and Church-of-England man: and as he had not much leisure to be informed of Dr. Johnson's great merits by reading his works, he had a partial and unfavourable notion of him, founded on his supposed political tenets; which were so discordant to his own, that instead of speaking of him with that respect to which he was entitled, he used to call him "*a Jacobite fellow*." Knowing all this, I should not have ventured to bring them together, had not my father, out of kindness to me, desired me to invite Dr. Johnson to his house.

I was very anxious that all should be well; and begged of my friend to avoid three topics, as to which they differed very widely; whiggism, presbyterianism, and — Sir John Pringle. He said courteously, "I shall certainly not talk on subjects which I am told are disagreeable to a gentleman under whose roof I am; especially, I shall not do so to *your father*."

Our first day went off very smoothly. It rained, and we could not get out; but my father showed Dr. Johnson his library, which, in curious editions of the Greek and Roman classics, is, I suppose not excelled by any private collection in Great Britain. My father had studied at Leyden, and been very intimate with the Gronovii, and other learned men there. He was a sound scholar, and, in particular, had collated manuscripts and different editions of Anacreon, and others of the Greek lyric poets, with great care; so that my friend and

¹ Susanna, daughter of Sir Alex. Kennedy, of Culzean, third wife of the ninth Earl of Eglintoune. She was a patroness of the *Belle Lettres*. Allan Ramsay's *Gentle Shepherd* was dedicated to her in a very fulsome style of panegyric. She died in Ayrshire in 1780, aged ninety-one. The eighth Earl of Eglintoune, the father of her Lord, had married, as his second wife, Catherine St. Quintin, the widow of three husbands, and aged above ninety at the date of her last mar-

riage, being, it is presumed, the oldest bride on record. So that the lives of the mother and daughter-in-law extended over 172 years, from 1608 to 1780; a circumstance unparalleled, I suppose, since the Deluge. — CROKER.

² See *antiq.* p. 195. — C.

³ Euphemia Erskine, of the family of the Earl of Buchan. — CROKER.

he had much matter for conversation, without touching on the fatal topics of difference.

Dr. Johnson found here Baxter's "Anacreon," which he told me he had long inquired for in vain, and began to suspect there was no such book. Baxter was the keen antagonist of Barnes. His life is in the "Biographia Britannica." My father has written many notes on this book, and Dr. Johnson and I talked of having it reprinted.

Wednesday, Nov. 3. — It rained all day, and gave Dr. Johnson an impression of that incommensurateness of climate in the west, of which he has taken notice in his "Journey;" but, being well accommodated, and furnished with a variety of books, he was not dissatisfied.

Some gentlemen of the neighbourhood came to visit my father; but there was little conversation. One of them asked Dr. Johnson how he liked the Highlands. The question seemed to irritate him, for he answered, "How, Sir, can you ask me what obliges me to speak unfavourably of a country where I have been hospitably entertained? Who *can* like the Highlands? I like the inhabitants very well." The gentleman asked no more questions.

Let me now make up for the present neglect, by again gleaning from the past. At Lord Monboddo's, after the conversation upon the decrease of learning in England, his lordship mentioned "Hermes," by Mr. Harris of Salisbury, as the work of a living author, for whom he had a great respect. Dr. Johnson said nothing at the time; but when we were in our post-chaise, told me, he thought Harris "a coxcomb." This he said of him, not as a man, but as an author; and I give his opinions of men and books, faithfully, whether they agree with my own or not. I do admit, that there always appeared to me something of affectation in Mr. Harris's manner of writing; something of a habit of clothing plain thoughts in analytic and categorical formality. But all his writings are imbued with learning; and all breathe that philanthropy and amiable disposition, which distinguished him as a man.¹

At another time, during our Tour, he drew the character of a rapacious Highland chief² with the strength of Theophrastus or la Bruyère; concluding with these words: "Sir, he has no more the soul of a chief, than an attorney who has twenty houses in a street, and considers how much he can make by them."

He this day, when we were by ourselves, ob-

served, how common it was for people to talk from books; to retail the sentiments of others, and not their own; in short, to converse without any originality of thinking. He was pleased to say, "You and I do not talk from books."

Thursday, Nov. 4. — I was glad to have at length a very fine day, on which I could show Dr. Johnson the place of my family, which he has honoured with so much attention in his "Journey." He is, however, mistaken in thinking that the Celtic name, Auchinleck, has no relation to the natural appearance of it. I believe every Celtic name of a place will be found very descriptive. Auchinleck does not signify a *stony field*, as he has said, but a *field of flag-stones*; and this place has a number of rocks, which abound in strata of that kind. The "sullen dignity of the old castle," as he has forcibly expressed it³, delighted him exceedingly. On one side of the rock on which its ruins stand, runs the river Lugar, which is here of considerable breadth, and is bordered by other high rocks, shaded with wood. On the other side runs a brook, skirted in the same manner, but on a smaller scale. I cannot figure a more romantic scene.

I felt myself elated here, and expatiated to my illustrious Mentor on the antiquity and honourable alliances of my family, and on the merits of its founder, Thomas Boswell, who was highly favoured by his sovereign, James IV. of Scotland, and fell with him at the battle of Flodden-field; and in the glow of what, I am sensible, will, in a commercial age, be considered as genealogical enthusiasm, did not omit to mention what I was sure my friend would not think lightly of, my relation to the royal personage, whose liberality, on his accession to the throne, had given him comfort and independence. I have, in a former page, acknowledged my pride of ancient blood, in which I was encouraged by Dr. Johnson: my readers, therefore, will not be surprised at my having indulged it on this occasion.

Not far from the old castle is a spot of consecrated earth, on which may be traced the foundations of an ancient chapel, dedicated to St. Vincent, and where in old times "was the place of graves" for the family. It grieves me to think that the remains of sanctity here, which were considerable, were dragged away, and employed in building a part of the house of Auchinleck, of the middle age; which was the family residence, till my father erected that

¹ This gentleman, though devoted to the study of grammar and dialectics, was not so absorbed in it as to be without a sense of pleasantry, or to be offended at his favourite topics being treated lightly. I one day met him in the street, as I was hastening to the House of Lords, and told him, I was sorry I could not stop, being rather too late to attend an appeal of the Duke of Hamilton against Douglas. "I thought," said he, "their contest had been over long ago." I answered, "The contest concerning Douglas's filiation was over long ago; but the contest now is, who shall have the estate."

Then assuming the air of "an ancient sage philosopher," I proceeded thus: "Were I to predicate concerning him, I should say, the contest formerly was, What is he?"

The contest now is, What has he?" "Right," replied Mr. Harris, smiling, "you have done with *quality*, and have got into *quantity*." — BOSWELL. See *anté*, p. 254. — C.

² No doubt Sir Alexander Macdonald. — CROKER.

³ "I was less delighted with the elegance of the modern mansion than with the sullen dignity of the old castle: I clambered with Mr. Boswell among the ruins, which afforded striking images of ancient life. Here, in the ages of tumult and rapine, the laird was surprised and killed by the neighbouring chief, who, perhaps, might have extinguished the family, had he not, in a few days, been seized and hanged, together with his sons, by Douglas, who came with his forces to the relief of Auchinleck." — *Johnson's Journey*. — CROKER.

"elegant modern mansion," of which Dr. Johnson speaks so handsomely. Perhaps this chapel may one day be restored.

Dr. Johnson was pleased when I showed him some venerable old trees, under the shade of which my ancestors had walked. He exhorted me to plant assiduously, as my father had done to a great extent.

As I wandered with my reverend friend in the groves of Auchinleck, I told him, that, if I survived him, it was my intention to erect a monument to him here, among scenes which, in my mind, were all classical; for, in my youth, I had appropriated to them many of the descriptions of the Roman poets. He could not bear to have death presented to him in any shape; for his constitutional melancholy made the king of terrors more frightful. He turned off the subject, saying, "Sir, I hope to see your grandchildren."

This forenoon he observed some cattle without horns, of which he has taken notice in his "*Journey*," and seems undecided whether they be of a particular race. His doubts appear to have had no foundation; for my respectable neighbour, Mr. Fairlie, who, with all his attention to agriculture, finds time both for the classics and his friends, assures me they are a distinct species, and that, when any of their calves have horns, a mixture of breed can be traced. In confirmation of his opinion, he pointed out to me the following passage in Tacitus, "*Ne armentis quidem suis honor, aut gloria frontis*" (De Mor. Germ. § 5.), which he wondered had escaped Dr. Johnson.

On the front of the house of Auchinleck is this inscription:—

— "Quod petis, hic est :
Est Ulubris; animus si te non deficit æquus."¹

It is characteristic of the founder; but the *animus æquus* is, alas! not inheritable, nor the subject of devise. He always talked to me as if it were in a man's own power to attain it; but Dr. Johnson told me that he owned to him, when they were alone, his persuasion that it was in a great measure constitutional, or the effect of causes which do not depend on our-

selves, and that Horace boasts too much, when he says, *æquum mi animum ipse parabo*.

Friday, Nov. 5.—The Rev. Mr. Dun, our parish minister, who had dined with us yesterday, with some other company, insisted that Dr. Johnson and I should dine with him to-day. This gave me an opportunity to show my friend the road to the church, made by my father at a great expense, for above three miles, on his own estate, through a range of well-enclosed farms, with a row of trees on each side of it. He called it the *via sacra*, and was very fond of it. Dr. Johnson, though he held notions far distant from those of the presbyterian clergy, yet could associate on good terms with them. He, indeed, occasionally attacked them. One of them discovered a narrowness of information concerning the dignitaries of the church of England, among whom may be found men of the greatest learning, virtue, and piety, and of a truly apostolic character. He talked before Dr. Johnson of fat bishops and drowsy deans; and, in short, seemed to believe the illiberal and profane scoffings of professed satirists, or vulgar railers. Dr. Johnson was so highly offended, that he said to him, "Sir, you know no more of our church than a Hottentot." I was sorry that he brought this upon himself.

Saturday, Nov. 6.—I cannot be certain whether it was on this day, or a former, that Dr. Johnson and my father came in collision. If I recollect right, the contest began while my father was showing him his collection of medals; and Oliver Cromwell's coin unfortunately introduced Charles the First and Toryism. They became exceedingly warm and violent, and I was very much distressed by being present at such an altercation between two men, both of whom I revered; yet I durst not interfere. It would certainly be very unbecoming in me to exhibit my honoured father and my respected friend, as intellectual gladiators, for the entertainment of the public; and, therefore, I suppress what would, I dare say, make an interesting scene in this dramatic sketch, this account of the transit of Johnson over the Caledonian hemisphere.²

¹ The peace you seek is here — where is it not? —
If your own mind be equal to its lot?

Hor. I Epist. 11. 30. — C.

² Old Lord Auchinleck was an able lawyer, a good scholar, after the manner of Scotland, and highly valued his own advantages as a man of good estate and ancient family; and, moreover, he was a strict presbyterian and Whig of the old Scottish cast. This did not prevent his being a terribly proud aristocrat; and great was the contempt he entertained and expressed for his son James, for the nature of his friendships and the character of the personages of whom he was *engoué* one after another. "There's nae hope for Jamie, mon," he said to a friend. "Jamie is gaen clean gyte. — What do you think, mon? He's done wi' Paoli — he's off wi' the land-louping scoundrel of a Corsican; and whose tail do you think he has pinned himself to now, mon?" Here the old judge summoned up a sneer of most sovereign contempt. "A dominie, mon — an auld dominie; he kept a schùle, and caud it an academy." Probably if this had been reported to Johnson, he would have felt it more galling; for he never much liked to think of that period of his life; it would have aggravated his dislike of Lord Auchinleck's

Whiggery and presbyterianism. These the old lord carried to such an unusual height, that once, when a countryman came in to state some justice business, and being required to make his oath, declined to do so before his lordship, because he was not a *covenanted* magistrate. — "Is that a' your objection, mon?" said the judge; "come your ways in here, and we'll baith of us tak the solemn league and covenant together." The oath was accordingly agreed and sworn to by both, and I dare say it was the last time it ever received such homage. It may be surmised how far Lord Auchinleck, such as he is here described, was likely to suit a high Tory and episcopalian like Johnson. As they approached Auchinleck, Boswell conjured Johnson by all the ties of regard, and in requital of the services he had rendered him upon his tour, that he would spare two subjects in tenderness to his father's prejudices; the first related to Sir John Pringle, president of the Royal Society, about whom there was then some dispute current: the second concerned the general question of Whig and Tory. Sir John Pringle, as Boswell says, escaped, but the controversy between Tory and Covenanter raged with great fury, and ended in Johnson's pressing upon the old judge the question, what good Cromwell, of whom he had said something derogatory, had ever done to

Yet I think I may, without impropriety, mention one circumstance, as an instance of my father's address. Dr. Johnson challenged him, as he did us all at Talisker, to point out any theological works of merit written by presbyterian ministers in Scotland. My father, whose studies did not lie much in that way, owned to me afterwards, that he was somewhat at a loss how to answer, but that luckily he recollected having read in catalogues the title of Durham on the Galatians; upon which he boldly said, "Pray, Sir, have you read Mr. Durham's excellent commentary on the Galatians?" "No, Sir," said Dr. Johnson. By this lucky thought my father kept him at bay, and for some time enjoyed his triumph¹; but his antagonist soon made a retort, which I forbear to mention.

In the course of their altercation, Whiggism and presbyterianism, Toryism and episcopacy, were terribly buffeted. My worthy hereditary friend, Sir John Pringle, never having been mentioned, happily escaped without a bruise.

My father's opinion of Dr. Johnson may be conjectured from the name he afterwards gave him, which was *URSA MAJOR*. But it is not true, as has been reported, that it was in consequence of my saying that he was *constellation*² of genius and literature. It was a sly abrupt expression to one of his brethren on the bench of the court of session, in which Dr. Johnson was then standing; but it was not said in his hearing.

Sunday, Nov. 7.—My father and I went to public worship in our parish church, in which I regretted that Dr. Johnson would not join us; for, though we have there no form of prayer, nor magnificent solemnity, yet, as God is worshipped in spirit and in truth, and the same doctrines preached as in the church of England, my friend would certainly have shown more liberality, had he attended. I doubt not, however, but he employed his time in private to very good purpose. His uniform and fervent piety was manifested on many occasions during our tour, which I have not mentioned. His reason for not joining in presbyterian worship has been recorded in a former page.³

Monday, Nov. 8.—Notwithstanding the altercation that had passed, my father, who had the dignified courtesy of an old baron, was very civil to Dr. Johnson, and politely attended him to the post-chaise which was to convey us to Edinburgh.

Thus they parted. They are now in another, and a higher state of existence⁴: and as they

were both worthy christian men, I trust they have met in happiness. But I must observe, in justice to my friend's political principles, and my own, that they have met in a place where there is no room for *Whiggism*.

We came at night to a good inn at Hamilton. I recollect no more.

Tuesday, Nov. 9.—I wished to have shown Dr. Johnson the Duke of Hamilton's house, commonly called the *palace* of Hamilton, which is close by the town. It is an object which, having been pointed out to me as a splendid edifice, from my earliest years, in travelling between Auchinleck and Edinburgh, has still great grandeur in my imagination. My friend consented to stop, and view the outside of it, but could not be persuaded to go into it.

We arrived this night at Edinburgh, after an absence of eighty-three days. For five weeks together, of the tempestuous season, there had been no account received of us. I cannot express how happy I was on finding myself again at home.

CHAPTER XLIV.

1773.

Edinburgh.—Lord Elibank.—*Edinburgh Castle.*—*Fingal.*—*Credulity.*—*Second Sight.*—*Garrick and Foote as Companions.*—*Moravian Missions and Methodism.*—*History.*—*Robertson.*—*Rebellion.*—*Lord Mansfield.*—*Richardson.*—*Private Life of a Judge.*—*Blair.*—*Boswell's Invitations.*—*Officers of the Army.*—*Academy for Deaf and Dumb.*—*Scotch Highlander and English Sailor.*—*Roslin and Hawthornden.*—*Cranston.*—*Sir John Dalrymple.*—*Johnson's Departure for London.*—*Letters from Lord Hailes and Mr. Dempster.*—*Correspondence with Rasay.*—*Conclusion of the Tour to the Hebrides.*

Wednesday, Nov. 10.—OLD Mr. Drummond, the bookseller, came to breakfast. Dr. Johnson and he had not met for ten years. There was respect on his side, and kindness on Dr. Johnson's. Soon afterwards Lord Elibank came in, and was much pleased at seeing Dr. Johnson in Scotland. His lordship said, "hardly any thing seemed to him more improbable." Dr. Johnson had a very high opinion of him. Speaking of him to me, he characterised him thus: "Lord Elibank has read a great deal. It is true, I can find in books all that he has read; but he has a great deal of

his country; when, after being much tortured, Lord Auchinleck at last spoke out, "God, doctor! he gart kings ken that they had a *tit* in their neck" — he taught kings they had a *joint* in their necks. Jamie then set to mediating between his father and the philosopher, and availing himself of the judge's sense of hospitality, which was punctilious, reduced the debate to more order. — WALTER SCOTT.

¹ All parties seem to have been in a happy state of ignorance; for it turns out that there is no such book as Durham "on the *Galatians*," though there is "on the

Revelations," a work, however, of which Johnson perhaps never had heard, for it was first printed in Amsterdam, and afterwards in Edinburgh, 1680, and never, as it seems, reprinted. — CROKER.

² It is remarkable that Johnson, in his *Life of Blackmore*, calls the imaginary Mr. Johnson of the Lay Monastery "a constellation of excellence." — CROKER, 1846.

³ *Ante*, p. 302. — BOSWELL.

⁴ Lord Auchinleck remarried in 1776, and died 30th Aug. 1782. — CROKER.

what is in books, proved by the test of real life." Indeed, there have been few men whose conversation discovered more knowledge enlivened by fancy.¹ He published several small pieces of distinguished merit; and has left some in manuscript, in particular an account of the expedition against Carthage, in which he served as an officer in the army. His writings deserve to be collected. He was the early patron of Dr. Robertson, the historian, and Mr. Home, the tragic poet; who, when they were ministers of country parishes, lived near his seat. He told me, "I saw these lads had talents, and they were much with me." I hope they will pay a grateful tribute to his memory.

The morning was chiefly taken up by Dr. Johnson's giving him an account of our Tour. The subject of difference in political principles was introduced. JOHNSON. "It is much increased by opposition. There was a violent Whig, with whom I used to contend with great eagerness. After his death I felt my Toryism much abated." I suppose he meant Mr. Walmsley of Lichfield², whose character he has drawn so well in his *Life of Edmund Smith*.

Mr. Nairne came in, and he and I accompanied Dr. Johnson to Edinburgh castle, which he owned was "a great place." But I must mention, as a striking instance of that spirit of contradiction to which he had a strong propensity, when Lord Elibank was some days after talking of it with the natural elation of a Scotchman, or of any man who is proud of a stately fortress in his own country, Dr. Johnson affected to despise it, observing, that "it would make a good prison in England."

Lest it should be supposed that I have suppressed one of his sallies against my country, it may not be improper here to correct a mistaken account that has been circulated, as to his conversation this day. It has been said, that being desired to attend to the noble prospect from the Castle-hill, he replied, "Sir, the noblest prospect that a Scotchman ever sees is the high road that leads him to London." This lively sarcasm was thrown out at a tavern in London, in my presence, many years before.³

We had with us to-day at dinner, at my

house, the Lady Dowager Colvill⁴, and Lady Anne Erskine⁵, sisters of the Earl of Kelly; the Hon. Archibald Erskine, who has now succeeded to that title⁶; Lord Elibank, the Rev. Dr. Blair, Mr. Tytler, the acute vindicator of Mary, Queen of Scots, and [his son, the advocate].⁷

Fingal being talked of, Dr. Johnson, who used to boast that he had, from the first, resisted both Ossian and the giants of Patagonia⁸, averred his positive disbelief of its authenticity. Lord Elibank said, "I am sure it is not M'Pherson's. Mr. Johnson, I keep company a great deal with you; it is known I do. I may borrow from you better things than I can say myself, and give them as my own; but if I should, every body will know whose they are." The doctor was not softened by this compliment. He denied merit to Fingal, supposing it to be the production of a man who has had the advantages that the present age affords; and said, "nothing is more easy than to write enough in that style if once you begin."⁹

[Young Mr. Tytler briskly stepped forward, and said, "Fingal is certainly genuine, for I have heard a great part of it repeated in the original." Dr. Johnson indignantly asked him, "Sir, do you understand the original?" TYTLER. "No, sir." JOHNSON. "Why, then, we see to what *this* testimony comes: thus it is." He afterwards said to me, "Did you observe the wonderful confidence with which young Tytler advanced with his front ready *brazed*?"¹⁰

I mentioned this as a remarkable proof how liable the mind of man is to credulity, when not guarded by such strict examination as that which Dr. Johnson habitually practised. The talents and integrity of the gentleman who made the remark are unquestionable; yet, had not Dr. Johnson made him advert to the consideration, that he who does not understand a language cannot know that something which is recited to him is in that language, he might have believed, and reported to this hour, that he had "heard a great part of Fingal repeated in the original."

For the satisfaction of those on the north of the Tweed, who may think Dr. Johnson's account of Caledonian credulity and inaccuracy

¹ Lord Elibank made a happy retort on Dr. Johnson's definition of oats, as the food of horses in England and of men in Scotland: "Yes," said he; "and where else will you see such horses and such men?" — WALTER SCOTT.

² See *anté*, p. 19. It seems unlikely that he and Mr. Walmsley could have had much intercourse since Johnson removed to London, in 1737. It was therefore more probably some member of the Ivy-lane Club, Dyer, M'Ghie, or Barker, whose political and religious tenets were what Johnson would have called Whiggish. — CROKER.

³ See *anté*, p. 145. — C.

⁴ Lady Elizabeth Erskine, daughter of the fifth Earl of Kellie, widow of Mr. Walter Macfarlane, and wife, by a second marriage, of the fourth Lord Colville: she died in 1794. — CROKER.

⁵ Lady Anne, born in 1735; died in 1802, unmarried. — CROKER.

⁶ As *seventh* earl: born in 1736: he died in 1797, unmarried. — CROKER.

⁷ These are the words of the first edition, in lieu of which,

for a reason that will appear presently, Mr. Boswell afterwards substituted the words "some other friends." Young Mr. Tytler, the advocate, became afterwards a lord of session, under the title of Lord Woodhouselee. — CROKER.

⁸ The story told in Commodore Byron's Voyage of his having fallen in with a gigantic tribe of natives, on the coast of Patagonia. — CROKER.

⁹ I desire not to be understood as agreeing *entirely* with the opinions of Dr. Johnson, which I relate without any remark. The many imitations, however, of Fingal, that have been published, confirm this observation in a considerable degree. — BOSWELL.

¹⁰ In place of this passage of the first edition, Mr. Boswell afterwards substituted the following: "One gentleman in company expressing his opinion 'that Fingal was certainly genuine, for that he had heard a great part of it repeated in the original,' — Dr. Johnson indignantly asked him, whether he understood the original: to which an answer being given in the negative, 'Why, then,' said Dr. Johnson, 'we see to what *this* testimony comes: thus it is.'" — CROKER.

too strong, it is but fair to add, that he admitted the same kind of ready belief might be found in his own country. "He would undertake," he said, "to write an epic poem on the story of Robin Hood; and half England, to whom the names and places he should mention in it are familiar, would believe and declare they had heard it from their earliest years."

One of his objections to the authenticity of Fingal, during the conversation at Ulinish, is omitted in my Journal, but I perfectly recollect it. "Why is not the original deposited in some public library, instead of exhibiting attestations of its existence? Suppose there was a question in a court of justice, whether a man be dead or alive. You aver he is alive, and you bring fifty witnesses to swear it. I answer, 'Why do you not produce the man?'" This is an argument founded on one of the first principles of the law of evidence, which Gilbert¹ would have held to be irrefragable.

I do not think it incumbent on me to give any precise decided opinion upon this question, as to which I believed more than some, and less than others. The subject appears to have now become very uninteresting to the public. That Fingal is not from beginning to end a translation from the Gaelic, but that *some* passages have been supplied by the editor to connect the whole, I have heard admitted by very warm advocates for its authenticity. If this be the case, why are not these distinctly ascertained? Antiquaries and admirers of the work may complain, that they are in a situation similar to that of the unhappy gentleman whose wife informed him, on her death-bed, that one of their reputed children was not his; and, when he eagerly begged her to declare which of them it was, she answered, "*That you shall never know;*" and expired, leaving him in irremediable doubt as to them all.

I beg leave now to say something upon second-sight, of which I have related two instances, as they impressed my mind at the time. I own, I returned from the Hebrides with a considerable degree of faith in the many stories of that kind which I heard with a too easy acquiescence, without any close examination of the evidence: but, since that time, my belief in those stories has been much weakened, by reflecting on the careless inaccuracy of narrative in common matters, from which we may certainly conclude that there may be the same in what is more extraordinary. It is but just, however, to add, that the belief in second-sight is not peculiar to the Highlands and Isles.

Some years after our Tour, a cause was tried in the court of session, where the principal fact to be ascertained was, whether a ship-master, who used to frequent the Western Highlands and Isles, was drowned in one particular year,

or in the year after. A great number of witnesses from those parts were examined on each side, and swore directly contrary to each other upon this simple question. One of them, a very respectable chieftain, who told me a story of second-sight, which I have not mentioned, but which I too implicitly believed, had in this case, previous to this public examination, not only said, but attested under his hand, that he had seen the ship-master in the year subsequent to that in which the court was finally satisfied he was drowned. When interrogated with the strictness of judicial inquiry, and under the awe of an oath, he recollected himself better, and retracted what he had formerly asserted, apologising for his inaccuracy, by telling the judges, "A man will *say* what he will not *swear*." By many he was much censured, and it was maintained, that every gentleman would be as attentive to truth without the sanction of an oath as with it. Dr. Johnson, though he himself was distinguished at all times by a scrupulous adherence to truth, controverted this proposition; and, as a proof that this was not, though it ought to be, the case, urged the very different decisions of elections under Mr. Grenville's Act, from those formerly made. "Gentlemen will not pronounce upon oath, what they would have said, and voted in the house, without that sanction."

However difficult it may be for men who believe in preternatural communications, in modern times, to satisfy those who are of a different opinion, they may easily refute the doctrine of their opponents, who impute a belief in second-sight to superstition. To entertain a visionary notion that one sees a distant or future event may be called superstition; but the correspondence of the fact or event with such an impression on the fancy, though certainly very wonderful, if proved, has no more connection with superstition than magnetism or electricity.

After dinner various topics were discussed; but I recollect only one particular. Dr. Johnson compared the different talents of Garrick and Foote, as companions, and gave Garrick greatly the preference for elegance, though he allowed Foote extraordinary powers of entertainment. He said, "Garrick is restrained by some principle; but Foote has the advantage of an unlimited range. Garrick has some delicacy of feeling: it is possible to put him out; you may get the better of him; but Foote is the most incompressible fellow that I ever knew: when you have driven him into a corner, and think you are sure of him, he runs through between your legs, or jumps over your head, and makes his escape."

Dr. Erskine and Mr. Robert Walker, two very respectable ministers of Edinburgh²,

¹ Chief Baron Gilbert wrote a treatise on *Evidence*. — CROKER.

² Dr. Erskine and Mr. Walker are the two clergymen

described in *Guy Mannering*. As to Dr. Webster, see *antè*, p. 279. n. 3. — LOCKHART.

supped with us, as did the Rev. Dr. Webster. The conversation turned on the Moravian missions, and on the methodists. Dr. Johnson observed in general, that missionaries were too sanguine in their accounts of their success among savages, and that much of what they tell is not to be believed. He owned that the methodists had done good; had spread religious impressions among the vulgar part of mankind; but, he said, they had great bitterness against other Christians, and that he never could get a methodist to explain in what he excelled others; that it always ended in the indispensable necessity of hearing one of their preachers.

Thursday, Nov. 11. — Principal Robertson came to us as we sat at breakfast; he advanced to Dr. Johnson, repeating a line of Virgil, which I forget. I suppose, either

"Post varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum,"¹
or

"— multum ille et terris jactatus, et alto."²

Every body had accosted us with some studied compliment on our return. Dr. Johnson said, "I am really ashamed of the congratulations which we receive. We are addressed as if we had made a voyage to Nova Zembla, and suffered five persecutions in Japan." And he afterwards remarked, that "to see a man come up with a formal air, and a Latin line, when we had no fatigue and no danger, was provoking." I told him, he was not sensible of the danger, having lain under cover in the boat during the storm: he was like the chicken, that hides its head under its wing, and then thinks itself safe.

Lord Elibank came to us, as did Sir William Forbes. The rash attempt in 1745 being mentioned, I observed, that it would make a fine piece of history.³ Dr. Johnson said it would. Lord Elibank doubted whether any man of this age could give it impartially. JOHNSON. "A man, by talking with those of different sides, who were actors in it, and putting down all that he hears, may in time collect the materials of a good narrative. You are to consider, all history was at first oral. I suppose Voltaire was fifty years⁴ in collecting his 'Louis XIV.' which he did in the way that

I am proposing." ROBERTSON. "He did so. He lived much with all the great people who were concerned in that reign, and heard them talk of every thing; and then either took Mr. Boswell's way of writing down what he heard, or, which is as good, preserved it in his memory; for he has a wonderful memory." With the leave, however, of this elegant historian, no man's memory can preserve facts or sayings with such fidelity as may be done by writing them down when they are recent. Dr. Robertson said, "It was now full time to make such a collection as Dr. Johnson suggested; for many of the people who were then in arms were dropping off; and both Whigs and Jacobites were now come to talk with moderation." Lord Elibank said to him, "Mr. Robertson, the first thing that gave me a high opinion of you was your saying in the Select Society⁵, while parties ran high, soon after the year 1745, that you did not think worse of a man's moral character for his having been in rebellion. This was venturing to utter a liberal sentiment, while both sides had a detestation of each other."

Dr. Johnson observed, that being in rebellion from a notion of another's right was not connected with depravity; and that we had this proof of it, that all mankind applauded the pardoning of rebels; which they would not do in the case of robbers and murderers. He said, with a smile, that "he wondered that the phrase of *unnatural* rebellion should be so much used, for that all rebellion was natural to man."

As I kept no Journal of any thing that passed after this morning, I shall, from memory, group together this and the other days, till that on which Dr. Johnson departed for London. They were in all nine days; on which he dined at Lady Colvill's, Lord Hailes's, Sir Adolphus Oughton's, Sir Alexander Dick's, Principal Robertson's, Mr. McLaurin's, and thrice at Lord Elibank's seat in the country, where we also passed two nights. He supped at the Hon. Alexander Gordon's, now one of our judges, by the title of Lord Rockville; at

¹ "Through various hazards and events we move."

Dryden. — BOSWELL.

² "Long labours both by sea and land he bore."

Dryden. — BOSWELL.

³ It were to be wished that the master hand of Sir Walter Scott, which has created a European interest in the details of the Scotch character and manners, should give us a history of the Young Pretender's proceedings. Mr. Boswell's notes, the work called "Ascanius," the journals in the Lockhart papers, and the periodical publications of the day, contain a great deal of the prince's personal history; and the archives of the public offices and the Stuart papers would probably be open to his inquiries. There is perhaps little new to tell, but it might be collected into one view, and the interest heightened by his admirable powers of narration. — CROKER, 1831. This was written in the hope of directing my illustrious friend's mind to a lighter, as I thought, and less exciting task than original invention; but, alas, the over-

worked intellect had already begun to fail, and I think I may say that the notes which his friendship had furnished to this work, were nearly the last efforts of his perfect mind. He died within little more than a year after their publication, on a calm and beautiful noon of the autumnal equinox, 21st Sept. 1832, "in presence of all his children." The last scene was one that he himself would have loved to anticipate! "It was," says Mr. Lockhart, "a beautiful day: so warm that every window was open: and so perfectly still, that the sound of all others most delicious to his ear, the gentle ripple of the Tweed over its pebbles, was distinctly audible as we knelt around the bed, and his eldest son kissed and closed his eyes." *Lockhart's Life*. — CROKER, 1846.

⁴ Hardly — he was only 57 when it was published. — CROKER.

⁵ A society for debate in Edinburgh, consisting of the most eminent men. — BOSWELL.

Mr. Nairne's, now also one of our judges, by the title of Lord Dunsinan; at Dr. Blair's and Mr. Tytler's; and at my house thrice, one evening with a numerous company, chiefly gentlemen of the law; another with Mr. Menzies of Culdahes, and Lord Monboddo, who disengaged himself on purpose to meet him; and the evening on which we returned from Lord Elibank's, he supped with my wife and me by ourselves.

He breakfasted at Dr. Webster's, at old Mr. Drummond's, and at Dr. Blacklock's; and spent one forenoon at my uncle Dr. Boswell's, who showed him his curious museum; and, as he was an elegant scholar, and a physician bred in the school of Boerhaave, Dr. Johnson was pleased with his company.

On the mornings when he breakfasted at my house, he had, from ten o'clock till one or two, a constant levee of various persons, of very different characters and descriptions. I could not attend him, being obliged to be in the court of session; but my wife was so good as to devote the greater part of the morning to the endless task of pouring out tea for my friend and his visitors.

Such was the disposition of his time at Edinburgh. He said one evening to me, in a fit of languor, "Sir, we have been harassed by invitations." I acquiesced. "Ay, Sir," he replied; "but how much worse would it have been if we had been neglected?"

From what has been recorded in this Journal, it may well be supposed that a variety of admirable conversation has been lost, by my neglect to preserve it. I shall endeavour to recollect some of it as well as I can.

At Lady Colvill's, to whom I am proud to introduce any stranger of eminence, that he may see what dignity and grace is to be found in Scotland, an officer observed that he had heard Lord Mansfield was not a great English lawyer. JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, supposing Lord Mansfield not to have the splendid talents which he possesses, he must be a great English lawyer, from having been so long at the bar, and having passed through so many of the great offices of the law. Sir, you may as well maintain that a carrier, who has driven a pack-horse between Edinburgh and Berwick for thirty years, does not know the road, as that Lord Mansfield does not know the law of England."

At Mr. Nairne's he drew the character of Richardson, the author of *Clarissa*, with a strong yet delicate pencil. I lament much that I have not preserved it: I only remember that he expressed a high opinion of his talents and

virtues; but observed, that "his perpetual study was to ward off petty inconveniences, and procure petty pleasures; that his love of continual superiority was such that he took care to be always surrounded by women, who listened to him implicitly, and did not venture to controvert his opinions¹; and that his desire of distinction was so great, that he used to give large vails to the Speaker Onslow's servants, that they might treat him with respect."

On the same evening, he would not allow that the private life of a judge, in England, was required to be so strictly decorous as I supposed. "Why, then, Sir," said I, "according to your account, an English judge may just live like a gentleman." JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir, — if he *can*."²

At Mr. Tytler's I happened to tell that one evening, a great many years ago, when Dr. Hugh Blair and I were sitting together in the pit of Drury-Lane playhouse, in a wild freak of youthful extravagance, I entertained the audience *prodigiously*, by imitating the lowing of a cow. A little while after I had told this story, I differed from Dr. Johnson, I suppose too confidently, upon some point, which I now forget. He did not spare me. "Nay, Sir," said he, "if you cannot talk better as a man, I'd have you bellow like a cow."³

At Dr. Webster's, he said, that he believed hardly any man died without affectation. This remark appears to me to be well founded, and will account for many of the celebrated death-bed sayings which are recorded.

On one of the evenings at my house, when he told that Lord Lovat boasted to an English nobleman that, though he had not his wealth, he had two thousand men whom he could at any time call into the field, the Hon. Alexander Gordon observed, that those two thousand men brought him to the block. "True, Sir," said Dr. Johnson: "but you may just as well argue concerning a man who has fallen over a precipice to which he has walked too near, — 'His two legs brought him to that:' is he not the better for having two legs?"

At Dr. Blair's I left him, in order to attend a consultation, during which he and his amiable host were by themselves. I returned to supper, at which were Principal Robertson, Mr. Nairne, and some other gentlemen. Dr. Robertson and Dr. Blair, I remember, talked well upon subordination and government; and, as my friend and I were walking home, he said to me, "Sir, these two doctors are good men, and wise men." I begged of Dr. Blair to recollect what he could of the long conversation that passed between Dr. Johnson and him alone, this

¹ See *anté*, p. 63. n. 2. — C.

² And yet see, *anté*, p. 290., his censure of Lord Monboddo for wearing a round hat in the country. — CROKER.

³ As I have been scrupulously exact in relating anecdotes concerning other persons, I shall not withhold any part of this story, however ludicrous. I was so successful in this boyish frolic, that the universal cry of the galleries was, "Encore the cow! Encore the cow!" In the pride of my

heart I attempted imitations of some other animals, but with very inferior effect. My reverend friend, anxious for my *fame*, with an air of the utmost gravity and earnestness, addressed me thus: "My dear Sir, I would *confine* myself to the cow!" — BOSWELL. Blair's advice was expressed more emphatically, and with a peculiar burr — "Stick to the cow, mon!" — WALTER SCOTT.

evening, and he obligingly wrote to me as follows:—

DR. BLAIR TO BOSWELL.

"March 3. 1785.

"DEAR SIR,—As so many years have intervened since I chanced to have that conversation with Dr. Johnson in my house to which you refer, I have forgotten most of what then passed; but remember that I was both instructed and entertained by it. Among other subjects, the discourse happening to turn on modern Latin poets, the doctor expressed a very favourable opinion of Buchanan, and instantly repeated, from beginning to end, an ode of his, entitled *Calendæ Maie* (the eleventh in his *Miscellaneorum Liber*) beginning with these words, '*Salvete sacris deliciis sacrae*,' with which I had formerly been unacquainted; but upon perusing it, the praise which he bestowed upon it, as one of the happiest of Buchanan's poetical compositions, appeared to me very just. He also repeated to me a Latin ode he had composed in one of the Western Islands, from which he had lately returned. We had much discourse concerning his excursion to those islands, with which he expressed himself as having been highly pleased; talked in a favourable manner of the hospitality of the inhabitants; and particularly spoke much of his happiness in having you for his companion; and said that the longer he knew you, he loved and esteemed you the more. This conversation passed in the interval between tea and supper, when we were by ourselves. You, and the rest of the company who were with us at supper, have often taken notice that he was uncommonly bland and gay that evening, and gave much pleasure to all who were present. This is all that I can recollect distinctly of that long conversation. Yours sincerely,

"HUGH BLAIR."

At Lord Hailes's we spent a most agreeable day; but again I must lament that I was so indolent as to let almost all that passed evaporate into oblivion. Dr. Johnson observed there, that "it is wonderful how ignorant many officers of the army are, considering how much leisure they have for study, and the acquisition of knowledge." I hope he was mistaken; for he maintained that many of them were ignorant of things belonging immediately to their own profession; for instance, many cannot tell how far a musket will carry a bullet; in proof of which, I suppose, he mentioned some particular person, for Lord Hailes, from whom I solicited what he could recollect of that day, writes to me as follows:—

"As to Dr. Johnson's observation about the ignorance of officers, in the length that a musket will carry, my brother, Colonel Dalrymple, was present, and he thought that the doctor was either

mistaken, by putting the question wrong, or that he had conversed on the subject with some person out of service. Was it upon that occasion that he expressed no curiosity to see the room at Dumfermline where Charles I. was born? 'I know that he was born' (said he); 'no matter where.' Did he envy us the birthplace of the king?"

Near the end of his "Journey," Dr. Johnson has given liberal praise to Mr. Braidwood's academy for the deaf and dumb. When he visited it, a circumstance occurred which was truly characteristic of our great lexicographer. "Pray," said he, "can they pronounce any long words?" Mr. Braidwood informed him they could. Upon which Dr. Johnson wrote one of his *sesquipedalia verba*, which was pronounced by the scholars, and he was satisfied. My readers may perhaps wish to know what the word was; but I cannot gratify their curiosity. Mr. Braidwood¹ told me it remained long in his school, but had been lost before I made my inquiry.²

Dr. Johnson one day visited the court of session. He thought the mode of pleading there too vehement, and too much addressed to the passions of the judges. "This," said he, "is not the Areopagus."

At old Mr. Drummond's, Sir John Dalrymple quaintly said, the two noblest animals in the world were a Scotch Highlander and an English sailor. "Why, Sir," said Dr. Johnson, "I shall say nothing as to the Scotch Highlander; but as to the English sailor, I cannot agree with you." Sir John said he was generous in giving away his money. JOHNSON. "Sir, he throws away his money, without thought and without merit. I do not call a tree generous, that sheds its fruit at every breeze." Sir John having affected to complain of the attacks made upon his "Memoirs," Dr. Johnson said, "Nay, Sir, do not complain. It is advantageous to an author, that his book should be attacked as well as praised. Fame is a shuttlecock. If it be struck only at one end of the room, it will soon fall to the ground. To keep it up, it must be struck at both ends." Often have I reflected on this since; and, instead of being angry at many of those who have written against me, have smiled to think that they were unintentionally subservient to my fame, by using a battledore to make me "*virum volitare per ora*."

At Sir Alexander Dick's, from that absence of mind to which every man is at times subject, I told, in a blundering manner, Lady Eglintoun's complimentary adoption of Dr. Johnson as her son; for I unfortunately stated that

¹ Mr. Thomas Braidwood was born in Scotland, in 1715, and died at Hackney, Middlesex, in October, 1806. — WRIGHT.

² One of the best critics of our age "does not wish to prevent the admirers of the incorrect and nerveless style, which generally prevailed for a century before Dr. Johnson's energetic writings were known, from enjoying the laugh that this story may produce, in which he is very ready to join them."

He, however, requests me to observe, that "my friend very properly chose a long word on this occasion, not, it is believed, from any predilection for polysyllables (though he certainly had a due respect for them), but in order to put Mr. Braidwood's skill to the strictest test, and to try the efficacy of his instruction by the most difficult exertion of the organs of his pupils." — BOSWELL. The critic was probably Dr. Blair. — WALTER SCOTT.

her ladyship adopted him as her son, in consequence of her having been married the year after he was born. Dr. Johnson instantly corrected me. "Sir, don't you perceive that you are defaming the countess? For, supposing me to be her son, and that she was not married till the year after my birth, I must have been her *natural* son." A young lady of quality, who was present, very handsomely said, "Might not the son have justified the fault?" My friend was much flattered by this compliment, which he never forgot. When in more than ordinary spirits, and talking of his journey in Scotland, he has called to me, "Boswell, what was it that the young lady of quality said of me at Sir Alexander Dick's?" Nobody will doubt that I was happy in repeating it.

My illustrious friend, being now desirous to be again in the great theatre of life and animated exertion, took a place in the coach, which was to set out for London on Monday the 22d of November. Sir John Dalrymple pressed him to come on the Saturday before, to his house at Cranston, which being twelve miles from Edinburgh, upon the middle road to Newcastle (Dr. Johnson had come to Edinburgh by Berwick, and along the naked coast), it would make his journey easier, as the coach would take him up at a more seasonable hour than that at which it sets out. Sir John, I perceive, was ambitious of having such a guest; but as I was well assured, that at this very time he had joined with some of his prejudiced countrymen in railing at Dr. Johnson, and had said, he wondered how any gentleman of Scotland could keep company with him, I thought he did not deserve the honour; yet, as it might be a convenience to Dr. Johnson, I contrived that he should accept the invitation, and engaged to conduct him. I resolved that, on our way to Sir John's, we should make a little circuit by Roslin Castle and Hawthornden, and wished to set out soon after breakfast; but young Mr. Tytler came to show Dr. Johnson some essays which he had written; and my great friend, who was exceedingly obliging when thus consulted, was detained so long, that it was, I believe, one o'clock before we got into our post-chaise. I found that we should be too late for dinner at Sir John Dalrymple's, to which we were engaged; but I would by no means lose the pleasure of seeing my friend at Hawthornden, of seeing *Sam Johnson* at the very spot where *Ben Jonson* visited the learned and poetical Drummond.

We surveyed Roslin Castle, the romantic scene around it, and the beautiful Gothic

chapel, and dined and drank tea at the inn; after which we proceeded to Hawthornden and viewed the caves; and I all the while had *Rare Ben* in my mind, and was pleased to think that this place was now visited by another celebrated wit of England.

By this time "the waning night was growing old," and we were yet several miles from Sir John Dalrymple's. Dr. Johnson did not seem much troubled at our having treated the baronet with so little attention to politeness; but when I talked of the grievous disappointment it must have been to him that we did not come to the *feast* that he had prepared for us (for he told us he had killed a seven-year-old sheep on purpose), my friend got into a merry mood, and jocularly said, "I dare say, Sir, he has been very sadly distressed; nay, we do not know but the consequence may have been fatal. Let me try to describe his situation in his own historical style. I have as good a right to make him think and talk, as he has to tell us how people thought and talked a hundred years ago, of which he has no evidence. All history, so far as it is not supported by contemporary evidence, is romance. — Stay now — let us consider!" He then (heartily laughing all the while) proceeded in his imitation, I am sure to the following effect, though now, at the distance of almost twelve years, I cannot pretend to recollect all the precise words.

"Dinner being ready, he wondered that his guests were not yet come. His wonder was soon succeeded by impatience. He walked about the room in anxious agitation; sometimes he looked at his watch, sometimes he looked out at the window with an eager gaze of expectation, and revolved in his mind the various accidents of human life. His family beheld him with mute concern. 'Surely,' said he, with a sigh, 'they will not fail me.' The mind of man can bear a certain pressure; but there is a point when it can bear no more. A rope was in his view, and he died a Roman death."²

It was very late before we reached the seat of Sir John Dalrymple³, who, certainly with some reason, was not in very good humour. Our conversation was not brilliant. We supped, and went to bed in ancient rooms, which would have better suited the climate of Italy in summer, than that of Scotland in the month of November.

I recollect no conversation of the next day worth preserving, except one saying of Dr. Johnson, which will be a valuable text for many decent old dowagers, and other good company, in various circles, to descant upon.

¹ Probably one of the Ladies Lindsay, daughters of the Earl of Balcarres. — WALTER SCOTT. One of these, Lady Anne Lindsay, wrote the beautiful ballad of *Auld Robin Gray*. — LOCKHART.

² Essex was at that time confined to the same chamber of the Tower from which his father Lord Capel had been led to death, and in which his wife's grandfather had inflicted a voluntary death upon himself. When he saw his friend

carried to what he reckoned certain fate, their common enemies enjoying the spectacle, and reflected that it was he who had forced Lord Howard upon the confidence of Russell he retired, and by a *Roman death*, put an end to his misery.

— *Dalrymple's Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 36. — BOSWELL.

³ They seem to have behaved to Sir John Dalrymple with wanton incivility. — CROKER.

He said, "I am sorry I have not learnt to play at cards. It is very useful in life: it generates kindness, and consolidates society."¹ He certainly could not mean deep play.

My friend and I thought we should be more comfortable at the inn at Blackshields, two miles farther on. We therefore went thither in the evening, and he was very entertaining; but I have preserved nothing but the pleasing remembrance, and his verses on George the Second and Cibber, and his epitaph on Parnell, which he was then so good as to dictate to me. We breakfasted together next morning, and then the coach came, and took him up. He had, as one of his companions in it, as far as Newcastle, the worthy and ingenious Dr. Hope, botanical professor at Edinburgh. Both Dr. Johnson and he used to speak of their good fortune in thus accidentally meeting; for they had much instructive conversation, which is always a most valuable enjoyment, and, when found where it is not expected, is peculiarly relished.

I have now completed my account of our Tour to the Hebrides. I have brought Dr. Johnson down to Scotland, and seen him into the coach which in a few hours carried him back into England. He said to me often, that the time he spent in this Tour was the pleasantest part of his life, and asked me if I would lose the recollection of it for five hundred pounds. I answered I would not; and he applauded my setting such a value on an accession of new images in my mind.

Had it not been for me, I am persuaded Dr. Johnson never would have undertaken such a journey; and I must be allowed to assume some merit from having been the cause that our language has been enriched with such a book as that which he published on his return; a book which I never read but with the utmost admiration, as I had such opportunities of knowing from what very meagre materials it was composed.

But my praise may be supposed partial; and therefore I shall insert two testimonies, not liable to that objection, both written by gentlemen of Scotland, to whose opinions I am confident the highest respect will be paid, Lord Hailes and Mr. Dempster.

LORD HAILES TO BOSWELL

"Newhailes, Feb. 6. 1775.

"SIR, — I have received much pleasure and much instruction from perusing the 'Journey to the Hebrides.' I admire the elegance and variety of description, and the lively picture of men and manners. I always approve of the moral, often of the political reflections. I love the benevolence of the author.

¹ The late Dr. Baillie advised a gentleman whose official duties were of a very constant and engrossing nature, and whose health seemed to suffer from over-work, to play at cards in the evening, which would tend, he said, to quiet the mind, and to allay the anxiety created by the business of the day. — CROKER, 1831. Myself, when over-worked at the Admiralty. But I did not follow the prescription of my

"They who search for faults may possibly find them in this, as well as in every other work of literature. For example, the friends of the old family say that the era of planting is placed too late, at the union of the two kingdoms. I am known to be no friend of the old family; yet I would place the era of planting at the restoration; after the murder of Charles I. had been expiated in the anarchy which succeeded it.

"Before the restoration, few trees were planted, unless by the monastic drones; their successors (and worthy patriots they were), the barons, first cut down the trees, and then sold the estates. The gentleman at St. Andrew's, who said that there were but two trees in Fife, ought to have added, that the elms of Balmerino were sold within these twenty years, to make pumps for the fire-engines.

"In J. Major *de Gestis Scotorum*, l. i. c. 2., last edition, there is a singular passage:—

"*Davidi Cranstonco contreraneo, dum de prima theologiæ licentia foret, duo ei consocii et familiares, et mei cum eo in artibus auditores, scilicet Jacobus Almain Senonensis, et Petrus Bruxcellensis, Prædicatoris ordinis, in Sorbonæ curia die Sorbonico commilitonibus suis publicè objecerunt, quod pane avenaceo plebei Scoti, sicut a quodam religioso intellexerant, vescerantur, ut virum, quem cholericum noverant, honestis salibus tentarent, qui hoc inficiari tanquam patriæ dedecus nixus est.*"

"Pray introduce our countryman, Mr. Licentiate David Cranston, to the acquaintance of Mr. Johnson.

"The syllogism seems to have been this:—

They who feed on oatmeal are barbarians;
But the Scots feed on oatmeal: — Ergo —

The licentiate denied the *minor*. I am, Sir, &c.

"DAV. DALRYMPLE."

DEMPSTER TO BOSWELL.

"Dunnichen, Feb. 16. 1775.

"MY DEAR BOSWELL, — I cannot omit a moment to return you my best thanks for the entertainment you have furnished me, my family, and guests, by the perusal of Dr. Johnson's 'Journey to the Western Islands;' and now for my sentiments of it. I was well entertained. His descriptions are accurate and vivid. He carried me on the tour along with him. I am pleased with the justice he has done to your humour and vivacity. 'The noise of the wind being all its own,' is a *bon-mot*, that it would have been a pity to have omitted, and a robbery not to have ascribed to its author.²

"There is nothing in the book, from beginning to end, that a Scotchman need to take amiss. What he says of the country is true, and his observations on the people are what must naturally occur to a sensible, observing, and reflecting inhabitant of a convenient metropolis, where a man on thirty pounds a year may be better accommodated with all the little wants of life than Col or Sir Allen. He reasons candidly about the second-sight; but I

kind physician and friend, and after an interval (*Deo gratias*) of six and thirty years of health, need not regret the omission. — CROKER, 1846.

² "I know not that I ever heard the wind so loud in any other place [as in Col]; and Mr. Boswell observed, that its noise was all its own, for there were no trees to increase it." — *Johnson's Journey*. — CROKER.

wish he had inquired more, before he ventured to say he even doubted of the possibility of such an unusual and useless deviation from all the known laws of nature. The notion of the second-sight I consider as a remnant of superstitious ignorance and credulity, which a philosopher will set down as such, till the contrary is clearly proved, and then it will be classed among the other certain, though unaccountable parts of our nature, like dreams, and — I do not know what.

"In regard to the language, it has the merit of being all his own. Many words of foreign extraction are used, where, I believe, common ones would do as well, especially on familiar occasions. Yet I believe he could not express himself so forcibly in any other style. I am charmed with his researches concerning the Erse language, and the antiquity of their manuscripts. I am quite convinced; and I shall rank Ossian, and his Fingals and Oscars, amongst the nursery tales, not the true history of our country, in all time to come.

"Upon the whole the book cannot displease, for it has no pretensions. The author neither says he is a geographer, nor an antiquarian, nor very learned in the history of Scotland, nor a naturalist, nor a fossilist. The manners of the people, and the face of the country, are all he attempts to describe, or seems to have thought of. Much were it to be wished that they who have travelled into more remote, and of course more curious, regions, had all possessed his good sense. Of the state of learning his observations on Glasgow university show he has formed a very sound judgment. He understands our climate too, and he has accurately observed the changes, however slow and imperceptible to us, which Scotland has undergone, in consequence of the blessings of liberty and internal peace. I could have drawn my pen through the story of the old woman at St. Andrew's, being the only silly thing in the book. He has taken the opportunity of ingrafting into the work several good observations, which I dare say he had made upon men and things before he set foot on Scotch ground, by which it is considerably enriched.¹ A long journey, like a tall may-pole, though not very beautiful itself, yet is pretty enough when ornamented with flowers and garlands; it furnishes a sort of cloak-pins for hanging the furniture of your mind upon; and whoever sets out upon a journey, without furnishing his mind previously with much study and useful knowledge, erects a may-pole in December, and puts up very useless cloak-pins.

"I hope the book will induce many of his countrymen to make the same jaunt, and help to intermix the more liberal part of them still more with us, and perhaps abate somewhat of that virulent antipathy which many of them entertain against the Scotch; who certainly would never have formed those combinations which he takes notice of, more than their ancestors, had they not been necessary for their mutual safety, at least for their success, in a country where they are treated as foreigners. They would find us not deficient, at least in point

of hospitality, and they would be ashamed ever after to abuse us in the mass.

"So much for the Tour. I have now, for the first time in my life, passed a winter in the country; and never did three months roll on with more swiftness and satisfaction. I used not only to wonder at, but pity, those whose lot condemned them to winter any where but in either of the capitals. But every place has its charms to a cheerful mind. I am busy planting and taking measures for opening the summer campaign in farming; and I find I have an excellent resource, when revolutions in politics perhaps, and revolutions of the sun for certain, will make it decent for me to retreat behind the ranks of the more forward in life.

"I am glad to hear the last was a very busy week with you. I see you as counsel in some causes which must have opened a charming field for your humorous vein. As it is more uncommon, so I verily believe it is more useful than the more serious exercise of reason; and, to a man who is to appear in public, more eclat is to be gained, sometimes more money too, by a *bon-mot*, than a learned speech. It is the fund of natural humour which Lord North possesses, that makes him so much the favourite of the house, and so able, because so amiable, a leader of a party.

"I have now finished my Tour of Seven Pages. In what remains, I beg leave to offer my compliments, and those of *ma très chère femme*, to you and Mrs. Boswell. Pray unbend the busy brow, and frolic a little in a letter to, my dear Boswell, your affectionate friend,
GEORGE DENISTON."²

I shall also present the public with a correspondence with the laird of Rasay, concerning a passage in the "Journey to the Western Islands," which shows Dr. Johnson in a very amiable light.

RASAY TO BOSWELL.

"Rasay, April 10. 1775.

"DEAR SIR, — I take this occasion of returning you my most hearty thanks for the civilities shown to my daughter by you and Mrs. Boswell. Yet, though she has informed me that I am under this obligation, I should very probably have deferred troubling you with making my acknowledgments at present, if I had not seen Dr. Johnson's 'Journey to the Western Isles,' in which he has been pleased to make a very friendly mention of my family, for which I am surely obliged to him, as being more than an equivalent for the reception you and he met with. Yet there is one paragraph I should have been glad he had omitted, which I am sure was owing to misinformation; that is, that I had acknowledged Macleod to be my chief though my ancestors disputed the pre-eminence for a long tract of time.

"I never had occasion to enter seriously on this argument with the present laird, or his grandfather

¹ Mr. Orme, one of the ablest historians of this age, is of the same opinion. He said to me, "There are in that book thoughts which, by long revolution in the great mind of Johnson, have been formed and polished — like pebbles rolled in the ocean." — BOSWELL.

² Every reader will, I am sure, join with me in warm

admiration of the truly patriotic writer of this letter. I knew not which most to applaud, — that good sense and liberality of mind which could see and admit the defects of his native country, to which no man is a more zealous friend; or that candour which induced him to give just praise to the minister whom he honestly and strenuously opposed. — BOSWELL.

nor could I have any temptation to such a renunciation from either of them. I acknowledge the benefit of being chief of a clan is in our days of very little significance, and to trace out the progress of this honour to the founder of a family, of any standing, would perhaps be a matter of some difficulty.

"The true state of the present case is this: — the M'Leod family consists of two different branches; the M'Leods of Lewis, of which I am descended, and the M'Leods of Harris. And though the former have lost a very extensive estate by forfeiture in King James the Sixth's time, there are still several respectable families of it existing, who would justly blame me for such an unmeaning cession, when they all acknowledge me head of that family; which, though in fact it be but an ideal point of honour, is not hitherto so far disregarded in our country, but it would determine some of my friends to look on me as a much smaller man than either they or myself judge me at present to be. I will, therefore, ask it as a favour of you to acquaint the Doctor with the difficulty he has brought me to. In travelling among rival clans, such a silly tale as this might easily be whispered into the ear of a passing stranger; but as it has no foundation in fact, I hope the Doctor will be so good as to take his own way in undeceiving the public — I principally mean my friends and connexions, who will be first angry at me, and next sorry to find such an instance of my littleness recorded in a book which has a very fair chance of being much read. I expect you will let me know what he will write you in return, and we here beg to make offer to you and Mrs. Boswell of our most respectful compliments. — I am, dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

"JOHN M'LEOD."

BOSWELL TO RASAY.

"London, May 8. 1775.

"DEAR SIR, — The day before yesterday I had the honour to receive your letter, and I immediately communicated it to Dr. Johnson. He said he loved your spirit, and was exceedingly sorry that he had been the cause of the smallest uneasiness to you. There is not a more candid man in the world than he is, when properly addressed, as you will see from his letter to you, which I now inclose. He has allowed me to take a copy of it, and he says you may read it to your clan, or publish it, if you please. Be assured, Sir, that I shall take care of what he has intrusted to me, which is to have an acknowledgment of his error inserted in the Edinburgh newspapers. You will, I dare say, be fully satisfied with Dr. Johnson's behaviour. He is desirous to know that you are; and therefore when you have read his acknowledgment in the papers, I beg you may write to me; and if you choose it, I am persuaded a letter from you to the Doctor also will be taken kind. I shall be at Edinburgh the week after next.

"Any civilities which my wife and I had in our power to show to your daughter, Miss M'Leod, were due to her own merit, and were well repaid by her agreeable company. But I am sure I should be a very unworthy man if I did not wish to show a grateful sense of the hospitable and genteel manner in which you were pleased to treat me. Be assured, my dear Sir, that I shall never forget

your goodness, and the happy hours which I spent in Rasay.

"You and Dr. M'Leod were both so obliging as to promise me an account, in writing, of all the particulars which each of you remember, concerning the transactions of 1745-6. Pray do not forget this, and be as minute and full as you can; put down every thing: I have a great curiosity to know as much as I can, authentically.

"I beg that you may present my best respects to Lady Rasay, my compliments to your young family, and to Dr. M'Leod; and my hearty good wishes to Malcolm, with whom I hope again to shake hands cordially. — I have the honour to be, dear Sir, your obliged and faithful humble servant,

"JAMES BOSWELL."

ADVERTISEMENT WRITTEN BY DR. JOHNSON,

And inserted by his desire in the Edinburgh newspapers, referred to in the foregoing letter.¹

"The author of the 'Journey to the Western Islands,' having related that the M'Leods of Rasay acknowledge the chieftainship or superiority of the M'Leods of Sky, finds that he has been misinformed or mistaken. He means in a future edition to correct his error, and wishes to be told of more, if more have been discovered."

Dr. Johnson's letter was as follows:—

DR. JOHNSON TO RASAY.

"London, May 6. 1775.

"DEAR SIR, — Mr. Boswell has this day shown me a letter in which you complain of a passage in the 'Journey to the Hebrides.' My meaning is mistaken. I did not intend to say that you had personally made any cession of the rights of your house, or any acknowledgment of the superiority of M'Leod of Dunvegan. I only designed to express what I thought generally admitted — that the house of Rasay allowed the superiority of the house of Dunvegan. Even this I now find to be erroneous, and will therefore omit or retract it in the next edition.

"Though what I had said had been true, if it had been disagreeable to you, I should have wished it unsaid; for it is not my business to adjust precedence. As it is mistaken, I find myself disposed to correct, both by my respect for you, and my reverence for truth.

"As I know not when the book will be reprinted, I have desired Mr. Boswell to anticipate the correction in the Edinburgh papers. This is all that can be done.

"I hope I may now venture to desire that my compliments may be made, and my gratitude expressed, to Lady Rasay, Mr. Malcolm M'Leod, Mr. Donald M'Queen, and all the gentlemen and all the ladies whom I saw in the island of Rasay; a place which I remember with too much pleasure and too much kindness, not to be sorry that my ignorance, or hasty persuasion, should for a single moment have violated its tranquillity.

¹ The original MS. is now in my possession. — BOSWELL.

"I beg you all to forgive an undesigned and involuntary injury, and to consider me as, Sir, your most obliged and most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."¹

It would be improper for me to boast of my own labours; but I cannot refrain from publishing such praise as I received from such a man as Sir William Forbes, of Pitsligo, after the perusal of the original manuscript of my Journal.

SIR W. FORBES TO BOSWELL.

"Edinburgh, March 7. 1777.

"MY DEAR SIR, — I ought to have thanked you sooner for your very obliging letter, and for the singular confidence you are pleased to place in me, when you trust me with such a curious and valuable deposit as the papers you have sent me." Be assured I have a due sense of this favour, and shall faithfully and carefully return them to you. You may rely that I shall neither copy any part, nor permit the papers to be seen.

"They contain a curious picture of society, and form a journal on the most instructive plan that can possibly be thought of; for I am not sure that an ordinary observer would become so well acquainted either with Dr. Johnson, or with the manners of the Hebrides, by a personal intercourse, as by a perusal of your Journal. I am very truly, dear Sir, &c.,

WILLIAM FORBES."

When I consider how many of the persons mentioned in this Tour are now gone to "that undiscovered country, from whose bourne no traveller returns," I feel an impression at once awful and tender. — *Requiescant in pace!*

It may be objected by some persons, as it has been by one of my friends, that he who has the power of thus exhibiting an exact transcript of conversations is not a desirable member of society. I repeat the answer which I made to that friend: "Few, very few, need be afraid that their sayings will be recorded. Can it be imagined that I would take the trouble to gather what grows on every hedge,

because I have collected such fruits as the *Nonpareil* and the *BON CHRETIEN*?"

On the other hand, how useful is such a faculty, if well exercised. To it we owe all those interesting apophthegms and *memorabilia* of the ancients, which Plutarch, Xenophon, and Valerius Maximus have transmitted to us. To it we owe all those instructive and entertaining collections which the French have made under the title of "Ana," affixed to some celebrated name. To it we owe the "Table-Talk" of Selden, the "Conversation" between Ben Jonson and Drummond of Hawthornden, Spence's "Anecdotes of Pope," and other valuable remains in our own language. How delighted should we have been, if thus introduced into the company of Shakspeare and of Dryden, of whom we know scarcely any thing but their admirable writings! What pleasure would it have given us, to have known their petty habits, their characteristic manners, their modes of composition, and their genuine opinion of preceding writers and of their contemporaries! All these are now irrecoverably lost. Considering how many of the strongest and most brilliant effusions of exalted intellect must have perished, how much is it to be regretted that all men of distinguished wisdom and wit have not been attended by friends, of taste enough to relish, and abilities enough to register their conversation:

"Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
Multi, sed omnes illacrymabiles
Urgentur, ignotique longa
Nocte, carent quia vate sacro." *

They whose inferior exertions are recorded, as serving to explain or illustrate the sayings of such men, may be proud of being thus associated, and of their names being transmitted to posterity, by being appended to an illustrious character.

Before I conclude, I think it proper to say, that I have suppressed 'every thing which I thought could really hurt any one now living.

¹ Rasay was highly gratified, and afterwards visited and dined with Dr. Johnson, at his house in London. — BOSWELL.

Johnson gives Mrs. Thrale the following account of this affair: —

"I have offended; and what is stranger, have justly offended the nation of Rasay. If they could come hither, they would be as fierce as the Americans. Rasay has written to Boswell an account of the injury done him by representing his house as subordinate to that of Dunvegan. Boswell has his letter, and, I believe, copied my answer. I have appeased him, if a degraded chief can possibly be appeased: but it will be thirteen days — days of resentment and discontent — before my recantation can reach him. Many a dirk will imagination, during that interval, fix in my heart. I really question if at this time my life would not be in danger, if distance did not secure it. Boswell will find his way to Streatham before he goes, and will detail this great affair." — *Letters*, 12th May, 1775. — CROKER.

² In justice both to Sir William Forbes and myself, it is proper to mention, that the papers which were submitted to his perusal contained only an account of our Tour from the time that Dr. Johnson and I set out from Edinburgh, and consequently did not contain the eulogium on Sir William Forbes (p. 271.), which he never saw till this book appeared in print; nor did he even know, when he wrote the above letter, that this Journal was to be published. — BOSWELL.

³ "Before great Agamemnon reign'd,

Reign'd kings as great as he, and brave,

Whose huge ambition's now contain'd

In the small compass of a grave.

In endless night they sleep, unwept, unknown;

No bard had they to make all time their own."

Hor. Od. iv. 9. Francis. — CROKER.

⁴ Having found, on a revision of the first edition of this work, that, notwithstanding my best care, a few observations had escaped me, which arose from the instant impression, the publication of which might perhaps be considered as passing the bounds of a strict decorum, I immediately ordered that they should be omitted in the subsequent editions. I was pleased to find that they did not amount in the whole to a page. If any of the same kind are yet left, it is owing to inadvertence alone, no man being more unwilling to give pain to others than I am. A contemptible scribbler, of whom I have learned no more than that, after having disgraced and deserted the clerical character, he picks up in London a scanty livelihood by scurrilous lampoons under a feigned name, has impudently and falsely asserted that the passages omitted were *defamatory*, and that the omission was not voluntary, but compulsory. The last insinuation I took the trouble publicly to disprove; yet, like one of Pope's dunce, he persevered in "the lie o'erthrown." As to the charge of defamation, there is an obvious and certain mode of refuting

Vanity and self-conceit indeed may sometimes suffer. With respect to what is related, I considered it my duty to "extenuate nothing, nor set down aught in malice;" and with those lighter strokes of Dr. Johnson's satire, proceeding from a warmth and quickness of imagination, not from any malevolence of heart, and which, on account of their excellence, could not be omitted, I trust that they who are the subject of them have good sense and good temper enough not to be displeased.

I have only to add, that I shall ever reflect with great pleasure on a Tour, which has been the means of preserving so much of the enlightened and instructive conversation of one whose virtues will, I hope, ever be an object of imitation, and whose powers of mind were so extraordinary, that ages may revolve before such a man shall again appear.

CHAPTER XLV.

1773—1774.

Recapitulation of the Tour. — Letters to Boswell, &c. — Davies publishes his "Fugitive Pieces" without his Knowledge. — Writes his Tour. — Religious Festivals and Pilgrimages. — Death of Goldsmith. — Greek Epitaph.

His stay in Scotland was from the 18th of August, on which day he arrived, till the 22d of November, when he set out on his return to London; and I believe ninety-four days were never passed by any man in a more vigorous exertion. He came by the way of Berwick-upon-Tweed to Edinburgh, where he remained a few days, and then went by St. Andrew's, Aberdeen, Inverness, and Fort Augustus, to the Hebrides, to visit which was the principal object he had in view. He visited the isles of Sky, Rasay, Col, Mull, Inch Kenneth, and Icolmkill. He travelled through Argyleshire by Inverary, and from thence by Lochlomond and Dunbarton to Glasgow, then by Loudon to Auchinleck in Ayrshire, the seat of my family, and then by Hamilton, back to Edinburgh, where he again spent some time.

He thus saw the four universities of Scotland, its three principal cities, and as much of

the Highland and insular life as was sufficient for his philosophical contemplation. I had the pleasure of accompanying him during the whole of his journey.

He was respectfully entertained by the great, the learned, and the elegant, wherever he went; nor was he less delighted with the hospitality which he experienced in humbler life.¹

His various adventures, and the force and vivacity of his mind, as exercised during this peregrination, upon innumerable topics, have been faithfully, and to the best of my abilities, displayed in my "Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides," to which, as the public has been pleased to honour it by a very extensive circulation, I beg leave to refer², as to a separate and remarkable portion of his life, which may be there seen in detail, and which exhibits as striking a view of his powers in conversation, as his works do of his excellence in writing. Nor can I deny to myself the very flattering gratification of inserting here the character which my friend Mr. Courtenay has been pleased to give of that work:—

"With Reynolds' pencil, vivid, bold, and true,
So fervent Boswell gives him to our view:
In every trait we see his mind expand;
The master rises by the pupil's hand:
We love the writer, praise his happy vein,
Graced with the naïveté of the sage Montaigne;
Hence not alone are brighter parts display'd,
But e'en the specks of character pourtray'd:
We see the Rambler with fastidious smile
Mark the lone tree, and note the heath-clad isle;
But when the heroic tale of 'Flora's' charms,
Deck'd in a kilt, he wields a chieftain's arms:
The tuneful piper sounds a martial strain,
And Samuel sings, 'The king shall have his
ain.'"

During his stay at Edinburgh, after his return from the Hebrides, he was at great pains to obtain information concerning Scotland; and it will appear from his subsequent letters, that he was not less solicitous for intelligence on this subject after his return to London.

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"Nov. 27. 1773.

"DEAR SIR, — I came home last night, without any incommmodity, danger, or weariness, and am ready to begin a new journey. I shall go to Oxford on Monday. I know Mrs. Boswell wished me well to go³; her wishes have not been disap-

it. Any person who thinks it worth while to compare one edition with the other will find that the passages omitted were not in the least degree of that nature, but exactly such as I have represented them in the former part of this note, the hasty effusion of momentary feelings which the delicacy of politeness should have suppressed. — BOSWELL.

I believe the scribbler alluded to was William Thompson, author of *The Man in the Moon*, and other satirical novels, half clever, half crazy kind of works. He was once a member of the kirk of Scotland, but being deposed by the presbytery of Auchterarder, became an author of all works in London, and could seldom finish a work, on whatever subject, without giving a slap by the way to that same presbytery with the unpronounceable name. Boswell's denial of having retracted upon compulsion refutes what was said by Peter Pindar and others about "McDonald's rage." — WALTER SCOTT. See *antiq.* p. 312. n. 1. *Et seq.* — C.

¹ He was long remembered amongst the lower orders of Hebrideans by the title of the *Sassnach More*, the big Englishman. — WALTER SCOTT.

² A collation of the original MS., lately in the possession of the Rev. Archdeacon Butler, of Shrewsbury, but now in the British Museum, has confirmed some conjectural emendations which I had made on Mr. Duppa's text, and has supplied other corrections and additions. — CROKER, 1835.

³ The celebrated Flora Macdonald. — COURTENAY.

⁴ In this he showed a very acute penetration. My wife paid him the most assiduous and respectful attention while he was our guest; so that I wonder how he discovered her wishing for his departure. The truth is, that his irregular hours and uncouth habits, such as turning the candles with their heads downwards, when they did not burn bright enough, and letting the wax drop upon the carpet, could not but be disagreeable to a lady. Besides, she had not that

pointed. Mrs. Williams has received Sir A.'s¹ letter.

"Make my compliments to all those to whom my compliments may be welcome. Let the box² be sent as soon as it can, and let me know when to expect it.

"Inquire, if you can, the order of the clans: Macdonald is first³; Maclean second; further I cannot go. Quicken Dr. Webster.⁴ I am, Sir, yours affectionately,
SAM. JOHNSON."

BOSWELL TO JOHNSON.

"Edinburgh, Dec. 2. 1773.

"You shall have what information I can procure as to the order of the clans. A gentleman of the name of Grant tells me that there is no settled order among them; and he says that the Macdonalds were not placed upon the right of the army at Culloden; the Stuarts were. I shall, however, examine witnesses of every name that I can find here. Dr. Webster shall be quickened too. I like your little memorandums; they are symptoms of your being in earnest with your book of northern travels.

"Your box shall be sent next week by sea. You will find in it some pieces of the broom-bush which you saw growing on the old castle of Auchinleck. The wood has a curious appearance when sawn across. You may either have a little writing-standish made of it, or get it formed into boards for a treatise on witchcraft, by way of a suitable binding."

BOSWELL TO JOHNSON.

Edinburgh, Dec. 18. 1773.

"You promised me an inscription for a print to be taken from an historical picture of Mary Queen of Scots being forced to resign her crown, which Mr. Hamilton at Rome has painted for me.⁵ The two following have been sent to me:—

"*Maria Scotorum Regina meliori seculo digna, jus regium civibus seditiosis invita resignat.*"

"*Cives seditiosi Mariam Scotorum Reginam sese muneri abdicare invitam cogunt.*"

"Be so good as to read the passage in Robertson, and see if you cannot give me a better inscription. I must have it both in Latin and English; so, if you should not give me another Latin one, you

high admiration of him which was felt by most of those who knew him; and, what was very natural to a female mind, she thought he had too much influence over her husband. She once, in a little warmth, made, with more point than justice, this remark upon that subject:—"I have seen many a bear led by a man; but I never before saw a man led by a bear."—BOSWELL. The reader will, however, hereafter see that the repetition of this observation as to Mrs. Boswell's feelings towards him was made more frequently and pertinaciously, than is quite consistent with good taste and good manners.

—CROKER.

¹ Sir Alexander Gordon, one of the professors at Aberdeen.

—BOSWELL.

² This was a box containing a number of curious things which he had picked up in Scotland, particularly some hornspoons.—BOSWELL.

³ The Macdonalds always laid claim to be placed on the right of the whole clans, and those of that tribe assign the breach of this order at Culloden as one cause of the loss of the day. The Macdonalds, placed on the left wing, refused to charge, and positively left the field unassailed and unbroken. Lord George Murray in vain endeavoured to urge them on by saying, that their behaviour would make the left the right, and that he himself would take the name of Macdonald. On this subject there are some curious notices, in a very interesting journal written by one of the *seven men* of Moidart, as they were called—Macdonalds of the Clanronald

will at least choose the best of these two, and send a translation of it."

His humane forgiving disposition was put to a pretty strong test on his return to London, by a liberty which Mr. Thomas Davies had taken with him in his absence, which was, to publish two volumes entitled "Miscellaneous and Fugitive Pieces," which he advertised in the newspapers, "By the Author of the Rambler." In this collection, several of Dr. Johnson's acknowledged writings, several of his anonymous performances, and some which he had written for others, were inserted; but there were also some in which he had no concern whatever. He was at first very angry, as he had good reason to be. But, upon consideration of his poor friend's narrow circumstances, and that he had only a little profit in view, and meant no harm, he soon relented, and continued his kindness to him as formerly.⁶

In the course of his self-examination with retrospect to this year, he seems to have been much dejected; for he says, 1st January, 1774: "This year has passed with so little improvement, that I doubt whether I have not rather impaired than increased my learning." And yet we have seen how he *read*, and we know how he *talked*, during that period.

[JOHNSON TO MRS. MONTAGU.

"Jan. 11. 1774.

"MADAM,—Having committed one fault by inadvertency, I will not commit another by sullenness. When I had the honour of your card, I could not comply with your invitation, and must now suffer the shame of confessing that the necessity of an answer did not come into my mind.

"This omission, Madam, you may easily excuse, as the consciousness of your own character must secure you from suspecting that the favour of your notice can never miss a suitable return, but from ignorance or thoughtlessness; and to be ignorant of your eminence is not easy, but to him who lives out of the reach of the public voice.—I am, Madam your most obedient and most humble servant,

Montagu MS.

"SAM. JOHNSON.]"

sept, who were the first who declared for the prince at his landing in their chief's country. It is in the Lockhart papers, vol. ii. p. 510.—WALTER SCOTT.

⁴ The Rev. Dr. Alexander Webster, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, a man of distinguished abilities, who had promised him information concerning the Highlands and Island of Scotland.—BOSWELL. See *anté*, p. 279.—C.

⁵ Gavin Hamilton, long a resident in Rome, and a patriot of some reputation in his day. He died in 1797. The picture which Boswell speaks of was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1776, and is described in the catalogue as 'No. 124. Gavin Hamilton, Rome; Mary Queen of Scots resigning the Crown.'—P. CUNNINGHAM.

⁶ "When Davies printed the Fugitive Pieces without his knowledge or consent:—'How,' said I, 'would Pope have raved, had he been served so?' 'We should never,' replied Johnson, 'have heard the last on't, to be sure; but the Pope was a narrow man. I will, however,' added he, 'stomach and bluster myself a little this time;—so went to London in all the wrath he could muster up. At his return, asked how the affair ended:—'Why,' said he, 'I was fierce fellow, and pretended to be very angry, and Thomas was a good-natured fellow, and pretended to be very sorry so there the matter ended. I believe the dog loves me dear Mr. Thrale (turning round to my husband), what shall ye and I do that is good for Tom Davies? We will do something for him, to be sure.'—Piozzi.—CROKER.

He was now seriously engaged in writing an account of our travels in the Hebrides, in consequence of which I had the pleasure of a more frequent correspondence with him.

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"Jan. 29. 1774.

"DEAR SIR,—My operations have been hindered by a cough; at least I flatter myself, that if my cough had not come, I should have been further advanced. But I have had no intelligence from Dr. Webster, nor from the exchequer-office, nor from you. No account of the little borough.¹ Nothing of the Erse language. I have yet heard nothing of my box. You must make haste and gather me all you can; and do it quickly, or I will and shall do without it.

"Make my compliments to Mrs. Boswell, and tell her I do not love her the less for wishing me away. I gave her trouble enough, and shall be glad, in recompense, to give her any pleasure.

"I would send some porter into the Hebrides, if I knew which way it could be got to my kind friends there. Inquire, and let me know.

"Make my compliments to all the doctors of Edinburgh, and to all my friends, from one end of Scotland to the other.

"Write to me, and send me what intelligence you can; and if any thing is too bulky for the post, let me have it by the carrier. I do not like trusting winds and waves.—I am, dear Sir, your most, &c.

"SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"London, Feb. 7. 1774.

"DEAR SIR,—In a day or two after I had written the last discontented letter, I received my box, which was very welcome. But still I must entreat you to hasten Dr. Webster, and continue to pick up what you can that may be useful.

"Mr. Oglethorpe was with me this morning; you know his errand. He was not unwelcome.

"Tell Mrs. Boswell that my good intentions towards her still continue. I should be glad to do any thing that would either benefit or please her.

"Chambers is not yet gone; but so hurried, or so negligent, or so proud, that I rarely see him. I have indeed, for some weeks past, been very ill of a cold and cough, and have been at Mrs. Thrale's, that I might be taken care of. I am much better: *nova redeunt in prælia vires*; but I am yet tender, and easily disordered. How happy it was that neither of us were ill in the Hebrides.

"The question of literary property² is this day before the Lords. Murphy drew up the appellants' case, that is, the plea against the perpetual right. I have not seen it, nor heard the decision. I would not have the right perpetual.

"I will write to you as any thing occurs, and do

you send me something about my Scottish friends. I have very great kindness for them. Let me know likewise how fees come in, and when we are to see you.—I am, Sir, yours affectionately.

"SAM. JOHNSON."

He at this time wrote the following letters to Mr. Steevens, his able associate in editing Shakspeare:—

JOHNSON TO GEORGE STEEVENS,

Hampstead.

"Feb. 7. 1774.

"SIR,—If I am asked when I have seen Mr. Steevens, you know what answer I must give; if I am asked when I shall see him, I wish you could tell me what to say. If you have 'Lesley's History of Scotland,' or any other book about Scotland, except Boetius and Buchanan, it will be a kindness if you send them to, Sir, your humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO STEEVENS.

"Feb. 21. 1774.

"SIR,—We are thinking to augment our club, and I am desirous of nominating you, if you care to stand the ballot, and can attend on Friday nights at least twice in five weeks: less than this is too little, and rather more will be expected. Be pleased to let me know before Friday.—I am, Sir, your most, &c.,

SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO STEEVENS.

"March 5. 1774.

"SIR,—Last night you became a member of the club; if you call on me on Friday, I will introduce you. A gentleman, proposed after you, was rejected. I thank you for Neander³, but wish he were not so fine. I will take care of him.—I am, Sir, your humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"March 5. 1774.

"DEAR SIR,—Dr. Webster's informations were much less exact, and much less determinate, than I expected: they are, indeed, much less positive than, if he can trust his own book⁴ which he laid before me, he is able to give. But I believe it will always be found that he who calls much for information will advance his work but slowly.

"I am, however, obliged to you, dear Sir, for your endeavours to help me; and hope, that between us something will sometime be done, if not on this, on some occasion.

"Chambers is either married, or almost married, to Miss Wilton⁵, a girl of sixteen, exquisitely beautiful, whom he has, with his lawyer's tongue, persuaded to take her chance with him in the East.

¹ The ancient burgh of Prestick, in Ayrshire.—BOSWELL.

² The question was not decided till Feb. 22.—"In consequence of this decision, the English booksellers have now no other security for any literary purchase they may make, but the statute of the 8th of Queen Anne, which secures to the author's assigns an exclusive property for fourteen years, to revert again to the author, and vest in him for fourteen years more."—*Annual Register*, 1774.—CROKER.

³ See the Catalogue of Mr. Steevens's Library, No. 265:—"*Neandri (Mich.) Opus aureum, Gr. et Lat. 2 tom. 4to. corio turcico, foliis deauratis. Lipsiæ, 1577.*" This was doubtless the book lent by Steevens to Johnson.—MALONE.

⁴ A manuscript account drawn by Dr. Webster of all the parishes in Scotland, ascertaining their length, breadth, number of inhabitants, and distinguishing Protestants and Roman Catholics. This book had been transmitted to government, and Dr. Johnson saw a copy of it in Dr. Webster's possession.—BOSWELL.

⁵ Daughter of Joseph Wilton, R. A., the sculptor. After Sir Robert Chambers's death she returned to England, and died at Brighton, in April, 1839, aged 88. Miss Chambers, her daughter, married Colonel Macdonald, the son of Flora.—CROKER.

"We have added to the club, Charles Fox¹, Sir Charles Bunbury, Dr. Fordyce, and Mr. Steevens.²

"Return my thanks to Dr. Webster. Tell Dr. Robertson I have not much to reply to his censure of my negligence: and tell Dr. Blair, that since he has written hither³ what I said to him, we must now consider ourselves as even, forgive one another, and begin again. I care not how soon, for he is a very pleasing man. Pay my compliments to all my friends, and remind Lord Elibank of his promise to give me all his works.

"I hope Mrs. Boswell and little Miss are well. — When shall I see them again? She is a sweet lady; only she was so glad to see me go, that I have almost a mind to come again, that she may again have the same pleasure.

"Inquire if it be practicable to send a small present of a cask of porter to Dunvegan, Rasay, and Col. I would not wish to be thought forgetful of civilities. — I am, Sir, your humble servant,
"SAM. JOHNSON."

On the 5th of March I wrote to him, requesting his counsel whether I should this spring come to London. I stated to him on the one hand some pecuniary embarrassments, which, together with my wife's situation at that time, made me hesitate; and on the other, the pleasure and improvement which my annual visit to the metropolis always afforded me; and particularly mentioned a peculiar satisfaction which I experienced in celebrating the festival of Easter in St. Paul's cathedral; that, to my fancy, it appeared like going up to Jerusalem at the feast of the Passover; and that the strong devotion which I felt on that occasion diffused its influence on my mind through the rest of the year.

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

Not dated, but written about the 15th of March.

"DEAR SIR, — I am ashamed to think that since I received your letter I have passed so many days without answering it.

"I think there is no great difficulty in resolving your doubts. The reasons for which you are inclined to visit London are, I think, not of sufficient strength to answer the objections. That you should delight to come once a year to the fountain of intelligence and pleasure is very natural; but both information and pleasure must be regulated by propriety. Pleasure, which cannot be obtained but by unseasonable or unsuitable expense, must always end in pain; and pleasure, which must be enjoyed at the expense of another's pain, can never be such as a worthy mind can fully delight in.

"What improvement you might gain by coming to London, you may easily supply, or easily compensate, by enjoining yourself some particular study at home, or opening some new avenue to information. Edinburgh is not yet exhausted; and I am

sure you will find no pleasure here which can deserve either that you should anticipate any part of your future fortune, or that you should condemn yourself and your lady to penurious frugality for the rest of the year.

"I need not tell you what regard you owe to Mrs. Boswell's entreaties; or how much you ought to study the happiness of her who studies yours with so much diligence, and of whose kindness you enjoy such good effects. Life cannot subsist in society but by reciprocal concessions. She permitted you to ramble last year; you must permit her now to keep you at home.

"Your last reason is so serious, that I am unwilling to, oppose it. Yet you must remember, that your image of worshipping once a year in a certain place, in imitation of the Jews, is but a comparison; and *simile non est idem*; if the annual resort to Jerusalem was a duty to the Jews, it was a duty because it was commanded; and you have no such command, therefore no such duty. It may be dangerous to receive too readily, and indulge too fondly, opinions, from which, perhaps, no pious mind is wholly disengaged, of local sanctity and local devotion. You know what strange effects⁴ they have produced over a great part of the Christian world. I am now writing, and you, when you read this, are reading under the eye of Omnipresence.

"To what degree fancy is to be admitted into religious offices, it would require much deliberation to determine. I am far from intending totally to exclude it. Fancy is a faculty bestowed by our Creator, and it is reasonable that all his gifts should be used to his glory, that all our faculties should co-operate in his worship; but they are to co-operate according to the will of him that gave them, according to the order which his wisdom has established. As ceremonies prudential or convenient are less obligatory than positive ordinances, as bodily worship is only the token to others or ourselves of mental adoration, so fancy is always to act in subordination to reason. We may take fancy for a companion, but must follow reason as our guide. We may allow fancy to suggest certain ideas in certain places; but reason must always be heard, when she tells us, that those ideas and those places have no natural or necessary relation. When we enter a church we habitually recall to mind the duty of adoration, but we must not omit adoration for want of a temple: because we know, and ought to remember, that the Universal Lord is every where present; and that, therefore, to come to Iona, or to Jerusalem, though it may be useful, cannot be necessary.

"Thus I have answered your letter, and have not answered it negligently. I love you too well to be careless when you are serious.

"I think I shall be very diligent next week about our travels, which I have too long neglected. — I am, dear Sir, your most, &c., SAM. JOHNSON.

"Compliments to Madam and Miss."

¹ Mr. Fox, as Sir James Mackintosh informed me, was brought in by Mr. Burke, and this meeting at the club was the only link of acquaintance between Mr. Fox and Johnson. — CROKER.

² It is odd that he does not mention Mr. Gibbon, whose admission seems to have been contemporary with Steevens's. — CROKER.

³ This applies to one of Johnson's rude speeches, the mere

repetition of which by Dr. Blair, Johnson, with more ingenuity than justice, chose to consider as equivalent to the original offence; but it turned out that Blair had *not* told the story. — CROKER.

⁴ Alluding probably to the shrines, pilgrimages, &c. of the Roman Catholics, and perhaps to that great military pilgrimage the Crusades. — CROKER.

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

" May 10. 1774.

" DEAR SIR, — The lady who delivers this has a law-suit, in which she desires to make use of your skill and eloquence, and she seems to think that she shall have something more of both for a recommendation from me; which, though I know how little you want any external incitement to your duty, I could not refuse her, because I know that at least it will not hurt her, to tell you that I wish her well. — I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

BOSWELL TO JOHNSON.

" Edinburgh, May 12. 1774.

" Lord Hailes has begged of me to offer you his best respects, and to transmit to you specimens of 'Annals of Scotland, from the Accession of Malcolm Kenmore to the death of James V.,' in drawing up which his lordship has been engaged for some time. His lordship writes to me thus: — 'If I could procure Dr. Johnson's criticisms, they would be of great use to me in the prosecution of my work, as they would be judicious and true. I have no right to ask that favour of him. If you could, it would highly oblige me.'

" Dr. Blair requests you may be assured that he did not write to London what you said to him, and that neither by word nor letter has he made the least complaint of you; but, on the contrary, has a high respect for you, and loves you much more since he saw you in Scotland. It would both divert and please you to see his eagerness about this matter."

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

" Streatham, June 12. 1774.

" DEAR SIR, — Yesterday I put the first sheets of the 'Journey to the Hebrides' to the press. I have endeavoured to do you some justice in the first paragraph. It will be one volume in octavo, not thick.

" It will be proper to make some presents in Scotland. You shall tell me to whom I shall give; and I have stipulated twenty-five for you to give in your own name. Some will take the present better from me, others better from you. In this, you who are to live in the place ought to direct. Consider it. Whatever you can get for my purpose send me; and make my compliments to your lady and both the young ones. — I am, Sir, your, &c.,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

BOSWELL TO JOHNSON.

" Edinburgh, June 24. 1774.

" You do not acknowledge the receipt of the various packets which I have sent to you. Neither can I prevail with you to answer my letters, though you honour me with returns. You have said nothing to me about poor Goldsmith¹, nothing about Langton.

" I have received for you, from the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge in Scotland, the

following Erse books: — 'The New Testament,' 'Baxter's Call,' 'The Confession of Faith of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster,' 'The Mother's Catechism,' 'A Gaelic and English Vocabulary.'"²

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

" July 4. 1774.

" DEAR SIR, — I wish you could have looked over my book before the printer, but it could not easily be. I suspect some mistakes; but as I deal, perhaps, more in notions than in facts, the matter is not great; and the second edition will be mended, if any such there be. The press will go on slowly for a time, because I am going into Wales to-morrow.

" I should be very sorry if I appeared to treat such a character as Lord Hailes otherwise than with high respect. I return the sheets³, to which I have done what mischief I could; and finding it so little, thought not much of sending them. The narrative is clear, lively, and short.

" I have done worse to Lord Hailes than by neglecting his sheets: I have run him in debt. Dr. Horne, the president of Magdalen College in Oxford, wrote to me about three months ago, that he purposed to reprint Walton's Lives, and desired me to contribute to the work: my answer was, that Lord Hailes intended the same publication; and Dr. Horne has resigned it to him. His lordship must now think seriously about it.

" Of poor dear Dr. Goldsmith there is little to be told, more than the papers have made public. He died of a fever, I am afraid, more violent by uneasiness of mind. His debts began to be heavy, and all his resources were exhausted. Sir Joshua is of opinion that he owed not less than two thousand pounds. Was ever poet so trusted before?

" You may, if you please, put the inscription thus: —

" *'Maria Scotorum Regina nata 15 —, a suis in exilium acta 15 —, ab hospitâ neci data 15 —.'* You must find the years.

" Of your second daughter you certainly gave the account yourself, though you have forgotten it. While Mrs. Boswell is well, never doubt of a boy. Mrs. Thrale brought, I think, five girls running, but while I was with you she had a boy.

" I am obliged to you for all your pamphlets, and of the last I hope to make some use. I made some of the former. — I am, dear Sir, your most affectionate servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

" My compliments to all the three ladies."

JOHNSON TO LANGTON,

At Langton.

" July 5. 1774.

" DEAR SIR, — You have reason to reproach me that I have left your last letter so long unanswered, but I had nothing particular to say. Chambers, you find, is gone far, and poor Goldsmith is gone

my delay has given any reason for supposing that I have not a very deep sense of the honour done me by asking my judgment, I am very sorry." — BOSWELL.

¹ Dr. Goldsmith died April 4. this year. — BOSWELL.

² These books Dr. Johnson presented to the Bodleian Library. — BOSWELL.

³ On the cover enclosing them Dr. Johnson wrote, "If

much further. He died of a fever, exasperated, as I believe, by the fear of distress. He had raised money and squandered it, by every artifice of acquisition and folly of expense. But let not his frailties be remembered; he was a very great man.

"I have just begun to print my Journey to the Hebrides, and am leaving the press to take another journey into Wales, whither Mr. Thrale is going, to take possession of, at least, five hundred a year, fallen to his lady. All at Streatham, that are alive, are well.

"I have never recovered from the last dreadful illness¹, but flatter myself that I grow gradually better; much, however, yet remains to mend. *Κύριε ἐλέησον.*²

"If you have the Latin version of 'Busy, curious, thirsty fly,' be so kind as to transcribe and send it; but you need not be in haste, for I shall be I know not where, for at least five weeks. I wrote the following tetrastick on poor Goldsmith:—

Τὸν τάφον εἰσάρας τὸν Ὀλιβάριον κόνιν
Ἄφροσι μὴ σεμνῇ, Ξεῖνε, πόδεσσι πάτει.
Οἶσι μέμλε φῶσις, μέτρων χάρις, ἔργα παλαιῶν,
Κλαίετε ποιητὴν, ἱστορικόν, φυσικόν.³

"Please to make my most respectful compliments to all the ladies, and remember me to young George and his sisters. I reckon George begins to show a pair of heels. Do not be sullen now, but let me find a letter when I come back. I am, dear Sir, your affectionate, humble servant.

"SAM. JOHNSON."

BOSWELL TO JOHNSON.

"Edinburgh, Aug. 30. 1774.

"You have given me an inscription for a portrait of Mary Queen of Scots, in which you, in a short and striking manner, point out her hard fate. But you will be pleased to keep in mind, that my picture is a representation of a particular scene in her history; her being forced to resign her crown, while she was imprisoned in the castle of Lochleven. I must, therefore, beg that you will be kind enough to give me an inscription suited to that particular scene; or determine which of the two formerly transmitted to you is the best; and at any rate, favour me with an English translation. It will be doubly kind if you comply with my request speedily.

"Your critical notes on the specimen of Lord Hailes's 'Annals of Scotland' are excellent. I agreed with you on every one of them. He himself objected only to the alteration of *free* to *brave*, in the passage where he says that Edward 'departed with the glory due to the conqueror of a free people.' He says, to call the Scots brave would only add to the glory of their conqueror. You will make allowance for the national zeal of our annalist. I now send a few more leaves of the Annals, which I hope you will peruse, and return with observations, as you did upon the former occasion. Lord Hailes writes to me thus: 'Mr.

Boswell will be pleased to express the grateful sense which Sir David Dalrymple has of Dr. Johnson's attention to his little specimen. The further specimen will show that

'Even in an *Edward* he can see desert.'

"It gives me much pleasure to hear that a republication of Isaac Walton's Lives is intended. You have been in a mistake in thinking that Lord Hailes had it in view. I remember one morning, while he sat with you in my house, he said, that there should be a new edition of Walton's Lives; and you said that 'they should be benoted a little.' This was all that passed on that subject. You must, therefore, inform Dr. Horne, that he may resume his plan. I enclose a note concerning it; and if Dr. Horne will write to me, all the attention that I can give shall be cheerfully bestowed upon what I think a pious work, the preservation and elucidation of Walton, by whose writings I have been most pleasingly edified."

BOSWELL TO JOHNSON.

"Edinburgh, Sept. 16. 1774.

"Wales has probably detained you longer than I supposed. You will have become quite a mountaineer, by visiting Scotland one year and Wales another. You must next go to Switzerland. Cambria will complain, if you do not honour her also with some remarks. And I find *concessere columnæ*, the booksellers expect another book. I am impatient to see your 'Tour to Scotland and the Hebrides.' Might you not send me a copy by the post as soon as it is printed off?"

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"London, Oct. 1. 1774.

"DEAR SIR, — Yesterday I returned from my Welsh journey. I was sorry to leave my book suspended so long; but having an opportunity of seeing, with so much convenience, a new part of the island, I could not reject it. I have been in five of the six counties of North Wales; and have seen St. Asaph and Bangor, the two seats of their bishops; have been upon Penmanmaur and Snowdon, and passed over into Anglesea. But Wales is so little different from England, that it offers nothing to the speculation of the traveller.

"When I came home, I found several of your papers, with some pages of Lord Hailes's Annals, which I will consider. I am in haste to give you some account of myself, lest you should suspect me of negligence in the pressing business which I find recommended to my care, and which I knew nothing of till now, when all care is vain.⁴

"In the distribution of my books I purpose to follow your advice, adding such as shall occur to me. I am not pleased with your notes of remembrance added to your names, for I hope I shall not easily forget them.

Here Goldsmith lies. O ye, who deeds of Eld,
Or Nature's works, or sacred Song regard;
With reverence tread — for he in all excelled;
Historian and Philosopher and Bard.

CROKER 1846.

⁴ I had written to him, to request his interposition in behalf of a convict, who I thought was very unjustly condemned. — BOSWELL.

¹ Although his *Letters* and his *Prayers and Meditations* speak of his late illness as merely "a cold and cough," it would seem by this use of the word "dreadful," that it had, at some time, taken a more serious character. We have no trace of any illness since that of 1766, which could be called dreadful. — CROKER.

² The Greek for "Lord have mercy upon us." — CROKER.

³ This has never been to my knowledge translated, I have attempted it.

"I have received four Erse books, without any direction, and suspect that they are intended for the Oxford library. If that is the intention, I think it will be proper to add the metrical psalms, and whatever else is printed in Erse, that the present may be complete. The donor's name should be told.

"I wish you could have read the book before it was printed, but your distance does not easily permit it. I am sorry Lord Hailes does not intend to publish Walton; I am afraid it will not be done so well, if it be done at all. I purpose now to drive the book forward. Make my compliments to Mrs. Boswell, and let me hear often from you. I am, &c.,
SAM. JOHNSON."

This tour to Wales, which was made in company with Mr. Mrs. [and Miss] Thrale, though it no doubt contributed to his health and amusement, did not give an occasion to such a discursive exercise of his mind as our tour to the Hebrides. I do not find that he kept any journal or notes of what he saw there. All that I heard him say of it was, that "instead of bleak and barren mountains, there were green and fertile ones; and that one of the castles in Wales would contain all the castles that he had seen in Scotland."¹

CHAPTER XLVI.

1774.

Dr. Johnson's Diary of a Tour into Wales. — Chatsworth. — Dovedale. — Kedleston. — Derby. — Combermere. — Hawkestone. — Chester. — St. Asaph. — Denbigh. — Holywell. — Rhuddlan Castle. — Penmaen-Muwr. — Bangor. — Caernarvon. — Bodeville. — Conway Castle. — Omberley. — Hagley. — The Leasowes. — Blenheim. — Beaconsfield.

¹ Mr. Boswell was mistaken in supposing that Johnson kept no journal of his Welsh tour: on the contrary, he kept a minute diary of the same kind as that which Mr. Boswell published of his subsequent visit to Paris, and as ample probably as that on which he founded his "*Journey to the Hebrides*." It was preserved by his servant, Barber, and how it escaped Mr. Boswell's research is not known; but it was first published in 1816, by Mr. Duppá, and with his permission republished by me, for the purpose "of filling up" (to use Mr. Duppá's words) "that chasm in the Life of Johnson, which Mr. Boswell was unable to supply." I have added a selection of Mr. Duppá's own notes, and some others communicated to him by Mrs. Piozzi, in MS., too late for his use. The whole affords a chapter in Johnson's life, and many incidental notices of manners, if not very important, at least too curious to be omitted. A collation of the original MS., kindly entrusted to Mr. Murray, for Mr. Wright's edition, by its present proprietor, the Rev. Archdeacon Butler, of Shrewsbury, has supplied many corrections, and some omissions, in Mr. Duppá's text. — CROKER, 1835.

² Mr. Richard Green was an apothecary, and related to Dr. Johnson. He had a considerable collection of antiquities, natural curiosities, and ingenious works of art. — DUPPÁ.

³ Dr. Erasmus Darwin: at this time he lived at Lichfield, where he had practised as a physician from the year 1756. Miss Seward says, that Johnson and Darwin had only one or two interviews. Mutual and strong dislike subsisted between

DIARY. — 1774.

Tuesday, July 5. — We left Streatham 11 A. M. — Price of four horses two shillings a mile. — Barnet 1 40' P. M. — On the road I read Tully's Epistles — At night at Dunstable.

Wednesday, July 6. — To Lichfield, eighty-three miles. To the Swan.

Thursday, July 7. — To Mrs. Porter's — To the cathedral — To Mrs. Aston's — To Mr. Green's² — Mr. Green's museum was much admired, and Mr. Newton's china.

Friday, July 8. — To Mr. Newton's — To Mrs. Cobb's — Dr. Darwin's³ — I went again to Mrs. Aston's. She was sorry to part.

Saturday, July 9. — Breakfasted at Mr. Garrick's⁴ — Visited Miss Vyse⁵ — Miss Seward⁶ — Went to Dr. Taylor's [at Ashbourn] — I read a little on the road in Tully's Epistles and Martial — Mart. 8th, 44., *lino pro limo*.⁷

Sunday, July 10. — Morning, at church. Company at dinner.

Monday, July 11. — At Ilam — At Oakover — I was less pleased with Ilam than when I saw it first; but my friends were much delighted.

Tuesday, July 12. — At Chatsworth. — The water willow⁸ — The cascade shot out from many spouts — The fountains — The water tree — The smooth floors in the highest rooms⁹ — Atlas fifteen hands inch and half¹⁰ — River running through the park — The porticoes on the sides support two galleries for the first floor — My friends were not struck with the house — It fell below my ideas of the furniture — The staircase is in the corner of the house — The hall in the corner the grandest room, though only a room of passage — On the ground-floor, only the chapel and breakfast-room, and a small library; the rest, servants' rooms and offices — A bad inn.

Wednesday, July 13. — At Matlock.

Thursday, July 14. — At dinner at Oakover; too deaf to hear, or much converse — Mrs. Gell — The chapel at Oakover — The

them. Dr. Darwin died April 18. 1802, in his sixty-ninth year. — DUPPÁ.

⁴ "Peter Garrick, the elder brother of David. I think he was an attorney, but he seemed to lead an independent life, and talked all about fishing. Dr. Johnson advised him to read *Walden's Angler*, repeating some verses from it." — *Piozzi MS.* — CROKER.

⁵ Daughter of Archdeacon Vyse, wife afterwards of Madan, Bishop of Peterborough. — CROKER.

⁶ "Dr. Johnson would not suffer me to speak to Miss Seward." — *Piozzi MS.* So early was the coolness between them. — CROKER.

⁷ In the edition of Martial, which he was reading, the last word of the line

"Deuflat, et lento splendescat turibula limo,"

was, no doubt, misprinted *limo*. — CROKER.

⁸ "There was a water-work at Chatsworth with a concealed spring, which, upon touching, spouted out streams from every bough of a willow tree. I remember Lady Keith (Miss Thrale), then ten years old, was the most amused by it of any of the party." — *Piozzi MS.* — CROKER.

⁹ Old oak floors polished by rubbing. Johnson, I suppose, wondered that they should take such pains with the garrets. — *Piozzi MS.* — CROKER.

¹⁰ This was a race-horse, which was very handsome and very gentle, and attracted so much of Dr. Johnson's attention, that he said, "of all the Duke's possessions, I like Atlas best." — DUPPÁ.

wood of the pews grossly painted — I could not read the epitaph — Would learn the old hands.

Friday, July 15. — At Ashbourn — Mrs. Dyott and her daughters came in the morning — Mr. Dyott¹ dined with us — We visited Mr. Flint.

“Τὸ πρῶτον Μῶρος, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον εἶλεν Ἑρασμὺς,
τὸ τρίτον ἐκ Μουσῶν στέμμα Μίκυλλος ἔχει.”²

Saturday, July 16. — At Dovedale, with Mr. Langley³ and Mr. Flint. It is a place that deserves a visit; but did not answer my expectation. The river is small, the rocks are grand. Reynard's Hall is a cave very high in the rock; it goes backward several yards, perhaps eight. To the left is a small opening, through which I crept, and found another cavern, perhaps four yards square; at the back was a breach yet smaller, which I could not easily have entered, and, wanting light, did not inspect. I was in a cave yet higher, called Reynard's Kitchen. There is a rock called the Church, in which I saw no resemblance that could justify the name. Dovedale is about two miles long. We walked towards the head of the Dove, which is said to rise about five miles above two caves called the Dog-holes, at the end of Dovedale. In one place, where the rocks approached, I proposed, to build an arch from rock to rock over the stream, with a summer-house upon it. The water murmured pleasantly among the stones. — I thought that the heat and exercise mended my hearing. I bore the fatigue of the walk, which was very laborious, without inconvenience. — There were with us Gilpin⁴ and Parker.⁵ Having heard of this place before, I had formed some imperfect idea, to which it did not answer. Brown⁶ says he was disappointed. I certainly expected a larger river where I found only a clear quick brook. I believe I had imaged a valley enclosed by rocks, and terminated by a broad expanse of water. He that has seen Dovedale has no need to visit the Highlands. — In the afternoon we visited old Mrs. Dale.⁷

July 17. — Sunday morning, at church — Κάθ[αρως]⁸ — Afternoon at Mr. Dyott's.

Monday, July 18. — Dined at Mr. Gell's.⁹

Tuesday, July 19. — We went to Kedleston to see Lord Scardale's new house, which is very costly, but ill contrived — The hall is very

stately, lighted by three skylights; it has two rows of marble pillars, dug, as I hear, from Langley, in a quarry of Northamptonshire; the pillars are very large and massy, and take up too much room: they were better away. Behind the hall is a circular saloon, useless, and therefore ill contrived — The corridors that join the wings to the body are mere passages through segments of circles — The state bed-chamber was very richly furnished — The dining parlour was more splendid with gilt plate than any that I have seen — There were many pictures — The grandeur was all below — The bedchambers were small, low, dark, and fitter for a prison than a house of splendour — The kitchen has an opening into the gallery, by which its heat and its fumes are dispersed over the house — There seemed in the whole more cost than judgment. — We went then to the silk mill at Derby, where I remarked a particular manner of propagating motion from a horizontal to a vertical wheel — We were desirous to leave the men only two shillings — Mr. Thrale's bill at the inn for dinner was eighteen shillings and tenpence. — At night I went to Mr. Langley's, Mrs. Wood's, Captain Astle, &c.

Wednesday, July 20. — We left Ashbourn¹⁰ and went to Buxton — Thence to Pool's Hole, which is narrow at first, but then rises into a high arch; but is so obstructed with crags, that it is difficult to walk in it — There are two ways to the end, which is, they say, six hundred and fifty yards from the mouth — They take passengers up the higher way, and bring them back the lower — The higher way was so difficult and dangerous, that, having tried it, I desisted — I found no level part. — At night we came to Macclesfield, a very large town in Cheshire, little known — It has a silk mill: it has a handsome church, which, however, is but a chapel, for the town belongs to some parish of another name [Prestbury], as Stourbridge lately did to Old Swinford — Macclesfield has a town-hall, and is, I suppose, a corporate town.

Thursday, July 21. — We came to Congleton, where there is likewise a silk mill — Then to Middlewich, a mean old town, without any manufacture, but, I think, a corporation — Thence we proceeded to Nantwich, an old town: from the inn, I saw scarcely any but

¹ The Dyotts are a respectable and wealthy family, still residing near Lichfield. The royalist who shot Lord Brooke when assailing St. Chad's Cathedral, in Lichfield, on St. Chad's day, is said to have been a Mr. Dyott. — CROKER.

² “More bore away the first crown of the Muses, Erasmus the second, and Micellus the third.” Micellus's real name was *Moltzer*; see his article in *Bayle*. His best work was *De re Metrica*. — CROKER.

³ The Rev. Mr. Langley was master of the grammar-school at Ashbourn; a near neighbour of Dr. Taylor's, but not always on friendly terms with him; which used to perplex their common friend Johnson. — CROKER.

⁴ Mr. Gilpin was an accomplished youth, at this time an under-graduate at Oxford. His father was an old silversmith near Lincoln's Inn Fields. — *Piozzi MS.* — CROKER.

⁵ John Parker, of Brownsholme, in Lancashire, Esq. — DUPPA.

⁶ Mrs. Piozzi “rather thought” that this was *Capability Brown*, whose opinion on a point of landscape, probably gathered from Gilpin or Parker, Johnson thought worth recording. — CROKER.

⁷ Mrs. Dale was at this time 93. — DUPPA.

⁸ Throughout this diary he veils his notices of his health in the learned languages. — DUPPA. In one of his letters, excusing himself to Mrs. Thrale for narrating some details of his infirmities, he says, “that Dr. Lawrence used to say that medical treatises should be always in Latin.” — CROKER.

⁹ Mr. Gell, of Hopton Hall, the father of Sir William Gell, well known for his Topography of Troy. — DUPPA.

¹⁰ It would seem, that from the 9th to the 20th, the headquarters of the party were at Ashbourn, whence they had made the several excursions noted. — CROKER.

black timber houses—I tasted the brine water, which contains much more salt than the sea water—By slow evaporation, they make large crystals of salt; by quick boiling, small granulations—It seemed to have no other preparation. At evening we came to Combermere¹, so called from a wide lake.

Friday, July 22.—We went upon the mere—I pulled a bulrush of about ten feet—I saw no convenient boats upon the mere.

Saturday, July 23.—We visited Lord Kilmorey's house²—It is large and convenient, with many rooms, none of which are magnificently spacious—The furniture was not splendid—The bed-curtains were guarded³—Lord Kilmorey⁴ showed the place with too much exultation—He has no park, and little water.

Sunday, July 24.—We went to a chapel, built by Sir Lynch Cotton for his tenants—It is consecrated, and therefore, I suppose, endowed—It is neat and plain—The communion plate is handsome—It has iron pales and gates of great elegance, brought from Llewenny, “for Robert has laid all open.”⁵

[Monday, July 25.]—We saw Hawkestone, the seat of Sir Rowland Hill, and were conducted by Miss Hill over a large tract of rocks and woods; a region abounding with striking scenes and terrific grandeur. We were always on the brink of a precipice, or at the foot of a lofty rock; but the steeps were seldom naked: in many places, oaks of uncommon magnitude shot up from the crannies of stone; and where there were not tall trees, there were underwoods and bushes. Round the rocks is a narrow patch cut upon the stone, which is very frequently hewn into steps; but art has proceeded no further than to make the succession of wonders safely accessible. The whole circuit is somewhat laborious; it is terminated by a grotto cut in a rock to a great extent, with many windings, and supported by pillars, not hewn into regularity, but such as imitate the sports of nature, by asperities and protuberances. The place is without any dampness, and would afford an habitation not uncomfortable. There were from space to space seats in the rock. Though it wants water, it excels Dovedale by the extent of its prospects, the awfulness of its shades, the horrors of its precipices, the verdure of its

hollows, and the loftiness of its rocks: the ideas which it forces upon the mind are the sublime, the dreadful, and the vast. Above is inaccessible altitude, below is horrible profundity; but it excels the garden of Ilam only in extent. Ilam has grandeur, tempered with softness; the walker congratulates his own arrival at the place, and is grieved to think that he must ever leave it. As he looks up to the rocks, his thoughts are elevated; as he turns his eyes on the valleys, he is composed and soothed. He that mounts the precipices at Hawkestone wonders how he came thither, and doubts how he shall return. His walk is an adventure, and his departure an escape. He has not the tranquillity, but the horror, of solitude; a kind of turbulent pleasure, between fright and admiration. Ilam is the fit abode of pastoral virtue, and might properly diffuse its shades over nymphs and swains. Hawkestone can have no fitter inhabitants than giants of mighty bone and bold emprise; men of lawless courage and heroic violence. Hawkestone should be described by Milton, and Ilam by Parnell.—Miss Hill showed the whole succession of wonders with great civility. The house was magnificent, compared with the rank of the owner.⁶

Tuesday, July 26.—We left Combermere, where we have been treated with great civility—Sir L. is gross, the lady weak and ignorant—The house is spacious, but not magnificent; built at different times, with different materials; part is of timber, part of stone or brick, plastered and painted to look like timber—It is the best house that ever I saw of that kind—The mere, or lake, is large, with a small island, on which there is a summer-house, shaded with great trees; some were hollow, and have seats in their trunks.—In the afternoon we came to West-Chester; (my father went to the fair when I had the small-pox.) We walked round the walls⁷, which are complete, and contain one mile three quarters, and one hundred and one yards; within them are many gardens: they are very high, and two may walk very commodiously side by side—On the inside is a rail—There are towers from space to space, not very frequent, and I think not all complete.

Wednesday, July 27.—We staid at Chester and saw the cathedral, which is not of the first

¹ At this time the seat of Sir Lynch Salusbury Cotton, now of Lord Combermere, his grandson, from which place he takes his title. It stands on the site of an old abbey of Benedictine monks. The lake, or mere, is about three quarters of a mile long, but of no great width.—DUPPA.

² Shavington Hall, in Shropshire.—DUPPA.

³ Probably guarded from wear or accident by being covered with some inferior material; or, perhaps, as Mr. Lockhart suggests, trimmed with lace—an old meaning of the word guarded.—CROKER.

⁴ John Needham, tenth Viscount Kilmorey.—CROKER.

⁵ Robert was the eldest son of Sir Lynch Salusbury Cotton, and lived at Llewenny at this time.—DUPPA. All the seats in England were, a hundred years ago, enclosed with walls, through which there were generally “iron pales and gates.” Mr. Cotton had, no doubt, “laid all open” by

prostrating the walls; and the pales and gates, thus become useless, had been transferred to the church.—CROKER.

⁶ The whole of this passage is so inflated and pompous, that it looks more like a burlesque of Johnson's style than his own travelling notes.—CROKER.

⁷ It would seem that a quarrel between Johnson and Mrs. Thrale took place at Chester, for she writes to Mr. Duppa—“Of those ill-fated walls Dr. Johnson might have learned the extent from any one. He has since put me fairly out of countenance by saying, ‘I have known my mistress fifteen years, and never saw her fairly out of humour but on Chester wall’: it was because he would keep Miss Thrale beyond her hour of going to bed to walk on the wall, where, from the want of light, I apprehended some accident to her—perhaps to him.”—Piozzi MS.—CROKER.

rank — The castle. In one of the rooms the assizes are held, and the refectory of the old abbey, of which part is a grammar-school — The master seemed glad to see me — The cloister is very solemn; over it are chambers in which the singing men live — In one part of the street was a subterranean arch, very strongly built; in another, what they called, I believe rightly, a Roman hypocaust — Chester has many curiosities.

Thursday, July 28. — We entered Wales, dined at Mould, and came to Llewenny.¹

Friday, July 29. — We were at Llewenny — In the lawn at Llewenny is a spring of fine water, which rises above the surface into a stone basin, from which it runs to waste, in a continual stream, through a pipe — There are very large trees — The hall at Llewenny is forty feet long, and twenty-eight broad — The dining-parlours thirty-six feet long, and twenty-six broad — It is partly sashed, and partly has casements.

Saturday, July 30. — We went to Bâch y Graig², where we found an old house, built 1567, in an uncommon and incommodious form — My mistress chattered about tiring, but I prevailed on her to go to the top — The floors have been stolen: the windows are stopped — The house was less than I seemed to expect — The river Clwyd is a brook with a bridge of one arch, about one third of a mile³ — The woods have many trees, generally young; but some which seem to decay — They have been lopped — The house never had a garden — The addition of another story would make an useful house, but it cannot be great — Some buildings which Clough, the founder, intended for warehouses, would make store-chambers and servants' rooms — The ground seems to be good — I wish it well.

Sunday, July 31. — We went to church at St. Asaph — The cathedral, though not large, has something of dignity and grandeur — The cross aisle is very short — It has scarcely any monuments — The quire has, I think, thirty-two stalls of antique workmanship — On the backs were Canonici, Prebend, Cancellarius, Thesaurarius, Præcentor — The constitution I do not know, but it has all the usual titles and dignities — The service was sung only in the Psalms and Hymns — The bishop [Dr. Shipley] was very civil — We went to his palace, which is but mean — They have a library, and design a room — There lived Lloyd and Dodwell.⁴

Monday, August 1. — We visited Denbigh,

and the remains of its castle — The town consists of one main street, and some that cross it, which I have not seen — The chief street ascends with a quick rise for a great length: the houses are built some with rough stone, some with brick, and a few are of timber — The castle, with its whole enclosure, has been a prodigious pile; it is now so ruined that the form of the inhabited part cannot easily be traced — There are, as in all old buildings, said to be extensive vaults, which the ruins of the upper works cover and conceal, but into which boys sometimes find a way — To clear all passages, and trace the whole of what remains, would require much labour and expense — We saw a church, which was once the chapel of the castle, but is used by the town: it is dedicated to St. Hilary, and has an income of about — At a small distance is the ruin of a church said to have been begun by the great Earl of Leicester, and left unfinished at his death — One side, and I think the east end, are yet standing — There was a stone in the wall over the doorway, which, it was said, would fall and crush the best scholar in the diocese — One Price would not pass under it. They have taken it down — We then saw the chapel of Llewenny, founded by one of the Salusburys: it is very complete: the monumental stones lie in the ground — A chimney has been added to it, but it is otherwise not much injured, and might be easily repaired. — We went to the parish church of Denbigh, which, being near a mile from the town, is only used when the parish officers are chosen — In the chapel, on Sundays, the service is read thrice, the second time only in English, the first and third in Welsh — The bishop came to survey the castle, and visited likewise St. Hilary's chapel, which is that which the town uses — The hay-barn, built with brick pillars from space to space, and covered with a roof — A more elegant and lofty hovel — The rivers here are mere torrents, which are suddenly swelled by the rain to great breadth and great violence, but have very little constant stream; such are the Clwyd and the Elwy — There are yet no mountains — The ground is beautifully embellished with woods, and diversified by inequalities — In the parish church of Denbigh is a bas-relief of Lloyd the antiquary, who was before Camden — He is kneeling at his prayers.⁵

Tuesday, Aug. 2. — We rode to a summer-house of Mr. Cotton, which has a very extensive prospect; it is meanly built, and unskil-

¹ Llewenny-hall, as I have already observed, was the residence of Robert Cotton, Esq., Mrs. Thrale's cousin-german. Here Mr. and Mrs. Thrale and Dr. Johnson staid three weeks, making visits and short excursions in the neighbourhood and surrounding country. — CROKER.

² This was the mansion-house of the estate which had fallen to Mrs. Thrale, and was the cause of this visit to Wales. Incredible as it may appear, it is certain that this lady imported from Italy a nephew of Piozzi's, and, making him assume her maiden name of *Salisbury*, bequeathed to this foreigner (if she did not give it in her life-time) this ancient

patrimonial estate, to the exclusion of her own children. — CROKER.

³ Meaning, probably, one third of a mile from the house. — CROKER.

⁴ Lloyd was raised to the see of St. Asaph in 1680. He was one of the seven bishops. He died Bishop of Worcester, Aug. 30. 1717. — Dodwell was a man of extensive learning, and an intimate friend of Lloyd. — DUPPA.

⁵ Humphry Lloyd was a native of Denbigh, practised there as a physician, and also represented the town in parliament. He died 1568. — DUPPA.

fully disposed — We went to Dymerechion church, where the old clerk acknowledged his mistress — It is the parish church of Bâch y Graig; a mean fabric; Mr. Salusbury [Mrs. Thrale's father] was buried in it: Bâch y Graig has fourteen seats in it. As we rode by, I looked at the house again — We saw Llannerech, a house not mean, with a small park very well watered — There was an avenue of oaks, which, in a foolish compliance with the present mode, has been cut down — A few are yet standing; the owner's name is Davies — The way lay through pleasant lanes, and overlooked a region beautifully diversified with trees and grass. At Dymerechion church there is English service only once a month — this is about twenty miles from the English border — The old clerk had great appearance of joy at the sight of his mistress, and foolishly said, that he was now willing to die — He had only a crown given him by my Mistress — At Dymerechion church the texts on the walls are in Welsh.

Wednesday, Aug. 3. — We went in the coach to Holywell — Talk with mistress about flattery¹ — Holywell is a market town, neither very small nor mean — The spring called Winifred's Well is very clear, and so copious, that it yields one hundred tuns of water in a minute — It is all at once a very great stream, which, within perhaps thirty yards of its irruption, turns a mill, and in a course of two miles, eighteen mills more — In descent, it is very quick — It then falls into the sea — The well is covered by a lofty circular arch, supported by pillars; and over this arch is an old chapel, now a school — The chancel is separated by a wall — The bath is completely and indecently open — A woman bathed while we all looked on — In the church, which makes a good appearance, and is surrounded by galleries to receive a numerous congregation, we were present while a child was christened in Welsh — We went down by the stream to see a prospect, in which I had no part — We then saw a brass work, where the lapis calaminaris is gathered, broken, washed from the earth and the lead, though how the lead was separated I did not see; then calcined, afterwards ground fine, and then mixed by fire with copper — We saw several strong fires with melting pots, but the construction of the fireplaces I did not learn — At a copper-work, which receives its pigs of copper, I think, from Warrington, we saw a plate of copper put hot between steel rollers, and spread thin; I know not whether the upper roller was set to a certain distance, as I suppose, or acted only by its weight — At an iron-work I saw round bars formed by

a notched hammer and anvil — There I saw a bar of about half an inch or more square, cut with shears worked by water, and then beaten hot into a thinner bar — The hammers, all worked, as they were, by water, acting upon small bodies, moved very quick, as quick as by the hand — I then saw wire drawn, and gave a shilling — I have enlarged my notions, though, not being able to see the movements, and having not time to peep closely, I know less than I might — I was less weary, and had better breath, as I walked farther.

Thursday, Aug. 4. — Rhudlan Castle is still a very noble ruin; all the walls still remain, so that a complete platform, and elevations, not very imperfect, may be taken — It encloses a square of about thirty yards — The middle space was always open — The wall is, I believe, about thirty feet high, very thick, flanked with six round towers, each about eighteen feet, or less, in diameter — Only one tower had a chimney, so that there was² commodity of living — It was only a place of strength — The garrison had, perhaps, tents in the area. — Stapylton's house is pretty³; there are pleasing shades about it, with a constant spring that supplies a cold bath — We then went to see a cascade — I trudged unwillingly, and was not sorry to find it dry⁴ — The water was, however, turned on, and produced a very striking cataract — They are paid a hundred pounds a year for permission to divert the stream to the mines — The river, for such it may be termed, rises from a single spring, which, like that of Winifred's, is covered with a building — We called then at another house belonging to Mr. Lloyd, which made a handsome appearance — This country seems full of very splendid houses — Mrs. Thrale lost her purse — She expressed so much uneasiness, that I concluded the sum to be very great; but when I heard of only seven guineas, I was glad to find that she had so much sensibility of money. — I could not drink this day either coffee or tea after dinner — I know not when I missed before.

Friday, Aug. 5. — Last night my sleep was remarkably quiet — I know not whether by fatigue in walking, or by forbearance of tea. I gave [up] the ipecacuanha — *Vin. emet.* had failed; so had *tartar emet.* I dined at Mr. Myddleton's, of Gwynnynog — The house was a gentleman's house, below the second rate, perhaps below the third, built of stone roughly cut — The rooms were low, and the passage above stairs gloomy, but the furniture was good — The table was well supplied, except

¹ "He said that I flattered the people to whose houses we went: I was saucy, and said I was obliged to be civil for *two* — meaning himself and me. He replied, nobody would thank me for compliments they did not understand. At Gwynnynog (Mr. Middleton's), however, he was flattered, and was happy of course." — *Piozzi MS.* — CROKER.

² "No" or "little" is here probably omitted. — CROKER.

³ Bodryddan (pronounced, writes Mrs. Piozzi, *Potrothan*), formerly the residence of the Stapyltons, the parents of five co-heiresses, of whom Mrs. Cotton, afterwards Lady Salusbury Cotton, was one. — *DUFFA.*

⁴ "He teased Mrs. Cotton about her dry cascade till she was ready to cry." — *Piozzi MS.* — CROKER.

that the fruit was bad—It was truly the dinner of a country gentleman¹—Two tables were filled with company, not inelegant—After dinner, the talk was of preserving the Welsh language—I offered them a scheme—Poor Evan Evans was mentioned as incorrigibly addicted to strong drink—Worthington was commended²—Myddleton is the only man who, in Wales, has talked to me of literature—I wish he were truly zealous—I recommended the republication of David ap Rhees's Welsh Grammar—Two sheets of *Hebriides* came to me for correction to-day, F, G.³

Saturday, Aug. 6.—Κάθ[αραί] ἐρ[αστική].—I corrected the two sheets—My sleep last night was disturbed—Washing at Chester and here, 5s. 1d.—I did not read—I saw to-day more of the outhouses at Llewenny—It is, in the whole, a very spacious house.

Sunday, Aug. 7.—I was at church at Bodfari. There was a service used for a sick woman, not canonically, but such as I have heard, I think, formerly at Lichfield, taken out of the visitation.—Καθ. μετρώς.—The church is mean, but has a square tower for the bells, rather too stately for the church.

Observations.—*Dixit injustus*, Ps. 36., has no relation to the English⁴—*Preserve us, Lord*⁵, has the name of Robert Wisedome, 1618. *Barker's Bible*—*Battologiam ab iteratione*, recte distinguit Erasmus. *Mod. Orandi Deum*, p. 56. 144.⁶—Southwell's Thoughts of his own death⁷—Baudius on Erasmus.⁸

Monday, Aug. 8.—The bishop and much

company dined at Llewenny⁹—Talk of Greek, and of the army—The Duke of Marlborough's officers useless¹⁰—Read Phocylidis¹¹, distinguished the paragraphs—I looked in Leland: an unpleasant book of mere hints—"Lichfield school ten pounds, and five pounds from the hospital."¹²

Wednesday, Aug. 10.—At Lloyd's, of Maesmynnian; a good house, and a very large walled garden—I read Windus's Account of his Journey to Mequinez, and of Stewart's Embassy¹³—I had read in the morning Wasse's Greek Trochaics to Bentley: they appeared inelegant, and made with difficulty—The Latin elegy contains only common-place, hastily expressed, so far as I have read, for it is long—They seem to be the verses of a scholar, who has no practice of writing—The Greek I did not always fully understand—I am in doubt about the sixth and last paragraphs; perhaps they are not printed right, for εὐροκον perhaps εὐστοχον. q?—The following days [11th, 12th, and 13th], I read here and there—The *Bibliotheca Literaria* was so little supplied with papers that could interest curiosity, that it could not hope for long continuance¹⁴—Wasse¹⁵, the chief contributor, was an unpolished scholar, who, with much literature, had no art or elegance of diction, at least in English.

Sunday, Aug. 14.—At Bodfari I heard the second lesson read, and the sermon preached in Welsh. The text was pronounced both in Welsh and English—The sound of the Welsh,

¹ Mrs. Piozzi, in one of her letters to Mr. Duppa on this passage, says, "Dr. Johnson loved a fine dinner, but would eat perhaps more heartily of a coarse one—boiled beef or veal pie; fish he seldom passed over, though he said that he only valued the sauce, and that every body eat the first as a vehicle for the second. When he poured oyster sauce over plum pudding, and the melted butter flowing from the toast into his chocolate, one might surely say that he was nothing less than delicate."—CROKER.

² Johnson's friend, Dr. Worthington, was resident in a Welsh living, which the family afterwards visited, post, 8th Sept.—CROKER.

³ F, G, are the printer's signatures, by which it appears that at this time five sheets had already been printed.—DUPPA.

⁴ Dr. Johnson meant that the words of the Latin version, "*Dixit injustus*," prefixed to the 36th Psalm (one of those appointed for the day), had no relation to the English version in the *Liturgy*: "My heart showeth me the wickedness of the ungodly." The biblical version, however, has some accordance with the Latin, "The transgression of the wicked saith within my heart;" and Bishop Lowth renders it "The wicked man, according to the wickedness of his heart, saith." It is a very perplexed passage. See *Quarterly Review*, vol. 50, p. 540. The biblical version of the Psalms was made by the translators of the whole Bible, under James I., from the original Hebrew, and is closer than the version used in the *Liturgy*, which was made in the reign of Henry VIII. from the Greek.—CROKER.

⁵ This alludes to "A Prayer by R. W." (evidently Robert Wisdome) which Sir Henry Ellis, of the British Museum, has found among the Hymns which follow the old version of the singing Psalms, at the end of Barker's Bible of 1639. It begins,

"Preserve us, Lord, by thy dear word,
From Turk and Pope, defend us, Lord!
Which both would thrust out of his throne
Our Lord Jesus Christ, thy deare son."—CROKER.

⁶ In allusion to our Saviour's censure of vain repetition in prayer (*battologia*—Matt. vi. 7.). Erasmus, in the passage

cited, defends the words "My God! My God!" as an expression of justifiable earnestness.—CROKER.

⁷ This alludes to Southwell's stanzas "Upon the Image of Death," in his *Meonia*, a collection of spiritual poems:—

"Before my face the picture hangs,
That daily should put me in mind
Of those cold names and bitter pangs
That shortly I am like to find;
But, yet, alas! full little I
Do think thereon that I must die," &c.

Robert Southwell was an English Jesuit, who was imprisoned, tortured, and finally, in Feb. 1598, tried, convicted, and next day executed, for teaching the Roman Catholic tenets in England.—CROKER.

⁸ This work, which Johnson was now reading, was, most probably, a little book, entitled *Baudii Epistolæ*, as, in his "Life of Milton," he has made a quotation from it.—DUPPA.

⁹ During our stay at this place, one day at dinner, I meant to please Mr. Johnson particularly with a dish of very young peas. "Are not they charming?" said I to him while he was eating them. "Perhaps," he answered, "they would be so—to a pig."—Piozzi MS.—CROKER.

¹⁰ Bishop Shipley had been a chaplain with the Duke of Cumberland, and probably now entertained Dr. Johnson with some anecdotes collected from his military acquaintance, to which Johnson was led to conclude that the "Duke of Marlborough's officers were useless;" that is, probably, that the duke saw and did every thing himself; a fact which, it presumed, may be told of all great captains.—CROKER.

¹¹ The title of the poem is Πωκυλίας νεύστιχον.—DUPPA.

¹² An extract from Leland's Itinerary, published by Hearne 1710.—DUPPA.

¹³ "To the present Emperor of Fez and Morocco, for the Redemption of Captives, in 1721."—DUPPA.

¹⁴ The *Bibliotheca Literaria* only extended to ten numbers.—DUPPA.

¹⁵ Joseph Wasse was born in 1672, and died Dec. 13. 1774. He published an edition of Sallust, and contributed some papers to the Philosophical Transactions.—CROKER.

in a continued discourse, is not unpleasant — *Βρῶσις ὀλίγη — καθ. α. φ.*¹ — The letter of Chrysostom, against transubstantiation — Erasmus to the Nuns, full of mystic notions and allegories.

Monday, Aug. 15 — Κάθ. — Imbecillitas genum non sine aliquantulo doloris inter ambulandum, quem a prandio magis sensi.²

[On this day he wrote to Mr. Levett.]

JOHNSON TO LEVETT.

"Llewenny, in Denbighshire, Aug. 16. 1774.

"DEAR SIR, — Mr. Thrale's affairs have kept him here a great while, nor do I know exactly when we shall come hence. I have sent you a bill upon Mr. Strahan. — I have made nothing of the *ipecauanha*, but have taken abundance of pills, and hope that they have done me good.

"Wales, so far as I have yet seen of it, is a very beautiful and rich country, all enclosed and planted. Denbigh is not a mean town. Make my compliments to all my friends, and tell Frank I hope he remembers my advice. When his money is out let him have more. I am, Sir, your humble servant,
"SAML. JOHNSON."

Thursday, Aug. 18. — We left Llewenny, and went forwards on our journey — We came to Abergeley, a mean town, in which little but Welsh is spoken, and divine service is seldom performed in English — Our way then lay to the seaside, at the foot of a mountain, called Penmaen Rhôs — Here the way was so steep, that we walked on the lower edge of the hill, to meet the coach, that went upon a road higher on the hill — Our walk was not long, nor unpleasant: the longer I walk, the less I feel its inconvenience — As I grow warm, my breath mends, and I think my limbs grow pliable.

We then came to Conway ferry, and passed in small boats, with some passengers from the stage coach, among whom were an Irish gentlewoman, with two maids, and three little children, of which, the youngest was only a few months old. The tide did not serve the large ferry-boat, and therefore our coach could not very soon follow us — We were, therefore, to stay at the inn. It is now the day of the race at Conway, and the town was so full of company, that no money could purchase lodgings. We were not very readily supplied with cold dinner. We would have staid at Conway if we could have found entertainment, for we were afraid of passing Penmaen Mawr, over which lay our way to Bangor, but by bright daylight, and the

delay of our coach made our departure necessarily late. There was, however, no stay on any other terms than of sitting up all night. The poor Irish lady was still more distressed — Her children wanted rest — She would have been content with one bed, but, for a time, none could be had — Mrs. Thrale gave her what help she could — At last two gentlemen were persuaded to yield up their room, with two beds, for which she gave half a guinea.

Our coach was at last brought, and we set out with some anxiety, but we came to Penmaen Mawr by daylight; and found a way, lately made, very easy, and very safe³ — It was cut smooth, and enclosed between parallel walls; the outer of which secures the passenger from the precipice, which is deep and dreadful — This wall is here and there broken by mischievous wantonness — The inner wall preserves the road from the loose stones, which the shattered steep above it would pour down⁴ — That side of the mountain seems to have a surface of loose stones, which every accident may crumble — The old road was higher, and must have been very formidable — The sea beats at the bottom of the way.

At evening the moon shone eminently bright, and our thoughts of danger being now past, the rest of our journey was very pleasant. At an hour somewhat late we came to Bangor, where we found a very mean inn, and had some difficulty to obtain lodging — I lay in a room, where the other bed had two men.

Friday, Aug. 19. — We obtained boats to convey us to Anglesey, and saw Lord Bulkeley's house, and Beaumaris Castle. — I was accosted by Mr. Lloyd, the schoolmaster of Beaumaris, who had seen me at University College; and he, with Mr. Roberts, the register of Bangor, whose boat we borrowed, accompanied us. Lord Bulkeley's house⁵ is very mean, but his garden is spacious and shady, with large trees and smaller interspersed — The walks are straight, and cross each other, with no variety of plan; but they have a pleasing coolness and solemn gloom, and extend to a great length. The castle is a mighty pile; the outward wall has fifteen round towers, besides square towers at the angles — There is then a void space between the wall and the castle, which has an area enclosed with a wall, which again has towers, larger than those of the outer wall — The towers of the inner castle are, I think, eight — There is likewise a chapel entire, built upon an arch, as I suppose, and beautifully arched with a stone roof, which is yet unbroken — The

¹ Sic, probably for *κάθαρσις ἀντὶ φαρμάκου*. — CROKER.

² "A weakness of the knees, not without some pain in walking, which I feel increased after I have dined." — DUPPA.

³ Penmaen Mawr is a huge rocky promontory, rising nearly 1550 feet perpendicular above the sea. Along a shelf of this precipice is formed an excellent road, well guarded, toward the sea, by a strong wall, supported in many parts by arches turned underneath it. Before this wall was built, travellers sometimes fell down the precipices. — DUPPA.

⁴ The inner wall was, as I have seen, and once nearly ex-

perienced, but an insignificant defence — indeed, none at all — when after frosts or heavy rains the superincumbent masses were disturbed. A rail-road is now in progress along the face of this promontory. — CROKER, 1846.

⁵ Baron Hill is situated just above the town of Beaumaris, at the distance of three quarters of a mile, commanding so fine a view of the sea, and the coast of Caernarvon, that it has been sometimes compared to Mount Edgcumbe, in Devonshire. — DUPPA. In some respects the prospect is much finer, the *Snowdon* range being its background. — CROKER.

entrance into the chapel is about eight or nine feet high, and was, I suppose, higher, when there was no rubbish in the area — This castle corresponds with all the representations of romancing narratives. — Here is not wanting the private passage, the dark cavity, the deep dungeon, or the lofty tower — We did not discover the well — This is the most complete view that I have yet had of an old castle — It had a moat — The towers — We went to Bangor.

Saturday, Aug. 20. — We went by water from Bangor to Caernarvon, where we met Paoli and Sir Thomas Wynne¹ — Meeting by chance with one Troughton², an intelligent and loquacious wanderer, Mr. Thrale invited him to dinner — He attended us to the castle, an edifice of stupendous magnitude and strength; it has in it all that we observed at Beaumaris, and much greater dimensions: many of the smaller rooms floored with stone are entire; of the larger rooms, the beams and planks are all left: this is the state of all buildings left to time — We mounted the eagle tower by one hundred and sixty-nine steps, each of ten inches — We did not find the well; nor did I trace the moat; but moats there were, I believe, to all castles on the plain, which not only hindered access, but prevented mines — We saw but a very small part of this mighty ruin, and in all these old buildings, the subterraneous works are concealed by the rubbish — To survey this place would take much time: I did not think there had been such buildings; it surpassed my ideas.

Sunday, Aug. 21. — [At Caernarvon]. — We were at church; the service in the town is always English; at the parish-church at a small distance, always Welsh — The town has by degrees, I suppose, been brought nearer to the sea-side — We received an invitation to Dr. Worthington — We then went to dinner at Sir Thomas Wynne's — the dinner mean, Sir Thomas civil, his lady nothing³ — Paoli civil — We supped with Colonel Wynne's lady, who lives in one of the towers of the castle — I have not been very well.

Monday, Aug. 22. — We went to visit Bodville⁴, the place where Mrs. Thrale was born, and the churches called Tydweiliog and Llangwinodyl, which she holds by impropria-

tion — We had an invitation to the house of Mr. Griffiths of Bryn o dol, where we found a small neat new-built house, with square-rooms: the walls are of unhewn stone, and therefore thick; for the stones not fitting with exactness, are not strong without great thickness — He had planted a great deal of young wood in walks — Fruit trees do not thrive; but having grown a few years, reach some barren stratum and wither — We found Mr. Griffiths not at home; but the provisions were good.

Tuesday, Aug. 23. — Mr. Griffiths came home the next day — He married a lady who has a house and estate at [Llanver], over against Anglesea, and near Caernarvon, where she is more disposed, at it seems, to reside, than at Bryn o dol — I read Lloyd's account of Mona, which he proves to be Anglesea — In our way to Bryn o dol, we saw at Llanerk a church built crosswise, very spacious and magnificent for this country — We could not see the parson, and could get no intelligence about it.

Wednesday, Aug. 24. — We went to see Bodville — Mrs. Thrale remembered the rooms, and wandered over them, with recollection of her childhood — This species of pleasure is always melancholy — The walk was cut down, and the pond was dry — Nothing was better. We surveyed the churches, which are mean, and neglected to a degree scarcely imaginable — They have no pavement, and the earth is full of holes — The seats are rude benches; the altars have no rails — One of them has a breach in the roof — On the desk, I think, of each lay a folio Welsh Bible of the black letter, which the curate cannot easily read — Mr. Thrale purposes to beautify the churches, and if he prospers, will probably restore the tithes⁵ — The two parishes are, Llangwinody and Tydweiliog — The methodists are here very prevalent — A better church will impress the people with more reverence of public worship — Mrs. Thrale visited a house where she had been used to drink milk, which was left, with an estate of two hundred pounds a year, by one Lloyd, to a married woman who lived with him — We went to Pwllheli, a near old town, at the extremity of the country — Here we bought something to remember the place.

¹ Sir Thomas Wynne, created Lord Newborough, 1778: died 1807. — DUFFA.

² "Lieutenant Troughton I do recollect; loquacious and intelligent he was. He wore a uniform, and belonged, I think, to a man of war." — *Piozzi MS.* He was made a Lieutenant in 1762, and died in 1786, in that rank: he was on half-pay and did not belong to any ship when he met Dr. Johnson, in 1774. It seems then that, even so late as this, half-pay officers wore their uniform in the ordinary course of life. — CROKER.

³ Lady Catharine Percival, daughter of the second Earl of Egmont: this was, it appears, the lady of whom Mrs. Piozzi relates, that "For a lady of quality, since dead, who received us at her husband's seat in Wales with less attention than he had long been accustomed to, he had a rougher denunciation: 'That woman,' cried Johnson, 'is like sour small beer, the beverage of her table, and produce of the wretched country she lives in; like that, she could never have been a good

thing, and even that bad thing is spoiled.'" And it is probably of her too that another anecdote is told: — "We have been visiting at a lady's house, whom, as we returned, some of the company ridiculed for her ignorance: — 'She is ignorant,' said he, 'I believe, of any thing she has been taught, or of any thing she is desirous to know; and I suppose if one wanted a little *run tea*, she might be a proper person enough to apply to.'" Mrs. Piozzi says, in her *Memoirs*, "that Lady Catharine comes off well in the *diary*: He said many severe things of her, which he did not commit to paper." She died in 1782. — CROKER.

⁴ Situated among the mountains of Caernarvonshire. *Piozzi MS.* — CROKER.

⁵ It does not appear that Mr. Thrale carried his good intentions into effect, as in 1869 one parish was only forty three pounds, and the other forty-five pounds, a year. — DUFFA.

Thursday, Aug. 25.—We returned to Caernarvon, where we eat with Mrs. Wynne.

Friday, Aug. 26.—We visited, with Mrs. Wynne¹, Llyn Badarn and Llyn Beris, two lakes, joined by a narrow strait—They are formed by the waters which fall from Snowdon, and the opposite mountains—On the side of Snowdon are the remains of a large fort, to which we climbed with great labour—I was breathless and harassed—The lakes have no great breadth, so that the boat is always near one bank or the other—*Note.* *Queeney's*² goats, one hundred and forty-nine, I think.

Saturday, Aug. 27.—We returned to Bangor, where Mr. Thrale was lodged at Mr. Roberts's, the register.

Sunday, Aug. 28.—We went to worship at the cathedral—The choir is mean; the service was not well read.

Monday, Aug. 29.—We came to Mr. Myddelton's, of Gwynnynog, to the first place, as my Mistress observed, where we have been welcome.³

Note.—On the day when we visited Bodville, we turned to the house of Mr. Griffiths, of Kefnamwyllh, a gentleman of large fortune, remarkable for having made great and sudden improvements in his seat and estate—he has enclosed a large garden with a brick wall—He is considered as a man of great accomplishments—He was educated in literature at the university, and served some time in the army, then quitted his commission, and retired to his lands. He is accounted a good man, and endeavours to bring the people to church.

In our way from Bangor to Conway, we passed again the new road upon the edge of Penmaen Mawr, which would be very tremendous, but that the wall shuts out the idea of danger—In the wall are several breaches, made, as Mr. Thrale very reasonably conjectures, by fragments of rocks which roll

down the mountain, broken perhaps by frost, or worn through by rain. We then viewed Conway—To spare the horses at Penmaen Rhôs, between Conway and St. Asaph, we sent the coach over the road across the mountain with Mrs. Thrale, who had been tired with a walk some time before; and I, with Mr. Thrale and Miss, walked along the edge, where the path is very narrow, and much encumbered by little loose stones, which had fallen down, as we thought, upon the way since we passed it before. At Conway we took a short survey of the castle, which afforded us nothing new—It is larger than that of Beaumaris, and less than that of Caernarvon—It is built upon a rock so high and steep, that it is even now very difficult of access—We found a round pit, which was called the Well; it is now almost filled, and therefore dry—We found the Well in no other castle—There are some remains of leaden pipes at Caernarvon, which, I suppose, only conveyed water from one part of the building to another—Had the garrison had no other supply, the Welsh, who must know where the pipes were laid, could easily have cut them. We came to the house of Mr. Myddelton (on Monday), where we staid to September 6., and were very kindly entertained—How we spent our time, I am not very able to tell⁴—We saw the wood, which is diversified and romantic.

Sunday, Sept. 4.—We dined with Mr. Myddelton, the clergyman, at Denbigh, where I saw the harvest men very decently dressed, after the afternoon service, standing to be hired—On other days, they stand at about four in the morning—they are hired from day to day.

Tuesday, Sept. 6.—We lay at Wrexham; a busy, extensive, and well-built town—it has a very large and magnificent church. It has a famous fair.⁵

Wednesday, Sept. 7.—We came to Chirk Castle.

¹ As we were rowing on the lake, Mrs. Glynn Wynne, wife of Lord Newburgh's brother, who accompanied us, sang Welsh songs to the harp.—*Piozzi MS.*—CROKER.

² Mr. Thrale was near-sighted, and could not see the goats browsing on Snowdon, and he promised his daughter, who was a child of ten years old, a penny for every goat she would show him, and Dr. Johnson kept the account; so that it appears her father was in debt to her one hundred and forty-nine pence. *Queeney* was an epithet, which had its origin in the nursery, by which [in allusion to *Queen Esther*] Miss Thrale (whose name was Esther) was always distinguished by Johnson.—*DUPPA.*

³ "It is very likely I did say so. My relations were not quite as forward as I thought they might have been to welcome a long distant kinsman. The Myddeltons were more cordial. The old colonel had been a fellow collegian with Mr. Thrale and Lord Sandys of Ombersley."—*Piozzi MS.*—CROKER.

⁴ However this may have been, he was both happy and amused during his stay at Gwynnynog, and Mr. Myddelton was flattered by the honour of his visit. To perpetuate the recollection of it, he (to use Mr. Boswell's words) erected an urn on the banks of the rivulet, in the park, where Johnson delighted to stand and recite verses; on which is this inscription:—"This spot was often dignified by the presence of SAMUEL JOHNSON, LL.D., whose Moral Writings, exactly conformable to the Precepts of Christianity, gave ardour to Virtue, and confidence to Truth." In 1777, it would appear from a letter by Johnson to Mrs. Thrale, that he was informed that Mr. Myddelton meditated this honour, which

seemed to be but little to his taste:—"Mr. Myddelton's erection of an urn looks like an intention to bury me alive: I would as willingly see my friend, however benevolent and hospitable, quietly inurned. Let him think, for the present, of some more acceptable memorial."—*DUPPA.*

⁵ It was probably on the 6th Sept., in the way from Wrexham to Chirk, that they passed through Ruabon, where the following occurrence took place:—"A Welch parson of mean abilities, though a good heart, struck with reverence at the sight of Dr. Johnson, whom he had heard of as the greatest man living, could not find any words to answer his inquiries concerning a motto round somebody's arms which adorned a tombstone in Ruabon churchyard. If I remember right, the words were,

'Heb Dw, Heb Dym,
Dw o' diggon.'

And though of no very difficult construction, the gentleman seemed wholly confounded, and unable to explain them; till Mr. Johnson, having picked out the meaning by little and little, said to the man, '*Heb* is a preposition, I believe, Sir, is it not?' My countryman, recovering some spirits upon the sudden question, cried out, 'So I humbly presume, Sir,' very comically.—*Piozzi's Anecdotes.*—CROKER.

* The Myddelton motto, meaning, Without God, without all! God is all-sufficient!—*Piozzi MS.*—CROKER.

Thursday, Sept. 8 — We came to the house of Dr. Worthington¹, at Llanrhaiadr² — Our entertainment was poor, though his house was not bad. The situation is very pleasant, by the side of a small river, of which the bank rises high on the other side, shaded by gradual rows of trees — The gloom, the stream, and the silence, generate thoughtfulness. The town is old, and very mean, but has, I think, a market — In this house, the Welsh translation of the Old Testament was made — The Welsh singing psalms were written by Archdeacon Price — They are not considered as elegant, but as very literal, and accurate — We came to Llanrhaiadr through Oswestry; a town not very little, nor very mean — the church, which I saw only at a distance, seems to be an edifice much too good for the present state of the place.

Friday, Sept. 9. — We visited the waterfall, which is very high, and in rainy weather very copious — There is a reservoir made to supply it — In its fall, it has perforated a rock — There is a room built for entertainment — There was some difficulty in climbing to a near view — Lord Lyttelton³ came near it, and turned back — When we came back, we took some cold meat, and notwithstanding the Doctor's importunities, went that day to Shrewsbury.

Saturday, Sept. 10. — I sent for Gwynn⁴, and he showed us the town — the walls are broken, and narrower than those of Chester — The town is large, and has many gentlemen's houses, but the streets are narrow — I saw Taylor's library — We walked in the Quarry; a very pleasant walk by the river — Our inn was not bad.

Sunday, Sept. 11. — We were at St. Chad's, a very large and luminous church — We were on the Castle Hill.

Monday, Sept. 12. — We called on Dr. Adams⁵, and travelled towards Worcester, through Wenlock; a very mean place, though a borough — At noon, we came to Bridgenorth, and walked about the town, of which one part stands on a high rock, and part very low, by the river — There is an old tower, which, being crooked, leans so much, that it is frightful to pass by it — In the afternoon we came through Kinver, a town in Staffordshire, neat and

closely built — I believe it has only one street — The road was so steep and miry, that we were forced to stop at Hartlebury, where we had a very neat inn, though it made a very poor appearance.

Tuesday, Sept. 13. — We came to Lord Sandys's, at Ombersley, where we were treated with great civility⁶ — The house is large — The hall is a very noble room.

Thursday, Sept. 15. — We went to Worcester, a very splendid city — The cathedral is very noble, with many remarkable monuments — The library is in the chapter-house — On the table lay the Nuremberg Chronicle, I think, of the first edition. We went to the china warehouse — The cathedral has a cloister — The long aisle is, in my opinion, neither so wide nor so high as that of Lichfield.

Friday, Sept. 16. — We went to Hagley, where we were disappointed of the respect and kindness that we expected.⁷

Saturday, Sept. 17. — We saw the house and park, which equalled my expectation — The house is one square mass — The offices are below — The rooms of elegance on the first floor, with two stories of bedchambers, very well disposed above it — The bedchambers have low windows, which abates the dignity of the house — The park has one artificial ruin, and wants water; there is, however, one temporary cascade⁸ — From the farthest hill there is a very wide prospect.

Sunday, Sept. 18. — I went to church — The church is, externally, very mean, and is therefore diligently hidden by a plantation — There are in it several modern monuments of the Lytteltons — There dined with us Lord Dudley, and Sir Edward Lyttelton, of Staffordshire⁹, and his lady — They were all persons of agreeable conversation — I found time to reflect on my birthday, and offered a prayer, which I hope was heard.

Monday Sept. 19. — We made haste away from a place where all were offended¹⁰ — In the way we visited the Leasowes — It was rain, yet we visited all the waterfalls — There are, in one place, fourteen falls in a short line — It is the next place to Ham gardens — Poor Shenstone never tasted his pension — It is not

¹ Dr. Johnson thus notices his death (on the 6th Oct. 1778, aged seventy-five) in a letter to Mrs. Thrale: "My clerical friend Worthington is dead. I have known him long — and to die is dreadful. I believe he was a very good man." — *LETTERS*. — CROKER.

² Llanrhaiadr means *The Village of the Waterfall*, and takes its name from a waterfall, the chief feature of the vicinity. — CROKER.

³ Thomas, the second Lord. — DUPPA.

⁴ Mr. Gwynn, an architect of considerable celebrity, was a bridge at Shrewsbury, and was at this time completing a native across the Severn, called the English Bridge. — DUPPA. See *ante*, p. 181. — C.

⁵ The master of Pembroke College, Oxford; who was also Rector of St. Chad's, in Shrewsbury. — DUPPA.

⁶ It was here that Johnson had as much wall-fruit as he wished, and, as he told Mrs. Thrale, for the only time in his life. — DUPPA. Perhaps it was the only time he ever was at a fine country house at that season. — CROKER.

⁷ This visit was not to Lord Lyttelton, but to his uncle

[called Billy Lyttelton, afterwards, by successive creations, Lord Westcote, and Lord Lyttelton], the father of the present Lord, who lived at a house called Little Hagley. — DUPPA. This gentleman was a friend of Mr. Thrale, and had some years before invited Johnson (through Mrs. Thrale) to visit him at Hagley. — CROKER.

⁸ He was enraged at artificial ruins and temporary cascades, so that I wonder at his leaving his opinion of them dubious: besides he hated the Lytteltons, and would rejoice at an opportunity of insulting them. — *Piazzi MS.* — CROKER.

⁹ John, second Viscount Dudley and Ward, who died in 1788, and Sir Edward Lyttelton, who represented Staffordshire, in several parliaments, and died in May, 1812, at 86, a remarkable specimen of a country gentleman of the old school. — CROKER.

¹⁰ Mrs. Lyttelton, *ci-devant* Caroline Bristow, forced me to play at whist against my liking, and her husband took away Johnson's candle that he wanted to read by — the other end of the room. Those, I trust, were the offences. — *Piazzi MS.* — CROKER.

very well proved that any pension was obtained for him¹—I am afraid that he died of misery.—We came to Birmingham, and I sent for Wheeler², whom I found well.

Tuesday, Sept. 20.—We breakfasted with Wheeler, and visited the manufacture of *Papier maché*—The paper which they use is smooth whited brown; the varnish is polished with rotten stone—Wheeler gave me a tea-board—We then went to Boulton's, who, with great civility, led us through his shops—I could not distinctly see his enginery—Twelve dozen of buttons for three shillings—Spoons struck at once.

Wednesday, Sept. 21.—Wheeler came to us again—We came easily to Woodstock.

Thursday, Sept. 22.—We saw Blenheim and Woodstock park—The park contains two thousand five hundred acres; about four square miles—it has red deer. Mr. Bryant showed me the library with great civility³—*Durandi Rationale*, 1459⁴—*Lascaris' Grammar*, of the first edition⁵, well printed, but much more than later editions—The first *Batrachomyomachia*⁶—The duke sent Mr. Thrale partridges and fruit—At night we came to Oxford.

Friday, Sept. 23.—We visited Mr. Coulson—The ladies wandered about the university.

Saturday, Sept. 24.—*K&th.*—We dine⁷ with Mr. Coulson⁸—Vansittart told me his distemper⁹—Afterwards we were at Burke's [at Beaconsfield], where we heard of the dissolution of the parliament¹⁰—We went home.

¹ Lord Loughborough applied to Lord Bute, to procure Shenstone a pension; but that it was ever asked of the king is not certain. He was made to believe that the patent was actually made out, when his death rendered unnecessary any further concern of his friends for his future ease and tranquillity.—*Anderson.*—WRIGHT.

² Dr. Benjamin Wheeler; he was a native of Oxford, and originally on the foundation of Trinity College. He took his degree of A. M. Nov. 14. 1758, and D. D. July 6. 1770; and was a man of extensive learning. Dr. Johnson styles him "My learned friend, the man with whom I most delighted to converse."—*Letters.*—DUPPA.

³ See *anté*, p. 370.—C.

⁴ This is a work written by William Durand, Bishop of Mendace, and printed on vellum, in folio, by Fust and Schoeffer, in Mentz, 1459. It is the third book that is known to be printed with a date. An imperfect copy was sold at Dr. Askev's sale, 1775, to Elmsley, the bookseller, for £61 10s.—DUPPA.

⁵ This was the first book ever printed in Greek, a copy was bought for the King's library, at Askev's sale, for £21 10s. The first book ever printed in English was the *Histories of Troye*, 1471. A copy was sold by auction in 1812, and brought £1060 10s.—DUPPA.

⁶ 1846. Sold at Askev's sale for £14 14s.—CROKER.

⁷ Of the dinner at *University College* I remember nothing, unless it was there that Mr. Vansittart, a flourishing sort of character, showed off his graceful form by fencing with Mr. Seward, who joined us at Oxford. We had a grand dinner at *Queen's College*, and Dr. Johnson made Miss Thrale and me observe the ceremony of the grace cup; but I have but a faint remembrance of it, and can in nowise tell who invited us, or how we came by our academical honour of hearing our heads drunk in form, and I half believe in Latin.—*Piozzi MS.*—I suspect that writing after a lapse of forty years, Mrs. Piozzi mistook *Queen's for University.*—CROKER.

CHAPTER XLVII.

1774—1775.

Mr. Thrale's Political Position.—*Johnson's "Patriot."*—*Death of young Col.*—*Mr. Perkins.*—*Hooile's Tragedy.*—*Charlotte Lennox.*—*Baretti's "Easy Lessons."*—*Case of Dr. Memis.*—*Lord Hailes's "Annals."*—*Mary Queen of Scots.*—*American Politics.*—*Ossian.*—*Letter to Macpherson.*—*Personal Courage.*—*Foot.*—*Publishes "Journey to the Western Islands."*—*Mr. Knox.*—*Mr. Tytler.*—*Mr. Windham.*—*Irish and Scotch Impudence compared.*—*Ossian Controversy.*—*Visit to Oxford.*

PARLIAMENT having been dissolved, and his friend Mr. Thrale, who was a steady supporter of government, having again to encounter the storm of a contested election, he wrote a short political pamphlet, entitled "The Patriot,"* addressed to the electors of Great Britain; a title which, to factious men who consider a patriot only as an opposer of the measures of government, will appear strangely misapplied. It was, however, written with energetic vivacity; and, except those passages in which it endeavours to vindicate the glaring outrage of the House of Commons in the case of the Middlesex election, and to justify the attempt to reduce our fellow-subjects in America to unconditional submission¹, it contained an admirable display of the properties of a real patriot, in the original and genuine sense;—a sincere, steady, rational, and unbiassed friend to the interests and prosperity of his king and country. It must be acknowledged, however, that

⁸ Mr. Coulson was a senior Fellow of University College, in habit and appearance something like Johnson himself, and was considered in his time an Oxford character. Lord Stowell informed me that he was very eccentric. He would on a fine day hang out of the college windows his various pieces of apparel to air, which used to be universally answered by the young men hanging out from all the other windows, quilts, carpets, rags, and every kind of trash, and this was called an *illumination*. His notions of the eminence and importance of his academic situation were so peculiar, that when he afterwards accepted a college living, he expressed to Lord Stowell his doubts whether, after living so long in the *great world*, he might not grow weary of the comparative retirement of a country parish. I have already disproved Mrs. Piozzi's imagination that this, or, indeed, any Mr. Coulson was the Gelidus of the Rambler.—CROKER.

⁹ See *anté*, p. 117, and p. 244. The distemper was no doubt the occasional discomposure of mind referred to by Johnson in his letters to Mrs. Thrale, quoted in p. 244. n. 2.—CROKER.

¹⁰ They must have spent several days at Beaconsfield, as they there heard of the dissolution which took place on the 30th September. Mrs. Piozzi says, "Dr. Johnson had always a very great personal regard and particular affection for Mr. Burke; and when at this time the general election broke up the delightful society in which we had spent some time at Beaconsfield, Dr. Johnson shook the hospitable master of the house kindly by the hand, and said, "Farewell, my dear Sir, and remember that I wish you all the success which ought to be wished you, which can possibly be wished you, indeed, by an honest man."—*Anecdotes.*—CROKER.

¹¹ These were two points on which it should be kept in mind that Mr. Boswell, though professing himself a high Tory, had probably, through his cultivation of Wilkes's acquaintance, fallen into very whiggish feelings, which even his attachment to Dr. Johnson could not repress.—CROKER.

both in this and his two former pamphlets, there was, amidst many powerful arguments, not only a considerable portion of sophistry, but a contemptuous ridicule of his opponents, which was very provoking.

JOHNSON TO PERKINS.¹

"October 25. 1774.

"SIR, — You may do me a very great favour. Mrs. Williams, a gentlewoman whom you may have seen at Mr. Thrale's, is a petitioner for Mr. Hetherington's charity; petitions are this day issued at Christ's hospital.

"I am a bad manager of business in a crowd; and if I should send a mean man, he may be put away without his errand. I must, therefore, entreat that you will go, and ask for a petition for Anna Williams, whose paper of inquiries was delivered with answers at the counting-house of the hospital on Thursday the 20th. My servant will attend you thither, and bring the petition home when you have it.

"The petition which they are to give us, is a form which they deliver to every petitioner, and which the petitioner is afterwards to fill up, and return to them again. This we must have, or we cannot proceed according to their directions. You need, I believe, only ask for a petition; if they inquire for whom you ask, you can tell them.

"I beg pardon for giving you this trouble; but it is a matter of great importance. I am, Sir, your most humble servant,
SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"London, Oct. 27. 1774.

"DEAR SIR, — There has appeared lately in the papers an account of the boat overset between Mull and Ulva, in which many passengers were lost, and among them Maclean of Col. We, you know, were once drowned²; I hope, therefore, that the story is either wantonly or erroneously told. Pray satisfy me by the next post.

"I have printed 240 pages. I am able to do nothing much worth doing to dear Lord Hailes's book. I will, however, send back the sheets; and hope, by degrees, to answer all your reasonable expectations.

"Mr. Thrale has happily surmounted a very violent and acrimonious opposition; but all joys have their abatement: Mrs. Thrale has fallen from her horse, and hurt herself very much. The rest of our friends, I believe, are well. My compliments to Mrs. Boswell. — I am, Sir, your most affectionate servant,
SAM. JOHNSON."

This letter, which shows his tender concern

for an amiable young gentleman to whom he had been very much obliged in the Hebrides, I have inserted according to its date, though before receiving it I had informed him of the melancholy event that the young Laird of Col was unfortunately drowned.

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"Nov. 26. 1774.

"DEAR SIR, — Last night I corrected the last page of our 'Journey to the Hebrides.' The printer has detained it all this time, for I had, before I went into Wales, written all except two sheets. 'The Patriot' was called for by my political friends on Friday, was written on Saturday, and I have heard little of it. So vague are conjectures at a distance.³ As soon as I can, I will take care that copies [of the *Journal*] be sent to you, for I would wish that they might be given before they are bought: but I am afraid that Mr. Strahan will send to you and to the booksellers at the same time. Trade is as diligent as courtesy. I have mentioned all that you recommended. Pray make my compliments to Mrs. Boswell and the younglings. The club has, I think, not yet met. Tell me, and tell me honestly, what you think and what others say of our travels. Shall we touch the continent?⁴ — I am, dear Sir, your most humble servant,
"SAM. JOHNSON."

In his manuscript diary of this year, there is the following entry:—

Nov. 27. Advent Sunday. I considered that this day, being the beginning of the ecclesiastical year, was a proper time for a new course of life. I began to read the Greek Testament regularly at one hundred and sixty verses every Sunday. This day I began the Acts. — "In this week I read Virgil's Pastorals. I learned to repeat the Pollio and Gallus. I read carelessly the first Georgic."

Such evidences of his unceasing ardour, both for "divine and human lore," when advanced into his sixty-fifth year, and notwithstanding his many disturbances from disease, must make us at once honour his spirit, and lament that it should be so grievously clogged by its material tegument. It is remarkable that he was very fond of the precision which calculation produces. Thus we find in one of his manuscript diaries, "12 pages in 4to. Gr. Test. and 30 pages in Beza's folio, comprise the whole in 40 days."

It is a very handsome compliment, and I believe you speak sincerely." — BOSWELL.

² In the newspapers. — BOSWELL.

³ Alluding to a passage in a letter of mine, where, speaking of his *Journey to the Hebrides*, I say, "But has not *The Patriot* been an interruption, by the time taken to write it, and the time luxuriously spent in listening to its applauses?" — BOSWELL.

⁴ We had projected a voyage together up the Baltic, and talked of visiting some of the more northern regions. — BOSWELL.

¹ Mr. Perkins was for a number of years the worthy superintendant of Mr. Thrale's great brewery, and after his death became one of the proprietors of it; and now resides in Mr. Thrale's house in Southwark, which was the scene of so many literary meetings, and in which he continues the liberal hospitality for which it was eminent. Dr. Johnson esteemed him much. He hung up in the counting-house a fine proof of the admirable mezzotinto of Dr. Johnson, by Doughty; and when Mrs. Thrale asked him, somewhat flippantly, "Why do you put him up in the counting-house?" he answered, "Because, Madam, I wish to have one wise man there." "Sir," said Johnson, "I thank you.

[JOHNSON TO MR. HOLLYER,
Of Coventry.¹

"Dec. 6. 1774.

SIR, — I take the liberty of writing to you, with whom I have no acquaintance, and whom I have therefore very little right to trouble; but as it is about a man equally or almost equally related to both of us, I hope you will excuse it.

"I have lately received a letter from our cousin Thomas Johnson², complaining of great distress. His distress, I suppose, is real; but how can it be prevented? In 1772, about Christmas, I sent him thirty pounds, because he thought he could do something in a shop: many have lived who began with less. In the summer 1773 I sent him ten pounds more, as I had promised him. What was the event? In the spring 1774 he wrote me, and that he was in debt for rent, and in want of clothes. That is, he had in about sixteen months consumed forty pounds, and then writes for more, without any mention of either misconduct or misfortune. This seems to me very strange, and I shall be obliged to you if you can inform me, or make him inform me, how the money was spent; and give your advice what can be done for him with prudence and efficacy.

"He is, I am afraid, not over sensible of the impropriety of his management, for he came to visit me in the summer. I was in the country, which, perhaps, was well for us both: I might have used him harshly, and then have repented.

"I have sent a bill for five pounds, which you will be so kind to get discounted for him, and see the money properly applied, and give me your advice what can be done. — I am, Sir, your humble servant,
SAM. JOHNSON."]
—MS.

JOHNSON TO MR. HOOLE.³

"December 19. 1774.

"DEAR SIR, — I have returned your play⁴, which you will find underscored with red, where there was a word which I did not like. The red will be washed off with a little water. The plot is so well framed, the intricacy so artful, and the disentanglement so easy, the suspense so affecting, and the passionate parts so properly interposed, that I have no doubt of its success. — I am, Sir, your most humble servant,
SAM. JOHNSON."

The first effort of his pen in 1775, was "Proposals for publishing the Works of Mrs. Charlotte Lennox,"[†] in three volumes quarto. In his diary, January 2., I find this entry: — "Wrote Charlotte's Proposals." But, indeed, the internal evidence would have been quite sufficient. Her claim to the favour of the public was thus enforced: —

"Most of the pieces, as they appeared singly,

have been read with approbation, perhaps above their merits, but of no great advantage to the writer. She hopes, therefore, that she shall not be considered as too indulgent to vanity, or too studious of interest, if from that labour which has hitherto been chiefly gainful to others, she endeavours to obtain at last some profits to herself and her children. She cannot decently enforce her claim by the praise of her own performances: nor can she suppose, that, by the most artful and laboured address, any additional notice could be procured to a publication, of which her Majesty has condescended to be the patroness."

He this year also wrote the Preface to Baret's "Easy Lessons in Italian and English."[†]

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"Jan. 14. 1775.

"DEAR SIR, — You never did ask for a book by the post till now, and I did not think on it. You see now it is done. I sent one to the King, and I hear he likes it. I shall send a parcel into Scotland for presents, and intend to give to many of my friends. In your catalogue you left out Lord Auchinleck. — Let me know, as fast as you read it, how you like it; and let me know if any mistake is committed, or any thing important left out. I wish you could have seen the sheets. My compliments to Mrs. Boswell, and to Veronica, and to all my friends. — I am, Sir, your most humble servant,
SAM. JOHNSON."

BOSWELL TO JOHNSON.

"Edinburgh, Jan. 19. 1775.

"Be pleased to accept of my best thanks for your 'Journey to the Hebrides,' which came to me by last night's post. I did really ask the favour twice; but you have been even with me by granting it so speedily. *Bis dat qui cito dat*. Though ill of a bad cold, you kept me up the greatest part of last night: for I did not stop till I had read every word of your book. I looked back to our first talking of a visit to the Hebrides, which was many years ago, when sitting by ourselves in the Mitre tavern in London, I think about *witching time o' night*; and then exulted in contemplating our scheme fulfilled, and a *monumentum perenne* of it erected by your superior abilities. I shall only say, that your book has afforded me a high gratification. I shall afterwards give you my thoughts on particular passages. In the mean time, I hasten to tell you of your having mistaken two names, which you will correct in London, as I shall do here, that the gentlemen who deserve the valuable compliments which you have paid them may enjoy their honours. In p. 106., for *Gordon* read *Murchison*; and in p. 357., for *Maclean* read *Mackled*.⁵

¹ This letter was communicated by Mr. Hollyer's grandson, the Rev. F. S. Statham, to Miss Langton, and by her, a few months since, to me. — CROKER, 1846.

² Thomas Johnson seems to have been the son of Andrew, Dr. Johnson's uncle (*anté*, p. 198.). Mr. Hollyer was the son of an aunt, one of the Fords. Thomas died at Coventry, in May, 1779, leaving a daughter, Mrs. Whiting, and a granddaughter, who are remembered in Dr. Johnson's will. — CROKER.

³ John Hoole, who from this time forward will be found much in Johnson's society, was the son of a watchmaker, born in Dec. 1727. He was a clerk in the India House, but

devoted his leisure to literature. He published translations of Tasso's *Jerusalem* and Ariosto's *Orlando*. He died in 1803. — CROKER.

⁴ *Cleonece*. — BOSWELL. It was produced at Covent Garden, in March, 1775, but without success; in consequence of which Hoole returned to the publisher a part of the money he had received for the copyright. — WRIGHT.

⁵ See *anté*, p. 83. n. 4. — C.

⁶ These and several other errors which Boswell pointed out, Johnson neglected to correct, and they are, therefore, repeated in all editions of his work. Having obtained a copy

* * *

"But I am now to apply to you for immediate aid in my profession, which you have never refused to grant when I requested it. I enclose you a petition for Dr. Memis, a physician at Aberdeen, in which Sir John Dalrymple has exerted his talents, and which I am to answer as counsel for the managers of the royal infirmary in that city. Mr. Jopp, the provost, who delivered to you your freedom, is one of my clients, and, as a citizen of Aberdeen, you will support him.

"The fact is shortly this. In a translation of the charter of the infirmary from Latin into English, made under the authority of the managers, the same phrase in the original is in one place rendered *physician*, but when applied to Dr. Memis is rendered *doctor of medicine*. Dr. Memis complained of this before the translation was printed, but was not indulged with having it altered; and he has brought an action for damages, on account of a supposed injury, as if the designation given to him was an inferior one, tending to make it be supposed he is not a *physician*, and consequently to hurt his practice. My father has dismissed the action as groundless, and now he has appealed to the whole court."¹

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"Jan. 21. 1775.

"DEAR SIR, — I long to hear how you like the book; it is, I think, much liked here. But Macpherson is very furious; can you give me any more intelligence about him, or his Fingal? Do what you can, and do it quickly. Is Lord Hailes on our side? Pray let me know what I owed you when I left you, that I may send it to you.

"I am going to write about the Americans.* If you have picked up any hints among your lawyers, who are great masters of the law of nations, or if your own mind suggests any thing, let me know. But mum, it is a secret. — I will send your parcel of books as soon as I can; but I cannot do as I wish. However, you find every thing mentioned in the book, which you recommended.

"Langton is here; we are all that ever we were. He is a worthy fellow, without malice, though not without resentment.³ Poor Beauclerk is so ill that his life is thought to be in danger. Lady Di nurses

him with very great assiduity. Reynolds has taken too much to strong liquor⁴, and seems to delight in his new character.

"This is all the news that I have; but as you love verses, I will send you a few which I made upon Inch Kenneth⁵; but remember the condition — you shall not show them, except to Lord Hailes, whom I love better than any man whom I know so little. If he asks you to transcribe them for him, you may do it, but I think he must promise not to let them be copied again, nor to show them as mine.

"I have at last sent back Lord Hailes's sheets. I never think about returning them, because I alter nothing. You will see that I might as well have kept them. However, I am ashamed of my delay; and if I have the honour of receiving any more, promise punctually to return them by the next post. Make my compliments to dear Mrs. Boswell, and to Miss Veronica. I am, dear Sir, yours most faithfully,
SAM. JOHNSON."⁶

BOSWELL TO JOHNSON.

"Edinburgh, Jan. 27. 1775.

"You rate our lawyers here too high, when you call them great masters of the law of nations. . . . As for myself, I am ashamed to say I have read little and thought little on the subject of America. I will be much obliged to you, if you will direct me where I shall find the best information of what is to be said on both sides. It is a subject vast in its present extent and future consequences. The imperfect hints which now float in my mind tend rather to the formation of an opinion that our government has been precipitant and severe in the resolutions taken against the Bostonians. Well do you know that I have no kindness for that race. But nations, or bodies of men, should, as well as individuals, have a fair trial, and not be condemned on character alone. Have we not express contracts with our colonies, which afford a more certain foundation of judgment, than general political speculations on the mutual rights of states and their provinces or colonies? Pray let me know immediately what to read, and I shall diligently endeavour to gather for you any thing that I can find. Is Burke's speech on American taxation published by himself? Is it authentic? I remember to have heard you say, that you had never

of Boswell's list of errata, I subjoin it in the Appendix. — CROKER, 1846.

¹ In the court of session of Scotland an action is first tried by one of the judges, who is called the Lord Ordinary; and if either party is dissatisfied, he may appeal to the whole court, consisting of fifteen, the Lord President and fourteen other judges, who have both in and out of court the title of Lords from the name of their estates; as, Lord Auchinleck, Lord Monboddo, &c. — BOSWELL.

² The pamphlet of "*Taxation no Tyranny*." — CROKER.

³ This refers to the coolness alluded to, *anté*, p. 265. and p. 292. — CROKER.

⁴ It should be recollected that this fanciful description of his friend was given by Johnson after he himself had become a water-drinker. — BOSWELL. Johnson had been a water-drinker ever since 1766, and therefore, that could not be his motive for making, nine years later, an observation on Sir Joshua's "*new character*." Sir Joshua was *always* convivial, but in moderation, and this expression of Johnson's was either a mere pleasantry, or arose out of that fancy which he, as Boswell elsewhere tells us, entertained, that every one who drank wine, in any quantity whatsoever, was more or less drunk. — CROKER.

⁵ See *anté*, p. 378. — C.

⁶ He now sent me a Latin inscription for my historical

picture, Mary Queen of Scots, and afterwards favoured me with an English translation. Mr. Alderman Boydell, that eminent patron of the arts, has subjoined them to the engraving [by Legat] from my picture: —

"*Maria Scotorum Regina,
Hominum seditiosorum
Contumeliosis lassata,
Minis terribis, clamoribus victa,
Libello, per quem
Regno cedit,
Lacrimans trepidansque
Nomen apponit.*"

"*Mary, Queen of Scots,
Harassed, terrified, and overpowered
By the insults, menaces,
And clamours
Of her rebellious subjects,
Sets her hand,
With tears and confusion,
To a resignation of the kingdom.*" — BOSWELL.

I cannot but think that a less ambiguous phrase might have been better than "*regno cedit*," which, at first sight and intrinsically, presents the idea of *quitting the kingdom*, rather than of *resigning the crown*." — CROKER.

considered East Indian affairs; though, surely, they are of much importance to Great Britain. Under the recollection of this, I shelter myself from the reproach of ignorance about the Americans. If you write upon the subject, I shall certainly understand it. But, since you seem to expect that I should know something of it, without your instruction, and that my own mind should suggest something, I trust you will put me in the way.

What does Becket mean by the *Originals* of Fingal and other poems of Ossian, which he advertises to have lain in his shop?"

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"Jan. 28. 1775.

"DEAR SIR, — You sent me a case to consider, in which I have no facts but what are against us, nor any principles on which to reason. It is vain to try to write thus without materials. The fact seems to be against you; at least I cannot know or say any thing to the contrary. I am glad that you like the book so well. I hear no more of Macpherson. I shall long to know what Lord Hailes says of it. Lend it him privately. I shall send the parcel as soon as I can. Make my compliments to Mrs. Boswell. I am, Sir, &c., SAM. JOHNSON."

BOSWELL TO JOHNSON.

"Edinburgh, Feb. 2. 1775.

"As to Macpherson, I am anxious to have from yourself a full and pointed account of what has passed between you and him. It is confidently told here, that before your book came out he sent to you, to let you know that he understood you meant to deny the authenticity of Ossian's poems; that the originals were in his possession; that you might have inspection of them, and might take the evidence of people skilled in the Erse language; and that he hoped, after this fair offer, you would not be so uncandid as to assert that he had refused reasonable proof. That you paid no regard to his message, but published your strong attack upon him; and then he wrote a letter to you, in such terms as he thought suited to one who had not acted as a man of veracity. You may believe it gives me pain to hear your conduct represented as unfavourable, while I can only deny what is said, on the ground that your character refutes it, without having any information to oppose. Let me, I beg it of you, be furnished with a sufficient answer to any calumny upon this occasion.

"Lord Hailes writes to me (for we correspond more than we talk together), 'As to Fingal, I see

a controversy arising, and purpose to keep out of its way. There is no doubt that I might mention some circumstances; but I do not choose to commit them to paper.'¹ What his opinion is I do not know. He says, 'I am singularly obliged to Dr. Johnson for his accurate and useful criticisms. Had he given some strictures on the general plan of the work, it would have added much to his favours.' He is charmed with your verses on Inehkenneth, says they are very elegant, but bids me tell you, he doubts whether —

'Legitimas faciunt pectora pura preces'

be according to the rubric², but that is your concern; for, you know, he is a Presbyterian."

JOHNSON TO DR. LAWRENCE.³

"Feb. 7. 1775.

"SIR, — One of the Scotch physicians is now prosecuting a corporation that in some public instrument have styled him *doctor of medicine* instead of *physician*. Boswell desires, being advocate for the corporation, to know whether *doctor of medicine* is not a legitimate title, and whether it may be considered as a disadvantageous distinction. I am to write to-night; be pleased to tell me. I am, Sir, your most, &c., SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"Feb. 7. 1775.

"MY DEAR BOSWELL, — I am surprised that, knowing as you do the disposition of your countrymen to tell lies in favour of each other⁴, you can be at all affected by any reports that circulate among them. Macpherson never in his life offered me a sight of any original, or of any evidence of any kind; but thought only of intimidating me by noise and threats, till my last answer — *that I would not be deterred from detecting what I thought a cheat, by the menaces of a ruffian* — put an end to our correspondence.

"The state of the question is this. He, and Dr. Blair, whom I consider as deceived, say, that he copied the poem from old manuscripts. His copies, if he had them, and I believe him to have none, are nothing. Where are the manuscripts? They can be shown if they exist, but they were never shown. *De non existentibus et non apparentibus*, says our law, *eadem est ratio*. No man has a claim to credit upon his own word, when better evidence, if he had it, may be easily produced. But so far as we can find, the Erse language was never written till very lately for the purposes of religion. A nation that

¹ His lordship, notwithstanding his resolution, did commit his sentiments to paper, and in one of his notes to his Collection of Old Scottish Poetry, says, "to doubt the authenticity of those poems is a refinement in scepticism indeed." — J. BOSWELL, JUN.

² Meaning, perhaps, that this line would, if taken as a general principle, exclude the expediency of any form of prayer, or the necessity of the priesthood, and consequently impugn our liturgy and church establishment; but Dr. Johnson's verses referred to a special case, not of public but of domestic prayer; and the Church of England, though its liturgy affords admirable helps to private devotion, does not affect to regulate it by any form or rubric; it was, however, perhaps, this criticism which induced Mr. Langton (as I suppose) to substitute for this elegant line the obscure and awkward one,

"Sint pro legitimis pura tabella sacris."

See *anté*, p. 378. — C.

³ The learned and worthy Dr. Lawrence, whom Dr. Johnson respected and loved, as his physician and friend. — BOSWELL.

⁴ My friend has, in this letter, relied upon my testimony, with a confidence, of which the ground has escaped my recollection. — BOSWELL. This, and a subsequent phrase in this letter, must have left poor Boswell sorely perplexed between his desire to stand well with his countrymen, and his inability to deny Johnson's assertion. His evasion is awkward enough, for there are several passages in his own *Journal of the Tour* which justify Johnson's appeal to him; for instance, Boswell's observation, *anté*, 20th October, p. 382., on "the confident carelessness of the statements with which he and Dr. Johnson were so constantly deceived and provoked." — CROKER.

cannot write, or a language that was never written, has no manuscripts.

"But whatever he has he never offered to show. If old manuscripts should now be mentioned, I should, unless there were more evidence that can be easily had, suppose them another proof of Scotch conspiracy in national falsehood. Do not censure the expression; you know it to be true.

"Dr. Memis's question is so narrow as to allow no speculation; and I have no facts before me but those which his advocate has produced against you. I consulted this morning the President of the London College of Physicians, who says, that with us, *doctor of physic* (we do not say *doctor of medicine*) is the highest title that a practitioner of physic can have; that *doctor* implies not only *physician*, but teacher of physic; that every *doctor* is legally a *physician*; but no man, not a *doctor*, can practise *physic* but by licence particularly granted. The doctorate is a licence of itself. It seems to us a very slender cause of prosecution.

"I am now engaged, but in a little time I hope to do all you would have. My compliments to Madam and Veronica. I am, Sir, your most humble servant,
SAM. JOHNSON."

What words were used by Mr. Macpherson in his letter to the venerable sage, I have never heard; but they are generally said to have been of a nature very different from the language of literary contest. Dr. Johnson's answer appeared in the newspapers of the day, and has since been frequently republished; but not with perfect accuracy. I give it as dictated to me by himself, written down in his presence, and authenticated by a note in his own handwriting, "*This, I think, is a true copy.*"¹

JOHNSON TO MACPHERSON.

"MR. JAMES MACPHERSON,—I received your foolish and impudent letter. Any violence offered me I shall do my best to repel; and what I cannot do for myself, the law shall do for me. I hope I never shall be deterred from detecting what I think a cheat, by the menaces of a ruffian.

"What would you have me retract? I thought your book an imposture; I think it an imposture still. For this opinion I have given my reasons to the public, which I here dare you to refute. Your rage I defy. Your abilities, since your Homer, are not so formidable; and what I hear of your morals inclines me to pay regard, not to what you shall say, but to what you shall prove. You may print this if you will.
SAM. JOHNSON."

¹ I have deposited it in the British Museum.—BOSWELL. A careful search has been made in the Museum for this letter, but without success; and of all the MSS. which Boswell says he had deposited there, only the copy of the letter to Lord Chesterfield has been found, and that was not deposited by him, but after his death, "pursuant to the intentions of the late James Boswell, Esq."—P. CUNNINGHAM.

² "Fear was, indeed," says Mrs. Piozzi, "a sensation to which Mr. Johnson was an utter stranger, excepting when some sudden apprehensions seized him that he was going to die; and even then, he kept all his wits about him, to express the most humble and pathetic petitions to the Almighty; and when the first paralytic stroke took his speech

Mr. Macpherson little knew the character of Dr. Johnson, if he supposed that he could be easily intimidated: for no man was ever more remarkable for personal courage. He had, indeed, an awful dread of death, or rather, "of something after death:" and what rational man, who seriously thinks of quitting all that he has ever known, and going into a new and unknown state of being, can be without that dread? But his fear was from reflection; his courage natural. His fear, in that one instance, was the result of philosophical and religious consideration. He feared death, but he feared nothing else, not even what might occasion death.²

Many instances of his resolution may be mentioned. One day, at Mr. Beaucherk's house in the country, when two large dogs were fighting (*anté*, p. 379.), he went up to them, and beat them till they separated; and at another time, when told of the danger there was that a gun might burst if charged with many balls, he put in six or seven, and fired it off against a wall. Mr. Langton told me, that when they were swimming together near Oxford, he cautioned Dr. Johnson against a pool, which was reckoned particularly dangerous; upon which Johnson directly swam into it. He told me himself that one night he was attacked in the street by four men, to whom he would not yield, but kept them all at bay, till the watch came up, and carried both him and them to the round-house. In the playhouse at Lichfield, as Mr. Garrick informed me, Johnson having for a moment quitted a chair which was placed for him between the side scenes, a gentleman took possession of it, and, when Johnson on his return civilly demanded his seat, rudely refused to give it up; upon which Johnson laid hold of it, and tossed him and the chair into the pit.³ Foote, who, so successfully revived the old comedy, by exhibiting living characters, had resolved to imitate Johnson on the stage, expecting great profits from his ridicule of so celebrated a man. Johnson being informed of his intention, and being at dinner at Mr. Thomas Davies's, the bookseller, from whom I had the story, he asked Mr. Davies, "what was the common price of an oak stick?" and being answered sixpence, "Why then, Sir," said he, "give me leave to send your servant to purchase me a shilling one. I'll have a double quantity; for I am

from him, he instantly set about composing a prayer in Latin, at once to deprecate God's mercy, to satisfy himself that his mental powers remained unimpaired, and to keep them in exercise, that they might not perish by permitted stagnation. When one day he had at my house taken tincture of antimony instead of emetic wine, for a vomit, he was himself the person to direct what to do for him, and managed with as much coolness and deliberation as if he had been prescribing for an indifferent person."—CROKER.

³ If Mrs. Piozzi had reported any statement so obviously exaggerated as this, Boswell would have been very indignant.—CROKER.

proper;" and, strange enough, the example he gives does not support his interpretation.—CROKER.

* Johnson, in his Dictionary, has this sense of *deprecate*—"to implore mercy." He, however, adds that "it is not

told Foote means to *take me off*, as he calls it, and I am determined the fellow shall not do it with impunity." Davies took care to acquaint Foote of this, which effectually checked the wantonness of the mimic. Mr. Macpherson's menaces made Johnson provide himself with the same implement of defence; and had he been attacked, I have no doubt that, old as he was, he would have made his corporal prowess be felt as much as his intellectual.

His "Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland" * is a most valuable performance. It abounds in extensive philosophical views of society, and in ingenious sentiment and lively description. A considerable part of it, indeed, consists of speculations, which, many years before he saw the wild regions which we visited together, probably had employed his attention, though the actual sight of those scenes undoubtedly quickened and augmented them. Mr. Orme¹, the very able historian, agreed with me in this opinion, which he thus strongly expressed: "There are in that book thoughts, which, by long revolution in the great mind of Johnson, have been formed and polished like pebbles rolled in the ocean!"

That he was to some degree of excess a *true born Englishman*, so as to have entertained an undue prejudice against both the country and the people of Scotland, must be allowed. But it was a prejudice of the head, and not of the heart.² He had no ill-will to the Scotch; for, if he had been conscious of that, he never would have thrown himself into the bosom of their country, and trusted to the protection of its remote inhabitants with a fearless confidence. His remark upon the nakedness of the country, from its being denuded of trees, was made after having travelled two hundred miles along the eastern coast, where certainly trees are not to be found near the road; and he said it was "a map of the road" which he gave. His disbelief of the authenticity of the poems ascribed to Ossian, a Highland bard, was confirmed in the course of his journey, by a very strict examination of the evidence offered for it; and although their authenticity was made too much a national point by the Scotch, there were many respectable persons in that country, who did not concur in this: so that his judgment upon the question ought not to be decried,

¹ Robert Orme, Esq., the historian of Hindostan, was born at Aningo, in the Travancore country, in 1728, and died at Ealing, 1801. — WRIGHT.

² This is a distinction which I am not sure that I understand. Did Mr. Boswell think that he improved the case by representing Johnson's dislike of Scotland as the result not of feeling but of reason? In truth, in the printed Journal of his Tour, there is nothing that a fair and liberal Scotchman can or does complain of; but his conversation is full of the harshest and often most unjust sarcasms against the Scotch, nationally and individually. Much of this, as reported in these volumes, may be accounted for by his desire to tease Boswell, who, indeed, often provoked him; and if he had had an Irish Boswell, we should have heard some still sharper sarcasms on the Irish; but, after all such allowances, I must repeat my suspicion that there was some personal cause for this unreasonable and, as it appears, unaccountable antipathy. — CROWER.

even by those who differ from him. As to myself, I can only say, upon a subject now become very uninteresting, that when the fragments of Highland poetry first came out, I was much pleased with their wild peculiarity, and was one of those who subscribed to enable their editor, Mr. Macpherson, then a young man, to make a search in the Highlands and Hebrides for a long poem in the Erse language, which was reported to be preserved somewhere in those regions. But when there came forth an Epic poem in six books, with all the common circumstances of former compositions of that nature; and when, upon an attentive examination of it, there was found a perpetual recurrence of the same images which appear in the fragments; and when no ancient manuscript, to authenticate the work, was deposited in any public library, though that was insisted on as a reasonable proof; *who* could forbear to doubt?

Johnson's grateful acknowledgments of kindness received in the course of this tour completely refute the brutal reflections which have been thrown out against him, as if he had made an ungrateful return; and his delicacy in sparing in his book those who we find, from his letters to Mrs. Thrale, were just objects of censure³, is much to be admired. His candour and amiable disposition is conspicuous from his conduct, when informed by Mr. Macleod, of Rasay, that he had committed a mistake, which gave that gentleman some uneasiness. He wrote him a courteous and kind letter, and inserted in the newspapers an advertisement, correcting the mistake.⁴

The observations of my friend Mr. Dempster⁵ in a letter written to me soon after he had read Dr. Johnson's book, are so just and liberal that they cannot be too often repeated (*antè*, p. 399.): —

"There is nothing in the book, from beginning to end, that a Scotchman need to take amiss," &c.

Mr. Knox⁶, another native of Scotland, who has since made the same tour, and published an account of it, is equally liberal.

"I have read," says he, "his book again and again, travelled with him from Berwick to Glenelg, through counties with which I am well acquainted; sailed with him from Glenelg to Rasay, Sky, Rum,

³ I find no one to whom this applies, but Sir Archibald Macdonald, whom Mr. Boswell himself, in his first edition, did not spare. — CROWER.

⁴ We have seen his kind acknowledgment of Macleod's hospitality, and the loss of poor *Col* is recorded in his Journal in affectionate and pathetic terms. — CROWER.

⁵ Boswell was so vehemently attacked by his countrymen, as if he were *particeps criminis* with Dr. Johnson, that he thought it expedient to produce and reproduce these *testimonia insignorum Scotorum* in his own defence. — CROWER.

⁶ I observed with much regret, while the first edition was passing through the press (August, 1790), that this ingenious gentleman is dead. — BOSWELL. Mr. John Knox was, for many years, a bookseller of some eminence in the Strand. Besides the Tour to the Hebrides, he published a "View of the British Empire," and several works having for their object the improvement of the Scottish Fisheries. He died at Dalkeith. — WRIGHT.

Coll, Mull, and Icolmkill, but have not been able to correct him in any matter of consequence. I have often admired the accuracy, the precision, and the justness of what he advances, respecting both the country and the people. — The Doctor has every where delivered his sentiments with freedom, and in many instances with a seeming regard for the benefit of the inhabitants, and the ornament of the country. His remarks on the want of trees and hedges for shade, as well as for shelter to the cattle, are well founded, and merit the thanks, not the illiberal censure, of the natives. He also felt for the distresses of the Highlanders, and explodes with great propriety the bad management of the grounds, and the neglect of timber in the Hebrides."

Having quoted Johnson's just compliments on the Rasay family, he says, —

"On the other hand, I found this family equally lavish in their encomiums upon the Doctor's conversation, and his subsequent civilities to a young gentleman of that country, who, upon waiting upon him at London, was well received, and experienced all the attention and regard that a warm friend could bestow. Mr. Macleod having also been in London, waited upon the Doctor, who provided a magnificent and expensive entertainment in honour of his old Hebridean acquaintance."

And, talking of the military road by Fort Augustus, he says, —

"By this road, though one of the most rugged in Great Britain, the celebrated Dr. Johnson passed from Inverness to the Hebride Isles. His observations on the country and people are extremely correct, judicious, and instructive." — p. 103.

Mr. Tytler, the acute and able vindicator of Mary Queen of Scots, in one of his letters to Mr. James Elphinstone, published in that gentleman's "Forty Years' Correspondence," says, —

"I read Dr. Johnson's 'Tour' with very great pleasure. Some few errors he has fallen into, but of no great importance, and those are lost in the numberless beauties of his work. If I had leisure, I could perhaps point out the most exceptionable places; but at present I am in the country, and have not his book at hand. It is plain he meant to speak well of Scotland; and he has in my apprehension done us great honour in the most capital article, the character of the inhabitants."

His private letters to Mrs. Thrale, written during the course of his journey, which therefore may be supposed to convey his genuine feelings at the time, abound in such benignant sentiment towards the people who showed him civilities, that no man whose temper is not very harsh and sour can retain a doubt of the goodness of his heart.

It is painful to recollect with what rancour he was assailed by numbers of shallow irritable

North Britons, on account of his supposed injurious treatment of their country and countrymen, in his "Journey." Had there been any just ground for such a charge, would the virtuous and candid Dempster have given his opinion of the book, in the terms which I have quoted? Would the patriotic Knox have spoken of it as he has done? Would Mr. Tytler, surely

"— a Scot, if ever Scot there were,"

have expressed himself thus? And let me add, that, citizen of the world as I hold myself to be, I have that degree of predilection for my *natale solum*, nay, I have that just sense of the merit of an ancient nation, which has been ever renowned for its valour, which in former times maintained its independence against a powerful neighbour, and in modern times has been equally distinguished for its ingenuity and industry in civilised life, that I should have felt a generous indignation at any injustice done to it. Johnson treated Scotland no worse than he did even his best friends, whose characters he used to give as they appeared to him, both in light and shade. Some people, who had not exercised their minds sufficiently, condemned him for censuring his friends. But Sir Joshua Reynolds, whose philosophical penetration and justness of thinking were not less known to those who lived with him, than his genius in his art admired by the world, explained his conduct thus: —

"He was fond of discrimination, which he could not show without pointing out the bad as well as the good in every character; and as his friends were those whose characters he knew best, they afforded him the best opportunity for showing the acuteness of his judgment."

He expressed to his friend Mr. Windham, of Norfolk¹, his wonder at the extreme jealousy of the Scotch, and their resentment at having their country described by him as it really was; when to say that it was a country as good as England would have been a gross falsehood. "None of us," said he, "would be offended if a foreigner who has travelled here should say, that vines and olives don't grow in England." And as to his prejudice against the Scotch, which I always ascribed to that nationality which he observed in *them*, he said to the same gentleman, "When I find a Scotchman, to whom an Englishman is as a Scotchman, that Scotchman shall be as an Englishman to me." His intimacy with many gentlemen of Scotland, and his employing so many natives of that country as his amanuenses, proves that his prejudice was not virulent; and I have deposited in the British Museum, amongst other pieces of his writing, the following note in answer to one from me, asking if he would meet me at

¹ The Right Hon. William Windham, of Felbrigg, born 1750, died 1810. He cultivated Johnson's acquaintance for

the last few years of his life with great assiduity, as will be seen in the sequel of this work. — CROKER.

dinner at the Mitre, though a friend of mine, a Scotchman, was to be there:—

"Mr. Johnson does not see why Mr. Boswell should suppose a Scotchman less acceptable than any other man. He will be at the Mitre."

My much-valued friend Dr. Barnard, now Bishop of Killaloe, having once expressed to him an apprehension, that if he should visit Ireland he might treat the people of that country more unfavourably than he had done the Scotch, he answered, with strong pointed double-edged wit, "Sir, you have no reason to be afraid of me. The Irish are not in a conspiracy to cheat the world by false representations of the merits of their countrymen. No, Sir: the Irish are a *fair people*;—they never speak well of one another."

Johnson told me of an instance of Scottish nationality, which made a very unfavourable impression upon his mind. A Scotchman of some consideration in London solicited him to recommend by the weight of his learned authority, to be master of an English school, a person of whom he who recommended him confessed he knew no more but that he was his countryman. Johnson was shocked at this unconscientious conduct.

All the miserable cavillings against his "Journey," in newspapers, magazines, and other fugitive publications, I can speak from certain knowledge, only furnished him with sport. At last there came out a scurrilous volume¹, larger than Johnson's own, filled with malignant abuse, under a name, real or fictitious, of some low man in an obscure corner of Scotland, though supposed to be the work of another Scotchman, who has found means to make himself well known both in Scotland and England. The effect which it had upon Johnson was, to produce this pleasant observation to Mr. Seward, to whom he lent the book: "This fellow must be a blockhead. They don't know how to go about their abuse. Who will read a five shilling book against me? No, Sir, if they had wit, they should have kept pelting me with pamphlets."

BOSWELL TO JOHNSON.

"Edinburgh, Feb. 18. 1775.

"You would have been very well pleased if you had dined with me to-day. I had for my guests,

Macquharrie, young Maclean of Col, the successor of our friend, a very amiable man, though not marked with such active qualities as his brother; Mr. Maclean of Torloisk in Mull², a gentleman of Sir Allan's family; and two of the clan Grant; so that the Highland and Hebridean genius reigned. We had a great deal of conversation about you, and drank your health in a bumper. The toast was not proposed by me, which is a circumstance to be remarked, for I am now so connected with you, that any thing that I can say or do to your honour has not the value of an additional compliment. It is only giving you a guinea out of that treasure of admiration which already belongs to you, and which is no hidden treasure; for I suppose my admiration of you is co-existent with the knowledge of my character.

"I find that the Highlanders and Hebrideans in general are much fonder of your 'Journey,' than the low-country or *hither* Scots. One of the Grants said to-day, that he was sure you were a man of a good heart, and a candid man, and seemed to hope he should be able to convince you of the antiquity of a good proportion of the poems of Ossian. After all that has passed, I think the matter is capable of being proved to a certain degree. I am told that Macpherson got one old Erse MS. from Clanranald, for the restitution of which he executed a formal obligation; and it is affirmed, that the Gaelic (call it Erse or call it Irish) has been written in the Highlands and Hebrides for many centuries. It is reasonable to suppose, that such of the inhabitants as acquired any learning possessed the art of writing as well as their Irish neighbours and Celtic cousins; and the question is, can sufficient evidence be shown of this?

"Those who are skilled in ancient writings can determine the age of MSS., or at least can ascertain the century in which they were written; and if men of veracity, who are so skilled, shall tell us that MSS. in the possession of families in the Highlands and isles are the works of a remote age, I think we should be convinced by their testimony.

"There is now come to this city, Ranald Macdonald from the Isle of Egg, who has several MSS. of Erse poetry, which he wishes to publish by subscription. I have engaged to take three copies of the book, the price of which is to be six shillings, as I would subscribe for all the Erse that can be printed, be it old or new, that the language may be preserved. This man says, that some of his manuscripts are ancient; and, to be sure, one of them which was shown to me does appear to have the duskiness of antiquity. . . . The inquiry is not yet quite hopeless, and I should think that the exact truth may be discovered, if proper means be used. I am, &c.,

"JAMES BOSWELL."

¹ Murphy relates that Johnson one day asked him, "Have you observed the difference between your own country impudence and Scotch impudence?" The answer being in the negative; "Then I will tell you," said Johnson: "the impudence of an Irishman is the impudence of a fly that buzzes about you, and you put it away, but it returns again, and still flutters and teases. The impudence of a Scotchman is the impudence of a leech, that fixes and sucks your blood."—1831. This simile, Mr. Markland observes, is not original. Osborne, speaking of the Scotch who accompanied James I. into England, says, "they hung on him like horse-leeches, till they could get no more." Johnson might have been thinking of an older authority. "In Egypt," says Potter,

"the fly was the hieroglyphic of an *impudent man*, because that insect, being beaten away, always still returns again."—*Grec. Antiq.* ii. 367.—CROKER.

² This was, no doubt, the book styled "*Remarks on Dr. Samuel Johnson's Journey to the Hebrides, &c., by the Rev. Donald McNicol*." It had, by way of motto, a citation from Ray's Proverbs: "*Old men and travellers lie by authority*." It was not printed till 1779. The second Scotchman, whom Mr. Boswell supposes to have helped in this work, Sir James Mackintosh very reasonably surmises to have been Macpherson.—CROKER.

³ Maclean of Torloisk was grandfather to the present Marchioness of Northampton.—WALTER SCOTT.

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"Feb. 25. 1775.

"DEAR SIR, — I am sorry that I could get no books for my friends in Scotland. Mr. Strahan has at last promised to send two dozen to you. If they come, put the names of my friends into them; you may cut them out¹, and paste them with a little starch in the book.

"You then are going wild about Ossian. Why do you think any part can be proved? The dusky manuscript of Egg is probably not fifty years old: if it be an hundred, it proves nothing. The tale of Clanranald is no proof. Has Clanranald told it? Can he prove it? There are, I believe, no Erse manuscripts. None of the old families had a single letter in Erse that we heard of. You say it is likely that they could write. The learned, if any learned there were, could; but knowing by that learning some written language, in that language they wrote, as letters had never been applied to their own. If there are manuscripts, let them be shown, with some proof that they are not forged for the occasion. You say many can remember parts of Ossian. I believe all those parts are versions of the English; at least there is no proof of their antiquity.

"Macpherson is said to have made some translations himself; and having taught a boy to write it, ordered him to say that he had learnt it of his grandmother. The boy, when he grew up, told the story. This Mrs. Williams heard at Mr. Strahan's table. Don't be credulous; you know how little a Highlander can be trusted. Macpherson is, so far as I know, very quiet. Is not that proof enough? Every thing is against him. No visible manuscript: no inscription in the language: no correspondence among friends: no transaction of business, of which a single scrap remains in the ancient families. Macpherson's pretence is that the character was Saxon. If he had not talked unskilfully of *manuscripts*, he might have fought with oral tradition much longer. As to Mr. Grant's information, I suppose he knows much less of the matter than ourselves.

"In the mean time, the bookseller says that the sale² is sufficiently quick. They printed four thousand. Correct your copy wherever it is wrong, and bring it up. Your friends will all be glad to see you. I think of going myself into the country about May.³ I am sorry that I have not managed to send the book sooner. I have left four for you, and do not restrict you absolutely to follow my directions in the distribution. You must use your own discretion.

"Make my compliments to Mrs. Boswell: I suppose she is now beginning to forgive me. I am, dear Sir, your humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

CHAPTER XLVIII.

1775.

Boswell revisits London. — Peter Garrick. — "Taxation no Tyranny." — Dr. Towers's "Answer." — Gerard Hamilton. — Sheridan's Gold Medal to Home. — Mrs. Abington. — Cibber's "Nonjuror." — Boswell's "Surveillance." — Garrick's Prologues. — The Adams. — Garrick's Imitations of Johnson. — Gray's Odes. — Lord Chesterfield's Letters. — Johnson's Diploma of LL.D. — Abyssinian Bruce. — Colman's "Odes to Obscurity and Oblivion." — Mason's "Elfrida," and "Caractacus." — The Bath-Easton Vase. — Fleet Street and Charing Cross.

On Tuesday, 21st March, I arrived in London; and on repairing to Dr. Johnson's before dinner, found him in his study, sitting with Mr. Peter Garrick, the elder brother of David, strongly resembling him in countenance and voice, but of more sedate and placid manners. Johnson informed me, that though Mr. Beauclerk was in great pain, it was hoped he was not in danger, and that he now wished to consult Dr. Heberden, to try the effect of a "*new understanding*." Both at this interview, and in the evening at Mr. Thrale's, where he and Mr. Peter Garrick and I met again, he was vehement on the subject of the Ossian controversy; observing, "We do not know that there are any ancient Erse manuscripts; and we have no other reason to disbelieve that there are men with three heads, but that we do not know that there are any such men." He also was outrageous upon his supposition that my countrymen "*loved Scotland better than truth*," saying, "All of them, — nay not all, — but *droves* of them, would come up, and attest any thing for the honour of Scotland." He also persevered in his wild allegation, that he questioned if there was a tree between Edinburgh and the English border older than himself. I assured him he was mistaken, and suggested that the proper punishment would be that he should receive a stripe at every tree above a hundred years old, that was found within that space. He laughed, and said, "I believe I might submit to it for a *baubee*."

* The doubts which, in my correspondence with him, I had ventured to state as to the justice and wisdom of the conduct of Great Britain towards the American colonies, while I at the same time requested that he would enable me to inform myself upon that momentous subject, he had altogether disregarded and had recently published a pamphlet, en-

¹ From a list in his handwriting. — BOSWELL.

² Of his *Journey*. — BOSWELL. Hannah More says (*Life*, i. 39.) that Cadell told her that he had sold 4000 the first week. This would have been enormous, and seems a mistake for the number printed. — CROKER.

³ It appears by his letters to Mrs. Thrale that about the

end of February in this year, he again visited Oxford, chiefly it would seem, with the friendly design of having Mr. Carte established as riding-master there, under the duchess's Queensberry's donation. For an explanation of which see post, March 12. 1776. He lodged at University College, but was made uncomfortable by a fit of deafness. — CROKER.

titled "Taxation no Tyranny; an Answer to the Resolutions and Address of the American Congress."¹

He had long before indulged most unfavourable sentiments of our fellow-subjects in America. For as early as 1769, I was told by Dr. John Campbell, that he had said of them, "Sir, they are a race of convicts, and ought to be thankful for any thing we allow them short of hanging."²

Of this performance I avoided to talk with him; for I had now formed a clear and settled opinion, that the people of America were well warranted to resist a claim that their fellow-subjects in the mother country should have the entire command of their fortunes, by taxing them without their own consent; and the extreme violence which it breathed appeared to me so unsuitable to the mildness of a Christian philosopher, and so directly opposite to the principles of peace which he had so beautifully recommended in his pamphlet respecting Falkland's Islands, that I was sorry to see him appear in so unfavourable a light. Besides, I could not perceive in it that ability of argument, or that felicity of expression, for which he was, upon other occasions, so eminent. Positive assertion, sarcastical severity, and extravagant ridicule, which he himself reprobated as a test of truth, were united in this rhapsody.

That this pamphlet was written at the desire of those who were then in power, I have no doubt, and indeed, he owned to me, that it had been revised and curtailed by some of them. He told me that they had struck out one passage, which was to this effect:

"That the colonists could with no solidity argue from their not having been taxed while in their infancy, that they should not now be taxed. We do not put a calf into the plough; we wait till he is an ox."

He said, "They struck it out either critically as too ludicrous, or politically as too exasperating. I care not which. It was their business. If an architect says, I will build five stories, and the man who employs him says, I will have only three, the employer is to decide." "Yes, Sir," said I, "in ordinary cases: but should it be so when the architect gives his skill and labour *gratis*?"

Unfavourable as I am constrained to say my opinion of this pamphlet was, yet since it was congenial with the sentiments of numbers at that time, and as every thing relating to the writings of Dr. Johnson is of importance in literary history, I shall therefore insert some passages which were struck out, it does not

appear why, either by himself or those who revised it. They appear printed in a few proof leaves of it in my possession, marked with corrections in his own handwriting. I shall distinguish them by *italics*.

In the paragraph where he says, the Americans were incited to resistance by European intelligence from

"men whom they thought their friends, but who were friends only to themselves,"

there followed —

"and made by their selfishness, the enemies of their country."

And the next paragraph ran thus:

"On the original contrivers of mischief, rather than on those whom they have deluded, let an insulted nation pour out its vengeance."

The paragraph which came next was in these words:

"*Unhappy is that country in which men can hope for advancement by favouring its enemies. The tranquillity of stable government is not always easily preserved against the machinations of single innovators; but what can be the hope of quiet, when factions hostile to the legislature can be openly formed and openly avowed?*"

After the paragraph which now concludes the pamphlet, there follows this, in which he certainly means the great Earl of Chatham, and glances at a certain popular Lord Chancellor.³

"*If, by the fortune of war, they drive us utterly away, what they will do next can only be conjectured. If a new monarchy is erected, they will want a king. He who first takes into his hand the sceptre of America should have a name of good omen. WILLIAM has been known both a conqueror and deliverer; and perhaps England, however contemned, might yet supply them with another WILLIAM. Whigs, indeed, are not willing to be governed; and it is possible that King WILLIAM may be strongly inclined to guide their measures: but Whigs have been cheated like other mortals, and suffered their leader to become their tyrant, under the name of their protector. What more they will receive from England, no man can tell. In their rudiments of empire they may want a Chancellor.*"

Then came this paragraph:

"*Their numbers are, at present, not quite sufficient for the greatness which, in some form of government or other, is to rival the ancient monarchies; but by Dr. Franklin's rule of progression, they will, in a century and a quarter, be more than equal to the inhabitants of Europe. When the Whigs of America are thus*

¹ Published March 7. 1775, by T. Cadell in the Strand. — WRIGHT.

² I am very suspicious of anecdotes at second hand, and cannot believe that this coarse and foolish phrase was seriously uttered by Johnson. Something like it may have

been one of those hasty conversational sarcasms to which he himself confesses he was too prone, and which cannot be regarded as deliberate opinions. — CROKER, 1835.

³ Lord Camden. — CROKER.

multiplied, let the princes of the earth tremble in their palaces. If they should continue to double and to double, their own hemisphere would not contain them. But let not our boldest opposers of authority look forward with delight to this futurity of Whiggism."

How it ended I know not, as it is cut off abruptly at the foot of the last of these proof pages.

His pamphlets in support of the measures of administration were published on his own account, and he afterwards collected them into a volume, with the title of "Political Tracts, by the Author of the Rambler," with this motto:

"Fallitur egregio quisquis sub principe credit
Servitium; nunquam libertas gratior extat
Quam sub rege pio." — *Claudianus*.¹

These pamphlets drew upon him numerous attacks. Against the common weapons of literary warfare he was hardened; but there were two instances of animadversion which I communicated to him, and from what I could judge, both from his silence and his looks, appeared to me to impress him much.²

One was, "A Letter to Dr. Samuel Johnson, occasioned by his late political Publications." It appeared previous to his "Taxation no Tyranny," and was written by Dr. Joseph Towers.³ In that performance, Dr. Johnson was treated with the respect due to so eminent a man, while his conduct as a political writer was boldly and pointedly arraigned, as inconsistent with the character of one, who, if he did employ his pen upon politics,

"it might reasonably be expected should distinguish himself, not by party violence and rancour, but by moderation and by wisdom."

It concluded thus:—

"I would, however, wish you to remember, should you again address the public under the character of a political writer, that luxuriance of imagination or energy of language will ill compensate for the want of candour, of justice, and of truth. And I shall only add, that should I hereafter be disposed to read, as I heretofore have done, the most excellent of all your performances, 'The Rambler,' the pleasure which I have been accustomed to find in it will be much diminished by the reflection that the writer of so moral, so elegant,

and so valuable a work, was capable of prostituting his talents in such productions as 'The False Alarm,' the 'Thoughts on the Transactions respecting Falkland's Islands,' and 'The Patriot.'"

I am willing to do justice to the merit of Dr. Towers, of whom I will say, that although I abhor⁴ his Whiggish democratical notions and propensities (for I will not call them principles), I esteem as an ingenious, knowing, and very convivial man.

The other instance was a paragraph of a letter to me, from my old and most intimate friend the Rev. Mr. Temple, who wrote the character of Gray, which has had the honour to be adopted both by Mr. Mason and Dr. Johnson in their accounts of that poet. The words were,

"How can your great, I will not say your *pious*, but your *moral* friend, support the barbarous measures of administration, which they have not the face to ask even their infidel pensioner Hume to defend?"

However confident of the rectitude of his own mind, Johnson may have felt sincere uneasiness that his conduct should be erroneously imputed to unworthy motives by good men; and that the influence of his valuable writings should on that account be in any degree obstructed or lessened.

He complained to a right honourable friend⁵ of distinguished talents and very elegant manners, with whom he maintained a long intimacy, and whose generosity towards him will afterwards appear, that his pension having been given to him as a literary character, he had been applied to by administration to write political pamphlets; and he was even so much irritated, that he declared his resolution to resign his pension. His friend showed him the impropriety of such a measure, and he afterwards expressed his gratitude, and said he had received good advice. To that friend he once signified a wish to have his pension secured to him for his life; but he neither asked nor received from government any reward whatsoever for his political labours.

On Friday, March 24., I met him at the LITERARY CLUB, where were Mr. Beaulclerk Mr. Langton, Mr. Colman, Dr. Percy, Mr. Vesey, Sir Charles Bunbury, Dr. George For

¹ "He errs who deems obedience to a prince
Slav'ry—a happier freedom never reigns
Than with a pious Monarch."—*Stil*, iii. 113.—*C*.

² Mr. Boswell, by a very natural prejudice, construes Johnson's *silence* and *looks* into something like a concurrence in his own sentiments; but it does not appear that Johnson ever abated one jot of the firmness and decision of his opinion on these questions. See his conversation *passim*, and his letter to John Wesley, *post*, Feb. 6. 1776.—*CROKER*.

³ Dr. Joseph Towers, a miscellaneous writer, and a preacher among the Unitarians, was born in 1737, and died 1799.—*WRIGHT*.

⁴ Boswell is here very inconsistent; for, *abhorring* Dr. Towers's Whiggish democratical notions and propensities, how can he allow any weight to his opinions in a case which called these propensities into full effect; and above

all, how could he suppose that Dr. Johnson, with his known feelings and opinions, could be influenced by a person professing such doctrines?—*CROKER*.

⁵ Mr. Gerard Hamilton. Johnson was certainly dissatisfied with Lord North, and some complaint of that kind he may have made to Mr. Hamilton—but that he ever, as Boswell seems to insinuate, confessed that his political pamphlets did not convey his own real opinions, I entirely discredit, not only from a consideration of Johnson's own character and principles, but from the evidence of all his other friends—persons who knew him more intimately than Mr. Hamilton—Mrs. Thrale, Mr. Murphy, Sir J. Hawke, Mr. Tyers—who all declare that his political pamphlets expressed the opinions which in private he always maintained. Mr. Boswell, we have seen, was of the same opinion until he took up the adverse side of the political question, and then he hints at Johnson's "uneasiness" and "complaints."—*CROKER*.

dyce, Mr. Steevens, and Mr. Charles Fox. Before he came in, he talked of his "Journey to the Western Islands," and of his coming away, "willing to believe the second sight,"¹ which seemed to excite some ridicule. I was then so impressed with the truth of many of the stories of which I had been told, that I avowed my conviction, saying, "He is only *willing* to believe: I *do* believe. The evidence is enough for me, though not for his great mind. What will not fill a quart bottle will fill a pint bottle. I am filled with belief." "Are you?" said Colman; "then cork it up."

I found his "Journey" the common topic of conversation in London at this time, wherever I happened to be. At one of Lord Mansfield's formal Sunday evening conversations, strangely called *Lectures*, his lordship addressed me, "We have all been reading your travels, Mr. Boswell." I answered, "I was but the humble attendant of Dr. Johnson." The Chief-Justice replied, with that air and manner which none, who ever saw and heard him, can forget, "He speaks ill of nobody but Ossian."²

Johnson was in high spirits this evening at the club, and talked with great animation and success. He attacked Swift, as he used to do upon all occasions. "The 'Tale of a Tub' is so much superior to his other writings, that one can hardly believe he was the author of it³: there is in it such a vigour of mind, such a swarm of thoughts, so much of nature, and art, and life." I wondered to hear him say of "Gulliver's Travels,"—"When once you have thought of big men and little men, it is very easy to do all the rest." I endeavoured to make a stand for Swift, and tried to rouse those who were much more able to defend him; but in vain. Johnson at last, of his own accord, allowed very great merit to the inventory of articles found in the pocket of "the Man Mountain," particularly the description of his watch, which it was conjectured was his God, as he consulted it upon all occasions. He observed, that Swift put his name to but two things (after he had a name to put), "The Plan for the Improvement of the English Language," and the last "Draper's Letter."

From Swift, there was an easy transition to

Mr. Thomas Sheridan. JOHNSON. "Sheridan is a wonderful admirer of the tragedy of Douglas, and presented its author with a gold medal. Some years ago, at a coffee-house in Oxford, I called to him, 'Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Sheridan, how came you to give a gold medal to Home, for writing that foolish play?' This, you see, was wanton and insolent; but I *meant* to be wanton and insolent. A medal has no value but as a stamp of merit. And was Sheridan to assume to himself the right of giving that stamp? If Sheridan was magnificent enough to bestow a gold medal as an honorary reward of dramatic excellence, he should have requested one of the Universities to choose the person on whom it should be conferred. Sheridan had no right to give a stamp of merit: it was counterfeiting Apollo's coin."⁴

On Monday, March 27., I breakfasted with him at Mr. Strahan's. He told us, that he was engaged to go that evening to Mrs. Abington's benefit. "She was visiting some ladies whom I was visiting, and begged that I would come to her benefit. I told her I could not hear: but she insisted so much on my coming, that it would have been brutal to have refused her." This was a speech quite characteristical. He loved to bring forward his having been in the gay circles of life; and he was, perhaps, a little vain of the solicitations of this elegant and fashionable actress. He told us the play was to be "The Hypocrite," altered from Cibber's "Nonjuror," so as to satirise the Methodists. "I do not think," said he, "the character of the Hypocrite justly applicable to the Methodists, but it is very applicable to the Nonjurors. I once said to Dr. Madan [Madden], a clergyman of Ireland, who was a great Whig, that perhaps a Nonjuror would have been less criminal in taking the oaths imposed by the ruling power, than refusing them; because refusing them necessarily laid him under almost an irresistible temptation to be more criminal; for a man *must* live, and if he precludes himself from the support furnished by the establishment will probably be reduced to very wicked shifts to maintain himself."⁵ BOSWELL. "I should think, Sir, that a man who took the oaths con-

¹ "Journey," ed. 1785, p. 256.—BOSWELL. Boswell, however, changed his own opinion before he printed his *Tour*. See *ante*, p. 319.—CROKER.

² It is not easy to guess how the *air* and *manner*, even of Lord Mansfield, could have set off such an unmeaning expression as this. Johnson denied the authenticity of the poems attributed to Ossian, but that was not *speaking ill of Ossian*, in the sense which Mr. Boswell evidently gives to the phrase.—CROKER.

³ This doubt has been much agitated on both sides. I think without good reason. See Addison's "Freeholder," May 4th, 1714; "An Apology for the Tale of a Tub;" Dr. Hawkesworth's "Preface to Swift's Works," and Swift's "Letter to Tooke the Printer," and Tooke's "Answer" in that collection; Sheridan's "Life of Swift;" Mr. Courtenay's note on p. 3. of his "Political Review of the Literary and Moral Character of Dr. Johnson;" and Mr. Cooksey's "Essay on the Life and Character of John, Lord Somers, Baron of Evesham." Dr. Johnson here speaks only to the *internal* evidence. I take leave to differ from him, having a very high estimation of the powers of Dr. Swift. His "Sentiments of a Church-of-England-man;" his "Sermon on the Trinity,"

and other serious pieces, prove his learning as well as his acuteness in logic and metaphysics; and his various compositions of a different cast exhibit not only wit, humour, and ridicule, but a knowledge "of nature, and art, and life;" a combination, therefore, of those powers, when (as the "Apology" says) the author was young, his invention at the height, and his reading fresh in his head," might surely produce "The Tale of a Tub."—BOSWELL. See *ante*, p. 154. n. 1. and 277. n. 2. a refutation of Johnson's strange paradoxes about Swift and the *Tale of a Tub*.—CROKER.

⁴ The medal was presented in 1757, and Mr. Whyte, the friend of Sheridan, (*ante*, p. 166. n. 1.) gives its history thus: "When Sheridan undertook to play Douglas in Dublin, he had liberally written to Home, promising him the profits of the third night. It happened, however, that these profits fell very short, and Sheridan was rather perplexed what to do. At first, he thought of offering the author a piece of plate, but, on the suggestion of Mr. Whyte, the idea of a medal was adopted;" and it had, said Whyte, "the additional value of being conveyed to Mr. Home by the hands of Lord Macartney and Lord Bute."—CROKER.

⁵ This was not merely a cursory remark; for in his *Life*

trary to his principles was a determined wicked man, because he was sure he was committing perjury: whereas a Nonjuror might be insensibly led to do what was wrong without being so directly conscious of it." JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, a man who goes to bed to his patron's wife is pretty sure that he is committing wickedness." BOSWELL. "Did the nonjuring clergymen do so, Sir?" JOHNSON. "I am afraid many of them did."¹

I was startled at this argument, and could by no means think it convincing. Had not his own father complied with the requisition of government?² (as to which he once observed to me, when I pressed him upon it, "*That, Sir, he was to settle with himself;*") he would probably have thought more unfavourably of a Jacobite who took the oaths:

"——— had he not resembled
My father as he *swore* ——."

Mr. Strahan talked of launching into the great ocean of London, in order to have a chance for rising into eminence; and observing that many men were kept back from trying their fortunes there, because they were born to a competency, said, "Small certainties are the bane of men of talents;" which Johnson confirmed. Mr. Strahan put Johnson in mind of a remark which he had made to him: "There are few ways in which a man can be more innocently employed than in getting money." "The more one thinks of this," said Strahan, "the juster it will appear."

Mr. Strahan had taken a poor boy from the country as an apprentice, upon Johnson's recommendation. Johnson having inquired after him, said, "Mr. Strahan, let me have five guineas on account, and I'll give this boy one. Nay, if a man recommends a boy, and does nothing for him, it is sad work. Call him down."

I followed him into the court-yard³, behind Mr. Strahan's house; and there I had a proof of what I heard him profess, that he talked alike to all. "Some people tell you that they let themselves down to the capacity of their

hearers. I never do that. I speak uniformly, in as intelligible a manner as I can."

"Well, my boy, how do you go on?" "Pretty well, Sir; but they are afraid I ar' n't strong enough for some parts of the business." JOHNSON. "Why, I shall be sorry for it; for, when you consider with how little mental power and corporeal labour a printer can get a guinea a week, it is a very desirable occupation for you. Do you hear—take all the pains you can; and if this does not do, we must think of some other way of life for you. There's a guinea."

Here was one of the many, many instances of his active benevolence. At the same time, the slow and sonorous solemnity with which, while he bent himself down, he addressed a little thick short-legged boy, contrasted with the boy's awkwardness and awe, could not but excite some ludicrous emotions.

I met him at Drury Lane playhouse in the evening. Sir Joshua Reynolds, at Mrs. Abington's request, had promised to bring a body of wits to her benefit; and having secured forty places in the front boxes, had done me the honour to put me in the group. Johnson sat on the seat directly behind me; and as he could neither see nor hear at such a distance from the stage, he was wrapped up in grave abstraction, and seemed quite a cloud, amidst all the sunshine of glitter and gaiety. I wondered at his patience in sitting out a play of five acts, and a farce of two. He said very little; but after the prologue to "*Bon Ton*" had been spoken, which he could hear pretty well from the more slow and distinct utterance, he talked on prologue-writing, and observed, "Dryden has written prologues superior to any that David Garrick has written; but David Garrick has written more good prologues than Dryden has done. It is wonderful that he has been able to write such variety of them."

At Mr. Beaucherk's, where I supped, was Mr. Garrick, whom I made happy with Johnson's praise of his prologues; and I suppose in gratitude to him, he took up one of his favourite

of Fenton, he observes, "With many other wise and virtuous men, who, at that time of discord and debate (about the beginning of this century), consulted conscience, well or ill formed, more than interest, he doubted the legality of the government; and refusing to qualify himself for public employment, by taking the oaths required, left the University without a degree." This conduct Johnson calls "perverse-ness of integrity." The question concerning the morality of taking oaths, of whatever kind, imposed by the prevailing power at the time, rather than to be excluded from all consequence, or even any considerable usefulness. In society, has been agitated with all the acuteness of casuistry. It is related, that he who devised the oath of abjuration profanely boasted, that he had framed a test which should "damn one half of the nation, and starve the other." Upon minds not exalted to inflexible rectitude, or minds in which zeal for a party is predominant to excess, taking that oath against conviction may have been palliated under the plea of necessity, or ventured upon in heat, as upon the whole producing more good than evil. At a county election in Scotland, many years ago, when there was a warm contest between the friends of the Hanoverian succession, and those against it, the oath of abjuration having been demanded, the freeholders upon one side rose to go away. Upon which a very sanguine

gentleman, one of their number, ran to the door to stop them, calling out with much earnestness, "Stay, stay, my friends, and let us swear the rogues out of it!" — BOSWELL.

¹ What evidence is there of this being the prevailing sin of the nonjuring clergy beyond Cibber's comedy, which, slight evidence as it would be at best, is next to none at all on this occasion — for Cibber's play was a mere adaptation of Mollère's *Tartuffe*? — CROKER.

² Dr. Harwood sent me the following extract from the book containing the proceedings of the corporation of Lichfield: "19th July, 1712. Agreed that Mr. Michael Johnson be, and he is hereby elected a magistrate and brother of their incorporation; a day is given him to Thursday next to take the oath of fidelity and allegiance, and the oath of a magistrate. Signed, &c." — "25th of July, 1712. Mr. Johnson took the oath of allegiance, and that he believed there was no transubstantiation in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, before, &c." — CROKER.

³ In New Street, near Gough Square, in Fleet Street, whither, in February, 1770, the king's printing house was removed from what is still called Printing House Square, Blackfriars, and near which this volume is now printing, by Mr. Spottiswoode. Mr. Strahan's very respectable grandson and successor. — CROKER.

topics, the nationality of the Scotch, which he maintained in a pleasant manner, with the aid of a little poetical fiction. "Come, come, don't deny it: they are really national. Why, now, the Adams¹ are as liberal-minded men as any in the world: but, I don't know how it is, all their workmen are Scotch. You are, to be sure, wonderfully free from that nationality; but so it happens, that you employ the only Scotch shoebblack in London."

He imitated the manner of his old master with ludicrous exaggeration; repeating, with pauses and half-whistlings interjected,

"Os homini sublime dedit, — cælumque tueri
Jussit, — et erectos ad sidera — tollere vultus,"²

looking downwards all the time, and, while pronouncing the four last words, absolutely touching the ground with a kind of contorted gesticulation.³

Garrick, however, when he pleased, could imitate Johnson very exactly; for that great actor, with his distinguished powers of expression which were so universally admired, possessed also an admirable talent of mimicry. He was always jealous⁴ that Johnson spoke lightly of him. I recollect his exhibiting him to me one day, as if saying, "Davy has some convivial pleasantry about him, but 'tis a futile fellow;" which he uttered perfectly with the tone and air of Johnson.

I cannot too frequently request of my readers, while they peruse my account of Johnson's conversation, to endeavour to keep in mind his deliberate and strong utterance. His mode of speaking was indeed very impres-

sive⁵; and I wish it could be preserved as music is written, according to the very ingenious method of Mr. Steele⁶, who has shown how the recitation of Mr. Garrick, and other eminent speakers, might be transmitted to posterity in score.⁷

Next day [March 28.] I dined with Johnson at Mr. Thrale's. He attacked Gray, calling him "a dull fellow." BOSWELL. "I understand he was reserved, and might appear dull in company; but surely he was not dull in poetry." JOHNSON. "Sir, he was dull in company, dull in his closet, dull every where. He was dull in a new way, and that made many people think him GREAT. He was a mechanical poet." He then repeated some ludicrous lines, which have escaped my memory, and said, "Is not that GREAT, like his Odes?" Mrs. Thrale, maintained that his Odes were melodious; upon which he exclaimed,

"Weave the warp, and weave the woof;" —

I added, in a solemn tone,

"The winding-sheet of Edward's race."

There is a good line. — "Ay," said he, "and the next line is a good one (pronouncing it contemptuously),

'Give ample verge and room enough.' —⁸

No, Sir, there are but two good stanzas in Gray's poetry, which are in his 'Elegy in a Country Churchyard.' He then repeated the stanza,

"For who to dumb forgetfulness a prey," &c.

mistaking one word; for instead of *precincts* he

¹ The architects of the Adelphi. — CROKER.

² "Man looks aloft, and with erected eyes
Beholds his own hereditary skies."
Dryden. *Ov. Met. i. 13.*

This exhibition of Johnson's downward look and gesticulations while reciting *os sublime* and *tollere vultus*, resembles one which Lord Byron describes: — "Mr. Grattan's manners in private life were odd, but natural. Curran used to take him off, bowing to the very ground, and 'thanking God that he had no peculiarity of gesture or appearance,' in a way irresistibly ridiculous." — *Moore's Byron*, i. 405. — CROKER.

³ Mr. Whyte has related an anecdote of Johnson's violence of gesticulation, which, without so much other evidence, one could have hardly believed. "The house on the right at the bottom of Beaufort Buildings was occupied by Mr. Chamberlaine, Mrs. Sheridan's eldest brother (an eminent surgeon), by whom Johnson was often invited in a snug way with the family party. At one of those social meetings Johnson as usual sat next the lady of the house; the dessert still continuing, and the ladies in no haste to withdraw. Mrs. Chamberlaine had moved a little back from the table, and was carelessly dangling her foot backwards and forwards as she sat, enjoying 'the feast of reason and the flow of soul.' Johnson, the while, in a moment of abstraction, was compulsively working this hand up and down, which the lady observing, she roughly edged her foot within his reach, and as might partly have been expected, Johnson clenched hold of it, and drew off her shoe; she started, and hastily exclaimed, 'O, fie! Mr. Johnson!' The company at first knew not what to make of it: but one of them, perceiving the joke, tittered. Johnson, not improbably aware of the risk, apologised. 'Nay, Madam, recollect yourself; I know not that I have justly incurred your rebuke; the emotion was involuntary, and the action not intentionally rude.'" — *Whyte's Miscel. Nova*, p. 50. See *aut.*, p. 166. n. l. — CROKER.

⁴ Very natural, even in a less sensitive creature than Garrick; but on this occasion at least Garrick had the good sense to turn the edge of Johnson's sarcasms by an easy retort. — CROKER.

⁵ My noble friend Lord Pembroke said once to me at Nilton, with a happy pleasantry and some truth, "that Dr.

Johnson's sayings would not appear so extraordinary, were it not for his *bow-wow way*." The sayings themselves are generally of sterling merit; but, doubtless, his *manner* was an addition to their effect; and therefore should be attended to as much as may be. It is necessary, however, to guard those who were not acquainted with him against overcharged imitations or caricatures of his manner, which are frequently attempted, and many of which are second-hand copies from the late Mr. Henderson, the actor, who, though a good mimic of some persons, did not represent Johnson correctly.

— BOSWELL. Boswell had originally told this *bow-wow* anecdote in the *Tour*; (*aut.*, p. 269.) and it is worth observing, as an instance of Horace Walpole's aristocratic *morque*, that he thought this remark of Lord Pembroke's 'the best thing' in that extraordinary volume. The whole passage is worth quoting — "Have you got Boswell's most absurd enormous book? The best thing in it is a *bow-wow* of Lord Pembroke. The more one learns of Johnson, the more preposterous assemblage he appears of strong sense, of the lowest bigotry and prejudices, of pride, brutality, fretfulness, and vanity; and Boswell is the ape of most of his faults, without a grain of his sense. It is the story of a mountebank and his zany." *Letter to Conway*, Oct. 6. 1785. — CROKER.

⁶ See "Prosodia Rationalis; or, an Essay towards establishing the Melody and Measure of Speech, to be expressed and perpetuated by peculiar Symbols. London, 1779." — BOSWELL.

⁷ I use the phrase *in score*, as Dr. Johnson has explained it in his Dictionary. "A *song in score*, the words with the musical notes of a song annexed." But I understand that in scientific propriety it means all the parts of a musical composition noted down in the characters by which it is exhibited to the eye of the skilful. — BOSWELL. It was *declamation* that Steele pretended to reduce to notation by new characters. This he called the *melody* of speech, not the *harmony*, which the term *in score* implies. — BENEY. The true meaning of the term *score* is, that when music, in different parts for different voices or instruments, is written on the same page, the bars, instead of being drawn only across each stave, are, to lead the eyes of the several performers, *scored* from the top to the bottom of the pages. — CROKER.

⁸ "Ample room and verge enough." — P. C.

said *confines*. He added, "The other stanza I forget."

A young lady¹ who had married a man much her inferior in rank being mentioned, a question arose how a woman's relations should behave to her in such a situation; and, while I recapitulate the debate, and recollect what has since happened, I cannot but be struck in a manner that delicacy² forbids me to express. While I contended that she ought to be treated with an inflexible steadiness of displeasure, Mrs. Thrale was all for mildness and forgiveness, and, according to the vulgar phrase, "making the best of a bad bargain." JOHNSON. "Madam, we must distinguish. Were I a man of rank, I would not let a daughter starve who had made a mean marriage; but having voluntarily degraded herself from the station which she was originally entitled to hold, I would support her only in that which she herself had chosen; and would not put her on a level with my other daughters. You are to consider, Madam, that it is our duty to maintain the subordination of civilised society; and when there is a gross and shameful deviation from rank, it should be punished so as to deter others from the same perversion."

After frequently considering this subject, I am more and more confirmed in what I then meant to express, and which was sanctioned by the authority and illustrated by the wisdom of Johnson; and I think it of the utmost consequence to the happiness of society, to which subordination is absolutely necessary. It is weak and contemptible, and unworthy, in a parent to relax in such a case. It is sacrificing general advantage to private feelings. And let it be considered that the claim of a daughter who has acted thus, to be restored to her former situation, is either fantastical or unjust. If there be no value in the distinction of rank, what does she suffer by being kept in the situation to which she has descended? If there be a value in that distinction, it ought to be steadily maintained. If indulgence be shown to such conduct, and the offenders know that in a longer or shorter time they shall be received as well as if they had not contaminated their blood by a base alliance, the great check upon that inordinate caprice which generally occasions low marriages will be removed, and the fair and comfortable order of improved life will be miserably disturbed.

Lord Chesterfield's Letters being mentioned, Johnson said, "It was not to be wondered at that they had so great a sale, considering that

they were the letters of a statesman, a wit, one who had been so much in the mouths of mankind, one long accustomed *virum volitare per ora*."³

On Friday, 31st March, I supped with him and some friends⁴ at a tavern. One of the company⁵ attempted, with too much forwardness, to rally him on his late appearance at the theatre; but had reason to repent of his temerity. "Why, Sir, did you go to Mrs. Abington's benefit? Did you see?" JOHNSON. "No, Sir." "Did you hear?" JOHNSON. "No, Sir." "Why then, Sir, did you go?" JOHNSON. "Because, Sir, she is a favourite of the public; and when the public cares a thousandth part for you that it does for her, I will go to your benefit too."

Next morning I won a small bet from Lady Diana Beauchamp, by asking him as to one of his particularities, which her Ladyship laid I durst not do. It seems he had been frequently observed at the club to put into his pocket the Seville oranges, after he had squeezed the juice of them into the drink which he made for himself. Beauchamp and Garrick talked of it to me, and seemed to think that he had a strange unwillingness to be discovered. We could not divine what he did with them; and this was the bold question to be put. I saw on his table, the spoils of the preceding night, some fresh peels nicely scraped and cut into pieces. "O, Sir," said I, "I now partly see what you do with the squeezed oranges which you put into your pocket at the club." JOHNSON. "I have a great love for them." BOSWELL. "And pray, Sir, what do you do with them? You scrape them it seems, very neatly, and what next?" JOHNSON. "Let them dry, Sir." BOSWELL. "And what next?" JOHNSON. "Nay, Sir, you shall know their fate no further." BOSWELL. "Then the world must be left in the dark. It must be said (assuming a mock solemnity) he scraped them, and let them dry, but what he did with them next he never could be prevailed upon to tell." JOHNSON. "Nay, Sir, you should say it more emphatically:—he could not be prevailed upon, even by his dearest friends, to tell."⁶

He had this morning received his diploma as Doctor of Laws from the University of Oxford. He did not vaunt of his new dignity, but I understood he was highly pleased with it. I shall here insert the progress and completion of that high academical honour, in the same manner as I have traced his obtaining that of Master of Arts.

¹ No doubt Lady Susan Fox, eldest daughter of the first Earl of Ilchester, born in 1743, who, in 1773, married Mr. William O'Brien, an actor. She died in 1827.—CROKER.

² Mr. Boswell's *delicacy* to Mrs. Piozzi is quite exemplary! but after all, there is nothing which he has insinuated or said too bad for such a lamentable weakness as she was guilty of in her marriage with Mr. Piozzi, and for the, I believe, *insane* folly of some of her subsequent conduct.—CROKER.

³ "To flutter famous through the mouths of men."
Virg. Georg. iii. 9.—C.

⁴ The Club.—CROKER.

⁵ Mr. Boswell himself.—CROKER.

⁶ The following extract of one of his letters to Miss Boothby probably explains the use to which he put these orange peels:—"Give me leave, who have thought much on medicine, to propose to you an easy and, I think, very probable remedy for indigestion, &c. Take an ounce of dried orange peel, finely powdered, divide it into scruples, and take one scruple at a time in any manner: the best way is, perhaps, to drink it in a glass of hot red port, or to eat it first, and drink the wine after it," &c.—*Lett. Dec. 31. 1755.*—CROKER.

"TO THE REV. DR. FOTHERGILL,

Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, to be communicated to the heads of houses, and proposed in convocation.

"Downing Street, March 3. 1775.

"MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR AND GENTLEMEN, — The honour of the degree of M. A. by diploma, formerly conferred upon Mr. Samuel Johnson, in consequence of his having eminently distinguished himself by the publication of a series of essays, excellently calculated to form the manners of the people, and in which the cause of religion and morality has been maintained and recommended by the strongest powers of argument and elegance of language, reflected an equal degree of lustre upon the University itself.

"The many learned labours which have since that time employed the attention and displayed the abilities of that great man, so much to the advancement of literature and the benefit of the community, render him worthy of more distinguished honours in the republic of letters; and I persuade myself that I shall act agreeably to the sentiments of the whole University, in desiring that it may be proposed in convocation to confer on him the degree of Doctor in Civil Law by diploma, to which I readily give my consent; and am, Mr. Vice-Chancellor and Gentlemen, your affectionate friend and servant,

"NORTH."¹

"DIPLOMA.

"Cancellarius, magistri, et scholares Universitatis Ozoniensis omnibus ad quos presentes literæ pervenerint, salutem in Domino sempiternam.

"Sciatis, virum illustrem, Samuelem Johnson, in omni humaniorum literarum genere eruditum, omniumque scientiarum comprehensione felicissimum, scriptis suis, ad popularium mores formandos summā verborum elegantia ac sententiarum gravitate compositis, ita olim inclarusse, ut dignus videretur cui ab academia suā eximia quædam laudis præmia deferrentur, quique venerabilem Magistrorum ordinem summā cum dignitate co-optaretur:

"Cum verò eundem clarissimum virum tot postea tantique labores, in patriâ præsertim linguâ ornandâ et stabilendâ feliciter impensi, ita insigniverint, ut in literarum republicâ princeps jam et primarius jure habeatur; nos, cancellarius, magistri, et scholares Universitatis Ozoniensis, quò talis viri merita pari honoris remuneratione exaquantur, et perpetuum sua

simul laudis, nostraque ergà literas propensissimæ voluntatis extet monumentum, in solenni convocacione doctorum et magistrorum regentium, et non regentium, prædictum Samuelem Johnson doctorum in jure civili renunciavimus et constituimus, eumque, sirtute præsentis diplomatis, singulis juribus, privilegiis et honoribus, ad istum gradum quaquà pertinentibus, frui et gaudere jussimus. In ejus rei testimonium commune Universitatis Ozonienses sigillum præsentibus apponi fecimus.

*"Datum in domo nostræ convocacionis die tricesimo mensis Martii, anno Domini millesimo septingentesimo, septuagesimo quinto."*²

"Viro Reverendo THOMÆ FOTHERGILL,
S. T. P. Universitatis Ozoniensis Vice-Cancellario.

"S. P. D.

"SAM. JOHNSON.

"Multis non est opus, ut testimonium quo, te præside, Ozonienses nomen meum posteris commendârunt, quali animo acceperim compertum faciam. Nemo sibi placens non lætatur; nemo sibi non placet, qui vobis, literarum arbitris, placere potuit. Hoc tamen habet incommodi tantum beneficium, quod mihi nunquam posthac sine vestræ fumæ detrimento vel labi liceat vel cessare; semperque sit tinendum ne quod mihi tam eximia laudi est, vobis aliquando fiat opprobrio. Vale. 7. Id. Apr. 1775."

He revised some sheets of Lord Hailes's "Annals of Scotland," and wrote a few notes on the margin with red ink, which he bade me tell his lordship did not sink into the paper, and might be wiped off with a wet sponge, so that it did not spoil his manuscript. I observed to him that there were very few of his friends so accurate as that I could venture to put down in writing what they told me as his sayings. JOHNSON. "Why should you write down my sayings?" BOSWELL. "I write them when they are good." JOHNSON. "Nay, you may as well write down the sayings of any one else that are good." But *where*, I might with great propriety have added, can I find such?

I visited him by appointment in the evening, and we drank tea with Mrs. Williams. He told me that he had been in the company of a gentleman³ whose extraordinary travels had been much the subject of conversation. But I found he had not listened to him with that

¹ Extracted from the Convocation Register, Oxford. — BOSWELL.

² The original is in my possession. He showed me the diploma, and allowed me to read it, but would not consent to my taking a copy of it, fearing perhaps that I should blaze it abroad in his lifetime. His objection to this appears from the letter to Mrs. Thrale, in which he scolds her for the grossness of her flattery of him. It is remarkable that he never, so far as I know, assumed his title of *Doctor*, but called himself Mr. Johnson, as appears from many of his cards or notes to myself, and I have seen many from him to other persons, in which he uniformly takes that designation. I once observed on his table a letter directed to him with the addition of *Esquire*, and objected to it as being a designation inferior to that of doctor; but he checked me, and seemed pleased with it, because, as I conjectured, he liked to be sometimes taken out of the class of literary men, and to be merely *gentel* — *un gentilhomme comme un autre*. — BOSWELL. See *antiq.* p. 168. n. 5., as to the use of the *Doctoral* title; but I suspect that another reason why Johnson was a little reserved about this Oxford degree was, that he did not much relish the appearance of owing literary distinction to Lord

North, with whom he was personally dissatisfied; and because the degree, at that particular moment, might look like a reward for his *political* pamphlets.

The following is an extract from the letter to Mrs. Thrale, which Boswell alludes to: —

"The other Oxford news is, that they have sent me a degree of Doctor of Laws, with such praises in the diploma as, perhaps, ought to make me ashamed; they are very like your praises. I wonder whether I shall ever show them to you." He adds, "To-day [Saturday, 1st April] I dine with Hamilton: to-morrow with Hoole; on Monday with Paradise; on Tuesday with master and mistress; on Wednesday with Dilly; but come back to the tower." — *Letters*.

The tower, says Mrs. Piozzi, was a separate room at Streatham, where Dr. Johnson slept. He was afterwards promoted to a large bow-windowed bed-room in front of the house, in which, under the name of "*Dr. Johnson's room*," I slept many years after, and was pleased to find that his writing table was carefully preserved, and that even the blots of his ink had not been cleaned away. — CROKER.

³ Bruce, the Abyssinian traveller, with whom he had dined that day at Mr. Gerard Hamilton's. — CROKER.

full confidence, without which there is little satisfaction in the society of travellers. I was curious to hear what opinion so able a judge as Johnson had formed of his abilities, and I asked if he was not a man of sense. JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, he is not a distinct relater; and I should say, he is neither abounding nor deficient in sense. I did not perceive any superiority of understanding." BOSWELL. "But will you not allow him a nobleness of resolution, in penetrating into distant regions?" JOHNSON. "That, Sir, is not to the present purpose; we are talking of sense. A fighting cock has a nobleness of resolution."

Next day, Sunday, 2d April, I dined with him at Mr. Hoole's. We talked of Pope. JOHNSON. "He wrote his 'Dunciad' for fame. That was his primary motive. Had it not been for that, the dunces might have railed against him till they were weary, without his troubling himself about them. He delighted to vex them, no doubt; but he had more delight in seeing how well he could vex them."

The "Odes to Obscurity and Oblivion," in ridicule of "cool Mason and warm Gray," being mentioned, Johnson said, "They are Colman's best things." Upon its being observed that it was believed these Odes were made by Colman and Lloyd jointly;—JOHNSON. "Nay, Sir, how can two people make an ode? Perhaps one made one of them, and one the other." I observed that two people had made a play, and quoted the anecdote of Beaumont and Fletcher, who were brought under suspicion of treason, because while concerting the plan of a tragedy when sitting together at a tavern, one of them was overheard saying to the other, "I'll kill the king." JOHNSON. "The first of these Odes is the best; but they are both good. They exposed a very bad kind of writing."¹ BOSWELL. "Surely, Sir, Mr. Mason's 'Elfrida' is a fine poem: at least you will allow there are some good passages in it." JOHNSON. "There are now and then some good imitations of Milton's bad manner."²

I often wondered at his low estimation of the writings of Gray and Mason. Of Gray's poetry I have, in a former part of this work, expressed my high opinion; and for that of

Mr. Mason I have ever entertained a warm admiration. His "Elfrida" is exquisite, both in poetical description and moral sentiment; and his "Caractacus" is a noble drama. Nor can I omit paying my tribute of praise to some of his smaller poems, which I have read with pleasure, and which no criticism shall persuade me not to like. If I wondered at Johnson's not tasting the works of Mason and Gray, still more have I wondered at their not tasting of his works: that they should be insensible to his energy of diction, to his splendour of images, and comprehension of thought. Tastes may differ as to the violin, the flute, the hautboy; in short all the lesser instruments; but who can be insensible to the powerful impressions of the majestic organ?

His "Taxation no Tyranny" being mentioned, he said, "I think I have not been attacked enough for it. Attack is the re-action; I never think I have hit hard, unless it rebounds." BOSWELL. "I don't know, Sir, what you would be at. Five or six shots of small arms in every newspaper, and repeated cannonading in pamphlets, might, I think, satisfy you. But, Sir, you'll never make out this match, of which we have talked, with a certain political lady³, since you are so severe against her principles." JOHNSON. "Nay, Sir, I have the better chance for that. She is like the Amazons of old; she must be courted by the sword. But I have not been severe upon her." BOSWELL. "Yes, Sir, you have made her ridiculous." JOHNSON. "That was already done, Sir. To endeavour to make her ridiculous, is like blacking the chimney."

I put him in mind that the landlord at Ellon in Scotland said, that he heard he was the greatest man in England, next to Lord Mansfield. "Ay, Sir," said he, "the exception defined the idea. A Scotchman could go no farther:

'The force of Nature could no farther go.'"

Lady Miller's collection of verses by fashionable people, which were put into her Vase at Bath-Easton villa⁴, near Bath, in competition for honorary prizes, being mentioned, he held them very cheap; "*Bouts-rimés*," said he, "is

¹ Gray's Odes are still on every table and in every mouth, and there are not, I believe, a dozen libraries in England which could produce these "*best things*," written by two professed wits in ridicule of them.—CROKER.

² Mrs. Piozzi says, that Johnson used to turn Caractacus into ridicule, but called Elfrida "exquisitely pretty." I believe but the first half of this ante.—CROKER.

³ Mrs. Macaulay (see ante, p. 78. n. 3.), to whom there is a very slight allusion in *Taxation no Tyranny*, as "a female patriot."—CROKER. In Wilkes's letters to his daughter there are many particulars of and allusions to this eccentric woman.—MARKLAND.

⁴ The following extract, from one of Horace Walpole's letters, will explain the proceedings and personages of this farce:—"You must know, that near Bath is erected a new Parnassus, composed of three laurels, a myrtle tree, a weeping willow, and a view of the Avon, which has been now christened Helicon. Ten years ago there lived a Madam [Riggs], an old rough humourist, who passed for a wit; her daughter, who passed for nothing, married to a Captain [Miller], full of good-natured officiousness. These good folks were friends of Miss Rich [daughter of Sir Robert

Rich, and sister to the second Lady Lyttelton], who carried me to dine with them at Bath-Easton, now Pindus. They caught a little of what was then called taste, built, and planted, and begot children, till the whole caravau were forced to go abroad to retrieve. Alas! Mrs. Miller is returned a beauty, a genius, a Sappho, a tenth muse, as romantic as Mademoiselle Sanderi, and as sophisticated as Mrs. V[esey]. The captain's fingers are loaded with cancos, his tongue runs over with *virtù*; and that both may contribute to the improvement of their own country, they have introduced *bouts rimés* as a new discovery. They hold a Parnassus-fair every Thursday, give out rhymes and themes, and all the flux of quality at Bath contend for the prizes. A Roman vase, dressed with pink ribands and myrtles, receives the poetry, which is drawn out every festival: six judges of these Olympic games retire and select the brightest composition, which the respective successful acknowledge, kneel to Mrs. Calliope [Miller], kiss her fair hand, and are crowned by it with myrtle, with—I don't know what. You may think this a fiction, or exaggeration. Be dumb, unbelievers! The collection is printed, published,—yes, on my faith! there are *bouts-rimés* on a buttered

a mere conceit, and an *old* conceit now; I wonder how people were persuaded to write in that manner for this lady." I named a gentleman¹ of his acquaintance who wrote for the Vase. JOHNSON. "He was a blockhead for his pains." BOSWELL. "The Duchess of Northumberland wrote."² JOHNSON. "Sir, the Duchess of Northumberland may do what she pleases: nobody will say any thing to a lady of her high rank. But I should be apt to throw *****'s verses in his face."

I talked of the cheerfulness of Fleet Street, owing to the constant quick succession of people which we perceive passing through it. JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, Fleet Street has a very animated appearance; but I think the full tide of human existence is at Charing Cross."

He made the common remark on the unhappiness which men who have led a busy life experience, when they retire in expectation of enjoying themselves at ease, and that they generally languish for want of their habitual occupation, and wish to return to it. He mentioned as strong an instance of this as can well be imagined. "An eminent tallowchandler in London, who had acquired a considerable fortune, gave up the trade in favour of his foreman, and went to live at a country-house near town. He soon grew weary, and paid frequent visits to his old shop, where he desired they might let him know their *melting-days*, and he would come and assist them; which he accordingly did. Here, Sir, was a man to whom the most disgusting circumstances in the business to which he had been used was a relief from idleness."

CHAPTER XLIX.

1775.

Public Speaking. — *Statutes against Bribery.* — *Cibber's Comedies.* — *Gentility and Morality.* — *Charles II.* — *George I.* — *Trading Judges.* — *Christopher Smart.* — *Twiss's Travels.* — *Addison's Italy.* — "Lilliburlero." — *Gibbon.* — *Patriotism.* — *Mrs. Pritchard.* — *Happiness.* — *General Oglethorpe.* — *Middle-rate Poets.* — *Patronage.* — *Lord Bute.* — *Good Friday.* — *London.* — *Commerce.* — *Value of Knowledge.* — *Literary Fame.* — *Infidelity.* — "Nil admirari." — *Advantages of Reading.*

On Wednesday, 5th April, I dined with him at

Messieurs Dilly's, with Mr. John Scott of Amwell, the Quaker³, Mr. Langton, Mr. Miller (now Sir John), and Dr. Thomas Campbell⁴, an Irish clergyman, whom I took the liberty of inviting to Mr. Dilly's table, having seen him at Mr. Thrale's, and been told that he had come to England chiefly with a view to see Dr. Johnson, for whom he entertained the highest veneration. He has since published "A Philosophical Survey of the South of Ireland," a very entertaining book, which has, however, one fault — that it assumes the fictitious character of an Englishman.

We talked of public speaking. JOHNSON. "We must not estimate a man's powers by his being able or not able to deliver his sentiments in public. Isaac Hawkins Browne, one of the first wits of this country, got into parliament, and never opened his mouth. For my own part, I think it is more disgraceful never to try to speak, than to try it and fail; as it is more disgraceful not to fight, than to fight and be beaten." This argument appeared to me fallacious; for if a man has not spoken, it may be said that he would have done very well if he had tried; whereas, if he has tried and failed, there is nothing to be said for him. "Why, then," I asked, "is it thought disgraceful for a man not to fight, and not disgraceful not to speak in public?" JOHNSON. "Because there may be other reasons for a man's not speaking in public than want of resolution: he may have nothing to say (laughing). Whereas, Sir, you know courage is reckoned the greatest of all virtues; because, unless a man has that virtue, he has no security for preserving any other."

He observed, that "the statutes against bribery were intended to prevent upstarts with money from getting into parliament:" adding, that "if he were a gentleman of landed property, he would turn out all his tenants who did not vote for the candidate whom he supported." LANGTON. "Would not that, Sir, be checking the freedom of election?" JOHNSON. "Sir, the law does not mean that the privilege of voting should be independent of old family interest, of the permanent property of the country."

On Thursday, 6th April, I dined with him at Mr. Thomas Davies's, with Mr. Hickey⁵, the painter, and my old acquaintance Mr. Moody, the player.

Dr. Johnson, as usual, spoke contemptuously of Colley Cibber. "It is wonderful that a

muffin, by her Grace the Duchess of Northumberland; receipts to make them by Corydon the venerable, alias —; others very pretty by Lord [Palmerston]; some by Lord [Clarmarthen]; many by Mrs. [Miller] herself, that have no fault but wanting metre; and immortality promised to her without end or measure. In short, since folly, which never ripens to madness but in this hot climate, ran distracted, there never was any thing so entertaining, or so dull — for you cannot read so long as I have been telling." — *Works*, vol. v. p. 185. Lady Miller died in 1781, æt. 41. — CROKER.

¹ Probably the Rev. Richard Graves, who was for some years tutor in the house of Johnson's friend, Mr. Fitzherbert, and who contributed to the Bath-Easton Vase. He was Rector of Claverton, near Bath, where he died in 1804. — CROKER.

² Lady Elizabeth Seymour married, in 1740, Sir Hugh Smithson, created, in 1766, Duke of Northumberland. She died on her sixtieth birth-day, Dec. 5. 1776. — CROKER.

³ John Scott, born 1730, died 1783, author of a poem called "Amwell," a volume of *Elegies*, and some smaller pieces. He published also, two political tracts in answer to Dr. Johnson's "Patriot" and "False Alarm." — P. CUNNINGHAM.

⁴ See next page, n. 7. — C.

⁵ Thomas Hickey, a portrait painter, living at this time in Tavistock Row, Covent Garden. He afterwards removed to Bath, and is now best remembered by a characteristic portrait of his friend Tom Davies, engraved with Hickey's name to it. — P. CUNNINGHAM.

man, who for forty years had lived with the great and the witty, should have acquired so ill the talents of conversation: and he had but half to furnish; for one half of what he said was oaths." He, however, allowed considerable merit to some of his comedies, and said there was no reason to believe that the "Careless Husband" was not written by himself. Davies said, he was the first dramatic writer who introduced genteel ladies upon the stage. Johnson refuted his observation by instancing several such characters in comedies before his time. DAVIES (trying to defend himself from a charge of ignorance). "I mean genteel moral characters." "I think," said Hickey, "gentility and morality are inseparable." BOSWELL. "By no means, Sir. The genteelst characters are often the most immoral. Does not Lord Chesterfield give precepts for uniting wickedness and the graces? A man, indeed, is not genteel when he gets drunk; but most vices may be committed very genteelly: a man may debauch his friend's wife genteelly: he may cheat at cards genteelly." HICKEY. "I do not think that is genteel." BOSWELL. "Sir, it may not be like a gentleman, but it may be genteel." JOHNSON. "You are meaning two different things. One means exterior grace; the other honour. It is certain that a man may be very immoral with exterior grace. Lovelace, in 'Clarissa,' is a very genteel and a very wicked character. Tom Hervey¹, who died t'other day, though a vicious man, was one of the genteelst men that ever lived." Tom Davies instanced Charles the Second. JOHNSON (taking fire at an attack upon that Prince, for whom he had an extraordinary partiality). "Charles the Second was licentious in his practice; but he always had a reverence for what was good. Charles the Second knew his people, and rewarded merit. The church was at no time better filled than in his reign. He was the best king we have had from his time till the reign of our present Majesty, except James the Second, who was a very good king², but unhappily believed that it was necessary

for the salvation of his subjects that they should be Roman Catholics. He had the merit of endeavouring to do what he thought was for the salvation of the souls of his subjects, till he lost a great empire. We, who thought that we should not be saved if we were Roman Catholics, had the merit of maintaining our religion, at the expense of submitting ourselves to the government of King William, (for it could not be done otherwise) — to the government of one of the most worthless scoundrels that ever existed.³ No, Charles the Second was not such a man as ————⁴ (naming another king). He did not destroy his father's will. He took money, indeed, from France: but he did not betray those over whom he ruled: he did not let the French fleet pass ours. George the First knew nothing, and desired to know nothing; did nothing, and desired to do nothing; and the only good thing that is told of him is, that he wished to restore the crown to its hereditary successor." He roared with prodigious violence against George the Second. When he ceased, Moody interjected, in an Irish tone, and with a comic look, "Ah! poor George the Second."

I mentioned that Dr. Thomas Campbell had come from Ireland to London, principally to see Dr. Johnson. He seemed angry at this observation. DAVIES. "Why, you know, Sir, there came a man from Spain to see Livy⁵; and Corelli came to England to see Purcell⁶, and when he heard he was dead, went directly back again to Italy." JOHNSON. "I should not have wished to be dead to disappoint Campbell, had he been so foolish as you represent him; but I should have wished to have been a hundred miles off." This was apparently perverse; and I do believe it was not his real way of thinking: he could not but like a man who came so far to see him. He laughed with some complacency, when I told him Campbell's odd expression to me concerning him: "That having seen such a man, was a thing to talk of a century hence," — as if he could live so long.⁷

¹ See *anté*, p. 183. n. 4. — C.

² All this seems so contrary to historical truth and common sense, that I cannot account for it. We are not now likely to discover how Johnson should have continued to 1775 so ardent a Jacobite. — CROKER.

³ "He was always," says Mrs. Piozzi, "vehement against King William. A gentleman who dined at a nobleman's table in his company and that of Mr. Thrale, to whom I was obliged for the anecdote, was willing to enter the lists in defence of King William's character, and, having opposed and contradicted Johnson two or three times petulantly enough, the master of the house began to feel uneasy, and expect disagreeable consequences: to avoid which he said, loud enough for the Doctor to hear, "Our friend here has no meaning now in all this, except just to relate at club to-morrow how he teased Johnson at dinner to-day — this is all to do himself honour." "No, upon my word," replied the other, "I see no honour in it, whatever you may do." "Well, Sir," returned Dr. Johnson sternly, "if you do not see the honour, I am sure I feel the disgrace." — *Anecdotes*. — CROKER.

⁴ George the Second. — The story of the will is told by Horace Walpole, in his amusing (but often inaccurate) *Reminiscences*: — "At the first council held by the new sovereign, Dr. Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury, produced the will of the late king, and delivered it to the successor, expecting it would be opened and read in council. On the

contrary, his Majesty put it into his pocket and stalked out of the room, without uttering a word on the subject. As the king never mentioned the will more, whispers, only by degrees, informed the public that the will was burnt, at least that its injunctions were never fulfilled." — CROKER.

⁵ Plin. Epist. Lib. ii. Ep. 3. — BOSWELL.

⁶ Mr. Davies was here mistaken. Corelli never was in England. — BURNBY.

⁷ Mrs. Thrale gives, in her lively style, a sketch of this gentleman: "We have a flashy friend here [at Bath] already, who is much your adorer. I wonder how you will like him! An Irishman he is; very handsome, very hot-headed, loud and lively, and sure to be a favourite with you, he tells us for "he can live with a man of ever so odd a temper." My master laughs, but likes him, and it diverts me to think what you will do when he professes that he would clean shoes for you; that he would shed his blood for you; with twenty more extravagant flights; and you say I flatter! Upon my honour, Sir, and indeed now, as Dr. Campbell's phrase is, I am but a twitler to him." — *Letters*, May 16. 1776. — CROKER. It is of no importance — but I cannot reconcile Mrs. Thrale's talking, in May 1776, of Dr. Campbell as wholly unknown to Johnson, with Boswell's statement that they had dined together at her own and at Mr. Dilly's table the preceding year. — CROKER, 1846.

We got into an argument whether the judges who went to India might with propriety engage in trade. Johnson warmly maintained that they might; "For why," he urged, "should not judges get riches, as well as those who deserve them less?" I said, they should have sufficient salaries, and have nothing to take off their attention from the affairs of the public. JOHNSON. "No judge, Sir, can give his whole attention to his office; and it is very proper that he should employ what time he has to himself to his own advantage, in the most profitable manner." "Then, Sir," said Davies, who enlivened the dispute by making it somewhat dramatic, "he may become an insurer; and when he is going to the bench, he may be stopped, — 'Your Lordship cannot go yet; here is a bunch of invoices; several ships are about to sail.'" JOHNSON. "Sir, you may as well say a judge should not have a house; for they may come and tell him, 'Your Lordship's house is on fire;' and so, instead of minding the business of his court, he is to be occupied in getting the engines with the greatest speed. There is no end of this. Every judge who has land trades to a certain extent in corn or in cattle, and in the land itself; undoubtedly his steward acts for him, and so do clerks for a great merchant.¹ A judge may be a farmer, but he is not to feed his own pigs. A judge may play a little at cards for his amusement; but he is not to play at marbles, or chuck farthings in the Piazza. No, Sir, there is no profession to which a man gives a very great proportion of his time. It is wonderful, when a calculation is made, how little the mind is actually employed in the discharge of any profession. No man would be a judge, upon the condition of being totally a judge. The best employed lawyer has his mind at work but for a small proportion of his time; a great deal of his occupation is merely mechanical. I once wrote for a magazine: I made a calculation, that if I should write but a page a day, at the same rate, I should, in ten years, write nine volumes in folio, of an ordinary size and print." BOSWELL. "Such as 'Carte's History?'" JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir; when a man writes from his own mind, he writes very rapidly.² The greatest part of a writer's time is spent in

reading, in order to write; a man will turn over half a library, to make one book.

I argued warmly against the judges trading, and mentioned Hale as an instance of a perfect judge, who devoted himself entirely to his office. JOHNSON. "Hale, Sir, attended to other things besides law; he left a great estate." BOSWELL. "That was because what he got accumulated without any exertion and anxiety on his part."

While the dispute went on, Moody once tried to say something on our side. Tom Davies clapped him on the back, to encourage him. Beauclerk, to whom I mentioned this circumstance, said, "that he could not conceive a more humiliating situation than to be clapped on the back by Tom Davies."

We spoke of Rolt, to whose 'Dictionary of Commerce' Dr. Johnson wrote the preface. JOHNSON. "Old Gardener, the bookseller, employed Rolt and Smart to write a monthly miscellany, called 'The Universal Visitor.' There was a formal written contract, which Allen the printer saw. Gardener thought as you do of the judge. They were bound to write nothing else; they were to have, I think, a third of the profits of his sixpenny pamphlet; and the contract was for ninety-nine years. I wish I had thought of giving this to Thurlow, in the cause about literary property. What an excellent instance would it have been of the oppression of booksellers towards poor authors!" smiling.³ Davies, zealous for the honour of *the trade*, said Gardener was not properly a bookseller. JOHNSON. "Nay, Sir; he certainly was a bookseller. He had served his time regularly, was a member of the Stationers' Company, kept a shop in the face of mankind, purchased copyright, and was a *bibliopole*, Sir, in every sense. I wrote for some months in 'The Universal Visitor' for poor Smart, while he was mad, not then knowing the terms on which he was engaged to write, and thinking I was doing him good. I hoped his wits would soon return to him. Mine returned to me, and I wrote in 'The Universal Visitor' no longer."

Friday, 7th April, I dined with him at a tavern, with a numerous company.⁴ JOHNSON. "I have been reading 'Twiss's Travels in

¹ Yet see *antiq.* p. 299., how he censured a judge because he wore a round hat in the street, and farmed his own demesne. — CHORER, 1846.

² Johnson certainly did, who had a mind stored with knowledge, and teeming with imagery; but the observation is not applicable to writers in general. — BOSWELL.

³ There has probably been some mistake as to the terms of this supposed extraordinary contract, the recital of which from hearsay afforded Johnson so much play for his sportive acuteness. Or if it was worded as he supposed, it is so strange that I should conclude it was a joke. Mr. Gardener, I am assured, was a worthy and liberal man. — BOSWELL.

⁴ At the Club, — where, as Mr. Hatchett, from the records of the club, informed me, there were present Mr. Charles Fox (president), Sir J. Reynolds, Drs. Johnson and Percy, Messrs. Beauclerk, Boswell, Chamier, Gibbon, Langton, and Stevens. It may be observed how very rarely Boswell records the conversation at the Club. One motive of this silence, probably, was, that most of the members were still

living when he published, and might not have approved such a breach of social confidence; and except in one instance (*post.* April 3. 1778) he confines his report to what Johnson or himself may have said: he is also careful to avoid any thing that could give offence, except, I think, to Mr. Gibbon, whom on one or two occasions he seems to treat with less reserve than the others. Whether there was any reason for this beyond Boswell's dislike of Gibbon's scepticism, I know not. But in fact Boswell and Johnson met very rarely at the Club. Boswell's visits to London were not more than biennial and for short periods, and even then he was not a regular attendant at the Club, nor indeed was Johnson after Boswell's admission; and it appears by the records which Mr. Milman has been so good as to re-examine at my request, that they never met there above seven or eight times in their whole lives. The Club had the honour of Johnson's name, but, after the first few years, very little of his company. — CHORER, 1846.

Spain¹, which are just come out. They are as good as the first book of travels that you will take up. They are as good as those of Keyser or Blainville; nay, as Addison's, if you except the learning. They are not so good as Brydone's, but they are better than Pooocke's. I have not, indeed, cut the leaves yet; but I have read in them where the pages are open, and I do not suppose that what is in the pages which are closed is worse than what is in the open pages. It would seem," he added, "that Addison had not acquired much Italian learning, for we do not find it introduced into his writings. The only instance that I recollect is his quoting '*Stava bene; per star meglio, sto qui.*'"²

I mentioned Addison's having borrowed many of his classical remarks from Leandro Alberti.³ Mr. Beauclerk said, "It was alleged that he had borrowed also from another Italian author." JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, all who go to look for what the classics have said of Italy must find the same passages⁴; and I should think it would be one of the first things the Italians would do on the revival of learning, to collect all that the Roman authors have said of their country."

Ossian being mentioned; — JOHNSON. "Supposing the Irish and Erse languages to be the same, which I do not believe⁵, yet as there is no reason to suppose that the inhabitants of the Highlands and Hebrides ever wrote their native language, it is not to be credited that a long poem was preserved among them. If we had no evidence of the art of writing being practised in one of the counties of England, we should not believe that a long poem was preserved *there*, though in the neighbouring counties, were the same language was spoken, the inhabitants could write." BEAUCLEBK. "The ballad of 'Lilliburlero' was once in the mouths of all the people of this country, and is said to have had a great effect in bringing about the revolution. Yet I question whether any body can repeat it now⁶; which shows

how improbable it is that much poetry should be preserved by tradition."

One of the company suggested an internal objection to the antiquity of the poetry said to be Ossian's, that we do not find the *wolf* in it, which must have been the case had it been of that age.

The mention of the wolf had led Johnson to think of other wild beasts; and while Sir Joshua Reynolds and Mr. Langton were carrying on a dialogue about something which engaged them earnestly, he, in the midst of it, broke out, "Pennant tells of bears." What he added I have forgotten. They went on, which he, being dull of hearing, did not perceive, or, if he did, was not willing to break off his talk; so he continued to vociferate his remarks, and *bear* ("like a word in a catch," as Beauclerk said) was repeatedly heard at intervals; which coming from him who, by those who did not know him, had been so often assimilated to that ferocious animal, while we who were sitting round could hardly stifle laughter, produced a very ludicrous effect. Silence having ensued, he proceeded: "We are told, that the black bear is innocent; but I should not like to trust myself with him." Mr. Gibbon muttered in a low tone of voice, "I should not like to trust myself with *you*." This piece of sarcastic pleasantry was a prudent resolution, if applied to a competition of abilities.⁷

Patriotism having become one of our topics, Johnson suddenly uttered, in a strong determined tone, an apophthegm, at which many will start:—"Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel."⁸ But let it be considered, that he did not mean a real and generous love of our country, but that pretended patriotism, which so many, in all ages and countries, have made a cloak for self-interest. I maintained, that certainly all patriots were not scoundrels. Being urged (not by Johnson) to name one exception, I mentioned an eminent person⁹, whom we all greatly admired. JOHNSON. "Sir, I do not say that he is *not* honest; but we have

¹ Richard Twiss, Esq. also published a Treatise of Chess, and a Tour through Ireland. See *post*, pp. 456, 457.—CROKER.

² Addison, however, does not mention where this celebrated epitaph, which has eluded a very diligent inquiry, is found.—MALONE. I have found it quoted in old Howell. "The Italian saying may be well applied to poor England:—'I was well—would be better—took physic—and died.'"³ —*Lett. Jan. 20. 1647.*—CROKER.

⁴ This observation is, as Mr. Markland observes to me, to be found in Lord Chesterfield's Letters to his Son:—But if credit is to be given to Addison himself, (and who can doubt his veracity?) this supposition must be groundless. He expressly says, "I have taken care to consider particularly the several passages of the ancient poets, which have any relation to the places or curiosities I met with; for, before I entered on my voyage, I took care to refresh my memory among the classic authors, and to make such collections out of them as I might afterwards have occasion for, &c."—*Preface.*—CROKER.

⁵ See *anté*, p. 372.—C.

⁶ He was in error—they undoubtedly are. See *anté*, p. 231. n. 2.—CROKER.

⁷ Of this celebrated song, Burnet says, "Perhaps never had so slight a thing so great an effect." According to Lord Dartmouth, "there was a particular expression in it which the king remembered he had made use of to the Earl of Dorset, from whence it was concluded that he was the

author." The song will be found in Percy's Reliques, vol. ii. p. 376., where it is attributed to Lord Wharton.—MARKLAND.

⁸ Mr. Green, the anonymous author of the "Diary of a Lover of Literature" (printed at Ipswich), states, under the date of 13th June, 1796, that a friend whom he designates by the initial M. (and whom I believe to be my able and obliging friend Sir James Mackintosh), talking to him of the relative ability of Burke and Gibbon, said, Gibbon might have been cut out of a corner of Burke's mind without his missing it." I fancy, now that enthusiasm has cooled, Sir James would be inclined to allow Gibbon a larger share of mind, though his intellectual powers can never be compared with Mr. Burke's.—CROKER, 1831. Sir James read this note before it was published, but made no observation.—CROKER, 1846.

⁹ This remarkable *sortie*, which has very much amused the world, will hereafter be still more amusing, when it is known, that it appears, by the books of the Club, that at the moment it was uttered, *Mr. Fox was in the chair.*—C. 1831. So it appeared on Mr. Hatchett's statement, but a more accurate consideration of the mode in which the records of the club were kept now leads me to think that Mr. Fox, though appointed president for the evening, was not present, and that his place was filled by Gibbon. I am sorry to be obliged to throw doubt on so pleasant an anecdote.—CROKER, 1846.

¹⁰ No doubt Mr. Burke.—CROKER.

no reason to conclude from his political conduct that he is honest. Were he to accept a place from this ministry, he would lose that character of firmness which he has, and might be turned out of his place in a year. This ministry is neither stable, nor grateful to their friends, as Sir Robert Walpole was; so that he may think it more for his interest to take his chance of his party coming in."

Mrs. Pritchard being mentioned, he said, "Her playing was quite mechanical. It is wonderful how little mind she had. Sir, she had never read the tragedy of *Macbeth* all through. She no more thought of the play out of which her part was taken, than a shoemaker thinks of the skin out of which the piece of leather of which he is making a pair of shoes is cut."

On Saturday, April 8., I dined with him at Mr. Thrale's, where we met the Irish Dr. Campbell. Johnson had supped the night before at Mrs. Abington's with some fashionable people whom he named; and he seemed much pleased with having made one in so elegant a circle. Nor did he omit to pique his *mistress* a little with jealousy of her housewifery; for he said, with a smile, "Mrs. Abington's jelly, my dear lady, was better than yours."

Mrs. Thrale, who frequently practised a coarse mode of flattery, by repeating his *bon mots* in his hearing, told us that he had said, a certain celebrated actor¹ was just fit to stand at the door of an auction-room with a long pole, and cry, "Pray, gentlemen, walk in;" and that a certain author, upon hearing this, had said, that another still more celebrated actor² was fit for nothing better than that, and would pick your pocket after you came out. JOHNSON. "Nay, my dear lady, there is no wit in what our friend added; there is only abuse. You may as well say of any man that he will pick a pocket. Besides, the man who is stationed at the door does not pick people's pockets; that is done within by the auctioneer."

Mrs. Thrale told us that Tom Davies re-

¹ Probably Sheridan. — CROKER.

² Certainly Garrick; the author was perhaps, Murphy: a great friend of the Thrales, and who had occasional differences with Garrick. — CROKER.

³ See *anté*, p. 133. — C.

⁴ Let me here be allowed to pay my tribute of most sincere gratitude to the memory of that excellent person, my intimacy with whom was the more valuable to me, because my first acquaintance with him was unexpected and unsolicited. Soon after the publication of my "Account of Corsica," he did me the honour to call on me, and approaching me with a frank courteous air, said, "My name, Sir, is Oglethorpe, and I wish to be acquainted with you." I was not a little flattered to be thus addressed by an eminent man, of whom I had read in Pope, from my early years,

"Or, driven by strong benevolence of soul,
Will fly like Oglethorpe from pole to pole."

I was fortunate enough to be found worthy of his good opinion, inasmuch, that I not only was invited to make one in the many respectable companies whom he entertained at his table, but had a cover at his hospitable board every day when I happened to be disengaged; and in his society I never failed to enjoy learned and animated conversation, seasoned with genuine sentiments of virtue and religion. — BOSWELL. See *anté*, p. 35. n. 7. — C.

⁵ "Dr. Johnson," says Mrs. Piozzi, "did not like any one who said they were happy, or who said any one else was so. 'It was all cant,' he would cry; 'the dog knows he is

peated, in a very bald manner, the story of Dr. Johnson's first repartee to me, which I have related exactly.³ He made me say, "I was born in Scotland," instead of "I come from Scotland;" so that Johnson's saying, "That, Sir, is what a great many of your countrymen cannot help," had no point, or even meaning; and that upon this being mentioned to Mr. Fitzherbert, he observed, "It is not every man that can carry a *bon mot*."

On Monday, April 10., I dined with him at General Oglethorpe's⁴, with Mr. Langton and the Irish Dr. Campbell, whom the General had obligingly given me leave to bring with me. This learned gentleman was thus gratified with a very high intellectual feast, by not only being in company with Dr. Johnson, but with General Oglethorpe, who had been so long a celebrated name both at home and abroad.

I must, again and again, entreat of my readers not to suppose that my imperfect record of conversation contains the whole of what was said by Johnson, or other eminent persons who lived with him. What I have preserved, however, has the value of the most perfect authenticity.

He this day enlarged upon Pope's melancholy remark,

"Man never is, but always to be blest."

He asserted, that *the present* was never a happy state to any human being; but that, as every part of life, of which we are conscious, was at some point of time a period yet to come, in which felicity was expected, there was some happiness produced by hope. Being pressed upon this subject, and asked if he really was of opinion, that though, in general, happiness was very rare in human life, a man was not sometimes happy in the moment that was present, he answered, "Never, but when he is drunk."⁵

He urged General Oglethorpe to give the world his Life. He said, "I know no man whose Life would be more interesting. If I were furnished with materials, I should be very glad to write it."⁶

miserable all the time.' A friend whom he loved exceedingly, told him on some occasion, notwithstanding, that his wife's sister was *really* happy, and called upon the lady to confirm his assertion, which she did somewhat roundly as we say, and with an accent and manner capable of offending Dr. Johnson, if her position had not been sufficient, without any thing more, to put him in a very ill humour. "If your sister-in-law is really the contented being she professes herself, Sir," said he, "her life gives the lie to every research of humanity; for she is happy without health, without beauty, without money, and without understanding." This story he told me himself; and when I expressed something of the horror I felt, "The same stupidity," said he, "which prompted her to extol felicity she never felt, hindered her from feeling what shocks you on repetition. I tell you, the woman is ugly, and sickly, and foolish, and poor; and would it not make a man hang himself to hear such a creature say it was happy?" — *Anecdotes.* — Johnson's own habitual disturbance of mind, rendered him incredulous that any one else could be composed and happy; and to it must be attributed such lamentable sallies as this. — CROKER.

⁶ The General seemed unwilling to enter upon it at this time; but upon a subsequent occasion he communicated to me a number of particulars, which I have committed to writing; but I was not sufficiently diligent in obtaining more from him, not apprehending that his friends were so soon to lose him; for, notwithstanding his great age, he was very healthy and vigorous, and was at last carried off by a violent fever, which is often fatal at any period of life. — BOSWELL.

Mr. Scott of Amwell's Elegies were lying in the room. Dr. Johnson observed, "They are very well; but such as twenty people might write." Upon this I took occasion to controvert Horace's maxim,

"— mediocribus esse poëtis

Non Di, non homines, non concessere columnæ:"¹

for here (I observed) was a very middle-rate poet, who pleased many readers, and therefore poetry of a middle sort was entitled to some esteem; nor could I see why poetry should not, like every thing else, have different gradations of excellence, and consequently of value. Johnson repeated the common remark, that "as there is no necessity for our having poetry at all, it being merely a luxury, an instrument of pleasure, it can have no value, unless when exquisite in its kind." I declared myself not satisfied. "Why, then, Sir," said he, "Horace and you must settle it." He was not much in the humour of talking.

No more of his conversation for some days appears in my journal, except that when a gentleman told him he had bought a suit of lace for his lady, he said, "Well, Sir, you have done a good thing and a wise thing." "I have done a good thing," said the gentleman, "but I do not know that I have done a wise thing." JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir; no money is better spent than what is laid out for domestic satisfaction. A man is pleased that his wife is dressed as well as other people; and a wife is pleased that she is dressed."

On Friday, April 14., being Good Friday, I repaired to him in the morning, according to my usual custom on that day, and breakfasted with him. I observed that he fasted so very strictly, that he did not even taste bread, and took no milk with his tea; I suppose because it is a kind of animal food.

He entered upon the state of the nation, and thus discoursed: "Sir, the great misfortune now is, that government has too little power. All that it has to bestow must of necessity be

given to support itself; so that it cannot reward merit. No man, for instance, can now be made a bishop for his learning and piety²; his only chance for promotion is his being connected with somebody who has parliamentary interest. Our several ministers in this reign have outbid each other in concessions to the people. Lord Bute, though a very honourable man,—a man who meant well,—a man who had his blood full of prerogative,—was a theoretical statesman, a book-minister, and thought this country could be governed by the influence of the crown alone. Then, Sir, he gave up a great deal. He advised the king to agree that the judges should hold their places for life, instead of losing them at the accession of a new king. Lord Bute, I suppose, thought to make the king popular by this concession; but the people never minded it; and it was a most impolitic measure. There is no reason why a judge should hold his office for life, more than any other person in public trust. A judge may be partial otherwise than to the crown³; we have seen judges partial to the populace. A judge may become corrupt, and yet there may not be legal evidence against him. A judge may become froward from age. A judge may grow unfit for his office in many ways. It was desirable that there should be a possibility of being delivered from him by a new king. That is now gone by an act of parliament *ex gratiâ* of the crown. Lord Bute advised the king to give up a very large sum of money⁴, for which nobody thanked him. It was of consequence to the king, but nothing to the public, among whom it was divided. When I say Lord Bute advised, I mean, that such acts were done when he was minister, and we are to suppose that he advised him. Lord Bute showed an undue partiality to Scotchmen. He turned out Dr. Nichols⁵, a very eminent man, from being physician to the king, to make room for one of his countrymen, a man very low in his profession.⁶ He had * * * * *⁷ and * * * *⁸ to go on errands for him. He had

¹ It is strange that all the editions should misprint this quotation — which should be,

Non homines, non Di, non concessere columnæ.

"But God, and man, and lettered post denies

That Poets ever are of middling size." — *Francis*.

Hor. Art. Poet. 370. — CROKER.

² From this too obvious observation there are some eminent exceptions. — BOSWELL. The admission that there are "eminent exceptions" destroys the force of Johnson's complaint. In a constitution of government and society like ours, influence, interest, and connections must have some weight in the distribution even of church patronage. Johnson's assertion was that they had *all* the weight, to the *utter exclusion* of piety and learning. This was, and happily still is, notoriously unjust and untrue, for at the very time this rash observation was made, the bench was adorned with the names of Warburton, Green, Newton, Lowth, Moss, Shipley, Law, Hinchliffe, two Thomases, and Hurd, with others equally respectable but not quite so eminent, all plebeians, and all promoted for their piety and learning. The truth is, that in no profession have there been so many instances of the elevation of men of humble origin, but of personal merit, as in the church. — CROKER.

³ Johnson alludes to Sir Matthew Hale — "I remember a saying of King Charles II. on Sir Matthew Hale (who was doubtless an uncorrupt and an upright man) that his servants were sure to be cast on any trial which was heard

before him; not that he thought the judge was possibly to be bribed, but that his integrity might be too scrupulous: and that the causes of the crown were always suspicious when the privileges of subjects were concerned." — *Dryden Ded. of Juvenal*. — P. CUNNINGHAM.

⁴ The money arising from the property of the prizes taken before the declaration of war, which were given to his Majesty by the peace of Paris, and amounted to upwards of 700,000*l.*, and from the lands in the ceded islands, which were estimated at 200,000*l.* more. Surely, there was a nobility in this gift from a monarch to his people. And let it be remembered, that during the Earl of Bute's administration, the king was graciously pleased to give up the hereditary revenues of the crown, and to accept, instead of them, of the limited sum of 800,000*l.* a year; upon which Blackstone observes, that "The hereditary revenues, being put under the same management as the other branches of the public patrimony, will produce more, and be better collected, than heretofore; and the public is a gainer of upwards of 100,000*l.* per annum, by this disinterested bounty of his Majesty." — *Com. book i. c. viii. p. 330.* — BOSWELL.

⁵ Frank Nichols, M. D. He was of Exeter College. Died 1778, æt. 80. — *Hall*. — CROKER.

⁶ Probably Dr. Duncan, appointed physician to the king in 1760. — CROKER.

⁷ Wedderburn, afterwards Chief Justice, Lord Chancellor Baron Loughborough, and Earl of Rosslyn. — CROKER.

⁸ Home, the author of Douglas. — CROKER.

occasion for people to go on errands for him; but he should not have had Scotchmen; and, certainly, he should not have suffered them to have access to him before the first people in England."

I told him, that the admission of one of them before the first people in England, which had given the greatest offence, was no more than what happens at every minister's levee, where those who attend are admitted in the order that they have come, which is better than admitting them according to their rank: for if that were to be the rule, a man who has waited all the morning might have the mortification to see a peer, newly come, go in before him, and keep him waiting still. JOHNSON. "True, Sir; but [Home] should not have come to the levee, to be in the way of people of consequence. He saw Lord Bute at all times; and could have said what he had to say at any time, as well as at the levee. There is now no prime minister: there is only an agent for government in the House of Commons. We are governed by the cabinet; but there is no one head there since Sir Robert Walpole's time." BOSWELL. "What then, Sir, is the use of parliament?" JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, parliament is a large council to the king; and the advantage of such a council is, having a great number of men of property concerned in the legislature, who, for their own interest, will not consent to bad laws. And you must have observed, Sir, the administration is feeble and timid, and cannot act with that authority and resolution which is necessary. Were I in power, I would turn out every man who dared to oppose me. Government has the distribution of offices, that it may be enabled to maintain its authority."

"Lord Bute," he added, "took down too fast, without building up something new." BOSWELL. "Because, Sir, he found a rotten building. The political coach was drawn by a set of bad horses: it was necessary to change them." JOHNSON. "But he should have changed them one by one."

I told him I had been informed by Mr. Orme, that many parts of the East Indies were better mapped than the Highlands of Scotland. JOHNSON. "That a country may be mapped, it must be travelled over." "Nay," said I, meaning to laugh with him at one of his prejudices, "can't you say, it is not *worth* mapping?"

As we walked to St. Clement's church, and saw several shops open upon this most solemn fast-day of the Christian world, I remarked, that one disadvantage arising from the immensity of London was, that nobody was heeded by his neighbour; there was no fear of censure for not observing Good Friday, as it ought to be kept, and as it is kept in country towns. He said, it was, upon the whole, very well ob-

served even in London. He however owned that London was too large¹; but added, "It is nonsense to say the head is too big for the body. It would be as much too big, though the body were ever so large; that is to say, though the country was ever so extensive. It has no similarity to a head connected with a body."

Dr. Wetherell, master of the University College, Oxford, accompanied us home from church; and after he was gone, there came two other gentlemen, one of whom uttered the common-place complaints, that by the increase of taxes, labour would be dear, other nations would undersell us, and our commerce would be ruined. JOHNSON (smiling). "Never fear, Sir; our commerce is in a very good state; and suppose we had no commerce at all, we could live very well on the produce of our own country." I cannot omit to mention, that I never knew any man who was less disposed to be querulous than Johnson. Whether the subject was his own situation, or the state of the public, or the state of human nature in general, though he saw the evils, his mind was turned to resolution, and never to whining or complaint.

We went again to St. Clement's in the afternoon. He had found fault with the preacher in the morning for not choosing a text adapted to the day. The preacher in the afternoon had chosen one extremely proper: "It is finished."

After the evening service, he said, "Come, you shall go home with me, and sit just an hour." But he was better than his word; for after we had drunk tea with Mrs. Williams, he asked me to go up to his study with him, where we sat a long while together in a serene undisturbed frame of mind, sometimes in silence, and sometimes conversing, as we felt ourselves inclined, or more properly speaking, as he was inclined; for during all the course of my long intimacy with him, my respectful attention never abated, and my wish to hear him was such, that I constantly watched every dawning of communication from that great and illuminated mind.

He observed, "All knowledge is of itself of some value. There is nothing so minute or inconsiderable, that I would not rather know it than not. In the same manner, all power, of whatever sort, is of itself desirable. A man would not submit to learn to hem a ruffle of his wife, or his wife's maid: but if a mere wish could attain it, he would rather wish to be able to hem a ruffle."²

He again advised me to keep a journal fully and minutely, but not to mention such trifles as that meat was too much or too little done, or that the weather was fair or rainy. He had till very near his death a contempt for the notion that the weather affects the human frame.

¹ Yet how enormously the metropolis has increased in population and extent since the year 1775! — CROKER, 1830. And how vastly it has increased since my former note was written! *Quousque tandem?* — CROKER, 1846.

² Johnson said that he had once attempted to learn knitting from Dempster's sister: *post*, 7th April, 1778. — CROKER.

I told him that our friend Goldsmith had said to me that he had come too late into the world, for that Pope and other poets had taken up the places in the Temple of Fame; so that as but a few at any period can possess poetical reputation, a man of genius can now hardly acquire it. JOHNSON. "That is one of the most sensible things I have ever heard of Goldsmith.¹ It is difficult to get literary fame, and it is every day growing more difficult. Ah, Sir, that should make a man think of securing happiness in another world, which all who try sincerely for it may attain. In comparison of that, how little are all other things! The belief of immortality is impressed upon all men, and all men act under an impression of it, however they may talk, and though, perhaps, they may be scarcely sensible of it." I said, it appeared to me that some people had not the least notion of immortality; and I mentioned a distinguished gentleman of our acquaintance. JOHNSON. "Sir, if it were not for the notion of immortality, he would cut a throat to fill his pockets." When I quoted this to Beauclerk, who knew much more of the gentleman than we did, he said, in his acid manner, "He would cut a throat to fill his pockets, if it were not for fear of being hanged."²

Dr. Johnson proceeded: "Sir, there is a great cry about infidelity: but there are, in reality, very few infidels. I have heard a person, originally a Quaker, but now, I am afraid, a Deist, say, that he did not believe there were, in all England, above two hundred infidels."

He was pleased to say, "If you come to settle here, we will have one day in the week on which we will meet by ourselves. That is the happiest conversation where there is no competition, no vanity, but a calm quiet interchange of sentiments." In his private register this evening is thus marked:—

"Boswell sat with me till night; we had some serious talk."³

It also appears from the same record, that after I left him he was occupied in religious duties, in

"giving Francis, his servant, some directions for preparation to communicate; in reviewing his life, and resolving on better conduct."

"Easter Eve, April 15. 1775. — I rose more early than is common, after a night disturbed by flatulencies, though I had taken so little. I prayed, but my mind was unsettled, and I did not fix upon the book. After the bread and tea, I trifled, and about three ordered coffee and buns for my dinner. I find more faintness and uneasiness in fasting than I did formerly. — While coffee was preparing, Collier came in, a man whom I had not seen for more than twenty years, but whom I consulted about Macky's books. We talked of old friends and past occurrences, and eat and drank together. I then read a little in the Testament, and tried Fiddes's Body of Divinity, but did not settle. I then went to evening prayer, and was tolerably composed."⁴

The humility and piety which he discovers on such occasions is truly edifying. No saint, however, in the course of his religious warfare, was more sensible of the unhappy failure of pious resolves than Johnson. He said one day, talking to an acquaintance on the subject, "Sir, hell is paved with good intentions."⁵

On Sunday, 16th April, being Easter-day, after having attended the solemn service at St. Paul's, I dined with Dr. Johnson and Mrs. Williams. I maintained that Horace was wrong in placing happiness in *Nil admirari*, for that I thought admiration one of the most agreeable of all our feelings; and I regretted that I had lost much of my disposition to admire, which people generally do as they advance in life. JOHNSON. "Sir, as a man advances in life, he gets what is better than admiration, — judgment, to estimate things at their true value." I still insisted that admiration was more pleasing than judgment, a love is more pleasing than friendship. The feeling of friendship is like that of being comfortably filled with roast beef; love, like being enlivened with champagne. JOHNSON. "No Sir; admiration and love are like being intoxicated with champagne; judgment and friendship like being enlivened. Waller has hit upon the same thought with you⁶; but don't believe you have borrowed from Waller. I wish you would enable yourself to borrow more."

He then took occasion to enlarge on the advantages of reading, and combated the idle superficial notion, that knowledge enough ma

¹ Goldsmith, who read a great deal of light French literature, probably borrowed this from La Bruyere. "Les anciens ont tout dit; on vient aujourd'hui trop tard pour dire les choses nouvelles." — *Vigneti-Marulliana*, i. 336. But Johnson's assertion may surely be questioned. Literary fame (whether always deserved or not) was, I believe, never more cheaply earned than in the last half of the 18th century; and when Johnson complained that it is difficult to get, he should rather have recollected that if it were not difficult it would not have been fame. And after all, did not Goldsmith himself gain a great reputation at an easy rate? — C. 1831. Let me add, that since this complaint that the fountains of novelty and fame had run dry, we have had, in the poetical line alone, Cowper and Crabbe, Scott and Byron, each creating a great name by a style entirely original. — CROKER, 1846.

² All this seems so extravagantly abusive, that I shall be forgiven for venturing a surmise as to the name of the "distinguished gentleman," so ill, and it is to be hoped so unjustly, treated by his friends — CROKER.

³ Prayers and Meditations, p. 128. — BOSWELL.

⁴ Ibid. p. 139. — BOSWELL.

⁵ This is a proverbial sentence. "Hell," says Herber "is full of good meanings and wishings." — *Jacula Prudentum*, p. 11. edit. 1651. — MALONE. Johnson's phrase b become so proverbial that it may seem rather late to ask what it means — why "paved?" perhaps as making the road easy *Jaculis descensus Averni*, — CROKER, 1846.

⁶ "Amoret's as sweet and good
As the most delicious food;
Which but tasted does impart
Life and gladness to the heart.

"Sacharissa's beauty's wine,
Which to madness does incline;
Such a liquor as no brain
That is mortal can sustain." — BOSWELL.

be acquired in conversation. "The foundation," said he, "must be laid by reading. General principles must be had from books, which, however, must be brought to the test of real life. In conversation you never get a system. What is said upon a subject is to be gathered from a hundred people. The parts of a truth, which a man gets thus, are at such a distance from each other that he never attains to a full view."

JOHNSON TO LANGTON.

"April 17. 1775.

"DEAR SIR, — I have inquired more minutely about the medicine for the rheumatism, which I am sorry to hear that you still want. The receipt is this: —

"Take equal quantities of flour of sulphur and flour of mustard-seed, make them an electuary with honey or treacle; and take a bolus as big as a nutmeg several times a day, as you can bear it; drinking after it a quarter of a pint of the infusion of the root of lovage.

"Lovage, in Ray's 'Nomenclature,' is *levisticum*: perhaps the botanists may know the Latin name. Of this medicine I pretend not to judge. There is all the appearance of its efficacy, which a single instance can afford: the patient was very old, the pain very violent, and the relief, I think, speedy and lasting.

"My opinion of alterative medicine is not high, but *quid tentasse nocebit*? if it does harm, or does no good, it may be omitted; but that it may do good, you have, I hope, reason to think is desired by, Sir, your most affectionate, humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

CHAPTER L.

1775.

Dinner at Owen Cambridge's. — Female Portrait Painters. — "Good-humoured Fellows." — Isaac Walton's "Lives." — Flattery. — History. — Early Habits. — "The Beggar's Opera." — Richard Brinsley Sheridan. — Modern Politics. — Sir Roger de Coverley. — Visit to Bedlam. — Sunday Consultations. — Gray's Letters. — Alchymy. — Johnson's Laugh. — Letters to Langton, Mrs. Thrale, &c. — Ramble into the Middle Counties. — Tour to France.

ON Tuesday, April 18., he and I were engaged to go with Sir Joshua Reynolds to dine with Mr. Cambridge, at his beautiful villa on the banks of the Thames, near Twickenham. Dr. Johnson's tardiness was such, that Sir Joshua, who had an appointment at Richmond early in the day, was obliged to go by himself on horseback, leaving his coach to Johnson and me.

Johnson was in such good spirits, that every thing seemed to please him as we drove along.

Our conversation turned on a variety of subjects. He thought portrait-painting an improper employment for a woman.¹ "Public practice of any art," he observed, "and staring in men's faces, is very indelicate in a female." I happened to start a question, whether when a man knows that some of his intimate friends are invited to the house of another friend, with whom they are all equally intimate, he may join them without an invitation. JOHNSON. "No, Sir; he is not to go when he is not invited. They may be invited on purpose to abuse him," smiling.

As a curious instance how little a man knows, or wishes to know, his own character in the world, or rather as a convincing proof that Johnson's roughness was only external, and did not proceed from his heart, I insert the following dialogue. JOHNSON. "It is wonderful, Sir, how rare a quality good humour is in life. We meet with very few good-humoured men." I mentioned four of our friends, none of whom he would allow to be good-humoured. One was *acid*², another was *muddy*, and to others he had objections which have escaped me. Then shaking his head and stretching himself at ease in the coach, and smiling with much complacency, he turned to me and said, "I look upon *myself* as a good-humoured fellow." The epithet *fellow*, applied to the great lexicographer, the stately moralist, the masterly critic, as if it had been *Sam Johnson*, a mere pleasant companion, was highly diverting; and this light notion of himself struck me with wonder. I answered, also smiling, "No, no, Sir; that will *not* do. You are good-natured, but not good-humoured; you are irascible. You have not patience with folly and absurdity. I believe you would pardon them, if there were time to deprecate your vengeance; but punishment follows so quick after sentence, that they cannot escape."

I had brought with me a great bundle of Scotch magazines and newspapers, in which his "Journey to the Western Islands" was attacked in every mode; and I read a great part of them to him, knowing they would afford him entertainment. I wish the writers of them had been present; they would have been sufficiently vexed. One ludicrous imitation of his style, by Mr. Maclaurin, now one of the Scotch judges, with the title of Lord Dreghorn, was distinguished by him from the rude mass. "This," said he, "is the best. But I could caricature my own style much better myself."³ He defended his remark upon the general insufficiency of education in Scotland; and confirmed to me the authenticity of his witty saying on the learning of the

¹ This topic was probably suggested to them by Miss Reynolds, who practised that art; and we shall see that one of the last occupations of Johnson's life was to sit for his picture to that lady. — CROKER.

² The *acid* was Beauclerk. The *muddy*, I fear, was the gentle Langton. — CROKER.

³ Witness, *anté*, p. 417., the description of Hawkestone. — CROKER.

Scotch — "Their learning is like bread in a besieged town; every man gets a little, but no man gets a full meal."¹ "There is," said he, "in Scotland, a diffusion of learning, a certain portion of it widely and thinly spread. A merchant has as much learning as one of their clergy."

He talked of "Isaac Walton's Lives," which was one of his most favourite books. Dr. Donne's life, he said, was the most perfect of them. He observed, that "it was wonderful that Walton, who was in a very low situation of life, should have been familiarly received by so many great men, and that at a time when the ranks of society were kept more separate than they are now." He supposed that Walton had then given up his business as a linendraper and sempster, and was only an author²; and added, "that he was a great panegyrist." BOSWELL. "No quality will get a man more friends than a disposition to admire the qualities of others. I do not mean flattery, but a sincere admiration." JOHNSON. "Nay, Sir, flattery pleases very generally. In the first place, the flatterer may think what he says to be true; but, in the second place, whether he thinks so or not, he certainly thinks those whom he flatters of consequence enough to be flattered."

No sooner had we made our bow to Mr. Cambridge, in his library, than Johnson ran eagerly to one side of the room, intent on poring over the backs of the books.³ Sir Joshua observed (aside), "He runs to the books as I do to the pictures; but I have the advantage. I can see much more of the pictures than he can of the books." Mr. Cambridge, upon this, politely said, "Dr. Johnson, I am going, with your pardon, to accuse myself, for I have the same custom which I perceive you have. But it seems odd that one should have such a desire to look at the backs of books." Johnson, ever ready for contest, instantly started from his reverie, wheeled about and answered, "Sir, the reason is very plain. Knowledge is of two kinds. We know a subject ourselves, or we know where we can find information upon it. When we inquire

into any subject, the first thing we have to do is to know what books have treated of it. This leads us to look at catalogues, and the backs of books in libraries." Sir Joshua observed to me the extraordinary promptitude with which Johnson flew upon an argument "Yes," said I, "he has no formal preparation no flourishing with his sword; he is through your body in an instant."⁴

Johnson was here solaced with an elegant entertainment, a very accomplished family, and much good company; among whom was Mr. Harris of Salisbury, who paid him many compliments on his "Journey to the Western Islands."

The common remark as to the utility of reading history being made;—JOHNSON. "We must consider how very little history there is; I mean real authentic history. That certain kings reigned, and certain battles were fought, we can depend upon as true; but all the colouring, all the philosophy of history is conjecture." BOSWELL. "Then, Sir, you would reduce all history to no better than an almanac a mere chronological series of remarkable events."⁵ Mr. Gibbon, who must at that time have been employed upon his history, of which he published the first volume in the following year, was present; but did not step forth in defence of that species of writing. He probably did not like to trust himself with Johnson.⁶

Johnson observed, that the force of our early habits was so great, that though reason approved, nay, though our senses relished a different course, almost every man returned to them. I do not believe there is any observation upon human nature better founded than this; and in many cases, it is a very painful truth; for where early habits have been meagre and wretched, the joy and elevation resulting from better modes of life must be damped by the gloomy consciousness of being under almost inevitable doom to sink back into a situation which we recollect with disgust. Surely may be prevented, by constant attention and unremitting exertion to establish contrary habits of superior efficacy.

¹ Mrs. Piozzi tells this story, probably more truly and more forcibly, though with rather less delicacy of expression — "Every man gets a *mouthful*, but no man a *bellyful*." Johnson added, that some officious friend had repeated it to Lord Bute while the question of his pension was afloat, and that Lord Bute only replied, "He will have the pension nevertheless." — *Anecdotes*. I suspect that Home was the "officious friend," and that hence may have arisen Johnson's evident dislike of the author of *Douglas*. — CROKER.

² Johnson's conjecture was erroneous. Walton did not retire from business till 1643. But in 1664, Dr. King, Bishop of Chichester, in a letter prefixed to his "Lives," mentions his having been familiarly acquainted with him for forty years; and in 1631 he was so intimate with Dr. Donne, that he was one of the friends who attended him on his death-bed. — J. BOSWELL, jun. And, as Mr. Markland observes to me, Walton's condition in life was not *very low*; he was in a respectable line of business, and was well descended, and well allied; his mother was niece to Archbishop Cranmer, and his wife was the sister of Bishop Ken. But it seems to me that Johnson confounds *distinction* with *separation* of ranks. Literature has always been a passport into higher society. Walton was received, as Johnson himself was

a century later, not on a footing of personal or political equality, but of social and literary intercourse. — CROKER.

³ The first time he dined with me, he was shown into a book room, and instantly pored over the lettering of a volume within his reach. My collection of books is miscellaneous, and I feared there might be some among them that he would not like. But seeing the number of volumes very considerable, he said, "You are an honest man; have formed so great an accumulation of knowledge." — BURNES.

⁴ Mrs. Piozzi describes Johnson's promptitude of thought and expression on such occasions by a happy classical allusion: "His notions rose up like the dragon's teeth sown by Cadmus, all ready clothed, and in bright armour, fit for battle." — CROKER.

⁵ Mr. (afterwards Lord) Plunket made a great sensation in the House of Commons (Feb. 28, 1825), by saying that history if not judiciously read was "no better than an *almanack*," — which *Mercier* had already said in his *Nouv. Tableau de Paris* — "Malet du Pan's and such-like histories of the revolution are no better than an *old almanac*." Boswell, we see, had anticipated both. — CROKER.

⁶ See *anté*, p. 445. n. 4. — C.

"The Beggar's Opera," and the common question, whether it was pernicious in its effects, having been introduced;—JOHNSON. "As to this matter, which has been very much contested, I myself am of opinion, that more influence has been ascribed to 'The Beggar's Opera' than it in reality ever had; for I do not believe that any man was ever made a rogue by being present at its representation. At the same time I do not deny that it may have some influence, by making the character of a rogue familiar, and in some degree pleasing."¹ Then collecting himself, as it were, to give a heavy stroke: "There is in it such a *labefaction*² of all principles as may be injurious to morality."

While he pronounced this response, we sat in a comical sort of restraint, smothering a laugh, which we were afraid might burst out. In his *Life of Gay*, he has been still more decisive as to the inefficiency of "The Beggar's Opera" in corrupting society. But I have ever thought somewhat differently; for, indeed, not only are the gaiety and heroism of a highwayman very captivating to a youthful imagination, but the arguments for adventurous depredation are so plausible, the allusions so lively, and the contrasts with the ordinary and more painful modes of acquiring property are so artfully displayed, that it requires a cool and strong judgment to resist so imposing an aggregate: yet, I own, I should be very sorry to have "The Beggar's Opera" suppressed; for there is in it so much of real London life, so much brilliant wit, and such a variety of airs, which, from early association of ideas, engage, soothe, and enliven the mind, that no performance which the theatre exhibits delights me more.

The late "worthy" Duke of Queensbury³, as Thomson, in his "Seasons," justly characterises him, told me, that when Gay showed him "The Beggar's Opera," his Grace's observation was, "This is a very odd thing, Gay; I am satisfied that it is either a very good thing, or a very bad thing." It proved

the former, beyond the warmest expectations of the author, or his friends. Mr. Cambridge, however, showed us to-day, that there was good reason enough to doubt concerning its success. He was told by Quin, that during the first night of its appearance it was long in a very dubious state; that there was a disposition to damn it, and that it was saved by the song,

"Oh ponder well! be not severe!"

the audience being much affected by the innocent looks of Polly, when she came to those two lines, which exhibit at once a painful and ridiculous image,

"For on the rope that hangs my dear,
Depends poor Polly's life."

Quin himself had so bad an opinion of it, that he refused the part of Captain Macheath, and gave it to Walker, who acquired great celebrity by his grave⁴ yet animated performance of it.

We talked of a young gentleman's marriage⁵ with an eminent singer, and his determination that she should no longer sing in public, though his father was very earnest she should, because her talents would be liberally rewarded, so as to make her a good fortune. It was questioned whether the young gentleman, who had not a shilling in the world, but was blest with very uncommon talents, was not foolishly delicate or foolishly proud, and his father truly rational without being mean. Johnson, with all the high spirit of a Roman senator, exclaimed, "He resolved wisely and nobly, to be sure. He is a brave man. Would not a gentleman be disgraced by having his wife singing publicly for hire? No, Sir, there can be no doubt here."⁶

Johnson arraigned the modern politics of this country, as entirely devoid of all principle of whatever kind. "Politics," said he, "are now nothing more than means of rising in the world. With this sole view do men engage in politics, and their whole conduct proceeds upon it."⁷ How different in that respect is the state

Dover; the patron of Gay and Thomson. He died in 1778, in the 80th year of his age.—CROKER.

⁴ The gravity of the performance of Macheath seems a strange merit.—CROKER.

⁵ Richard Brinsley Sheridan's with Miss Linley, which took place 13th April, 1773. At the time of the marriage she was under an engagement to the Worcester Music Meeting, which Sheridan was, with great difficulty, persuaded by the Directors to allow her to fulfil; but the sum she received was given to the charity. Her singing at Oxford, at the installation of Lord North, as Chancellor, in 1773, was, as Dr. Hall told me, put on the footing of *obliging* his Lordship and the University; and when, on that occasion, several degrees were conferred, in the academic form of "*honoris causa*," Lord North slyly observed, that Sheridan should have a degree "*aroris causa*," but he had not.—CROKER.

⁶ A few words are here omitted. See *anté*, p. 176. n. 6.—CROKER.

⁷ In those troublesome times men were contending for *fundamental principles*, and were always zealous, and sometimes disinterested, in proportion to the greatness of the public stake; but since the Revolution, and the extinction of the claims of the house of Stuart, the principles of our constitution are so generally admitted, that little is left to be contested for, except the hands by which affairs shall be ad-

¹ A very eminent physician, whose discernment is as acute and penetrating in judging of the human character as it is in his own profession, remarked once at a club where I was, that a lively young man, fond of pleasure, and without money, would hardly resist a solicitation from his mistress to go upon the highway, immediately after being present at the representation of "The Beggar's Opera." I have been told of an ingenious observation by Mr. Gibbon, that "The Beggar's Opera may, perhaps, have sometimes increased the number of highwaymen; but that it has had a beneficial effect in refining that class of men, making them less ferocious, more polite, in short, more like gentlemen." Upon which Mr. Courtenay said, that "Gay was the Orpheus of highwaymen."—BOSWELL. These are probably scraps of the *Club* conversation, and the physician was perhaps Dr. Fordyce.—CROKER. Mr. Burke, however, thought the literary merit of the Beggar's Opera small, and its social effect injurious. *Bisset's Life*, i. 249.—MARKLAND.

² This word is not to be found in Johnson's Dictionary—but "LABEYF, to weaken, to impair," is; from which he probably coined at the moment "*labefaction*," without attending to etymological analogies, for such verbs as *signify, verify*, become nouns by the addition of *cation*; and *satisfy* produces *satisfaction*; but I remember no instance of the declension of *fy* into *faction*.—CROKER, 1846.

³ The third Duke of Queensbury, and second Duke of

of the nation now from what it was in the time of Charles the First, during the Usurpation, and after the Restoration, in the time of Charles the Second. Hudibras affords a strong proof how much hold political principles had then upon the minds of men. There is in Hudibras a great deal of bullion which will always last. But, to be sure, the brightest strokes of his wit owed their force to the impression of the characters, which was upon men's minds at the time; to their knowing them, at table and in the street; in short, being familiar with them; and above all, to his satire being directed against those whom a little while before they had hated and feared. The nation in general has ever been loyal, has been at all times attached to the monarch, though a few daring rebels have been wonderfully powerful for a time. The murder of Charles the First was undoubtedly not committed with the approbation or consent of the people. Had that been the case, parliament would not have ventured to consign the regicides to their deserved punishment.¹ And we know what exuberance of joy there was when Charles the Second was restored. If Charles the Second had bent all his mind to it, had made it his sole object, he might have been as absolute as Louis the Fourteenth."² A gentleman observed, he would have done no harm if he had. JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, absolute princes seldom do any harm. But they who are governed by them are governed by chance. There is no security for good government." CAMBRIDGE. "There have been many sad victims to absolute government." JOHNSON. "So, Sir, have there been to popular factions." BOSWELL. "The question is, which is worst, one wild beast or many?"

Johnson praised "The Spectator," particularly the character of Sir Roger de Coverley. He said, "Sir Roger did not die a violent death, as has been generally fancied. He was not killed; he died only because others were to die, and because his death afforded an opportunity to Addison for some very fine writing. We have the example of Cervantes making Don Quixote die. I never could see why Sir Roger is represented as a little cracked. It appears to me that the story of the widow was intended to have something

superinduced upon it; but the superstructure did not come."

Somebody found fault with writing verses in a dead language, maintaining that they were merely arrangements of so many words, and laughed at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, for sending forth collections of them, not only in Greek and Latin, but even in Syriac, Arabic, and other more unknown tongues.³ JOHNSON. "I would have as many of these as possible; I would have verses in every language that there are the means of acquiring. Nobody imagines that an university is to have at once two hundred poets: but it should be able to show two hundred scholars. Peiresc's⁴ death was lamented, I think, in forty languages. And I would have had at every coronation, and every death of a king, every *Gaudium*, and every *Luctus*, university-verses, in as many languages as can be acquired. I would have the world be thus told, "Here is a school where every thing may be learnt."

Having set out next day on a visit to the Earl of Pembroke, at Wilton, and to my friend Mr. Temple, at Mamhead, in Devonshire, and not having returned to town till the 2d of May, I did not see Dr. Johnson for a considerable time, and during the remaining part of my stay in London kept very imperfect notes of his conversation, which had I according to my usual custom written out at large soon after the time, much might have been preserved, which is now irretrievably lost. I can now only record some particular scenes, and a few fragments of his *memorabilia*. But to make some amends for my relaxation of diligence in one respect, I can present my readers with arguments upon two law cases, with which he favoured me.

On Saturday, the 6th of May, we dined by ourselves at the Mitre, and he dictated to me what follows, to obviate the complaint already mentioned [p. 428.], which had been made in the form of an action in the Court of Session by Dr. Memis, of Aberdeen, that in the same translation of a charter in which *physician* were mentioned, he was called *doctor of medicine*.

"There are but two reasons for which a physician can decline the title of *doctor of medicine*—

ministered: in such circumstances, politics must become more of a *profession* in which men will seek *personal* advancement, than when their private feelings were mixed up with questions of vital public importance. — CROKER, 1831. I fear that the Reform Bill, and other political events which have occurred since the foregoing note was written, have again brought *fundamental principles* into question, and that our children, if not ourselves, are likely to see a perilous renewal of the old contest between monarchy and democracy. — CROKER, 1846.

¹ I concur in Johnson's opinion as to the *fact*; but it seems to me, that the *proof* adduced is very inconclusive; for if the execution of the regicides proves *one* state of the public mind, surely the execution of the king himself might be adduced to prove *another*. — CROKER.

² Did Dr. Johnson forget the power of the public purse, placed in the hands of the House of Commons, and all the arts, intrigues, and violence which Charles and his ministers tried, and tried in vain, to evade or resist that control? Did he also forget that there were *juries* in that reign? a

jury might occasionally be packed or intimidated, but there still were *juries*! — CROKER.

³ "In foreign universities,
When a king's born, or weds, or dies,
Straight other studies are laid by,
And all apply to poetry;
Some write in Hebrew, some in Greek,
And some (more wise) in Arabic,
T' avoid the critic and th' expense
Of difficult wit and sense,
And seem more learnedish than those
That at a greater charge compose." — Butler.
P. CUNNINGHAM.

⁴ This learned Frenchman was born in 1580, and died 1637. His *Life*, written in Latin by Gassendi, was translated into English by Dr. Rand, and dedicated to Evelyn. — WRIGHT.

because he supposes himself disgraced by the doctorship, or supposes the doctorship disgraced by himself. To be disgraced by a title which he shares in common with every illustrious name of his profession, with Boerhaave, with Arbuthnot, and with Cullen, can surely diminish no man's reputation. It is, I suppose, to the doctorate, from which he shrinks, that he owes his right of practising physic. A doctor of medicine is a physician under the protection of the laws, and by the stamp of authority. The physician who is not a doctor usurps a profession, and is authorised only by himself to decide upon health and sickness, and life and death. That this gentleman is a doctor, his diploma makes evident; a diploma not obtruded upon him, but obtained by solicitation, and for which fees were paid. With what countenance any man can refuse the title which he has either begged or bought, is not easily discovered.

"All verbal injury must comprise in it either some false position, or some unnecessary declaration of defamatory truth. That in calling him doctor, a false appellation was given him, he himself will not pretend, who at the same time that he complains of the title would be offended if we supposed him to be not a doctor. If the title of doctor be a defamatory truth, it is time to dissolve our colleges; for why should the public give salaries to men whose approbation is reproach? It may likewise deserve the notice of the public to consider what help can be given to the professors of physic, who all share with this unhappy gentleman the ignominious appellation, and of whom the very boys in the street are not afraid to say, *There goes the doctor*.

"What is implied by the term doctor is well known. It distinguishes him to whom it is granted, as a man who has attained such knowledge of his profession as qualifies him to instruct others. A doctor of law is a man who can form lawyers by his precepts. A doctor of medicine is a man who can teach the art of curing diseases. This is an old axiom which no man has yet thought fit to deny. *Nil dat quod non habet*. Upon this principle to be doctor implies skill, for *nemo docet quod non didicit*. In England, whoever practises physic, not being a doctor, must practise by a licence; but the doctorate conveys a licence in itself.

"By what accident it happened that he and the other physicians were mentioned in different terms, where the terms themselves were equivalent, or where in effect that which was applied to him was the most honourable, perhaps they who wrote the paper cannot now remember. Had they expected a lawsuit to have been the consequence of such petty variation, I hope they would have avoided it.¹ But, probably, as they meant no ill, they suspected

no danger, and, therefore, consulted only what appeared to them propriety or convenience."

A few days afterwards, I consulted him upon a cause, *Paterson and others* against *Alexander and others*, which had been decided by a casting vote in the Court of Session, determining that the corporation of Stirling was corrupt, and setting aside the election of some of their officers, because it was proved that three of the leading men who influenced the majority had entered into an unjustifiable compact, of which, however, the majority were ignorant. He dictated to me after a little consideration, the following sentences upon the subject.

"There is a difference between majority and superiority: majority is applied to number, and superiority to power; and power, like many other things, is to be estimated *non numero sed pondere*. Now though the greater number is not corrupt, the greater weight is corrupt, so that corruption predominates in the borough, taken collectively, though, perhaps, taken numerically, the greater part may be uncorrupt. That borough, which is so constituted as to act corruptly, is in the eye of reason corrupt, whether it be by the uncontrollable power of a few, or by an accidental pravity of the multitude. The objection, in which is urged the injustice of making the innocent suffer with the guilty, is an objection not only against society, but against the possibility of society. All societies, great and small, subsist upon this condition; that as the individuals derive advantages from union, they may likewise suffer inconveniences; that as those who do nothing, and sometimes those who do ill, will have the honours and emoluments of general virtue and general prosperity, so those likewise who do nothing, or perhaps do well, must be involved in the consequences of predominant corruption."

This, in my opinion, was a very nice case; but the decision was affirmed in the House of Lords.

On Monday, May 8., we went together and visited the mansions of Bedlam.² I had been informed that he had once been there before with Mr. Wedderburne (now Lord Loughborough), Mr. Murphy, and Mr. Foote; and I had heard Foote give a very entertaining account of Johnson's happening to have his attention arrested by a man who was very furious, and who, while beating his straw, supposed it was William, Duke of Cumberland, whom he was punishing for his cruelties in Scotland, in 1746.³ There was nothing pecu-

¹ In justice to Dr. Memis, though I was against him as an advocate, I must mention, that he objected to the variation very earnestly, before the translation was printed off. — BOSWELL.

² Old Bedlam was one of the sights of London, like the *Abbey* and the *Tower*. (See *Tatler*, No. 70.) The public were admitted for a small fee to perambulate long galleries into which the cells opened (these Boswell calls the *mansions*), and even to converse with the maniacs. "To gratify the curiosity of a country friend, I accompanied him a few weeks ago to Bedlam. It was in the Easter week, when, to my great surprise, I found a hundred people at least, who, having paid their twopenny apiece, were suffered, unattended, to run rioting up and down the wards, making sport and diversion of the miserable inhabitants," &c. — *The World*,

No. 23. June 7. 1753. See also Plate 8. of Hogarth's *Rake's Progress*, where two lady visitors seem to have been admitted into the cell of the maniacs. — CROKER, 1846.

³ My very honourable friend, General Sir George Howard, who served in the Duke of Cumberland's army, has assured me that the cruelties were not imputable to his Royal Highness. — BOSWELL. On the morning of the battle of Culloden, Lord George Murray, the chief of the Pretender's staff, issued an order to give *no quarter* to the royal forces. The Jacobites affected to say that this was the act of the individual and not of the Prince or his party; but it is undeniable that such a general order was given, and that it became the *excuse*, though certainly not a justification, of the severities which followed the battle on the part of the conquerors. — CROKER.

liarily remarkable this day; but the general contemplation of insanity was very affecting. I accompanied him home, and dined and drank tea with him.

Talking of an acquaintance of ours¹, distinguished for knowing an uncommon variety of miscellaneous articles both in antiquities and polite literature, he observed, "You know, Sir, he runs about with little weight upon his mind." And talking of another very ingenious gentleman², who, from the warmth of his temper, was at variance with many of his acquaintance, and wished to avoid them, he said, "Sir, he lives the life of an outlaw."

On Friday, May 12., as he had been so good as to assign me a room in his house, where I might sleep occasionally, when I happened to sit with him to a late hour, I took possession of it this night, found every thing in excellent order, and was attended by honest Francis with a most civil assiduity. I asked Johnson whether I might go to a consultation with another lawyer upon Sunday, as that appeared to me to be doing work as much in my way, as if an artisan should work on the day appropriated for religious rest. JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, when you are of consequence enough to oppose the practice of consulting upon Sunday, you should do it; but you may go now. It is not criminal, though it is not what one should do, who is anxious for the preservation and increase of piety, to which a peculiar observance of Sunday is a great help. The distinction is clear between what is of moral and what is of ritual obligation."

[JOHNSON TO MRS. THRALE.

(Extract.)

"12th May, 1775.—I wish I could say or send any thing to divert you; but I have done nothing, and seen nothing. I dined one day with Paoli, and yesterday with Mrs. Southwell's³, and called on Congreve.⁴ Mr. Twiss is going to Ireland, and I have given him letters to Dr. Leland and Mr. Falkner.⁵

"Boswell has made me promise not to go to Oxford till he leaves London; I had no great reason for haste, and therefore might as well gratify a friend. I am always proud and pleased to have my company desired. Boswell would have thought my absence a loss, and I know not who else would have considered my presence as a profit. He has entered himself at the Temple, and I joined in his bond. He is to plead before the Lords, and hopes very nearly to gain the cost of his journey. He lives much with his friend Paoli, who says, a man must see Wales to enjoy England.

"The book which is now most read, but which, as far as I have gone, is but dull, is Gray's Letters⁶.

prefixed by Mr. Mason to his poems. I have borrowed mine, and therefore cannot lend it, and I can hardly recommend the purchase."

On Saturday, May 13., I breakfasted with him by invitation, accompanied by Mr. Andrew Crosbie, a Scotch advocate, whom he had seen at Edinburgh [p. 270.], and the Hon. Colonel (now General) Edward Stopford, brother to Lord Courtown, who was desirous of being introduced to him. His tea and rolls and butter, and whole breakfast apparatus, were all in such decorum, and his behaviour was so courteous, that Colonel Stopford was quite surprised, and wondered at his having heard so much said of Johnson's slovenliness and roughness. I have preserved nothing of what passed, except that Crosbie pleased him much by talking learnedly of alchymy, as to which Johnson was not a positive unbeliever, but rather delighted in considering what progress had actually been made in the transmutation of metals, what near approaches there had been to the making of gold; and told us that it was affirmed that a person in the Russian dominions had discovered the secret, but died without revealing it, as imagining it would be prejudicial to society. He added, that it was not impossible but it might in time be generally known.

It being asked whether it was reasonable for a man to be angry at another whom a woman had preferred to him;—JOHNSON. "I do not see, Sir, that it is reasonable for a man to be angry at another whom a woman has preferred to him; but angry he is, no doubt; and he is loth to be angry at himself."

Before setting out for Scotland on the 23d, I was frequently in his company at different places, but during this period have recorded only two remarks; one concerning Garrick: "He has not Latin enough. He finds out the Latin by the meaning, rather than the meaning by the Latin." And another concerning writers of travels, who, he observed, "were more defective than any other writers."

I passed many hours with him on the 17th, of which I find all my memorial is, "much laughing." It should seem he had that day been in a humour for jocularity and merriment, and upon such occasions I never knew a man laugh more heartily. We may suppose that the high relish of a state so different from his habitual gloom produced more than ordinary exertions of that distinguishing faculty of man, which has puzzled philosophers so much to explain. Johnson's laugh was as remarkable as any circumstance in his manner. It was a kind of good-humoured growl. Tom Davies described it drolly enough: "He laughs like a rhinoceros."

¹ Probably Dr. Percy. — CROKER.

² No doubt Mr. George Stevens. — CROKER.

³ See ante, p. 246, n. 2. — C.

⁴ See post, 22d March, 1776. — C.

⁵ George Faulkner, the celebrated printer. Mr. Twiss published his tour in Ireland, which gave more offence to the

Irish than even Johnson's Journey had done to the Scotch — CROKER, 1846.

⁶ Nothing but a strong prejudice could have made Johnson thus speak of those very entertaining letters. See post, 504. — CROKER.

JOHNSON TO LANGTON.

"May 21. 1775.

"DEAR SIR, — I have an old amanuensis in great distress. I have given what I think I can give, and begged till I cannot tell where to beg again. I put into his hands this morning four guineas. If you could collect three guineas more, it would clear him from his present difficulty. I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON."¹

[JOHNSON TO MRS. THRALE.

(Extracts.)

"London, May 22. 1775. — Boswell went away at two this morning. L[angton] I suppose goes this week. B[oswell] got two and forty guineas in fees while he was here. He has, by his wife's persuasion and mine, taken down a present for his mother-in-law. * * *

"I am not sorry that you read Boswell's journal. Is it not a merry piece? There is much in it about poor me.

"Do not buy C[handler]'s² travels, they are duller than T[wiss]'s. W[raxall]³ is too fond of words, but you may read him. I shall take care that Adair's account of America may be sent you, for I shall have it of my own.

"Beattie has called once to see me. He lives grand at the archbishop's."⁴

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"May 27. 1775.

"DEAR SIR, — I make no doubt but you are now safely lodged in your own habitation, and have told all your adventures to Mrs. Boswell and Miss Veronica. Pray teach Veronica to love me. Bid her not mind mamma.

"Mrs. Thrale has taken cold, and been very much disordered, but I hope is grown well. Mr. Langton went yesterday to Lincolnshire, and has invited Nicolaidas⁵ to follow him. Beauclerk talks of going to Bath. I am to set out on Monday; so there is nothing but dispersion

"I have returned Lord Hailes's entertaining sheets, but must stay till I come back for more, because it will be inconvenient to send them after me in my vagrant state.

"I promised Mrs. Macaulay⁶ that I would try to serve her son at Oxford. I have not forgotten it, nor am unwilling to perform it. If they desire to give him an English education, it should be considered whether they cannot send him for a year or two to an English school. If he comes immediately from Scotland, he can make no figure in our Universities. The schools in the north, I believe, are cheap; and when I was a young man, were eminently good.

¹ He had written to Mrs. Thrale the day before: "Peyton and Macbean are both starving, and I cannot keep them." — *Letters*. — CROKER.

² Travels in Asia Minor. — CROKER.

³ "Cursory Remarks made in a Tour through some of the Northern Parts of Europe." — CROKER.

⁴ Beattie was on a visit to his friend, Dr. Porteus, who had apartments in Lambeth Palace, as chaplain to Archbishop Secker. — CROKER, 1846.

⁵ A learned Greek. — BOSWELL. Mr. Langton was an enthusiast about Greece. — CROKER.

⁶ Wife of the Rev. Kenneth Macaulay, author of "The History of St. Kilda." — BOSWELL. See *anté*, p. 303. — C.

"There are two little books published by the Foulis, Telemachus and Collins's Poems, each a shilling; I would be glad to have them.

"Make my compliments to Mrs. Boswell, though she does not love me. You see what perverse things ladies are, and how little fit to be trusted with feudal estates. When she mends and loves me, there may be more hope of her daughters.

"I will not send compliments to my friends by name, because I would be loth to leave any out in the enumeration. Tell them, as you see them, how well I speak of Scotch politeness, and Scotch hospitality, and Scotch beauty, and of every thing Scotch, but Scotch oat-eakes and Scotch prejudices.

"Let me know the answer of *Rasay*⁷, and the decision relating to Sir Allan.⁸ I am, my dearest Sir, with great affection, &c., SAM. JOHNSON."

After my return to Scotland, I wrote three letters to him, from which I extract the following passages: —

"I have seen Lord Hailes since I came down. He thinks it wonderful that you are pleased to take so much pains in revising his 'Annals.' I told him that you said you were well rewarded by the entertainment which you had in reading them."

"There has been a numerous flight of Hebrideans in Edinburgh this summer, whom I have been happy to entertain at my house. Mr. Donald Macqueen⁹ and Lord Monboddo supped with me one evening. They joined in controverting your proposition, that the Gaelic of the Highlands and Isles of Scotland was not written till of late."

"My mind has been somewhat dark this summer. I have need of your warming and vivifying rays; and I hope I shall have them frequently. I am going to pass some time with my father at Auchinleck."

[JOHNSON TO MRS. THRALE.

(Extracts.)

"Oxford, June 1. 1775.¹⁰ — I did not make the epitaph¹¹ before last night, and this morning I have found it too long; I send it to you as it is, to pacify you, and will make it shorter * *. Don't suppose that I live here as we live at Streatham. I went this morning to the chapel at six, and if I were to stay would try to conform to all wholesome rules * *. Mr. Coulson¹² is well, and still willing to keep me, but I delight not in being long here. Mr. Smollett, of Loch-Lomond¹³ and his lady have been here — we were glad to meet."

"June 6. — Such is the uncertainty of all human things, that Mr. [Coulson] has quarrelled

⁷ Boswell has not given us *Rasay*'s answer. See *anté* p. 169. I suppose it was not quite satisfactory. — CROKER.

⁸ A lawsuit carried on by Sir Allan Maclean, chief of his clan, to recover certain parts of his family estates from the Duke of Argyll. — BOSWELL.

⁹ The very learned minister in the Isle of Sky, whom both Dr. Johnson and I have mentioned with regard. — BOSWELL. See *anté*, p. 316. — C.

¹⁰ In the latter end of May he set out on what he called "his annual ramble into the middle counties," of which his letters to Mrs. Thrale afford a kind of journal. — CROKER.

¹¹ On Mrs. Salusbury. — CROKER.

¹² Of University College. — CROKER.

¹³ See *anté*, p. 392. — C.

with me.¹ He says I raise the laugh upon him, and he is an independent man, and all he has is his own, and he is not used to such things. And so I shall have no more good of C[oulson], of whom I never had any good but flattery, which my dear mistress knows I can have at home.

"June 7. — C[oulson] and I am pretty well again, I grudge the cost of going to Lichfield — Frank and I — in a post-chaise — yet I think of thundering away to-morrow. So you will write your next dear letter to Lichfield."

"Lichfield, June 10. — On Thursday I took a post-chaise, and intended to have passed a day or two at Birmingham, but Hector had company in his house, and I went on to Lichfield, where I know not how long I shall stay."

"June 11. — I go every day to Stowhill: both the sisters² are now at home. Every body remembers you all. You left a good impression behind you. I hope you will do the same at [Lewes]. Do not makethem speeches. Unusual compliments, to which there is no stated and prescriptive answer, embarrass the feeble, who do not know what to say, and disgust the wise, who, knowing them to be false, suspect them to be hypocritical. * * * You never told me, and I omitted to inquire, how you were entertained by Boswell's 'Journal.' One would think the man had been hired to be a spy upon me; he was very diligent, and caught opportunities of writing from time to time. You may now conceive yourself tolerably well acquainted with the expedition. Folks want me to go to Italy, but I say you are not for it."

"June 13. — Mr. Green has got a cast of Shakspeare, which he holds to be a very exact resemblance.

"There is great lamentation here for the death of Col. Lucy is of opinion that he was wonderfully handsome.

"Boswell is a favourite, but he has lost ground since I told them that he is married, and all hope is over."

"Ashbourne, 15th July. — Poor Baretti! do not quarrel with him; to neglect him a little will be sufficient. He means only to be frank, and manly, and independent, and perhaps, as you say, a little wise. To be frank, he thinks, is to be cynical, and to be independent to be rude. Forgive him, dearest lady, the rather be-

cause of his misbehaviour I am afraid he has learned part of me. I hope to set him hereafter a better example."

"21st July. — You and [Baretti] are friends again. My dear mistress has the quality of being easily reconciled, and not easily offended. Kindness is a good thing in itself; and there are few things that are worthy of anger, and still fewer that can justify malignity.

"In the mean time, however, life is gliding away, and another state is hastening forwards. You were but five-and-twenty when I knew you first. What I shall be next September [67], I confess I have *lâché* enough to turn aside from thinking.

"I am glad you read Boswell's Journal.³ You are now sufficiently informed of the whole transaction, and need not regret that you did not make the tour of the Hebrides."

Lichfield, July [27]. — "I have passed one day at Birmingham with my old friend Hector — *there's a name!* and his sister, an old *love*. My mistress is grown much older than my friend.

'O quid habes illius, illius
Quæ spirabat amores
Quæ me surperuat mihi.'"⁴

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"London, Aug. 27. 1775.⁵

DEAR SIR, — I am returned from the annual ramble into the middle counties. Having seen nothing I had not seen before, I have nothing to relate. Time has left that part of the island few antiquities; and commerce has left the people no singularities. I was glad to go abroad, and, perhaps, glad to come home; which is, in other words, I was, I am afraid, weary of being at home, and weary of being abroad. Is not this the state of life? But if we confess this weariness, let us not lament it; for all the wise and all the good say, that we may cure it.

"For the black fumes which rise in your mind, I can prescribe nothing but that you disperse them by honest business or innocent pleasure, and by reading, sometimes easy and sometimes serious. Change of place is useful; and I hope that your residence at Auchinleck will have many good effects. * * * That I should have given pain

Mrs. Montagu had secured to Mrs. Williams, and which, as we shall see, was long afterwards a subject of acknowledgment from Johnson to that lady. — CROKER.

"MRS. WILLIAMS TO MRS. MONTAGU.

"Johnson's Court, 26th June, 1775,

"MADAM, — Often have I heard of generosity, benevolence, and compassion, but never have I known or experienced the reality of those virtues, till this joyful morning, when I received the honour of your most tender and affectionate letter with its most welcome contents. Madam, I may with truth say, I have not words to express my gratitude as I ought to a lady, whose bounty has, by an act of benevolence, doubled my income, and whose tender, compassionate assurance has removed the future anxiety of trusting to chance, the terror of which only could have prompted me to stand a public candidate for Mr. Hetherington's bounty. May my sincere and grateful thanks be accepted by you, and may the Author of all good bless and long continue a life, whose shining virtues are so conspicuous and exemplary, is the most ardent prayer of her who is, with the greatest respect, Madam, your most devoted, truly obliged, and obedient humble servant,
ANNA WILLIAMS."

— Mont. MSS.

¹ My venerable and amiable friend, Dr. Fisher, formerly Master of the Charter House, told me, in 1833 (he being then in his eighty-fourth year, in the full possession of his clear mind and happy temper), that he was present at this quarrel. Coulson was going out on a country living, and talking of it with the same pomp, as to Lord Stowell (*ante*, p. 423.). Johnson chose to imagine his becoming an archdeacon, and made himself merry — Dr. Fisher thought too merry — at Coulson's expense; at last they got to warm words, and Johnson concluded the debate by exclaiming emphatically — "Sir, having meant you no offence, I will make you no apology." — CROKER, 1846.

² Mrs. Gastrell and Miss (now Mrs.) Aston. — CROKER.
³ My "Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides," which that lady read in the original manuscript. — BOSWELL.

⁴ "O what hast thou of her — of her,
Whose every look did love inspire,
Whose every breathing fanned my fire,
And stole me from myself away."
Hor. Od. iv. 13. Creech. — C.

⁵ He had returned to town about the middle of August. — The history of Mrs. Williams is so connected with that of Dr. Johnson, that I cannot omit here inserting the following letter, relating to a small annuity, which the charity of

to Rasay, I am sincerely sorry; and am therefore very much pleased that he is no longer uneasy. He still thinks that I have represented him as personally giving up the chieftainship. I meant only that it was no longer contested between the two houses, and supposed it settled, perhaps, by the cession of some remote generation, in the house of Dunvegan. I am sorry the advertisement was not continued for three or four times in the paper.

"That Lord Monboddo and Mr. Macqueen should controvert a position contrary to the imaginary interest of literary or national prejudice, might be easily imagined; but of a standing fact there ought to be no controversy: if there are men with tails, catch a *homo caudatus*; if there was writing of old in the Highlands or Hebrides, in the Erse language, produce the manuscripts. Where men write they will write to one another, and some of their letters, in families studious of their ancestry, will be kept. In Wales there are many manuscripts.

"I have now three parcels of Lord Hailes's history, which I purpose to return all the next week: that his respect for my little observations should keep his work in suspense, makes one of the evils of my journey. It is in our language, I think, a new mode of history which tells all that is wanted, and, I suppose, all that is known, without laboured splendour of language, or affected subtilty of conjecture. The exactness of his dates raises my wonder. He seems to have the closeness of Henault without his constraint.

"Mrs. Thrale was so entertained with your 'Journal,' that she almost read herself blind. She has a great regard for you.

"Of Mrs. Boswell, though she knows in her heart that she does not love me, I am always glad to hear any good, and hope that she and the little dear ladies will have neither sickness nor any other affliction. But she knows that she does not care what becomes of me, and for that she may be sure that I think her very much to blame.

"Never, my dear Sir, do you take it into your head to think that I do not love you; you may settle yourself in full confidence both of my love and esteem: I love you as a kind man, I value you as a worthy man, and hope in time to reverence you as a man of exemplary piety. I hold you, as Hamlet has it, 'in my heart of hearts,' and therefore, it is little to say, that I am, Sir, your affectionate humble servant,
SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"London, Aug. 30. 1775.

"SIR,—If in these papers¹ there is little alteration attempted, do not suppose me negligent. I have read them perhaps more closely than the rest; but I find nothing worthy of an objection. Write to me soon, and write often, and tell me all your honest heart. I am, Sir, yours affectionately,
"SAM. JOHNSON."

[JOHNSON TO MRS. LUCY PORTER.

"London, Sept. 9. 1775.

"DEAR MADAM,—I have sent your books by the carrier, and in Sandys's Travels you will find

your glasses. I have written this post to the ladies at Stowhill, and you may, the day after you have this, or at any other time, send Mrs. Gastrell's books.

"Be pleased to make my compliments to all my good friends. I hope the poor dear hand is recovered, and you are now able to write, which, however, you need not do, for I am going to Brighthelmstone, and when I come back will take care to tell you. In the mean time take great care of your health, and drink as much as you can. I am, dearest love, your most humble servant,
—Pearson MSS. "SAM. JOHNSON.]"

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"Sept. 14. 1775.

MY DEAR SIR,—I now write to you, lest in some of your freaks and humours you should fancy yourself neglected. Such fancies I must entreat you never to admit, at least never to indulge; for my regard for you is so radicated and fixed, that it is become part of my mind, and cannot be effaced but by some cause uncommonly violent; therefore, whether I write or not, set your thoughts at rest. I now write to tell you that I shall not very soon write again, for I am to set out to-morrow on another journey. * * * Your friends are all well at Streatham, and in Leicester Fields.² Make my compliments to Mrs. Boswell, if she is in good humour with me. I am, Sir, &c.,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

CHAPTER LI.

1775.

Excursion into France. — Paris. — *Benedictine Monks.* — *Choisi.* — *Palais-Royal.* — *Mrs. Fermor.* — *Palais-Bourbon.* — *Fontainebleau.* — *Versailles.* — *Trianon.* — *Santerre, the Brewer.* — *King's Library.* — *Sorbonne.* — *St. Cloud.* — *Sève.* — *Bellevue.* — *Meudon.* — *Grande-Chartreuse.* — *Luxembourg.* — *Friar Wilkes.* — *St. Denis.* — *Chantilly.* — *Compeigne.* — *Cambray.* — *State of Society in France.* — *Madame de Boufflers.* — *Voltaire.* — *Dr. Burney's Collectanea.* — *Letters to Mrs. Montagu, &c.*

WHAT he mentions in such light terms as, "I am to set out to-morrow on another journey," I soon afterwards discovered was no less than a tour to France with Mr. and Mrs. Thrale. This was the only time in his life that he went upon the Continent.

JOHNSON TO LEVETT.

"Calais, Sept. 18. 1775.

"DEAR SIR,—We are here in France, after a very pleasing passage of no more than six hours, I know not when I shall write again, and therefore I write now, though you cannot suppose that

¹ Another parcel of Lord Hailes's "Annals of Scotland."
—BOSWELL.

² Where Sir Joshua Reynolds lived. — BOSWELL.

I have much to say. You have seen France yourself. From this place we are going to Rouen, and from Rouen to Paris, where Mr. Thrale designs to stay about five or six weeks. We have a regular recommendation to the English resident, so we shall not be taken for vagabonds. We think to go one way and return another, and see as much as we can. I will try to speak a little French; I tried hitherto but little, but I spoke sometimes. If I heard better, I suppose I should learn faster. I am, Sir, your humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

It is to be regretted, that Johnson did not write an account of his travels in France; for as he is reported to have once said, that "he could write the Life of a Broomstick,"¹ so, notwithstanding so many former travellers have exhausted almost every subject for remark in that great kingdom, his very accurate observation, and peculiar vigour of thought and illustration, would have produced a wonderful work. During his visit to it, which lasted but about two months, he wrote notes or minutes of what he saw. He promised to show me them, but I neglected to put him in mind of it; and the greatest part of them has been lost, or perhaps destroyed in a precipitate burning of his papers a few days before his death, which must ever be lamented: one small paper book, however, entitled "France II.," has been preserved, and is in my possession. It is a diurnal register of his life and observations, from the 10th of October to the 4th of November, inclusive, being twenty-six days, and shows an extraordinary attention to various minute particulars. Being the only memorial of this tour that remains, my readers, I am confident, will peruse it with pleasure, though his notes are very short, and evidently written only to assist his own recollection.

"Tuesday, Oct. 10.—We saw the *Ecole Militaire*, in which 150 young boys are educated for the army. They have arms of different sizes, according to the age—flints of wood. The building is very large, but nothing fine except the council-room—The French have large squares in the windows. They make good iron palisades²—Their meals are gross.³

"We visited the Observatory, a large building of a great height. The upper stones of the parapet very large, but not cramped with iron⁴—The flat on the top is very extensive; but on the insulated part there is no parapet

—Though it was broad enough, I did not care to go upon it. Maps were printing in one of the rooms.—We walked to a small convent of the fathers of the oratory.⁵ In the reading-desk of the refectory lay the Lives of the Saints.

"Wednesday, Oct. 11.—We went to see *Hôtel de Challos*⁶, a house not very large, but very elegant. One of the rooms was gilt to a degree that I never saw before. The upper part for servants and their masters was pretty. "Thence we went to Mr. Monvil's, a house divided into small apartments, furnished with effeminate and minute elegance—Porphry.

"Thence we went to St. Roque's [*Roch*] church, which is very large. The lower part of the pillars incrustured with marble. Three chapels, behind the high altar; the last a mass of low arches. Altars, I believe, all round.

"We passed through *Place de Vendôme*, a fine square [octagon], about as big as Hanoversquare. Inhabited by the high families. Louis XIV. on horseback in the middle.

"Monville is the son of a farmer-general. In the house of *Challos* is a room furnished with japan, fitted up in Europe.

"We dined with Bocage⁷, the Marquis Blanchetti, and his lady—The sweetmeats taken by the Marchioness Blanchetti, after observing that they were dear—Mr. Le Roy, Count Manucci, the abbé, the prior⁸, and Father Wilson, who stayed with me till I took him home in the coach—Bathiani is gone.

"The French have no laws for the maintenance of their poor—Monk not necessarily a priest—Benedictines rise at four; are at church an hour and half; at church again half an hour before, half an hour after, dinner; and again from half an hour after seven to eight—They may sleep eight hours—Bodily labour wanted in monasteries—The poor taken into hospitals, and miserably kept—Monks in the convent fifteen: accounted poor.

"Thursday, Oct. 12.—We went to the Gobelins—Tapestry makes a good picture—imitates flesh exactly—one piece with a gold ground—the birds not exactly coloured—Thence we went to the king's cabinet; very neat, not, perhaps, perfect—gold ore—candles of the candle-tree—seeds—woods—Thence to Gagnier's⁹ house, where I saw rooms nine, furnished with a profusion of wealth and elegance which I never had seen before—vases—pictures—the dragon china—The lustre is said to be of crystal, and to have cost 3,500*l.*—The whole

¹ It is probable that the author's memory here deceived him, and that he was thinking of Stella's remark, that *Swift* could write finely upon a broomstick.—J. BOSWELL, jun.

² Alluding, probably, to the fine *grilles* so frequent in France. He had, probably, just seen that of the *Hôtel des Invalides*, which is one of the finest.—CROKER.

³ The contrary has been the general opinion; and Johnson was certainly a bad judge in that point, if he believed that his own taste was delicate.—CROKER.

⁴ There was neither iron nor wood used in any part of the building; an iron rail to the stairs was afterwards added.—CROKER.

⁵ A convent close to the Observatory, now a kind of lying-in hospital.—CROKER.

⁶ Probably the Hotel of the Duke du *Chatlet*, at the corner of the Rue de Grenelle and the Boulevard des Invalides.—CROKER.

⁷ Madame Du Bocage. See *post*, p. 465. n. 3.—CROKER.

⁸ Who the abbé was does not appear, but the others were members of the English Benedictine convent at Paris.—CROKER. The then prior of the English Benedictines was named Cowley.—MARKLAND.

⁹ Perhaps Gagny, intendant des Finances, who had a fine house in the Rue de Varennes.—CROKER.

furniture said to have cost 125,000*l.* — Damask hangings covered with pictures — Porphyry — This house struck me — Then we waited on the ladies to Monville's — Captain Irwin with us¹ — 'Spain — County towns all beggars — 'At Dijon he could not find the way to Orleans — 'Cross roads of France very bad — Five 'soldiers — Woman — Soldiers escaped — The 'colonel would not lose five men for the death 'of one woman — The magistrate cannot seize a 'soldier but by the colonel's permission — Good 'inn at Nismes — Moors of Barbary fond of 'Englishmen — Gibraltar eminently healthy; it 'has beef from Barbary — There is a large garden — 'Soldiers sometimes fall from the rock.'

"Friday, Oct. 13. — I stayed at home all day, only went to find the prior, who was not at home — I read something in Canus.² — *Nec admiror, nec multum laudo.*

"Saturday, Oct. 14. — We went to the house of M. [D'] Argenson, which was almost wainscotted with looking-glasses, and covered with gold — The lady's closet wainscotted with large squares of glass over painted paper — They always place mirrors to reflect their rooms.

"Then we went to Julien's³, the treasurer of the clergy — 30,000*l.* a year — The house has no very large room, but is set with mirrors, and covered with gold — Books of wood here, and in another library.

"At D['] Argenson's I looked into the books in the lady's closet, and in contempt showed them to Mr. T[hrale] — 'Prince Titi⁴; Bibl.

des Fées, and other books — She was offended, and shut up, as we heard afterwards, her apartment.

"Then we went to Julien le Roy, the king's watchmaker, a man of character in his business, who showed a small clock made to find the longitude. A decent man.

"Afterwards we saw the *Palais Marchand*⁵ and the courts of justice, civil and criminal — Queries on the *Sellette*⁶ — This building has the old Gothic passages, and a great appearance of antiquity. Three hundred prisoners sometimes in the gaol.

"Much disturbed; hope no ill will be.⁷

"In the afternoon I visited Mr. Freron the journalist.⁸ He spoke Latin very scantily, but seemed to understand me. His house not splendid, but of commodious size. His family, wife, son⁹, and daughter, not elevated, but decent. I was pleased with my reception. He is to translate my books, which I am to send him with notes.

"Sunday, Oct. 15. — At Choisi, a royal palace on the banks of the Seine, about 7 m. from Paris. The terrace noble along the river. The rooms numerous and grand, but not discriminated from other palaces. The chapel beautiful, but small — China globes — inlaid tables — labyrinth — sinking table¹⁰ — toilet tables.

"Monday, Oct. 16. — The Palais Royal very grand, large and lofty — A very great collection of pictures — three of Raphael — two Holy Family — one small piece of M. Angelo — One

¹ The rest of this paragraph appears to be a minute of what was told by Captain Irwin. — BOSWELL. And I have therefore marked it as quotation. — CROKER.

² Melchior Canus, a celebrated Spanish Dominican, who died at Toledo, in 1560. He wrote a treatise "De Locis Theologicis," in twelve books. — BOSWELL. He was celebrated for the beauty of his Latin: "Melchior Canus parlait Latin comme Cicéron." — Vigneul-Marvilliana, vol. i. p. 161. — CROKER.

³ M. de St. Julien, Receveur-général du Clergé. — CROKER. The History of *Prince Titi* was said to be the autobiography of Frederick Prince of Wales, but was probably written by Ralph, his secretary. See Park's Roy, and Nob. Auth., vol. i. p. 171. — C. 1831. On this note Mr. Macaulay says in his *Review*, "A more absurd note never was penned. The 'History of Prince Titi,' to which Mr. Croker refers, whether written by Prince Frederick or by Ralph, was certainly never published. If Mr. Croker had taken the trouble to read with attention the very passage in Park's R. and N. Authors, which he cites as his authority, he would have seen that the MS. was given up to the Government;" and Mr. Macaulay adds, that there is no history of Prince Titi, but the fairy tale so called in the *Magasin des Enfants*, &c.

Now, every item, great and small, of this statement, is a blunder, or worse; some of which, as relating to a curious point of literary history, it seems worth while to correct. A book of this title was published in Paris, in 1735, and re-published in 1752, under the title of *Histoire du Prince Titi, A (légic) R (oyale)*; and there is a copy of it in the Museum; and two English translations were advertised in the *Gentleman's* and the *London Magazines* for February 1736, one of them with this title: "The History of Prince Titi; a Royal Allegory, in Three Parts. With an Essay on Allegorical Writing, and a Key. By the Honourable Mrs. Stanley, and sold by E. Curl, price 3*s.*" And it is mentioned as published by Park in his note (v. 354.) on the passage quoted, which, it seems, Mr. Macaulay never read at all. Neither of the translations have I been able to find; but in the French work, amidst the puerility and nonsense of a very stupid fairy tale, it is clear enough, without any key, that by Prince Titi, King *Ginguet*, and Queen *Tripassé*, are meant Prince Frederick, George II., and Queen Caroline. It is stated in Barber, and in a MS. note in the Museum copy, that the work is by one Themiseul de St. Ilyacinthe, who seems to have been what is called a bookseller's hack. He translated *Robinson Crusoe*, and may have been employed

to translate or edit *Prince Titi* in Paris; but by whomsoever written, the work is extant. The MS. delivered up by Ralph's executor, twenty years later (not to the Government, as Mr. Macaulay states, but) to the Prince's widow, may have been the (perhaps garbled) original from which the French edition was made, or, more probably, a continuation of the work to a later period of that Prince's life. I do not however believe that the work published in 1735 could have been written by Ralph. It is too puerile; and Ralph could hardly have so early in the Prince's confidence: but it seems probable that the work was exhibited purposely on the lady's table, in the expectation that her English visitors would think it a literary curiosity, which, indeed, it has proved to be; for Dr. Johnson seems not to have known what it was, and Mr. Macaulay boldly denies its very existence. — CROKER, 1846.

⁵ It was not quite correct to apply the name of *Palais Marchand* to the whole of that vast building called generally the *Palais*, which from being the old *Palace* of the kings of France had (like our own Palace of Westminster) become appropriated to the sittings of the parliament and the courts of justice; and the *Conciergerie* of that palace (like the *Gate-house* of ours) became a prison. The *Palais Marchand* was properly only the stalls (like what are now called *bazaars*) which were placed along some of the galleries and corridors of the *Palais*. — C., 1830. They have been all swept away in Louis Philippe's restoration of the Palais. — CROKER, 1846.

⁶ The *Sellette* was a stool on which the criminal sat while he was interrogated by the court, — a remnant of the old "question." This, I suppose, is what Johnson means by "queries." — CROKER.

⁷ This passage, which so many think superstitious, reminds me of "Archbishop Land's Diary." — BOSWELL. It, perhaps, had no superstitious meaning. He felt, it would seem, his mind disturbed, and may naturally have been apprehensive of becoming worse. — CROKER.

⁸ The celebrated antagonist of Voltaire. — CROKER. Stanislaus, the infamous revolutionist, Buonaparte gave him an employment at St. Domingo, probably to get rid of him; and he died there. — CROKER, 1846.

¹⁰ A round table, the centre of which descended by machinery to a lower floor; so that supper might be served and removed without the presence of servants. It was invented by Louis XV. during the favour of Madame du Barry. — CROKER.

room of Rubens—I thought the pictures of Raphael fine.

"The Thuilleries—Statues: Venus—Æn. and Anchises in his arms—Nilus—many more—The walks not open to mean persons—Chairs at night hired for two sous a piece—Pont tournant.¹

"Austin Nuns²—Grate—Mrs. Fermor³, abbess—She knew Pope, and thought him disagreeable—Mrs. — has many books—has seen life—Their frontlet disagreeable—Their hood—Their life easy—Rise about five; hour and half in chapel—Dine at ten—Another hour and half in chapel; half an hour about three, and half an hour more at seven—four hours in chapel—A large garden—Thirteen pensioners⁴—Teachers complained.

"At the Boulevards saw nothing, yet was glad to be there—Rope-dancing and farce—Egg dance—*N.B.* Near Paris, whether on week-days or Sundays, the roads empty.

"Tuesday, Oct. 17.—At the *Palais Marchand* I bought—

A snuff box ⁵	-	24 livres.
—	-	6
Table book	-	15
Scissors 3 p [pair]	-	18

[Livres] 63—2l. 12s. 6d. sterling.

"We heard the lawyers plead—*N.* As many killed at Paris as there are days in the year—*Chambre de question*⁶—Tournelle at the Palais Marchand⁷—An old venerable building.

"The Palais Bourbon, belonging to the Prince of Condé—Only one small wing shown—lofty—splendid—gold and glass—The

battles of the great Condé are painted in one of the rooms—The present prince a grand-sire at thirty-nine.⁸

"The sight of palaces, and other great buildings, leaves no very distinct images, unless to those who talk of them—As I entered, my wife was in my mind⁹; she would have been pleased. Having now nobody to please, I am little pleased.

"*N.B.* In France there is no middle rank.¹⁰

"So many shops open, that Sunday is little distinguished at Paris—The palaces of Louvre and Thuilleries granted out in lodgings.

"In the *Palais de Bourbon*, gilt globes of metal at the fire-place.

"The French beds commended—Much of the marble only paste.

"The colosseum¹¹ a mere wooden building, at least much of it.

"Wednesday, Oct. 18.—We went to Fontainebleau, which we found a large mean town, crowded with people—The forest thick with woods, very extensive—Manucci [*post*, p. 524.] secured us lodgings—The appearance of the country pleasant—no hills, few streams, only one hedge—I remember no chapels nor crosses on the road—Pavement still, and rows of trees.

"*N.B.* Nobody but mean people walk in Paris.

"Thursday, Oct. 19.—At court we saw the apartments—The king's bed-chamber and council-chamber extremely splendid—Persons of all ranks in the external rooms through which the family passes—servants and masters—Brunet¹² with us the second time.

"The introducer came to us—civil to me—Presenting—I had scruples¹³—Not necessary—We went and saw the king and queen at dinner—We saw the other ladies at dinner

¹ Before the revolution, the passage from the garden of the Thuilleries into the *Place Louis XV.* was over a *pont tournant*, a kind of drawbridge. It was the scene, the day before the taking of the Bastille, of the first collision between the people and the troops under the Prince de Lambesc.—CROKER.

² The English convent of *Notre Dame de Sion*, of the order of St. Augustine, situated in the Rue des Fossés St. Victor.—CROKER.

³ The niece of Arabella Fermor, the *Belinda* of the *Rape of the Lock*.—CROKER, 1846. Johnson mentions her in his *Life of Pope*: "Whether all this be true I have some doubt, for at Paris, a few years ago, a niece of Mrs. Fermor, who presided in an English convent, mentioned Pope's work [*The Rape of the Lock*] with very little gratitude, rather as an insult than an honour; and she may be supposed to have inherited the opinion of the family."—P. CUNNINGHAM.

⁴ Young ladies, who paid for their education. Before the revolution, there were no boarding schools, and all young ladies were educated in the convents.—CROKER.

⁵ This box was a present for Miss Porter, and not for his own use.—CROKER, 1846.

⁶ This was one of the rooms of the *Conciergerie*, where *la question*—torture—was applied.—CROKER.

⁷ The word *Tournelle* designated that portion of the parliament of Paris which tried criminal causes, and part of the *Palais* in which they sat.—CROKER.

⁸ The grandson was the celebrated and unfortunate Duke d'Enghien, born in 1775, murdered in 1804. The father, "restes infortunés du plus beau sang du monde," still lives under his former title of Duc de Bourbon.—CROKER, 1830. He died in Aug. 1830, under most melancholy circumstances.—CROKER, 1835.

⁹ His tender affection for his departed wife, of which there are many evidences in his "Prayers and Meditations," appears very feelingly in this passage.—BOSWELL.

¹⁰ This observation, which Johnson afterwards repeats, was

unfounded, in the sense in which he appears to have meant it. France was, in *theory*, divided (as England is) into the *clergy*, the *nobles*, and the *commons*, and so it might be said that there was no middle rank; but not only did the theoretical constitution of society thus resemble that of England, but so did its practical details. There were, first, the *peers* of France, who had seats and voices in the parliament, but they were of little weight as a political body, from the smallness of their numbers, and because their parliament had only continued to be what we still call ours, a *high court*, and had lost its *legislative* functions;—next came the *noblesse*—the *gentilhommes*—answering to our *gentry*; then the middle classes of society, composed of the inferior clergy, lawyers, medical men, inferior clergy, literary men, merchants, artists, manufacturers, notaries, shopkeepers, in short, all those who in every country constitute the *middle* classes, and they undoubtedly existed in France in their due proportion to the gentry on one hand, and the working classes on the other. Johnson's remark is the stranger, because it would seem that his acquaintance while in Paris was almost exclusively with persons of this *middle class*; but it must be observed, that his intercourse and his consequent sources of information were not extensive. Mrs. Piozzi said to him, talking of the progress of refinement of manners in England, "I much wonder whether this refinement has spread all over the continent, or whether it is confined to our own island: when we were in France we could form little judgment, as our time was chiefly passed among the English."—CROKER.

¹¹ This building, which stood in the Faubourg St. Honoré, was a kind of Ranelagh, and was destroyed a few years after.—CROKER.

¹² Perhaps M. J. L. Brunet, a celebrated advocate.—CROKER.

¹³ It was the custom previous to court presentations, that an officer waited on the persons to be introduced, to instruct them in the forms. Johnson's scruples probably arose from

—Madame Elizabeth, with the Princess of Guimené—At night we went to a comedy—I neither saw nor heard—Drunken women—Mrs. T. preferred one to the other.

"*Friday, Oct. 20.*—We saw the queen mount in the forest—Brown habit; rode aside: one lady rode aside¹—The queen's horse light gray—martingale—She galloped—We then went to the apartments, and admired them—Then wandered through the palace—In the passages, stalls and shops—Painting in fresco by a great master, worn out—We saw the king's horses and dogs—The dogs almost all English—degenerate—The horses not much commended—The stables cool; the kennel filthy.

"At night the ladies went to the opera—I refused, but should have been welcome.

"The king fed himself with his left hand as we.

"*Saturday, Oct. 21.*—In the night I got round—We came home to Paris—I think we did not see the chapel—Tree broken by the wind—The French chairs made all of boards painted.²

"*N. B.* Soldiers at the court of justice³—Soldiers not amenable to the magistrates—Dijon women.⁴

"Fagots in the palace—Every thing slovenly, except in the chief rooms—Trees in the roads, some tall, none old, many very young and small.

"Women's saddles seem ill made—Queen's bridle woven with silver—Tags to strike the horse.

"*Sunday, Oct. 22.*—To Versailles, a mean⁵ town—Carriages of business passing—Mean shops against the wall—Our way lay through Sève, where the China manufacture—Wooden bridge at Sève, in the way to Versailles—The palace of great extent—The front long; I saw it not perfectly—The Menagerie—Cygnet dark; their black feet; on the ground; tame—Halcyons, or gulls—Stag and hind, young—Aviary, very large; the net, wire—Black stag of China, small—Rhinceros, the horn broken and pared away, which, I suppose, will grow; the basis, I think, four inches across; the skin folds like loose cloth doubled over his

body, and cross his hips; a vast animal, though young; as big, perhaps, as four oxen—The young elephant, with his tusks just appearing—The brown bear put out his paws—all very tame—The lion—The tigers I did not well view—The camel, or dromedary, with two bunches called the Huguin⁶, taller than any horse—Two camels with one bunch—Among the birds was a pelican, who being let out, went to a fountain, and swam about to catch fish—his feet well webbed; he dipped his head, and turned his long bill sideways—he caught two or three fish, but did not eat them.

"Trianon is a kind of retreat appendant to Versailles—It has an open portico; the pavement, and, I think, the pillars, of marble—There are many rooms, which I do not distinctly remember—A table of porphyry, about five feet long, and between two and three broad, given to Louis XIV. by the Venetian state—In the council-room almost all that was not door or window was, I think, looking-glass—Little Trianon is a small palace like a gentleman's house—The upper floor paved with brick⁷—Little Vienne—The court is ill paved—The rooms at the top are small, fit to soothe the imagination with privacy—In the front of Versailles are small basins of water on the terrace, and other basins, I think, below them—There are little courts—The great gallery is wainscotted with mirrors not very large, but joined by frames—I suppose the large plates were not yet made—The play-house was very large⁸—The chapel⁹ I do not remember if we saw—We saw one chapel, but I am not certain whether there or at Trianon—The foreign office paved with bricks [tiles]—The dinner half a louis each, and, I think, a louis over—Money given at menagerie, three livres; at palace, six livres.

JOHNSON TO LEVETT.

"Paris, Oct. 22. 1775.

"DEAR SIR,—We are still here, commonly very busy in looking about us. We have been to-day at Versailles. You have seen it, and I shall not describe it. We came yesterday from Fontainebleau, where the court is now. We went to see the king and queen at dinner, and the queen was so im-

this—it is an etiquette generally insisted on to present at foreign courts those only who had been presented to their own sovereign at home. Johnson had never been publicly presented to George III., though he had had that honour in private, and may, therefore, have entertained scruples whether he was entitled to be presented to the King of France; but those scruples were in this case not necessary, the rule applying only to formal presentations at court, and not to admission to see the king dine.—CROKER.

¹ This probably means that the queen was attended by only one lady, who also rode aside; and not that one female attendant rode so, while other ladies rode astride.—CROKER.

² Meaning, no doubt, that they were not of cedar, ebony, or mahogany, but of some meaner wood, coloured over; a fashion which had not yet reached England.—CROKER.

³ The *marechaussée* was posted at the gates of the courts of justice; but the interior discipline was maintained by *huissiers*, ushers, the servants of the court.—CROKER.

⁴ See *ant.*, p. 261.—BOSWELL.

⁵ Here is some mistake; probably from defect of sight. Versailles is a remarkably stately town.—CROKER.

⁶ This epithet should be applied to this animal with one bunch.—BOSWELL.

⁷ The upper floors of most houses in France are tiled.—CROKER.

⁸ That magnificent building, which was both a theatre and a ball-room. It was rarely used; the lighting and other expenses for a single night being 100,000 francs. It is celebrated in the History of the Revolution as the scene of the entertainment given by the Gardes du Corps on the 1st of October, 1789; of which innocent and, indeed, laudable testimony of attachment between them and their unhappy sovereigns, the rebels, by misrepresentations and calumnies, made so serious an affair.—"When at Versailles," says Mrs. Piozzi, "the people showed us the theatre. As we stood on the stage, looking at some machinery for playhouse purposes—"Now we are here, what shall we act, Dr. Johnson? The Englishman at Paris?"—"No, no," replied he, "we will try to act *Harry the Fifth*."—CROKER.

⁹ It is surprising how this should have escaped Johnson's observations. It is, both externally and internally, one of the most remarkable objects of Versailles.—CROKER.

pressed by Miss¹, that she sent one of the gentlemen to inquire who she was. I find all true that you have ever told me at Paris. Mr. Thrale is very liberal, and keeps us two coaches, and a very fine table; but I think our cookery very bad. Mrs. Thrale got into a convent of English nuns, and I talked with her through the grate, and I am very kindly used by the English Benedictine friars. But upon the whole I cannot make much acquaintance here; and though the churches, palaces, and some private houses are very magnificent, there is no very great pleasure after having seen many, in seeing more; at least the pleasure, whatever it be, must some time have an end, and we are beginning to think when we shall come home. Mr. Thrale calculates that as we left Streatham on the 15th of September, we shall see it again about the 15th of November.

"I think I had not been on this side of the sea five days before I found a sensible improvement in my health. I ran a race in the rain this day, and beat Baretti. Baretti is a fine fellow, and speaks French, I think, quite as well as English.

"Make my compliments to Mrs. Williams; and give my love to Francis; and tell my friends that I am not lost. I am, dear Sir, your affectionate humble, &c.,
SAM. JOHNSON."

"Monday, Oct. 23. — Last night I wrote to Levett. — We went to see the looking-glasses wrought — They come from Normandy in cast plates, perhaps the third of an inch thick — At Paris they are ground upon a marble table, by rubbing one plate upon another with grit between them — The various sands, of which there are said to be five, I could not learn — The handle, by which the upper glass is moved, has the form of a wheel, which may be moved in all directions — The plates are sent up with their surfaces ground, but not polished, and so continue till they are bespoken, lest time should spoil the surface, as we were told — Those that are to be polished are laid on a table covered with several thick cloths, hard strained, that the resistance may be equal: they are then rubbed with a hand rubber, held down hard by a contrivance which I did not well understand — The powder which is used last seemed to me to be iron dissolved in aquafortis; they called it, as Baretti said, *marc de l'eau forte*, which he thought was dregs — They mentioned vitriol and saltpetre — The cannon ball swam in the quicksilver — To silver them, a leaf of beaten tin is laid, and rubbed with quicksilver, to which it unites — Then more quicksilver is poured upon it, which, by its mutual [attraction] rises very high — Then a paper is laid at the nearest end of the plate, over which the glass is slid till it lies upon the plate, having

driven much of the quicksilver before it — It is then, I think, pressed upon cloth, and then set sloping to drop the superfluous mercury: the slope is daily heightened towards a perpendicular.

"In the way I saw the Grève, the mayor's house², and the Bastille. We then went to Sans-terre, a brewer³ — He brews with about as much malt as Mr. Thrale, and sells his beer at the same price, though he pays no duty for malt, and little more than half as much for beer — Beer is sold retail at sixpence a bottle — He brews 4,000 barrels a year — there are seventeen brewers in Paris, of whom none is supposed to brew more than he — Reckoning them at 3,000 each, they make 51,000 a year — They make their malt, for malting is here no trade.

"The moat of the Bastille is dry.

"Tuesday, Oct. 24. — We visited the king's library — I saw the *Speculum Humanæ Salvationis*, rudely printed, with ink, sometimes pale, sometimes black; part supposed to be with wooden types, and part with pages cut in boards. The Bible supposed to be older than that of Mentz, in 1462; it has no date: it is supposed to have been printed with wooden types — I am in doubt; the print is large and fair, in two folios — Another book was shown me, supposed to have been printed with wooden types — I think *Durandi Sanctuarium*⁴ in 1458 — This is inferred from the difference of form sometimes seen in the same letter, which might be struck with different puncheons — The regular similitude of most letters proves better that they are metal — I saw nothing but the *Speculum*, which I had not seen, I think, before.

"Thence to the Sorbonne — The library very large, not in lattices like the king's — *Marbone* and *Durandi*, q. collection 14 vol. *Scriptores de rebus Gallicis*, many folios — *Histoire Générale de France*, 9 vol. — *Gallia Christiana*, the first edition, 4to., the last, f., 12 vol. — The prior and librarian dined with us — I waited on them home — their garden pretty, with covered walks, but small; yet may hold many students — The doctors of the Sorbonne are all equal — choose those who succeed to vacancies — Profit little.

"Wednesday, Oct. 25. — I went with the prior to St. Cloud, to see Dr. Hooke⁵ — We walked round the palace, and had some talk — I dined with our whole company at the monastery — In the library, *Beroald* — *Cymon* — *Titus*, from Boccaccio — *Oratio Procerbialis* to the Virgin, from Petrarch; Falkland to Sandys — Dryden's Preface to the third vol. of *Miscellanies*.⁶

¹ Miss Thrale. — BOSWELL.

² The Hôtel de Ville. — CROKER.

³ Santerre, the detestable ruffian who afterwards conducted Louis XVI. to the scaffold, and commanded the crowds that guarded it during his murder. — MALONE.

⁴ A misreading, I think, of Johnson's MS., for *Durandi Sententiarum (Libri)*, I know of no work entitled *Durandi Sanctuarium*. — CROKER, 1846.

⁵ Second son of Hooke, the historian, a doctor of the Sorbonne. — CROKER.

⁶ He means, I suppose, that he read these different pieces while he remained in the library. — BOSWELL. He could hardly have read any thing on such a visit. Probably a cursory glance into Beroald and Boccaccio suggested some recollection of Falkland and Dryden. — CROKER, 1846.

"*Thursday, Oct. 26.*—We saw the china at Sève, cut, glazed, painted—Bellevue¹, a pleasing house, not great: fine prospect—Meudon, an old palace—Alexander, in porphyry: hollow between eyes and nose, thin cheeks—Plato and Aristotle—Noble terrace overlooks the town.—St. Cloud—Gallery not very high nor grand, but pleasing—In the rooms, Michael Angelo drawn by himself, Sir Thomas More, Des Cartes, Bochart, Naudæus, Mazarine—Gilded wainscot, so common that it is not minded—Gough and Keene—Hooke came to us at the inn—A message from Drumgould.²

"*Friday, Oct. 27.*—I staid at home—Gough and Keene, and Mrs. S——'s³ friend dined with us—This day we began to have a fire—The weather is grown very cold, and, I fear, has a bad effect upon my breath, which has grown much more free and easy in this country.

"*Saturday, Oct. 28.*—I visited the Grand Chartreux⁴, built by St. Louis—It is built for forty, but contains only twenty-four, and will not maintain more—The friar that spoke to us had a pretty apartment—Mr. Baretti says four rooms; I remember but three—His books seemed to be French—His garden was neat; he gave me grapes—We saw the Place de Victoire, with the statues of the king, and the captive nations.

"We saw the palace and gardens of Luxembourg, but the gallery was shut—We climbed to the top stairs—I dined with Colebrooke⁵, who had much company—Foote, Sir George Rodney⁶, Motteux, Udson, Taaf—Called on the prior, and found him in bed.

"Hotel—a guinea a day—Coach, three guineas a week—Valet de place, three l. a day—*Avant-coureur*⁷, a guinea a week—Ordinary dinner, six l. a head—Our ordinary [expense] seems to be about five guineas a day—Our extraordinary expenses, as diversions, gratuities, clothes, I cannot reckon—Our travelling

is ten guineas a day—White stockings, 18 l.⁸—Wig—Hat.

"*Sunday, Oct. 29.*—We saw the boarding school—*The Enfants trouvés*—A room with about eighty-six children in cradles, as sweet as a parlour.—They lose a third; take in to perhaps more than seven [years old]; put them to trades; pin to them the papers sent with them—Want nurses—Saw their chapel. Went to St. Eustatia⁹; saw an innumerable company of girls catechised, in many bodies, perhaps 100 to a catechist—Boys taught at one time, girls at another—The sermon: the preacher wears a cap, which he takes off at the name—his action uniform, not very violent.

"*Monday, Oct. 30.*—We saw the library of St. Germain¹⁰—A very noble collection—*Codex Divinorum Officiorum*, 1459—a letter, square like that of the *Offices*, perhaps the same—The *Codex*, by Fust and Gernsheim—*Meursius*, 12 v. fol.—*Anadis*, in French, 3 vol. fol.—*CATHOLICON sine colophone*, but of 1460—Two other editions¹¹, one by—*Augustin. de Civitate Dei*, without name, date, or place, but of Fust's square letter as it seems.

"I dined with Col. Drumgould; had a pleasing afternoon.

"Some of the books of St. Germain's stand in presses from the wall, like those at Oxford.

"*Tuesday, Oct. 31.*—I lived at the Benedictines; meagre day; soup meagre, herrings, eels, both with sauce; fried fish; lentils, tasteless in themselves—In the library; where I found *Maffeus's de Historiâ Indiâ: Promontorium flectere, to double the Cape*—I parted very tenderly from the prior and Friar Wilkes.

"*Maître des Arts*, 2 y.—*Bacc. Theol.* 3 y.—*Licentiate*, 2 y.—*Doctor Th.* 2 y. in all 9 years—For the Doctorate three disputations, *Major, Minor, Sorbonica*—Several colleges suppressed, and transferred to that which was the Jesuits' College.

"*Wednesday, Nov. 1.*—We left Paris—St. Denis, a large town: the church not very

¹ At that period inhabited by the king's aunts.—CROKER.

² Colonel Drumgould, an Irish officer in the French service, a friend of Mr. Burke's. The same, no doubt, to whom Lord Lyttelton addressed a copy of verses beginning—

"Drumgould, whose ancestors from Albion's shore
Their conquering standards to Libertia bore;
Tho' now thy valour, to thy country lost,
Shines in the foremost ranks of Gallia's host." &c.

CROKER, 1846.

³ Mrs. Strickland, the sister of Mr. Charles Townley, who happened to meet the party at Dieppe, and accompanied them to Paris. She introduced them to Madame du Bocage.—*Reynolds's Recollections*.—CROKER.

⁴ There was in France but one *Grande Chartreuse*, the monastery near Grenoble, founded by St. Bruno; to the 13th prior of which St. Louis applied for an *off-set* of the order to be established in Paris, where he placed them in his château de Vauvert, which stood in the Rue d'Enfer. The good people of Paris believed that the château de Vauvert, before St. Louis had fixed the Carthusians there, was *haunted*, and thence the street was called Rue d'Enfer.—CROKER.

⁵ Sir George Colebrooke, a banker in London, who had lately failed and taken refuge in Paris. He had been a friend of the *Thrales*. *Anecd.* p. 69.—CROKER.

⁶ The celebrated Admiral, afterwards Lord Rodney: he was residing abroad on account of pecuniary embarrassments, and, on the breaking out of the war in 1778, the Marshal Duc

de Biron generously offered him a loan of a thousand louis d'ors, to enable him to return to take his part in the service of his country.—CROKER.

⁷ There is a slight mistake here. Princes, ambassadors, marshals, and a few of the higher nobility, had *courriers*, that is, *running footmen*. The word *avant-coureur* is commonly used in a moral sense. Johnson, no doubt, meant an *avant-courier* who rode post.—CROKER.

⁸ That is, 18 *livres*. Two pair of white silk stockings were probably purchased.—MALONE.

⁹ St. Eustatius—the parish church of St. Enstache.—CROKER.

¹⁰ St. Germain des Prés, the two celebrated *abbaye*. Its library was said, after the king's library at Paris and that of the Vatican, to be the richest in manuscripts in Europe.—CROKER.

¹¹ I have looked in vain into De Bure, Meerman, Maittaire, and other typographical books, for the two editions of the "*Catholicon*" which Dr. Johnson mentions here, with names which I cannot make out. I read "one by *Latinus*, one by *Boedinius*." I have deposited the original MS. in the British Museum, where the curious may see it. My grateful acknowledgments are due to Mr. Planta for the trouble he was pleased to take in aiding my researches.—BOSWELL. It seems that the MS. was not deposited in the British Museum, at least it is not to be found there, nor is it known where it now is.—P. CUNNINGHAM.

large, but the middle aisle is very lofty and awful. On the left are chapels built beyond the line of the wall, which destroyed the symmetry of the sides. The organ is higher above the pavement than I have ever seen. The gates are of brass. On the middle gate is the history of our Lord. The painted windows are historical, and said to be eminently beautiful—We were at another church belonging to a convent, of which the portal is a dome: we could not enter further, and it was almost dark.

"*Thursday, Nov. 2.*—We came this day to Chantilly, a seat belonging to the Prince of Condé. This place is eminently beautified by all varieties of waters starting up in fountains, falling in cascades, running in streams, and spread in lakes. The water seems to be too near the house. All this water is brought from a source or river three leagues off, by an artificial canal, which for one league is carried under ground—The house is magnificent—The cabinet seems well stocked; what I remember was, the jaws of a hippopotamus, and a young hippopotamus preserved, which, however, is so small, that I doubt its reality—It seems too hairy for an abortion, and too small for a mature birth—Nothing was [preserved] in spirits; all was dry—The dog; the deer; the ant-bear with long snout—The toucan, long broad beak—The stables were of very great length—The kennel had no scents—There was a mockery of a village—The menagerie had few animals¹—Two faussans², or Brazilian weasels, spotted, very wild—There is a forest, and, I think, a park—I walked till I was very weary, and next morning felt my feet battered, and with pains in the toes.

"*Friday, Nov. 3.*—We came to Compeigne, a very large town, with a royal palace built round a pentagonal court—The court is raised upon vaults, and has, I suppose, an entry on one side by a gentle rise—Talk of painting—The church is not very large, but very elegant and splendid—I had at first great difficulty to walk, but motion grew continually easier—At night we came to Noyon, an episcopal city—The cathedral is very beautiful, the pillars alternately Gothic and Corinthian—We entered a very noble parochial church—Noyon is walled, and is said to be three miles round.

"*Saturday, Nov. 4.*—We rose very early,

and came through St. Quintin to Cambray, not long after three—We went to an English nunnery, to give a letter to Father Welch, the confessor, who came to visit us in the evening.

"*Sunday, Nov. 5.*—We saw the cathedral—It is very beautiful, with chapels on each side. The choir splendid. The balustrade in one part brass. The *Neff* very high and grand. The altar silver as far as it is seen. The vestments very splendid—At the Benedictines' church—"

Here his Journal³ ends abruptly. Whether he wrote any more after this time, I know not; but probably not much, as he arrived in England about the 12th of November. These short notes of his tour, though they may seem minute taken singly, make together a considerable mass of information, and exhibit such an ardour of inquiry and acuteness of examination, as, I believe, are found in but few travellers, especially at an advanced age. They completely refute the idle notion which has been propagated, *that he could not see*⁴; and, if he had taken the trouble to revise and digest them, he undoubtedly could have expanded them into a very entertaining narrative.

When I met him in London the following year, the account which he gave me of his French tour was, "Sir, I have seen all the visibilities of Paris, and around it: but to have formed an acquaintance with the people there would have required more time than I could stay. I was just beginning to creep into acquaintance by means of Colonel Drumgould, a very high man, Sir, head of *L'Ecole Militaire*, a most complete character, for he had first been a professor of rhetoric, and then became a soldier. And, Sir, I was very kindly treated by the English Benedictines, and have a cell appropriated to me in their convent."

He observed, "The great in France live very magnificently, but the rest very miserably. There is no happy middle state, as in England. The shops of Paris are mean; the meat in the markets is such as would be sent to a gaol in England; and Mr. Thrale justly observed, that the cookery of the French was forced upon them by necessity; for they could not eat their meat, unless they added some taste to it. The French are an indelicate people; they will spit upon any place. At Madame [Du Bocage's],

¹ The writing is so bad here, that the names of several of the animals could not be deciphered without much more acquaintance with natural history than I possess. Dr. Blagden, with his usual politeness, most obligingly examined the MS. To that gentleman, and to Dr. Gray, of the British Museum, who also very readily assisted me, I beg leave to express my best thanks.—BOSWELL.

² It is thus written by Johnson, from the French pronunciation of *fossane*. It should be observed, that the person who showed this menagerie was mistaken in supposing the *fossane* and the Brazilian weasel to be the same, the *fossane* being a different animal, and a native of Madagascar. I find them, however, upon one plate in Pennant's "Synopsis of Quadrupeds."—BOSWELL.

³ My worthy and ingenious friend, Mr. Andrew Lumisden, by his accurate acquaintance with France, enabled me to make out many proper names, which Dr. Johnson had written indistinctly, and sometimes spelt erroneously.—BOSWELL. He was private secretary to the Pretender, and author of a work on the Antiquities of Rome. He had resided twenty years in Rome, and eighteen in Paris, but died at Edinburgh, 26th Dec. 1801, ætat. 81.—CROKER, 1846.

⁴ Miss Reynolds, who knew him longer, and saw him more constantly than Mr. Boswell, says, "Dr. Johnson's sight was so very defective, that he could scarcely distinguish the face of his most intimate acquaintance at half a yard."—*Recollections.*—CROKER.

a literary lady of rank, the footman took the sugar in his fingers, and threw it into my coffee. I was going to put it aside; but hearing it was made on purpose for me, I e'en tasted Tom's fingers. The same lady would needs make tea à l'Angloise. The spout of the teapot did not pour freely; she bade the footman blow into it.¹ France is worse than Scotland in every thing but climate. Nature has done more for the French; but they have done less for themselves than the Scotch have done."²

It happened that Foote was at Paris at the same time with Dr. Johnson, and his description of my friend while there was abundantly ludicrous. He told me, that the French were quite astonished at his figure and manner, and at his dress, which he obstinately continued exactly as in London³;—his brown clothes, black stockings, and plain shirt. He mentioned, that an Irish gentleman said to Johnson, "Sir, you have not seen the best French players." JOHNSON. "Players, Sir! I look on them as no better than creatures set upon tables and joint stools, to make faces and produce laughter, like dancing dogs." "But, Sir, you will allow that some players are better than others?" JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir, as some dogs dance better than others."

While Johnson was in France, he was generally very resolute in speaking Latin. It was a maxim with him that a man should not let himself down by speaking a language which he speaks imperfectly. Indeed, we must have often observed how inferior, how much like a child a man appears, who speaks a broken tongue. When Sir Joshua Reynolds, at one of the dinners of the Royal Academy, presented him to a Frenchman of great distinction, he would not deign to speak French, but talked Latin, though his Excellency did not understand it, owing, perhaps, to Johnson's English pronunciation:

yet upon another occasion he was observed to speak French to a Frenchman of high rank, who spoke English; and being asked the reason, with some expression of surprise, he answered, "because I think my French is as good as his English." Though Johnson understood French perfectly, he could not speak it readily, as I have observed at his first interview with General Paoli, in 1769; yet he wrote it, I imagine, pretty well, as appears from some of his letters in Mrs. Piozzi's collection, of which I shall transcribe one:

A MADAMÉ LA COMTESSE DE —.

"May 16. 1771.⁴

"Oui, madame, le moment est arrivé, et il faut que je parte. Mais pourquoi faut il partir? Est ce que je m'ennuye? Je m'ennuierai ailleurs. Est ce que je cherche ou quelque plaisir, ou quelque soulagement? Je ne cherche rien, je n'espère rien. Aller voir ce que j'ai vû, être un peu rejoui, un peu degouté, me ressouvenir que la vie se passe, et qu'elle se passe en vain, me plaindre de moi, m'endurcir aux dehors; voici le tout de ce qu'on compte pour les delices de l'année. Que Dieu vous donne, madame, tous les agrémens de la vie, avec un esprit qui peut en jouir sans s'y livrer trop."

Here let me not forget a curious anecdote, as related to me by Mr. Beauclerk, which I shall endeavour to exhibit as well as I can in that gentleman's lively manner; and in justice to him it is proper to add, that Dr. Johnson told me I might rely both on the correctness of his memory, and the fidelity of his narrative. "When Madame de Boufflers⁵ was first in England," said Beauclerk, "she was desirous to see Johnson. I accordingly went with her to his chambers in the Temple, where she was entertained with his conversation for some time. When our visit was over, she and I left him, and were got into Inner Temple Lane, when

¹ Miss Reynolds's "*Recollections*" preserve this story as told her by Baretti, who was of the party:—"Going one day to drink tea with Madame du Bocage, she happened to produce an old china teapot, which Mrs. Strickland, who made the tea, could not make pour: '*Soufflez, soufflez, madame, dedans,*' cried Madame du Bocage, '*il se rectifie immédiatement; essayez, je vous en prie.*' The servant then thinking that Mrs. Strickland did not understand what his lady said, took up the teapot to rectify it, and Mrs. Strickland had quite a struggle to prevent his blowing into the spout. Madame du Bocage all this while had not the least idea of its being any impropriety, and wondered at Mrs. Strickland's stupidity. She came over to the latter, caught up the teapot, and blew into the spout with all her might: then finding it pour, she held it up in triumph, and repeatedly exclaimed, '*Voilà, voilà, j'ai regagné l'honneur de ma thière.*' She had no sugar-tongs, and said something that showed she expected Mrs. Strickland to use her fingers to sweeten the cups. '*Madame, je n'oserois.*'—'*Oh mon Dieu! quel grand quand les Anglois font de peu de chose.*'" See other details of this French tour in the *Recollections*.—CROKER.

² In a letter written a few days after his return from France, he says, "The French have a clear air and a fruitful soil; but their mode of common life is gross and incommensurable, and disgusting. I am come home convinced that no improvement of general use is to be found among them."—MALONE.

³ "Mr. Thrale loved," says Mrs. Piozzi, "prospects, and was mortified that his friend could not enjoy the sight of those different dispositions of wood and water, hill and valley, that travelling through England and France affords a man. But when he wished to point them out to his companion,

'Never heed such nonsense,' would be the reply: 'a blade of grass is always a blade of grass, whether in one country or another. Let us, if we do talk, talk about something: men and women are my subjects of inquiry; let us see how these differ from those we have left behind.' His dislike of the French was well known to both nations, I believe; but he applauded the number of their books and the graces of their style. 'They have few sentiments,' said he, 'but they express them neatly; they have little meat too, but they dress it well.'"—CROKER.

⁴ Foote seems to have embellished a little in saying that Johnson did not alter his dress at Paris; as in his journal is a memorandum about white stockings, wig, and hat. In another place we are told that "during his travels in France he was furnished with a French-made wig of handsome construction."—BLAKEWAY. — By a note in Johnson's diary (*Hawkins's "Life,"* p. 517.), it appears that he had laid out thirty pounds in clothes for his French journey. — MALONE.

⁵ This is the date in Mrs. Piozzi's book, where it first appeared. In Boswell's first edition it was given 16 July, 1771, and in all his later editions, 16 July, 1775. I cannot, under any of these dates, guess to whom the letter could have been addressed. Boswell, by his immediate mention of Madame de Boufflers, seems to suppose it was addressed to her, but I cannot reconcile either its date or purport with any circumstances of his acquaintance with that, or indeed any other foreign lady. — CROKER.

⁶ La Comtesse de Boufflers was the mistress of the Prince of Conti, and aspired to be his wife: she was a bel-esprit, and in that character thought it necessary to be an *Anglomane*, and to visit England; which she did in 1763. — CROKER.

all at once I heard a voice like thunder. This was occasioned by Johnson, who, it seems, upon a little reflection, had taken it into his head that he ought to have done the honours of his literary residence to a foreign lady of quality, and, eager to show himself a man of gallantry, was hurrying down the staircase in violent agitation. He overtook us before we reached the Temple-gate, and, brushing in between me and Madame de Boufflers, seized her hand, and conducted her to her coach.¹ His dress was a rusty brown morning suit, a pair of old shoes by way of slippers, a little shrivelled wig sticking on the top of his head, and the sleeves of his shirt and the knees of his breeches hanging loose. A considerable crowd of people gathered round, and were not a little struck by this singular appearance."

He spoke Latin with wonderful fluency and elegance. When Père Boscovich² was in England, Johnson dined in company with him at Sir Joshua Reynolds's, and at Dr. Douglas's, now Bishop of Salisbury. Upon both occasions that celebrated foreigner expressed his astonishment at Johnson's Latin conversation.³ When at Paris, Johnson thus characterised Voltaire to Freron the journalist: "*Vir est acerrimi ingenii et paucarum literarum.*"

BOSWELL TO JOHNSON.

"Edinburgh, Oct. 24. 1775.

"MY DEAR SIR, — If I had not been informed that you were at Paris, you should have had a letter from me by the earliest opportunity, announcing the birth of my son, on the 9th instant; I have named him Alexander⁴, after my father. I now write, as I suppose your fellow-traveller, Mr. Thrale, will return to London this week, to attend his duty in parliament, and that you will not stay behind him.

"I send another parcel of Lord Hailes's 'Annals.' I have undertaken to solicit you for a favour to him, which he thus requests in a letter to me: 'I intend

soon to give you The Life of Robert Bruce, which you will be pleased to transmit to Dr. Johnson. I wish that you could assist me in a fancy which I have taken, of getting Dr. Johnson to draw a character of Robert Bruce, from the account that I give of that prince. If he finds materials for it in my work, it will be a proof that I have been fortunate in selecting the most striking incidents.'

"I suppose by 'The Life of Robert Bruce,' his Lordship means that part of his 'Annals' which relates the history of that prince, and not a separate work.

"Shall we have 'A Journey to Paris' from you in the winter? You will, I hope, at any rate, be kind enough to give me some account of your French travels very soon, for I am very impatient. What a different scene have you viewed this autumn, from that which you viewed in autumn 1773! I ever am, my dear Sir, your much obliged and affectionate humble servant,

"JAMES BOSWELL."

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"London, Nov. 16. 1775.

"DEAR SIR, — I am glad that the young lady is born, and an end, as I hope, put to the only difference that you can ever have with Mrs. Boswell.⁵ I know that she does not love me; but I intend to persist in wishing her well till I get the better of her.

"Paris is, indeed, a place very different from the Hebrides, but it is to a hasty traveller not so fertile of novelty, nor affords so many opportunities of remark. I cannot pretend to tell the public any thing of a place better known to many of my readers than to myself. We can talk of it when we meet.

"I shall go next week to Streatham, from whence I purpose to send a parcel of the 'History' every poet. Concerning the character of Bruce, I can only say, that I do not see any great reason for writing it; but I shall not easily deny what Lord Hailes and you concur in desiring.

"I have been remarkably healthy all the journey, and hope you and your family have

¹ It was not to high rank alone that Johnson paid these attentions. When Hannah More and her sister visited Johnson for the first time (1774), she says, "When our visit was ended, he called for his hat (as it rained), to attend us down a long winding to our coach. — *Mem.* l. 49. — CROKER, 1846.

² See *anté*, p. 218. Boscovich was a Jesuit, born at Ragusa in 1711, who first introduced the Newtonian philosophy into Italy. He visited London in 1760, and was there elected into the Royal Society. He died in 1787. — CROKER.

³ Boscovich had a ready current flow of that flimsy phraseology with which a priest may travel through Italy, Spain, and Germany. Johnson scorned what he called colloquial barbarisms. It was his pride to speak his best. He went on, after a little practice, with as much facility as if it was his native tongue. One sentence I remember. Observing that Fontenelle at first opposed the Newtonian philosophy, and embraced it afterwards, his words were: *Fontinellus, ni fallor, n' extremâ senectute, fuit transfuga ad castra Newtoniana.*" — *Murphy*. — This phrase seems rather too pompous for the occasion, and was, I suspect, not quite so unprepared for as *Murphy* represents. Johnson had probably in his mind a passage in Seneca, quoted in *Menagiana* (v. ii. p. 46.): "Sénèque vouloit dire qu'il profitait de ce qu'il y avait de bon dans les auteurs dit, 'Solon saepe in aliena castra transire; non tanquam transfuga, sed tanquam explorator;'" and this is rendered the more probable because in the same volume of the *Menagiana*, and within a few pages of each other, are found two other Latin quotations, which Johnson has made use of; the one from Plutarch, "*Famit non famæ scribere existimatus Xylandrus.*" See *anté*, p. 64. The other from

J. C. Scaliger, "*Homo ex alieno ingenio poeta, ex suo tantum versificator:*" which is the motto Johnson prefixed to his version of the Messiah: *anté*, p. 13. Mrs. Piozzi however bears a like testimony to the fluency of Johnson's Latin. "When we were at Rouen, he took a great fancy to the Abbé Roffette, with whom he conversed about the destruction of the order of Jesuits, and condemned it loudly, as a blow to the general power of the church, and likely to be followed with many and dangerous innovations, which might at length become fatal to religion itself, and shake even the foundation of Christianity. The gentleman seemed to wonder and delight in his conversation: the talk was all in Latin, which both spoke fluently, and Dr. Johnson pronounced a long eulogium upon Milton with so much ardour, eloquence, and ingenuity, that the abbé rose from his seat and embraced him. — *Anecdotes*. Yet I cannot but wonder how, considering the difference between the continental and English pronunciation of Latin, Johnson and those foreigners came to understand each other so readily. — CROKER.

⁴ I had the pleasure of his acquaintance. He was a high-spirited, clever, and amiable gentleman; and, like his father, of a frank and social disposition, and high Tory principles; but it is said that he did not relish the recollections of our author's devotion to Dr. Johnson: and, like old Lord Auchinleck, seemed to think it a kind of derogation. He was created a Baronet in 1821. He left issue a son and two daughters, one of whom, Lady Elliot of Stobbs, I had the pleasure of also knowing. See *anté*, p. 301. — CROKER.

⁵ This alludes to my old feudal principle of preferring male to female succession. — BOSWELL.

known only that trouble and danger which has so happily terminated. Among all the congratulations that you may receive, I hope you believe none more warm or sincere than those of, dear Sir, your most affectionate,
SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO MISS PORTER.¹

"Nov. 16. 1775.

"DEAR MADAM, — This week I came home from Paris. I have brought you a little box, which I thought pretty; but I know not whether it is properly a snuff-box, or a box for some other use. I will send it, when I can find an opportunity. I have been through the whole journey remarkably well. My fellow-travellers were the same whom you saw at Lichfield, only we took Barctti with us. Paris is not so fine a place as you would expect. The palaces and churches, however, are very splendid and magnificent; and what would please you, there are many very fine pictures; but I do not think their way of life commodious or pleasant.

"Let me know how your health has been all this while. I hope the fine summer has given you strength sufficient to encounter the winter.

"Make my compliments to all my friends; and, if your fingers will let you, write to me, or let your maid write, if it be troublesome to you. I am, dear Madam, your most affectionate humble servant,
SAM. JOHNSON."

BOSWELL TO JOHNSON.

"Edinburgh, Dec. 5. 1775.

"MY DEAR SIR, — Mr. Alexander Maclean, the young laird of Col, being to set out to-morrow for London, I give him this letter to introduce him to your acquaintance. The kindness which you and I experienced from his brother, whose unfortunate death we sincerely lament, will make us always desirous to show attention to any branch of the family. Indeed, you have so much of the true Highland cordiality, that I am sure you would have thought me to blame if I had neglected to recommend to you this Hebridean prince, in whose island we were hospitably entertained. I ever am, with respectful attachment, my dear Sir, your most obliged and most humble servant,
JAMES BOSWELL."

JOHNSON TO MISS PORTER.

"Dec. 17. 1775.

"DEAR MADAM, — Some weeks ago I wrote to you, to tell you that I was just come home from a ramble, and hoped that I should have heard from you. I am afraid winter has laid hold on your fingers, and hinders you from writing. However, let somebody write, if you cannot, and tell me how you do, and a little of what has happened at Lichfield among our friends. I hope you are all well.

"When I was in France, I thought myself growing young, but am afraid that cold weather will take part of my new vigour from me. Let us, however, take care of ourselves, and lose no part of our health by negligence.

"I never knew whether you received the Commentary on the New Testament, and the Travels, and the glasses. Do, my dear love, write to me; and do not let us forget each other. This is the season of good wishes, and I wish you all good. I have not lately seen Mr. Porter, nor heard of him. Is he with you?

"Be pleased to make my compliments to Mrs. Adey, and Mrs. Cobb, and all my friends; and when I can do any good, let me know. I am, dear Madam, yours most affectionately,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

Mr. Maclean returned with the most agreeable accounts of the polite attention with which he was received by Dr. Johnson.

In the course of the year Dr. Burney informs me that "he very frequently met Dr. Johnson at Mr. Thrale's, at Streatham, where they had many long conversations, often sitting up as long as the fire and candles lasted, and much longer than the patience of the servants subsisted." A few of Johnson's sayings, which that gentleman recollects, shall here be inserted.

"I never take a nap after dinner but when I have had a bad night, and then the nap takes me."

"The writer of an epitaph should not be considered as saying nothing but what is strictly true. Allowance must be made for some degree of exaggerated praise. In lapidary inscriptions a man is not upon oath."

"There is now less flogging in our great schools than formerly, but then less is learned there; so that what the boys get at one end they lose at the other."

"More is learned in public than in private schools, from emulation; there is the collision of mind with mind, or the radiation of many minds pointing to one centre. Though few boys make their own exercises, yet if a good exercise is given up, out of a great number of boys, it is made by somebody."

"I hate by-roads in education. Education is as well known, and has long been as well known, as ever it can be. Endeavouring to, make children prematurely wise is useless labour. Suppose they have more knowledge at five or six years old than other children, what use can be made of it? It will be lost before it is wanted, and the waste of so much time and labour of the teacher can never be repaid. Too much is expected from precocity, and too little performed. Miss [Aikin]² was an instance of early cultivation, but in what did it terminate? In marrying a little presbyterian parson, who keeps an infant boarding school, so that all her employment now is —

'To suckle fools, and chronicle small beer.'

¹ There can be no doubt that many years previous to 1775, he corresponded with this lady, who was his stepdaughter, but none of his earlier letters to her have been preserved. — BOSWELL. Since the death of Mr. Boswell, several of Johnson's letters to Mrs. Lucy Porter, written before 1775, were

obligingly communicated to me by the Rev. Dr. Vyse, and are printed in the present edition. — MALONE.

Several others, as has been already stated (*anté*, p. 62.), are added to my editions. — CROKER.

² Miss Letitia Aikin, who married Mr. Barbauld, and published "Easy Lessons for Children," &c. &c. — CROKER.

She tells the children, 'This is a cat, and that is a dog, with four legs, and a tail; see there! you are much better than a cat or a dog, for you can speak.' If I had bestowed such an education on a daughter, and had discovered that she thought of marrying such a fellow, I would have sent her to the Congress."

"After having talked slightly of music, he was observed to listen very attentively while Miss Thrale played on the harpsichord; and with eagerness he called to her, 'Why don't you dash away like Burney?' Dr. Burney upon this said to him, 'I believe, Sir, we shall make a musician of you at last.' Johnson with candid complacency replied, 'Sir, I shall be glad to have a new sense given to me.'"

"He had come down one morning to the breakfast-room, and been a considerable time by himself before any body appeared. When on a subsequent day he was twitted by Mrs. Thrale for being very late, which he generally was, he defended himself by alluding to the extraordinary morning, when he had been too early. 'Madam, I do not like to come down to *vacuity*.'"

"Dr. Burney having remarked that Mr. Garrick was beginning to look old, he said, 'Why, Sir, you are not to wonder at that; no man's face has had more wear and tear.'"

[JOHNSON TO MRS. MONTAGU.]

"Dec. 15. 1775.

"MADAM, — Having, after my return from a little ramble to France, passed some time in the country, I did not hear, till I was told by Miss Reynolds, that you were in town; and when I did hear it, I heard likewise that you were ill. To have you detained among us by sickness is to enjoy your presence at too dear a rate. I suffer myself to be flattered with hope that only half the intelligence is now true, and that you are now so well as to be able to leave us, and so kind as not to be willing. I am, Madam, your most humble servant,
— *Montagu MSS.* SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO MRS. MONTAGU.

"Dec. 17. 1775.

"MADAM, — All that the esteem and reverence of mankind can give you has been long in your possession, and the little that I can add to the voice of nations will not much exalt; of that little, however, you are, I hope, very certain. — I wonder, Madam, if you remember *Col* in the Hebrides? The brother and heir of poor *Col* has just been to visit me, and I have engaged to dine with him on Thursday. I do not know his lodging, and cannot send him a message, and must therefore suspend the honour which you are pleased to offer to, Madam, your most humble servant,
— *Montagu MSS.* "SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO MRS. MONTAGU.

"Thursday, Dec. 21. 1775.

"MADAM, — I know not when any letter has given me so much pleasure or vexation as that which I had yesterday the honour of receiving. That you, Madam, should wish for my company is surely a sufficient reason for being pleased; — that I should delay twice, what I had so little right to expect even once, has so bad an appearance, that I can only hope to have it thought that I am ashamed. — You have kindly allowed me to name a day. Will you be pleased, Madam, to accept of me any day after Tuesday? Till I am favoured with your answer, or despair of so much condescension, I shall suffer no engagement to fasten itself upon me. I am, Madam, your most obliged and most humble servant,
SAM. JOHNSON."]

— *Montagu MSS.*

Not having heard from him for a longer time than I supposed he would be silent, I wrote to him Dec. 18., not in good spirits:

"Sometimes I have been afraid that the cold which has gone over Europe this year like a sort of pestilence has seized you severely: sometimes my imagination, which is upon occasions prolific of evil, has figured that you may have somehow taken offence at some part of my conduct."

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"Dec. 23. 1775.

"DEAR SIR, — Never dream of any offence. How should you offend me? I consider your friendship as a possession, which I intend to hold till you take it from me, and to lament if ever by my fault I should lose it. However, when such suspicions find their way into your mind, always give them vent; I shall make haste to disperse them; but hinder their first ingress if you can. Consider such thoughts as morbid.

"Such illness as may excuse my omission to Lord Hailes I cannot honestly plead. I have been hindered, I know not how, by a succession of petty obstructions. I hope to mend immediately, and to send next post to his lordship. Mr. Thrale would have written to you if I had omitted; he sends his compliments, and wishes to see you.

"You and your lady will now have no more wrangling about feudal inheritance. How does the young Laird of Auchinleck? I suppose Miss Veronica is grown a reader and discourser. I have just now got a cough, but it has never yet hindered me from sleeping; I have had quieter nights than are common with me. I cannot but rejoice that Joseph² has had the wit to find the way back. He is a fine fellow, and one of the best travellers in the world.

"Young *Col* brought me your letter. He is a very pleasing youth. I took him two days ago to the Mitre, and we dined together. I was as civil as I had the means of being. I have had a letter from *Rasay*, acknowledging, with great appearance

¹ Mrs. Montagu's recent kindness to Miss Williams was not lost on Johnson. His letters to that lady became more elaborately respectful, and his subsequent mention of her took, as we shall see, a high tone of panegyric. It is necessary to observe this as a set-off against his occasional disparagement of that lady, and as an additional instance of the

strong influence of personal feelings on his praise or censure of individuals. — CROKER.

² Joseph Ritter, a Bohemian, who was in my service many years, and attended Dr. Johnson and me in our tour to the Hebrides. After having left me for some time, he had now returned to me. — BOSWELL.

of satisfaction, the insertion in the Edinburgh paper. I am very glad that it was done.

"My compliments to Mrs. Boswell, who does not love me; and of all the rest, I need only send them to those that do; and I am afraid it will give you very little trouble to distribute them. — I am, my dear, dear Sir, &c., SAM. JOHNSON."

[JOHNSON TO MR. GRANGER.¹

(About 1775, but undated.)

"SIR, — When I returned from the country I found your letter; and would very gladly have done what you desire, had it been in my power. Mr. Farmer is, I am confident, mistaken in supposing that he gave me any such pamphlet or cut. I should as soon have suspected myself, as Mr. Farmer, of forgetfulness; but that I do not know, except from your letter, the name of Arthur O'Toole², nor recollect that I ever heard of it before. I think it impossible that I should have suffered such a total obliteration from my mind of any such thing which was ever there. This at least is certain, that I do not know of any such pamphlet; and equally certain I desire you to think it, that if I had it, you should immediately receive it from, Sir, your most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."]

CHAPTER LII.

1776.

Law of Entail. — *Boswell's Melancholy.* — *John Wesley.* — *Clarendon Press.* — *Booksellers' Profits.* — *Bolt Court.* — *Mrs. Thrale's Birth-day.* — *Entails.* — *Smith's "Wealth of Nations."* — *Lawyers and Law-suits.* — *Scotch Militia Bill.* — *Obligation in settling Estates.* — *"Johnsoniana."* — *Value of Truth.* — *Monastic Orders.* — *Carthusians.* — *Religious Austerities.* — *Wine-bibbing.* — *Fasting.* — *Influence of Education.* — *Arithmetic.* — *Sea Life.*

In 1776, Johnson wrote, so far as I can discover, nothing for the public: but that his

mind was still ardent, and fraught with generous wishes to attain to still higher degrees of literary excellence, is proved by his private notes of this year, which I shall insert in their proper place.³

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"Jan. 10. 1776.

"DEAR SIR, — I have at last sent you all Lord Hailes's papers. While I was in France, I looked very often into Henault; but Lord Hailes, in my opinion, leaves him far and far behind. Why I did not despatch so short a perusal sooner, when I look back, I am utterly unable to discover; but human moments are stolen away by a thousand petty impediments which leave no trace behind them. I have been afflicted, through the whole Christmas, with the general disorder, of which the worst effect was a cough, which is now much mitigated, though the country, on which I look from a window at Streatham, is now covered with a deep snow. Mrs. Williams is very ill: every body else is as usual.

"Among the papers I found a letter to you, which I think you had not opened; and a paper⁴ for 'The Chronicle,' which I suppose it not necessary now to insert. I return them both. I have, within these few days, had the honour of receiving Lord Hailes's first volume, for which I return my most respectful thanks.

"I wish you, my dearest friend, and your haughty lady, (for I know she does not love me,) and the young ladies, and the young laird, all happiness. Teach the young gentleman, in spite of his mamma, to think and speak well of, Sir, your affectionate humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

At this time was in agitation a matter of great consequence to me and my family, which I should not obtrude upon the world, were it not that the part which Dr. Johnson's friendship for me made him take in it was the occasion of an exertion of his abilities, which it would be injustice to conceal. That what he wrote upon the subject may be understood, it is necessary to give a state of the question, which I shall do as briefly as I can.

In the year 1504, the barony or manor of

¹ Author of the "Biographical History of England." Mr. P. Cunningham has found this letter among Granger's, with the date of 15th Dec., 1772. — CROKER.

² The pamphlet alluded to was written by John Taylor, the water-poet, and entitled, "Honour of the Noble Captain O'Toole, 1622." Some account of O'Toole will be found in Granger, vol. i. p. 398 — CROKER, 1835.

³ It was about this time that Mrs. Thrale, who had just recovered from illness and confinement, went into his room on the morning of her birthday (see *anté*, p. 171.) and said to him, "Nobody sends me any verses now, because I am five and thirty years old; and Stella was fed with them till forty-six, I remember." Upon which he burst out suddenly, without the least previous hesitation, and without having entertained the smallest intention towards it half a minute before: —

"Oft in danger, yet alive,
We are come to thirty-five;
Long may better years arrive,
Better years than thirty-five,
Could philosophers contrive
Life to stop at thirty-five,
Time his hours should never drive
O'er the bounds of thirty-five."

High to soar, and deep to dive,
Nature gives at thirty-five.
Ladies, stock and tend your hive,
Trifle not at thirty-five:
For howe'er we boast and strive,
Life declines from thirty-five:
He that ever hopes to thrive
Must begin by thirty-five;
And all who wisely wish to live
Must look on Thrale at thirty-five."

And now," said he, as I was writing them down, "you may see what it is to come for poetry to a dictionary-maker; you may observe that the rhymes run in alphabetical order exactly." And so they do. Dr. Johnson did indeed possess an almost Tuscan power of improvisation. — *Piozzi*. He was much pleased with an Italian *improvisatore*, whom he saw at Streatham, and with whom he talked much in Latin. He told him, if he had not been a witness to his faculty himself, he should not have thought it possible. He said, Isaac Hawkins Browne had endeavoured at it in English, but could not get beyond thirty verses. — *Hawkins*.

— CROKER.

⁵ Probably some notice relative to the apology to *Rasay*. — CROKER.

Auchinleck (pronounced *Affleck*¹) in Ayrshire, which belonged to a family of the same name with the lands, having fallen to the crown by forfeiture, James the Fourth, King of Scotland, granted it to Thomas Boswell, a branch of an ancient family in the county of Fife, styling him in the charter, "*dilecto familiari nostro*;" and assigning as the cause of the grant, "*pro bono et fidei servitio nobis prestitio*." Thomas Boswell was slain in battle, fighting along with his sovereign, at the fatal field of Flodden, in 1513.

From this very honourable founder of our family, the estate was transmitted, in a direct series of heirs-male, to David Boswell, my father's great-grand-uncle, who had no sons, but four daughters, who were all respectably married, the eldest to Lord Cathcart.

David Boswell, being resolute in the military feudal principle of continuing the male succession, passed by his daughters, and settled the estate on his nephew by his next brother, who approved of the deed, and renounced any pretensions which he might possibly have, in preference to his son. But the estate having been burthened with large portions to the daughters, and other debts, it was necessary for the nephew to sell a considerable part of it, and what remained was still much encumbered.

The frugality of the nephew preserved, and, in some degree, relieved the estate. His son, my grandfather, an eminent lawyer, not only re-purchased a great part of what had been sold, but acquired other lands; and my father, who was one of the judges of Scotland, and had added considerably to the estate, now signified his inclination to take the privilege allowed by our law², to secure it to his family in perpetuity by an entail, which, on account of his marriage articles, could not be done without my consent.

In the plan of entailing the estate, I heartily concurred with him, though I was the first to be restrained by it; but we unhappily differed as to the series of heirs which should be established, or, in the language of our law, called to the succession. My father had declared a predilection for heirs-general, that is, males and females indiscriminately. He was willing, however, that all males descending from his

grandfather should be preferred to females; but would not extend that privilege to males deriving their descent from a higher source. I, on the other hand, had a zealous partiality for heirs-male, however remote, which I maintained by arguments, which appeared to me to have considerable weight.³ And in the particular case of our family, I apprehended that we were under an implied obligation, in honour and good faith, to transmit the estate by the same tenure which he held it, which was as heirs-males, excluding nearer females. I therefore, as I thought conscientiously, objected to my father's scheme.

My opposition was very displeasing to my father, who was entitled to great respect and deference; and I had reason to apprehend disagreeable consequences from my non-compliance with his wishes. After much perplexity and uneasiness, I wrote to Dr. Johnson, stating the case, with all its difficulties, at full length, and earnestly requesting that he would consider it at leisure, and favour me with his friendly opinion and advice.

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"London, Jan. 15. 1776.

"DEAR SIR,-- I was much impressed by your letter, and if I can form upon your case any resolution satisfactory to myself, will very gladly impart it: but whether I am equal to it, I do not know. It is a case compounded of law and justice, and requires a mind versed in juridical disquisitions. Could not you tell your whole mind to Lord Hailes? He is, you know, both a Christian and a lawyer. I suppose he is above partiality, and above loquacity; and, I believe, he will not think the time lost in which he may quiet a disturbed, or settle a wavering mind. Write to me as any thing occurs to you; and if I find myself stopped by want of facts necessary to be known, I will make inquiries of you as my doubts arise.

"If your former resolutions should be found only fanciful, you decide rightly in judging that your father's fancies may claim the preference; but whether they are fanciful or rational is the question. I really think Lord Hailes could help us.

"Make my compliments to dear Mrs. Boswell; and tell her, that I hope to be wanting in nothing that I can contribute to bring you all out of your troubles. I am, dear Sir, most affectionately,
"SAM. JOHNSON."

¹ Now pronounced as written, *Auchinleck*. See *anté*, p. 301. —CROKER.

² Acts of Parliament of Scotland, 1685, cap. 22. —BOSWELL.

³ As, first, the opinion of some distinguished naturalists, that our species is transmitted through males only, the female being all along no more than a *nidus*, or nurse, as Mother Earth is to plants of every sort; which notion seems to be confirmed by that text of scripture, "He was yet in the *loins* of his FATHER when Melchisedeck met him," (Heb. vii. 10.); and consequently, that a man's grandson by a daughter, instead of being his *surest* descendant, as is vulgarly said, has, in reality, no connection whatever with his blood. And, secondly, independent of this theory (which, if true, should completely exclude heirs-general), that if the preference of a male to a female, without regard to primogeniture (as a son, though much younger, nay, even a grandson by a son, to a daughter), be once admitted, as it universally is, it must be equally reasonable and proper in the most remote degree of descent from an original proprietor of an estate, as in the

nearest: because, however distant from the representative at the time, that remote heir-male, upon the failure of those nearer to the *original proprietor* than he is, becomes in fact the nearest male to him, and is, therefore, preferable as his representative, to a female descendant. A little extension of mind will enable us easily to perceive, that a son's son, in continuation to whatever length of time, is preferable to a son's daughter, in the succession to an ancient inheritance; in which regard should be had to the representation of the original proprietor, and not to that of one of his descendants. I am aware of Blackstone's admirable demonstration of the reasonableness of the legal succession, upon the principle of there being the greatest probability that the nearest heir of the person who last dies proprietor of an estate is of the blood of the first purchaser. But supposing a pedigree to be carefully authenticated through all its branches, instead of mere probability there will be a *certainty* that the *nearest heir-male, at whatever period*, has the same right of blood with the first heir-male, namely, the *original purchaser's eldest son*. —BOSWELL.

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

" Feb. 3. 1776.

" DEAR SIR, — I am going to write upon a question which requires more knowledge of local law, and more acquaintance with the general rules of inheritance, than I can claim; but I write, because you request it.

" Land is, like any other possession, by natural right wholly in the power of its present owner; and may be sold, given, or bequeathed, absolutely, or conditionally, as judgment shall direct or passion incite.

" But natural right would avail little without the protection of law; and the primary notion of law is restraint in the exercise of natural right. A man is therefore in society not fully master of what he calls his own, but he still retains all the power which law does not take from him.

" In the exercise of the right which law either leaves or gives, regard is to be paid to moral obligations.

" Of the estate which we are now considering, your father still retains such possession, with such power over it, that he can sell it, and do with the money what he will, without any legal impediment. But when he extends his power beyond his own life, by settling the order of succession, the law makes your consent necessary.

" Let us suppose that he sells the land to risk the money in some specious adventure, and in that adventure loses the whole; his posterity would be disappointed; but they could not think themselves injured or robbed. If he spent it upon vice or pleasure, his successors could only call him vicious and voluptuous; they could not say that he was injurious or unjust.

" He that may do more may do less. He that by selling or squandering may disinherit a whole family, may certainly disinherit part by a partial settlement.

" Laws are formed by the manners and exigencies of particular times, and it is but accidental that they last longer than their causes: the limitation of feudal succession to the male arose from the obligation of the tenant to attend his chief in war.

" As times and opinions are always changing, I know not whether it be not usurpation to prescribe rules to posterity, by presuming to judge of what we cannot know; and I know not whether I fully approve either your design or your father's, to limit that succession which descended to you unlimited. If we are to leave *sartum tectum* to posterity, what we have without any merit of our own received from our ancestors, should not choice and free-will be kept unviolated? Is land to be treated with more reverence than liberty? If this consideration should restrain your father from disinheriting some of the males, does it leave you the power of disinheriting all the females?

" Can the possessor of a feudal estate make any will? Can he appoint, out of the inheritance, any portion to his daughters? There seems to be a very shadowy difference between the power of leaving land, and of leaving money to be raised from land; between leaving an estate to females, and leaving the male heir, in effect, only their steward.

" Suppose at one time a law that allowed only males to inherit, and during the continuance of this

law, many estates to have descended, passing by the females, to remoter heirs. Suppose afterwards the law repealed, in correspondence with a change of manners, and women made capable of inheritance; would not then the tenure of estates be changed? Could the women have no benefit from a law made in their favour? Must they be passed by upon moral principles for ever, because they were once excluded by a legal prohibition? Or may that which passed only to males by one law, pass likewise to females by another?

" You mention your resolution to maintain the right of your brothers¹ I do not see how any of their rights are invaded.

" As your whole difficulty arises from the act of your ancestor, who diverted the succession from the females, you inquire, very properly, what were his motives, and what was his intention: for you certainly are not bound by his act more than he intended to bind you, nor hold your land on harder or stricter terms than those on which it was granted.

" Intentions must be gathered from acts. When he left the estate to his nephew, by excluding his daughters, was it, or was it not in his power to have perpetuated the succession to the males? If he could have done it, he seems to have shown, by omitting it, that he did not desire it to be done, and, upon your own principles, you will not easily prove your right to destroy that capacity of succession which your ancestors have left.

" If your ancestor had not the power of making a perpetual settlement; and if, therefore, we cannot judge distinctly of his intentions, yet his act can only be considered as an example; it makes not an obligation. And, as you observe, he set no example of rigorous adherence to the line of succession. He that overlooked a brother, would not wonder that little regard is shown to remote relations.

" As the rules of succession are, in a great part, purely legal, no man can be supposed to bequeath anything, but upon legal terms; he can grant no power which the law denies; and if he makes no special and definite limitation, he confers all the power which the law allows.

" Your ancestor, for some reason, disinherited his daughters; but it no more follows that he intended this act as a rule for posterity, than the disinheriting of his brother. If, therefore, you ask by what right your father admits daughters to inheritance, ask yourself, first, by what right you require them to be excluded? It appears, upon reflection, that your father excludes nobody; he only admits nearer females to inherit before males more remote; and the exclusion is purely consequential.

" These, dear Sir, are my thoughts, immethodical and deliberative; but, perhaps, you may find in them some glimmering of evidence. I cannot, however, but again recommend to you a conference with Lord Hailes, whom you know to be both a lawyer and a Christian. Make my compliments to Mrs. Boswell, though she does not love me. I am, Sir, your affectionate servant,

" SAM. JOHNSON."

I had followed his recommendation and consulted Lord Hailes, who upon this subject had a firm opinion contrary to mine. His lordship

¹ Which term I applied to all the heirs male. — BOSWELL.

obligingly took the trouble to write me a letter, in which he discussed, with legal and historical learning, the points in which I saw much difficulty, maintaining that "the succession of heirs general was the succession, by the law of Scotland, from the throne to the cottage, as far as we can learn it by record;" observing that the estate of our family had not been limited to heirs male; and that though an heir male had in one instance been chosen in preference to nearer females, that had been an arbitrary act, which had seemed to be best in the embarrassed state of affairs at that time: and the fact was, that upon a fair computation of the value of land and money at the time, applied to the estate and the burthens upon it, there was nothing given the heirs male but the skeleton of an estate. "The plea of conscience," said his lordship, "which you put, is a most respectable one, especially when *conscience* and *self* are on different sides. But I think that conscience is not well informed, and that *self* and *she* ought on this occasion to be of a side."

This letter, which had considerable influence upon my mind, I sent to Dr. Johnson, begging to hear from him again upon this interesting question.

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"Feb. 9. 1776.

"DEAR SIR, — Having not any acquaintance with the laws or customs of Scotland, I endeavoured to consider your question upon general principles, and found nothing of much validity that I could oppose to this position: 'He who inherits a fief unlimited by his ancestors inherits the power of limiting it according to his own judgment or opinion.' If this be true, you may join with your father.

"Further consideration produces another conclusion: 'He who receives a fief unlimited by his ancestors gives his heirs some reason to complain if he does not transmit it unlimited to posterity. For why should he make the state of others worse than his own, without a reason?' If this be true, though neither you nor your father are about to do what is quite right, but as your father violates (I think) the legal succession least, he seems to be nearer the right than yourself.

"It cannot but occur that 'Women have natural and equitable claims as well as men, and these claims are not to be capriciously or lightly superseded or infringed.' When fiefs implied military service, it is easily discerned why females could not inherit them; but that reason is now at an end. As manners make laws, manners likewise repeal them.

"These are the general conclusions which I have attained. None of them are very favourable to

your scheme of entail, nor perhaps to any scheme. My observation, that only he who acquires an estate may bequeath it capriciously¹, if it contains any conviction, includes this position likewise, that only he who acquires an estate may entail it capriciously. But I think it may be safely presumed, that 'He who inherits an estate, inherits all the power legally concomitant;' and that 'He who gives or leaves unlimited an estate legally limitable, must be presumed to give that power of limitation, which he omitted to take away, and to commit future contingencies to future prudence.' In these two positions I believe Lord Hailes will advise you to rest; every other notion of possession seems to me full of difficulties, and embarrassed with scruples.

"If these axioms be allowed, you have arrived now at full liberty without the help of particular circumstances, which, however, have in your case great weight. You very rightly observe, that he who passing by his brother gave the inheritance to his nephew, could limit no more than he gave; and by Lord Hailes's estimate of fourteen years' purchase, what he gave was no more than you may easily entail according to your own opinion, if that opinion should finally prevail.

"Lord Hailes's suspicion that entails are encroachments on the dominion of Providence, may be extended to all hereditary privileges and all permanent institutions. I do not see why it may not be extended to any provision for the present hour, since all care about futurity proceeds upon a supposition, that we know at least in some degree what will be future. Of the future we certainly know nothing; but we may form conjectures from the past; and the power of forming conjectures includes, in my opinion, the duty of acting in conformity to that probability, which we discover. Providence gives the power, of which reason teaches the use. I am, dear Sir, your most faithful servant,
SAM. JOHNSON.

"I hope I shall get some ground now with Mrs. Boswell: make my compliments to her, and to the little people. Don't burn papers; they may be safe enough in your own box; you will wish to see them hereafter."

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"Feb. 15. 1776.

"DEAR SIR, — To the letters which I have written about your great question I have nothing to add. If your conscience is satisfied, you have now only your prudence to consult. I long for a letter, that I may know how this troublesome and vexatious question is at last decided.² I hope that it will at last end well. Lord Hailes's letter was very friendly, and very seasonable; but I think his aversion from entails has something in it like superstition. Providence is not counteracted by any means which Providence puts into our power. The continuance and propagation of families makes a great part of the Jewish law, and is by no means

¹ I had reminded him of his observation, mentioned *anté*, p. 473. — BOSWELL.

² The entail framed by my father, with various judicious clauses, was settled by him and me, settling the estate upon the heirs male of his grandfather, which I found had been already done by my grandfather, imperfectly, but so as to be defeated only by selling the lands. I was freed by Dr. John-

son from scruples of conscientious obligation, and could therefore gratify my father. But my opinion and partiality for male succession, in its full extent, remained unshaken. Yet let me not be thought harsh or unkind to daughters: for my notion is, that they should be treated with great affection and tenderness, and always participate of the prosperity of the family. — BOSWELL.

prohibited in the Christian institution, though the necessity of it continues no longer. Hereditary penalties are established in all civilised countries, and are accompanied in most with hereditary authority. Sir William Temple considers our constitution as defective, that there is not an unalienable estate in land connected with a peerage: and Lord Bacon mentions as a proof that the Turks are barbarians, their want of *stirpes*, as he calls them, or hereditary rank. Do not let your mind, when it is freed from the supposed necessity of a rigorous entail, be entangled with contrary objections, and think all entails unlawful, till you have cogent arguments, which I believe you will never find. I am afraid of scruples.

"I have now sent all Lord Hailes's papers; part found hidden in a drawer in which I had laid them for security, and had forgotten them. Part of these are written twice; I have returned both the copies. Part I had read before. Be so kind as to return Lord Hailes my most respectful thanks for his first volume: his accuracy strikes me with wonder; his narrative is far superior to that of Fenault, as I have formerly mentioned. I am afraid that the trouble which my irregularity and delay has cost him is greater, far greater, than any good that I can do him will ever recompense; but if I have any more copy I will try to do better.

"Pray let me know if Mrs. Boswell is friends with me, and pay my respects to Veronica, and Euphemia, and Alexander. I am, Sir, your most humble servant,
SAM. JOHNSON."

BOSWELL TO JOHNSON.

"Edinburgh, Feb. 20. 1776.

"You have illuminated my mind, and relieved me from imaginary shackles of conscientious obligation. Were it necessary, I could immediately join in an entail upon the series of heirs approved by my father; but it is better not to act too suddenly."

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"Feb. 24. 1776.

"DEAR SIR, — I am glad that what I could think or say has at all contributed to quiet your thoughts. Your resolution not to act, till your opinion is confirmed by more deliberation, is very just. If you have been scrupulous, do not be rash. I hope that, as you think more, and take opportunities of talking with men intelligent in questions of property, you will be able to free yourself from very difficulty. When I wrote last, I sent, I think, ten packets. Did you receive them all?

"You must tell Mrs. Boswell that I suspected her to have written without your knowledge¹, and therefore did not return any answer, lest a clandestine correspondence should have been perniciously discovered. I will write to her soon. I am, dear Sir, &c.,
SAM. JOHNSON."

Having communicated to Lord Hailes what Dr. Johnson wrote concerning the question which perplexed me so much, his lordship wrote to me: "Your scruples have produced more fruit than I ever expected from them;

an excellent dissertation on general principles of morals and law."

I wrote to Dr. Johnson on the 20th of February, complaining of melancholy, and expressing a strong desire to be with him; informing him that the ten packets came all safe; that Lord Hailes was much obliged to him, and said he had almost wholly removed his scruples against entails.

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"March 5. 1776.

"DEAR SIR, — I have not had your letter half an hour; as you lay so much weight upon my notions, I should think it not just to delay my answer. I am very sorry that your melancholy should return, and should be sorry likewise if it could have no relief but from my company. My counsel you may have when you please to require it; but of my company you cannot in the next month have much, for Mr. Thrall will take me to Italy, he says, on the 1st of April.

"Let me warn you very earnestly against scruples. I am glad that you are reconciled to your settlement, and think it a great honour to have shaken Lord Hailes's opinion of entails. Do not, however, hope wholly to reason away your troubles; do not feed them with attention, and they will die imperceptibly away. Fix your thoughts upon your business, fill your intervals with company, and sunshine will again break in upon your mind. If you will come to me, you must come very quickly; and even then I know not but we may scour the country together, for I have a mind to see Oxford and Lichfield before I set out on this long journey. To this I can only add that I am, dear Sir, your most affectionate humble servant,
SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"March 12. 1776.

"DEAR SIR, — Very early in April we leave England, and in the beginning of the next week I shall leave London for a short time; of this I think it necessary to inform you, that you may not be disappointed in any of your enterprises. I had not fully resolved to go into the country before this day. Please to make my compliments to Lord Hailes; and mention very particularly to Mrs. Boswell my hope that she is reconciled to Sir, your faithful servant,
SAM. JOHNSON."

[JOHNSON TO JOHN WESLEY.

"Feb. 6. 1776.

"SIR, — When I received your 'Commentary on the Bible,' I durst not at first flatter myself that I was to keep it, having so little claim to so valuable a present; and when Mrs. Hall² informed me of your kindness, was hindered from time to time from returning you those thanks which I now entreat you to accept. — I have thanks likewise to return you for the addition of your important suffrage to my argument on the American question. To have gained such a mind as yours may justly

¹ A letter to him on the interesting subject of the family settlement, which I had read. — BOSWELL.

² Mr. Wesley's sister. — CROKER.

confirm me in my own opinion. What effect my paper has upon the public, I know not; but I have no reason to be discouraged. The lecturer was surely in the right, who, though he saw his audience slinking away, refused to quit the chair while Plato staid. — I am, reverend Sir, &c.,
— *Harwood MSS.* “SAM. JOHNSON.”]

Above thirty years ago, the heirs of Lord Chancellor Clarendon presented the university of Oxford with the continuation of his “History,” and such other of his lordship’s manuscripts as had not been published, on condition that the profits arising from their publication should be applied to the establishment of a *manège* in the university.¹ The gift was accepted in full convocation. A person² being now recommended to Dr. Johnson, as fit to superintend this proposed riding-school, he exerted himself with that zeal for which he was remarkable upon every similar occasion. But, on inquiry into the matter, he found that the scheme was not likely to be soon carried into execution; the profits arising from the Clarendon press being, from some mismanagement, very scanty. This having been explained to him by a respectable dignitary of the church, who had good means of knowing it, he wrote a letter upon the subject, which at once exhibits his extraordinary precision and acuteness, and his warm attachment to his *alma mater*.

JOHNSON TO DR. WETHERELL,

Master of the University College, Oxford.

“March 12. 1776.

“DEAR SIR, — Few things are more unpleasant than the transaction of business with men who are above knowing or caring what they have to do; such as the trustees for Lord Cornbury’s institution will, perhaps, appear when you have read Dr. *****’s letter.

“The last part of the Doctor’s letter is of great importance. The complaint³ which he makes, I have heard long ago, and did not know but it was redressed. It is unhappy that a practice so erroneous has not been altered; for altered it must be, or our press will be useless, with all its privileges. The booksellers, who, like all other men, have strong prejudices in their own favour, are enough inclined to think the practice of printing and selling books by any but themselves, an encroachment on the rights of their fraternity; and have need of stronger inducements to circulate academical publications than those of another: for, of that mutual co-operation by which the general trade is carried on, the university can bear no part. Of those whom he neither loves nor fears, and from whom he expects no reciprocation of good offices, why should any man promote the interest, but for profit? I suppose, with all our scholastic ignorance of man-

kind, we are still too knowing to expect that the booksellers will erect themselves into patrons, and buy and sell under the influence of a disinterested zeal for the promotion of learning.

“To the booksellers, if we look for either honour or profit from our press, not only their common profit, but something more, must be allowed; and if books, printed at Oxford, are expected to be rated at a high price, that price must be levied on the public, and paid by the ultimate purchaser, not by the intermediate agents. What price shall be set upon the book is, to the booksellers, wholly indifferent, provided that they gain a proportionate profit by negotiating the sale. Why books printed at Oxford should be particularly dear, I am, however, unable to find. We pay no rent; we inherit many of our instruments and materials; lodging and victuals are cheaper than at London; and therefore, workmanship ought, at least, not to be dearer. Our expenses are naturally less than those of booksellers; and, in most cases, communities are content with less profit than individuals.

“It is, perhaps, not considered through how many hands a book often passes, before it comes into those of the reader; or what part of the profit each hand must retain, as a motive for transmitting it to the next.

“We will call our primary agent in London, Mr. Cadell, who receives our books from us, gives them room in his warehouse, and issues them on demand; by him they are sold to Mr. Dilly, a wholesale bookseller, who sends them into the country and the last seller is the country bookseller. He is three profits to be paid between the printer at the reader, or, in the style of commerce, between the manufacturer and the consumer; and if any of these profits is too penuriously distributed, the process of commerce is interrupted.

“We are now come to the practical question: what is to be done? You will tell me, with reason that I have said nothing, till I declare how much, according to my opinion, of the ultimate profit ought to be distributed through the whole succession of sale.

“The deduction, I am afraid, will appear very great; but let it be considered before it is refused. We must allow, for profit, between thirty and thirty-five per cent., between six and seven shillings in the pound; that is, for every book which costs the last buyer twenty shillings, we must charge Mr. Cadell with something less than fourteen. We must set the copies at fourteen shillings each, a superadd what is called the quarterly book, or every hundred books so charged we must deliver hundred and four.

“The profits will then stand thus: — Mr. Cadell, who runs no hazard, and gives no credit, will be paid for warehouse room and attendance a shilling profit on each book, and his chance the quarterly book: Mr. Dilly, who buys the book for fifteen shillings, and who will expect the quarterly book if he takes five and twenty, will send it to his country customer at sixteen and s-

¹ The Clarendon MSS., and any money which might arise from the sale or publication of them, were given by Catherine, Duchess Dowager of Queensbury, as a beginning of a fund for supporting a manège, or academy for riding, and other useful exercises, in Oxford, pursuant to, and in con-

firmation of, the last will of Henry Lord Hyde, bearing date the 10th day of August, 1751. — *Hall.* — CROKER.

² A Mr. Carter. — CROKER.
³ I suppose the complaint was, that the trustees of the Oxford press did not allow the London booksellers a sufficient profit upon vending their publications. — BOSWELL.

pence, by which, at the hazard of loss, and the certainty of long credit, he gains the regular profit of ten per cent. which is expected in the wholesale trade: the country bookseller, buying at sixteen and sixpence, and commonly trusting a considerable time, gains but three and sixpence, and if he trusts a year, not much more than two and sixpence; otherwise than as he may, perhaps, take as long credit as he gives.

"With less profit than this, and more you see he cannot have, the country bookseller cannot live; for his receipts are small, and his debts sometimes bad.

"Thus, dear Sir, I have been incited by Dr. *****'s letter to give you a detail of the circulation of books, which, perhaps, every man has not had opportunity of knowing; and which those who know it, do not, perhaps, always distinctly consider. — I am, &c., SAM. JOHNSON."¹

Having arrived in London late on Friday, the 15th of March, I hastened next morning to wait on Dr. Johnson, at his house; but found he was removed from Johnson's Court, No. 7., to Bolt Court, No. 8., still keeping to his favourite Fleet Street. My reflection at the time upon this change, as marked in my journal, is as follows: "I felt a foolish regret that he had left a court which bore his name"; but it was not foolish to be affected with some tenderness of regard for a place in which I had seen him a great deal, from whence I had often issued a better and a happier man than when I went in, and which had often appeared to my imagination, while I trode its pavement in the solemn darkness of the night, to be sacred to wisdom and piety." Being informed that he was at Mr. Thrale's in the Borough, I hastened thither, and found Mrs. Thrale and him at breakfast. I was kindly welcomed. In a moment he was in a full glow of conversation, and I felt myself elevated as if brought into another state of being. Mrs. Thrale and I looked to each other while he talked, and our looks expressed our congenial admiration and affection for him. I shall ever recollect this scene with great pleasure. I exclaimed to her, "I am now intellectually, *Hermippus redivivus*³; I am quite restored by him, by transfusion of mind." "There are many," she replied, "who admire and respect Mr. Johnson; but you and I love him."

He seemed very happy in the near prospect of going to Italy with Mr. and Mrs. Thrale. "But," said he, "before leaving England, I am to take a jaunt to Oxford, Birmingham, my native city Lichfield, and my old friend Dr. Taylor's at Ashbourne, in Derbyshire. I shall go in a few days, and you, Boswell, shall go with me." I was ready to accompany him; being willing even to leave London to have the pleasure of his conversation.

I mentioned with much regret the extravagance of the representative of a great family in Scotland, by which there was danger of its being ruined; and as Johnson respected it for its antiquity, he joined with me in thinking it would be happy if this person should die. Mrs. Thrale seemed shocked at this, as feudal barbarity, and said, "I do not understand this preference of the estate to its owner; of the land to the man who walks upon that land." JOHNSON. "Nay, madam, it is not a preference of the land to its owner; it is the preference of a family to an individual. Here is an establishment in a country, which is of importance for ages, not only to the chief but to his people; an establishment which extends upwards and downwards; that this should be destroyed by one idle fellow is a sad thing."

He said, "Entails are good, because it is good to preserve in a country serieses of men, to whom the people are accustomed to look up as to their leaders. But I am for leaving a quantity of land in commerce, to excite industry, and keep money in the country; for if no land were to be bought in the country, there would be no encouragement to acquire wealth, because a family could not be founded there; or if it were acquired, it must be carried away to another country where land may be bought. And although the land in every country will remain the same, and be as fertile where there is no money, as where there is, yet all that portion of the happiness of civil life, which is produced by money circulating in a country, would be lost." BOSWELL. "Then, Sir, would it be for the advantage of a country that all its lands were sold at once?" JOHNSON. "So far, Sir, as money produces good, it would be an advantage; for then that country would have as much money circulating in it as it is worth. But to be sure this would be counterbalanced by disadvantages attending a total change of proprietors."

I expressed my opinion that the power of entailing should be limited thus: "That there should be one-third, or perhaps one-half, of the land of a country kept free for commerce; that the proportion allowed to be entailed should be parcelled out so that no family could entail above a certain quantity. Let a family, according to the abilities of its representatives, be richer or poorer in different generations, or always rich if its representatives be always wise: but let its absolute permanency be moderate. In this way we should be certain of there being always a number of established roots; and as, in the course of nature, there is in every age an extinction of some families, there would be continual openings for men

¹ I am happy, in giving this full and clear statement to the public, to vindicate, by the authority of the greatest author of his age, that respectable body of men, the booksellers of London, from vulgar reflections, as if their profits were exorbitant, when, in truth, Dr. Johnson has here allowed them more than they usually demand. — BOSWELL.

² He said, when in Scotland, that he was *Johnson of that ilk*. — BOSWELL. See post, sub April 28. 1778. — CROKER.

³ The work of Cohausen, a German physician, translated by Dr. Campbell, in which is advanced the possibility of prolonging life by the transpiration of young breath by old lungs. See ante, p. 142. — CROKER, 1846.

ambitious of perpetuity, to plant a stock in the entail ground." ¹ JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, mankind will be better able to regulate the system of entails, when the evil of too much land being locked up by them is felt, than we can do at present, when it is not felt."

I mentioned Dr. Adam Smith's book on "The Wealth of Nations," which was just published, and that Sir John Pringle had observed to me, that Dr. Smith, who had never been in trade, could not be expected to write well on that subject, any more than a lawyer upon physic. JOHNSON. "He is mistaken, Sir; a man who has never been engaged in trade himself may undoubtedly write well upon trade, and there is nothing which requires more to be illustrated by philosophy than trade does. As to mere wealth, that is to say, money, it is clear that one nation or one individual cannot increase its store but by making another poorer: but trade procures what is more valuable, the reciprocation of the peculiar advantages of different countries. A merchant seldom thinks but of his own particular trade. To write a good book upon it, a man must have extensive views. It is not necessary to have practised, to write well upon a subject." I mentioned law as a subject on which no man could write well without practice. JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, in England, where so much money is to be got by the practice of the law, most of our writers upon it have been in practice; though Blackstone had not been much in practice when he published his 'Commentaries.' But upon the continent, the great writers on law have not all been in practice: Grotius, indeed, was; but Puffendorf was not; Burlamaqui was not."²

When we had talked of the great consequence which a man acquired by being employed in his profession, I suggested a doubt of the justice of the general opinion, that it is improper in a lawyer to solicit employment; for why, I urged, should it not be equally allowable to solicit that as the means of consequence, as it is to solicit votes to be elected a member of parliament? Mr. Strahan had told me that a countryman of his and mine³, who had risen to eminence in the law, had, when first making his way, solicited him to get him employed in city causes. JOHNSON. "Sir, it is wrong to stir up lawsuits; but when once it is certain that a lawsuit is to go on, there is nothing wrong in a lawyer's endeavouring that he shall have the benefit,

rather than another." BOSWELL. "You would not solicit employment, Sir, if you were a lawyer?" JOHNSON. "No, Sir; but not because I should think it wrong, but because I should disdain it." This was a good distinction, which will be felt by men of just pride. He proceeded: "However, I would not have a lawyer to be wanting to himself in using fair means. I would have him to inject⁴ a little hint now and then, to prevent his being overlooked."

Lord Mountstuart's bill for a Scotch militia, in supporting which his lordship had made an able speech⁵ in the House of Commons, was now a pretty general topic of conversation. JOHNSON. "As Scotland contributes so little land-tax towards the general support of the nation, it ought not to have a militia paid out of the general fund, unless it should be thought for the general interest that Scotland should be protected from an invasion, which no man can think will happen; for what enemy would invade Scotland, where there is nothing to be got? No, Sir; now that the Scotch have not the pay of English soldiers spent among them, as so many troops are sent abroad, they are trying to get money another way, by having a militia paid. If they are afraid, and seriously desire to have an armed force to defend them, they should pay for it. Your scheme is to retain a part of your land-tax, by making us pay and clothe your militia." BOSWELL. "You should not talk of *we* and *you*, Sir; there is now an *union*." JOHNSON. "There must be a distinction of interest, while the proportions of land-tax are so unequal. If Yorkshire should say, 'Instead of paying our land-tax, we will keep a greater number of militia,' it would be unreasonable." In this argument my friend was certainly in the wrong. The land-tax is as unequally proportioned between different parts of England, as between England and Scotland; nay, it is considerably unequal in Scotland itself. But the land-tax is but a small part of the numerous branches of public revenue, all of which Scotland pays precisely as England does. A French invasion made in Scotland, would soon penetrate into England.

He thus discoursed upon supposed obligation in settling estates: "Where a man gets the unlimited property of an estate, there is no obligation upon him in *justice* to leave it to one person rather than to another. There is a motive of

¹ The privilege of perpetuating in a family an estate and arms *indefeasibly* from generation to generation is enjoyed by none of his majesty's subjects except in Scotland, where the legal fiction of *fine* and *recovery* is unknown. It is a privilege so proud, that I should think it would be proper to have the exercise of it dependent on the royal prerogative. It seems absurd to permit the power of perpetuating their representation to men, who, having had no eminent merit, have truly no name. The king, as the impartial father of his people, would never refuse to grant the privilege to those who deserved it. — BOSWELL.

² Neither Grotius, Puffendorf, nor Burlamaqui, were writers on what can be strictly called practical law, and the great writers on practical law, in all countries, have been practical lawyers. — CROKER.

³ Mr. Wedderburn, afterwards Lord Chancellor, Lord Loughborough, and Earl of Rosslyn. — CROKER.

⁴ *Quere, intercept?* a word which Johnson used. Note on *Rom. and Jul.*, iii. 5. — CROKER, 1846.

⁵ Boswell wrote to Mr. Wilkes on this subject, April 20. 1776:—"I am delighted to find that my honoured friend and Mæcenas, my Lord Mountstuart, made an excellent speech on the Scotch militia bill." — *Wilkes's Correspondence*, vol. iv. p. 319. Mr. Boswell's *Mæcenas*, however, subsequently disappointed his hopes, and hence, perhaps, some of those querulous observations about "*courting the great*," and "*apathy of patrons*," which Mr. Boswell occasionally makes. — CROKER.

preference from *kindness*, and this kindness is generally entertained for the nearest relation. If I owe a particular man a sum of money, I am obliged to let that man have the next money I get, and cannot in justice let another have it; but if I owe money to no man, I may dispose of what I get as I please. There is not a *debitum justitiæ* to a man's next heir; there is only a *debitum caritatis*. It is plain, then, that I have morally a choice according to my liking. If I have a brother in want, he has a claim from affection to my assistance; but if I have also a brother in want, whom I like better, he has a preferable claim. The right of an heir at law is only this, that he is to have the succession to an estate, in case no other person is appointed to it by the owner. His right is merely preferable to that of the king."

We got into a boat to cross over to Blackfriars; and as we moved along the Thames, I talked to him of a little volume, which, altogether unknown to him, was advertised to be published in a few days, under the title of *Johnsoniana*, or *Bon-mots of Dr. Johnson*.¹ JOHNSON. "Sir, it is a mighty impudent thing."² BOSWELL. "Pray, Sir, could you give me no redress if you were to prosecute a publisher for bringing out, under your name, what you never said, and ascribing to you dull stupid nonsense, or making you swear profanely, as many ignorant relaters of your *bon-mots* do?" JOHNSON. "No, Sir; there will always be some truth mixed with the falsehood, and how can it be ascertained how much is true and how much is false? Besides, Sir, what damages would a jury give me for having been represented as swearing?" BOSWELL. "I think, Sir, you should at least disavow such a publication, because the world and posterity might with much plausible foundation say, 'Here is a volume which was publicly advertised and came out in Dr. Johnson's own name, and, by his silence, was admitted by him to be genuine.'" JOHNSON. "I shall give myself no trouble about the matter."

He was, perhaps, above suffering from such spurious publications; but I could not help thinking, that many men would be much injured in their reputation, by having absurd and vicious sayings imputed to them; and that redress ought in such cases to be given.

He said, "The value of every story depends on its being true. A story is a picture either of an individual or of human nature in general: if it be false, it is a picture of nothing. For instance: suppose a man should tell that Johnson, before setting out for Italy, as he had to cross the Alps, sat down to make himself wings. This many people would believe; but it would be a picture of nothing. *****³ (naming a worthy friend of ours) used to think a story, a story, till I showed him that truth was essential to it." I observed, that Foote entertained us with stories which were not true; but that, indeed, it was properly not as narratives that Foote's stories pleased us, but as collections of ludicrous images. JOHNSON. "Foote is quite impartial, for he tells lies of every body."⁴

The importance of strict and scrupulous veracity cannot be too often inculcated. Johnson was known to be so rigidly attentive to it, that even in his common conversation the slightest circumstance was mentioned with exact precision.⁴

The knowledge of his having such a principle and habit made his friends have a perfect reliance on the truth of every thing that he told, however it might have been doubted if told by many others. As an instance of this, I may mention an odd incident which he related as having happened to him one night in Fleet Street. "A gentlewoman," said he, "begged I would give her my arm to assist her in crossing the street, which I accordingly did; upon which she offered me a shilling, supposing me to be the watchman. I perceived that she was somewhat in liquor." This, if told by most people, would have been thought an invention; when told by Johnson, it was believed by his friends as much as if they had seen what passed.⁴

¹ This was a contemptible jest-book, full of indecencies, and with very little of Johnson in it. — CROKER.

² Although Mr. Langton was a man of strict veracity, I suspect, from the term *worthy friend*, which Boswell generally appropriates to Mr. Langton, as well as the number of asterisks, that he was here meant. Boswell seems always to mention Langton with great regard, and yet the reader will observe that he is, throughout the whole work, too ready to tell little disparaging stories of him. — CROKER.

³ On another occasion he said, "A story is a specimen of human manners, and derives its sole value from its truth. When Foote has told me something, I dismiss it from my mind like a passing shadow; when Reynolds tells me something, I consider myself as possessed of an idea the more." — PIOZZI. — A gentleman sitting next to Johnson at a table where Foote was entertaining the company with some exaggerated recitals, whispered his neighbour, "Why, Dr. Johnson, it is impossible that this impudent fellow should know the truth of half what he has told us." "Nay, sir," replied Johnson hastily, "if we venture to come into company with Foote, we have no right, I think, to look for truth." — CROKER.

⁴ "One reason," says Mrs. Piozzi, "why his memory was so particularly exact, might be derived from his rigid attention to veracity; being always resolved to relate every fact as it stood, he looked even on the smaller parts of life with minute attention, and remembered such passages as escape cursory and common observers. His veracity was, indeed,

from the most trivial to the most solemn occasions, strict even to severity; he scorned to embellish a story with fictitious circumstances, which (he used to say) took off from its real value. "A story," he said, "should be a specimen of life and manners; but if the surrounding circumstances are false, as it is no more a representation of reality, it is no longer worthy our attention." — CROKER.

⁴ Miss Reynolds says that she wonders why Mr. Boswell should think this anecdote so surprising, for Johnson's dress was so mean (until his pension) that he might have been mistaken for a beggar. Mrs. Piozzi tells of another street adventure. As he was walking along the Strand, a gentleman stepped out of some neighbouring tavern, with his napkin in his hand and no hat, and stopping him as civilly as he could, "I beg your pardon, sir; but you are Dr. Johnson, I believe." "Yes, sir." "We have a wager depending on your reply: pray, sir, is it *irréparable* or *irréparable* that one should say?" "The last, I think, sir, answered Dr. Johnson, for the adverb [adjective] ought to follow the verb; but you had better consult my Dictionary than me, for that was the result of more thought than you will now give me time for." "No, no," replied the gentleman, gaily, "the book I have no certainty at all of; but here is the *author*, to whom I referred: I have won my twenty guineas quite fairly, and am much obliged to you, sir;" so shaking Dr. Johnson kindly by the hand, he went back to finish his dinner or dessert." — *Anecdotes*. The Dictionary gives, and rightly, a contrary decision. — CROKER.

We landed at the Temple Stairs, where we parted. I found him in the evening in Mrs. Williams's room. We talked of religious orders. He said, "It is as unreasonable for a man to go into a Carthusian convent for fear of being immoral, as for a man to cut off his hands for fear he should steal. There is, indeed, great resolution in the immediate act of dismembering himself; but when that is once done, he has no longer any merit: for though it is out of his power to steal, yet he may all his life be a thief in his heart. So when a man has once become a Carthusian, he is obliged to continue so, whether he chooses it or not. Their silence, too, is absurd. We read in the Gospel of the apostles being sent to preach, but not to hold their tongues. All severity that does not tend to increase good, or prevent evil, is idle. I said to the Lady Abbess of a convent, 'Madam, you are here, not for the love of virtue, but the fear of vice.' She said, 'She should remember this as long as she lived.'" I thought it hard to give her this view of her situation, when she could not help it; and indeed, I wondered at the whole of what he now said; because, both in his "Rambler" and "Idler," he treats religious austerities with much solemnity of respect.

Finding him still persevering in his abstinence from wine, I ventured to speak to him of it. JOHNSON. "Sir, I have no objection to a man's drinking wine, if he can do it in moderation. I found myself apt to go to excess in it, and therefore, after having been for some time without it, on account of illness, I thought it better not to return to it. Every man is to judge for himself, according to the effects which he experiences. One of the fathers tells us, he found fasting made him so peevish that he did not practise it."

Though he often enlarged upon the evil of intoxication, he was by no means harsh and unforgiving to those who indulged in occasional excess in wine. One of his friends¹, I well remember, came to sup at a tavern with him and some other gentlemen, and too plainly discovered that he had drunk too much at dinner. When one who loved mischief, thinking to produce a severe censure, asked Johnson, a

few days afterwards, "Well, Sir, what did your friend say to you, as an apology for being in such a situation?" Johnson answered, "Sir, he said all that a man *should* say: he said he was sorry for it."

I heard him once give a very judicious practical advice upon the subject: "A man who has been drinking wine at all freely should never go into a new company. With those who have partaken of wine with him, he may be pretty well in unison; but he will probably be offensive, or appear ridiculous, to other people.

He allowed very great influence to education. "I do not deny, Sir, but there is some original difference in minds; but it is nothing in comparison of what is formed by education. We may instance the science of *numbers*, which all minds are equally capable of attaining²; yet we find a prodigious difference in the powers of different men, in that respect, after they are grown up, because their minds have been more or less exercised in it; and I think the same cause will explain the difference of excellence in other things, gradations admitting always some difference in the first principles."

This is a difficult subject; but it is best to hope that diligence may do a great deal. We are *sure* of what it can do, in increasing our mechanical force and dexterity.

I again visited him on Monday. He took occasion to enlarge, as he often did, upon the wretchedness of a sea-life. "A ship is worse than a gaol. There is, in a gaol, better air, better company, better conveniency of every kind; and a ship has the additional disadvantage of being in danger. When men come to like a sea-life, they are not fit to live on land." "Then," said I, "it would be cruel in a father to breed his son to the sea." JOHNSON. "It would be cruel in a father who thinks as I do. Men go to sea, before they know the unhappiness of that way of life; and when they have come to know it, they cannot escape from it, because it is then too late to choose another profession; as indeed is generally the case with men, when they have once engaged in any particular way of life."³

¹ Probably Mr. Boswell himself, who frequently committed these indiscretions. Hannah More, describing a dinner in 1781, at Bishop Shipley's, where there were present Lord and Lady Spencer and Lady Althorp, Johnson, Reynolds, &c., says, "I was heartily disgusted with Mr. Boswell, who came up stairs after dinner, much disordered with wine, and addressed me in a manner which drew from me a sharp rebuke, for which I fancy he will not readily forgive me." (*Memoirs*, i. 211). Intemperance was, indeed, too much the fashion in those days. The present century has shown a growing reformation in this point. — CROKER, 1846.

² This appears to be an ill-chosen illustration. It seems, on the contrary, that there are few powers of mind so unequally given as those connected with *numbers*. The few who have them in any extraordinary degree, like Jedediah Buxton, and like the boys Bidder and Colborne, of our times, seem to have little other intellectual power. See accounts of Buxton in *Gent. Mag.* vol. xxi. p. 61. and vol. xxiv. p. 251. — CROKER, 1831. I reprint this note, as I believe the opinion

stated is generally true, but also to take the opportunity of doing justice to Mr. Bidder, concerning whom I was mistaken, and who is now an eminent civil engineer. — CROKER, 1846.

³ See *ante*, p. 349., his dislike of a sea life. Mrs. Piozz adds, that "the roughness of the language used on board ship, when he had passed a week on a visit to Captain Knight, disgusted him terribly. He asked an officer what some place was called, and received for answer, that it was where the *lopolly-man* kept his *lopolly*; a reply he considered, not unjustly, as disrespectful, gross, and ignorant." — *Letters*. The *lopolly-boy* is the surgeon's assistant, and I can very well imagine a waggish young officer delighted to puzzle the great lexicographer by a word not to be found in his *Dictionary* — a joke which the Doctor, it appears, did not relish. Captain Knight, of the *Belleisle*, 74, lay for a couple of months of 1762 in Plymouth Sound, and may have been visited by Reynolds and Johnson (*ante*, p. 127.); but it is unlikely that they passed a week on ship-board. — CROKER.

CHAPTER LIII.

1776.

Excursion to Oxford with Boswell. — *Ornamental Architecture.* — *Statuary.* — *Advice to Hypochondriacs.* — *Anatomy of Melancholy.* — *Dr. Wetherell.* — *Dr. Adams.* — *Conversation.* — *Bishop Horne.* — *Walton's "Lives."* — *Biography.* — *Dartineuf.* — *Gibbon.* — *Steele.* — *"Tristram Shandy."* — *Burke.* — *Blenheim.* — *Taverns and Inns.* — *Dyer's "Fleece."* — *Grainger's "Sugar Cane."* — *Birmingham.* — *Legitimation.* — *Marriage.* — *Quakers.* — *Holidays.* — *Nelson's "Festivals."* — *Mr. Boulton.* — *Lichfield and its Inhabitants.*

ON Tuesday, 19th March¹, which was fixed for our proposed jaunt, we met in the morning at the Somerset Coffee-house in the Strand, where we were taken up by the Oxford coach. He was accompanied by Mr. Gwyn, the architect; and a gentleman of Merton college, whom he did not know, had the fourth seat. We soon got into conversation; for it was very remarkable of Johnson, that the presence of a stranger had no restraint upon his talk. I observed that Garrick, who was about to quit the stage, would soon have an easier life. JOHNSON. "I doubt that, Sir." BOSWELL. "Why, Sir, he will be Atlas with the burthen off his back." JOHNSON. "But I know not, Sir, if he will be so steady without his load. However, he should never play any more, but be entirely the gentleman, and not partly the player: he should no longer subject himself to be hissed by a mob, or to be insolently treated by performers, whom he used to rule with a high hand, and who would gladly retaliate." BOSWELL. "I think he should play once a year for the benefit of decayed actors, as it has been said he means to do." JOHNSON. "Alas, Sir! he will soon be a decayed actor himself."

Johnson expressed his disapprobation of ornamental architecture, such as magnificent columns supporting a portico, or expensive pilasters supporting merely their own capitals, "because it consumes labour disproportionate to its utility." For the same reason he satirised statuary. "Painting," said he, "consumes

labour not disproportionate to its effect; but a fellow will hack half a year at a block of marble to make something in stone that hardly resembles a man. The value of statuary is owing to its difficulty. You would not value the finest head cut upon a carrot." Here he seemed to me to be strangely deficient in taste²; for surely statuary is a noble art of imitation, and preserves a wonderful expression of the varieties of the human frame; and although it must be allowed that the circumstances of difficulty enhance the value of a marble head, we should consider, that if it requires a long time in the performance, it has a proportionate value in durability.

Gwyn was a fine lively rattling fellow. Dr. Johnson kept him in subjection, but with a kindly authority. The spirit of the artist, however, rose against what he thought a Gothic attack, and he made a brisk defence. "What, Sir, you will allow no value to beauty in architecture or in statuary? Why should we allow it then in writing? Why do you take the trouble to give us so many fine allusions, and bright images, and elegant phrases? You might convey all your instruction without these ornaments." Johnson smiled with complacency; but said, "Why, Sir, all these ornaments are useful, because they obtain an easier reception for truth; but a building is not at all more convenient for being decorated with superfluous carved work."

Gwyn at last was lucky enough to make one reply to Dr. Johnson, which he allowed to be excellent. Johnson censured him for taking down a church which might have stood many years, and building a new one at a different place, for no other reason but that there might be a direct road to a new bridge; and his expression was, "You are taking a church out of the way, that the people may go in a straight line to the bridge." "No, Sir," said Gwyn, "I am putting the church in the way, that the people may not go out of the way." JOHNSON (with a hearty loud laugh of approbation). "Speak no more. Rest your colloquial fame upon this."

Upon our arrival at Oxford, Dr. Johnson and I went directly to University College, but were disappointed on finding that one of the fellows, his friend Mr. Scott, [p. 268.] who accompanied

¹ It appears from Hannah More's letters, that Boswell, and probably Johnson, spent the evening of the 18th at Garrick's. It seems to have been the first time of her seeing Boswell. — *Corsican* Boswell, a very agreeable good-natured man: he perfectly adores Johnson, &c. A few evenings before this, Hannah More writes that she had had a little evening party, of Mrs. Boscawen, Mrs. Garrick, and Miss Reynolds; Johnson, Garrick, and Dean Tucker and that "Garrick was the life and soul of the company. I never saw Johnson in such perfect good humour. One can never enjoy the company of these two unless they are together. After the Dean and Mrs. Boscawen were gone, and the rest stood up to go, Johnson and Garrick began a close encounter, telling old stories, 'e'en from their boyish days' at Lichfield. We all stood round them for half an hour, laughing; and should not have thought of sitting down, or of parting, had not an impatient watchman been saucily vociferous. Johnson outstaid them all, and sat with me half an hour." — *Mem.* i. 69. It is pleasing to find, from these letters, that there was more of

cordiality and social intercourse between Johnson and Garrick than Boswell's narrative would lead us to suppose. — *Croker*, 1846.

² Dr. Johnson does not seem to have objected to ornamental architecture or statuary *per se*, but to labour disproportionate to its utility or effect. In this view, his criticisms are just. The late style of building introduced into London, of colonnades and porticos, without any regard to aspect, climate, or utility, is so absurd to reason, so offensive to taste, and so adverse to domestic comfort, that it reconciles us to the short-lived materials of which these edifices are composed. It would have been well if we had, according to Johnson's sober advice, thought it necessary that the "magnificence of porticos," and the "expense of pilasters," should have borne some degree of proportion to their utility. With regard to "statuary" when it does "preserve the varieties of the human frame," it deserves all that Mr. Boswell says for it; but Johnson's objection was that it more frequently produced abortive failures, "hardly resembling man." — *Croker*.

him from Newcastle to Edinburgh, was gone to the country. We put up at the Angel inn, and passed the evening by ourselves in easy and familiar conversation. Talking of constitutional melancholy, he observed, — "A man so afflicted, Sir, must divert distressing thoughts, and not combat with them." BOSWELL. "May not he think them down, Sir?" JOHNSON. "No, Sir. To attempt to *think them down* is madness. He should have a lamp constantly burning in his bed-chamber during the night, and if wakefully disturbed, take a book, and read, and compose himself to rest. To have the management of the mind is a great art, and it may be attained in a considerable degree by experience and habitual exercise." BOSWELL. "Should not he provide amusement for himself? Would it not, for instance, be right for him to take a course of chemistry?" JOHNSON. "Let him take a course of chemistry, or a course of rope-dancing, or a course of any thing to which he is inclined at the time. Let him contrive to have as many retreats for his mind as he can, as many things to which it can fly from itself. Burton's '*Anatomy of Melancholy*' is a valuable work. It is, perhaps, overloaded with quotation. But there is a great spirit and great power in what Burton says, when he writes from his own mind."

Next morning [Wednesday, March 20.] we visited Dr. Wetherell, master of University College, with whom Dr. Johnson conferred on the most advantageous mode of disposing of the books printed at the Clarendon press, on which subject his letter has been inserted in a former page. I often had occasion to remark, Johnson loved business, loved to have his wisdom actually operate on real life. Dr. Wetherell and I talked of him without reserve in his own presence. WETHERELL. "I would have given him a hundred guineas if he would have written a preface to his '*Political Tracts*,' by way of a discourse on the British constitution." BOSWELL. "Dr. Johnson, though in his writings, and upon all occasions, a great friend to the constitution, both in church and state, has never written expressly in support of either. There is really a claim upon him for both. I am sure he could give a volume of no great bulk upon each, which would comprise all the substance, and with his spirit would effectually maintain them. He should erect a fort on the confines of each." I could perceive that he was displeased with this dialogue. He burst out, "Why should I be always writing?" I hoped he was conscious that the debt was just, and meant to discharge it, though he disliked being dunned.

We then went to Pembroke College, and waited on his old friend Dr. Adams, the master of it, whom I found to be a most polite, pleasing, communicative man. Before his advancement to the headship of his college, I had intended to go and visit him at Shrewsbury,

where he was rector of St. Chad's, in order to get from him what particulars he could recollect of Johnson's academical life. He now obligingly gave me part of that authentic information, which, with what I afterwards owed to his kindness, will be found incorporated in its proper place in this work.

Dr. Adams had distinguished himself by an able Answer¹ to David Hume's "*Essay on Miracles*." He told me he had once dined in company with Hume in London: that Hume shook hands with him, and said, "You have treated me much better than I deserve;" and that they exchanged visits. I took the liberty to object to treating an infidel writer with smooth civility. Where there is a controversy concerning a passage in a classic author, or concerning a question in antiquities, or any other subject in which human happiness is not deeply interested, a man may treat his antagonist with politeness and even respect. But where the controversy is concerning the truth of religion, it is of such vast importance to him who maintains it, to obtain the victory, that the person of an opponent ought not to be spared. If a man firmly believes that religion is an invaluable treasure, he will consider a writer who endeavours to deprive mankind of it as a *robber*; he will look upon him as *odious*, though the infidel might think himself in the right. A robber who reasons as the gang do in the "*Beggar's Opera*," who call themselves *practical* philosophers, and may have as much sincerity as pernicious *speculative* philosophers is not the less an object of just indignation. An abandoned profligate may think that it is not wrong to debauch my wife; but shall I therefore, not detest him? And if I catch him in making an attempt, shall I treat him with politeness? No, I will kick him down stairs, or run him through the body; that is if I really love my wife, or have a true rational notion of honour. An infidel then should not be treated handsomely by a Christian, merely because he endeavours to rob with ingenuity. I do declare, however, that I am exceedingly unwilling to be provoked to anger; and could I be persuaded that truth would not suffer from a cool moderation in its defenders, should wish to preserve good humour, at least in every controversy; nor, indeed, do I see why a man should lose his temper while I do all he can to refute an opponent. I think ridicule may be fairly used against an infidel for instance, if he be an ugly fellow, and yet absurdly vain of his person, we may contrast his appearance with Cicero's beautiful image of Virtue, could she be seen. Johnson coincided with me, and said, "When a man voluntarily engages in an important controversy, is to do all he can to lessen his antagonist because authority from personal respect is

¹ This tract appeared in 1752, and was republished in 1754. — WRIGHT.

much weight with most people, and often more than reasoning. If my antagonist writes bad language, though that may not be essential to the question, I will attack him for his bad language." ADAMS. "You would not jostle a chimney-sweeper." JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir, if it were necessary to jostle him down."

Dr. Adams told us, that in some of the colleges at Oxford, the fellows had excluded the students from social intercourse with them in the common room. JOHNSON. "They are in the right, Sir: there can be no real conversation, no fair exertion of mind amongst them, if the young men are by: for a man who has a character does not choose to stake it in their presence." BOSWELL. "But, Sir, may there not be very good conversation without a contest for superiority?" JOHNSON. "No animated conversation, Sir; for it cannot be but one or other will come off superior. I do not mean that the victor must have the better of the argument, for he may take the weak side; but his superiority of parts and knowledge will necessarily appear; and he to whom he thus shows himself superior is lessened in the eyes of the young men. You know it was said, '*Mallem cum Scaligero errare quam cum Clavio recte sapere.*' In the same manner take Bentley's and Jason de Nores'¹ Comments upon Horace, you will admire Bentley more when wrong, than Jason when right."

We walked with Dr. Adams into the master's garden, and into the common room. JOHNSON (after a reverie of meditation). "Ay! here I used to play at draughts with Phil. Jones and Fludyer.² Jones loved beer, and did not get very forward in the church. Fludyer turned out a scoundrel³, a whig, and said he was ashamed of having been bred at Oxford. He had a living at Putney; and got under the eye of some retainers to the court at that time, and so became a violent whig; but he had been a scoundrel all along, to be sure." BOSWELL. "Was he a scoundrel, Sir, in any other way than that of being a political scoundrel? Did he cheat at draughts?" JOHNSON. "Sir, we never played for money."

He then carried me to visit Dr. Bentham,

canon of Christ Church, and divinity professor, with whose learned and lively conversation we were much pleased. He gave us an invitation to dinner, which Dr. Johnson told me was a high honour. "Sir, it is a great thing to dine with the canons of Christ Church." We could not accept his invitation, as we were engaged to dine at University College. We had an excellent dinner there, with the masters and fellows, it being St. Cuthbert's day, which is kept by them as a festival, as he was a saint of Durham, with which this college is much connected.⁴

We drank tea with Dr. Horne, late President of Magdalen College and Bishop of Norwich, of whose abilities in different respects the public has had eminent proofs, and the esteem annexed to whose character was increased by knowing him personally. He had talked of publishing an edition of Walton's Lives, but had laid aside that design, upon Dr. Johnson's telling him, from mistake, that Lord Hailes intended to do it. I had wished to negotiate between Lord Hailes and him, that one or other should perform so good a work. JOHNSON. "In order to do it well, it will be necessary to collect all the editions of Walton's Lives. By way of adapting the book to the taste of the present age, they have, in a late edition, left out a vision which he relates Dr. Donne had, but it should be restored⁵; and there should be a critical catalogue given of the works of the different persons whose lives were written by Walton, and therefore their works must be carefully read by the editor."

We then went to Trinity College, where he introduced me to Mr. Thomas Warton, with whom we passed a part of the evening. We talked of biography. JOHNSON. "It is rarely well executed. They only who live with a man can write his life with any genuine exactness and discrimination; and few people who have lived with a man know what to remark about him. The chaplain of a late bishop⁶, whom I was to assist in writing some memoirs of his lordship, could tell me scarcely any thing."⁷

¹ A learned Cypriot, who, when the Turks took Cyprus in 1570, retired into Italy, where he published several Italian and Latin works; among the latter was a "Commentary on Horace's Art of Poetry." — CROKER.

² Fludyer entered within a month of Johnson's entrance. Jones must have been about a year their senior, having become M.A. March, 1734. — Hall. — CROKER.

³ See post, March 27. 1776, n. — C.

⁴ Dr. Fisher told me, in the conversation before mentioned, (*ante*, p. 458. n. 5.), that there were present at this dinner, Dr. Wetherell, Johnson, Boswell, Coulson, Scott, Gwyn, Dr. Chandler the traveller, and Fisher himself, then a young fellow of the College. He recollects one passage of the conversation at dinner. Boswell quoted *Quem Deus vult perdere, prius dementat*, and asked where it was. A pause. At last Dr. Chandler said, in Horace. Another pause. Then Fisher remarked that he knew of no metre in Horace to which the words could be reduced; and Johnson said dictatorially, "The young man is right." — See post, March 30. 1783. At another conversation, during, as Dr. Fisher thought, this visit to Oxford, there happened to be present a Mr. Mortimer, a shallow, under-bred man, who had no sense of

Johnson's superiority, and talked away a great deal of flippant nonsense; at last he flatly contradicted some assertion which Johnson had pronounced to be as clear as that two and two make four. "I deny it," replied the other vehemently, "I utterly deny it." "Sir," said Johnson, "if you deny that, I can only say that *plus in unâ horâ negabit unus asinus, quam centum philosophi in centum annis probaverint.*" I suspect, however, that this scene occurred at one of Johnson's later visits. — CROKER, 1846.

⁵ The vision which Johnson speaks of was not in the original publication of Walton's "Life of Dr. Donne," in 1640. It is not found in the three earliest editions; but was first introduced into the fourth, in 1765. I have not been able to discover what modern republication is alluded to in which it was omitted. It has very properly been restored by Dr. Zouch. — J. BOSWELL, jun.

⁶ The Bishop was Zachary Pearce, and the Chaplain, Mr. Derby. See post, sub May, 1777. — CROKER.

⁷ It has been mentioned to me by an accurate English friend, that Dr. Johnson could never have used the phrase *almost nothing*, as not being English; and therefore I have put another in its place. At the same time, I am not quite con-

I said, Mr. Robert Dodsley's life should be written, as he had been so much connected with the wits of his time, and by his literary merit had raised himself from the station of a footman. Mr. Warton said, he had published a little volume under the title of "The Muse in Livery." JOHNSON. "I doubt whether Dodsley's brother¹ would thank a man who should write his life; yet Dodsley himself was not unwilling that his original low condition should be recollected. When Lord Lyttelton's 'Dialogues of the Dead' came out, one of which is between Apicius, an ancient epicure, and Dartinéuf², a modern epicure, Dodsley said to me, 'I knew Dartinéuf well, for I was once his footman.'"

Biography led us to speak of Dr. John Campbell, who had written a considerable part of the "*Biographia Britannica*." JOHNSON, though he valued him highly, was of opinion that there was not so much in his great work, "A Political Survey of Great Britain," as the world had been taught to expect³; and had said to me that he believed Campbell's disappointment on account of the bad success of that work had killed him. He this evening observed of it, "That work was his death." Mr. Warton, not adverting to his meaning, answered, "I believe so, from the great attention he bestowed on it." JOHNSON. "Nay, Sir, he died of want of attention, if he died at all by that book."

We talked of a work much in vogue at that time, written in a very mellifluous style, but which, under pretext of another subject, contained much artful infidelity. I said it was not fair to attack us unexpectedly; he should have warned us of our danger, before we entered his garden of flowery eloquence, by advertising, "Spring-guns and men-traps set here." The author had been an Oxonian, and was remembered there for having "turned Papist." I observed, that as he had changed several times—from the church of England

to the church of Rome—from the church of Rome to infidelity,—I did not despair yet of seeing him a methodist preacher. JOHNSON (laughing). "It is said that his range has been more extensive, and that he has once been Mahometan. However, now that he has published his infidelity, he will probably persist in it."⁴ BOSWELL. "I am not quite sure of that, Sir."

I mentioned Sir Richard Steele having published his "Christian Hero," with the avowed purpose of obliging himself to lead a religious life; yet that his conduct was by no means strictly suitable. JOHNSON. "Steele, I believe, practised the lighter vices."

Mr. Warton, being engaged, could not sup with us at our inn; we had therefore another evening by ourselves. I asked JOHNSON whether a man's being forward to make himself known to eminent people⁵, and seeing as much of life, and getting as much information as he could in every way, was not yet lessening himself by his forwardness. JOHNSON. "No, Sir; a man always makes himself greater as he increases his knowledge."

I censured some ludicrous fantastic dialogues between two coach-horses, and other such stuff, which Baretti had lately published. He joined with me, and said, "Nothing odd will do long. 'Tristram Shandy' did not last." I expressed a desire to be acquainted with a lady who had been much talked of, and universally celebrated for extraordinary address and insinuation.⁶ JOHNSON. "Never believe extraordinary characters which you hear of people. Depend upon it, Sir, they are exaggerated. You do not see one man shoot a great deal higher than another." I mentioned Mr. Burke. JOHNSON. "Yes, Burke is an extraordinary man. His stream of mind is perpetual." I is very pleasing to me to record, that JOHNSON's high estimation of the talents of this gentleman was uniform from their early acquaintance. Sir Joshua Reynolds informs me, that when

vinced it is not good English. For the best writers use this phrase, "*little or nothing*," i.e. almost so little as to be nothing. — BOSWELL. Mr. Boswell's friend was surely hypercritical. — CROKER.

¹ James Dodsley, many years a bookseller in Pall Mall. He died 19 Feb. 1797, aged 74, and was buried in the church of St. James', Piccadilly, where there is a tablet erected to his memory. — P. CUNNINGHAM.

² This gentleman, whose proper name was Charles Dartinéuf (pronounced and commonly written Dartinéuf), is now only recollected as a celebrated epicure; but he was a man of wit, pleasure, and political importance at the beginning of the last century — the associate of Swift, Pope, Addison, and Steele — a contributor to the Tatler, and a member of the Kilt-Cat Club, of which collection his portrait is one of the best. He was Paymaster of the Board of Works, and Surveyor of the royal gardens; and died in 1737. It was suspected that he was a natural son of Charles the Second, by a foreign lady; and his physiognomy as well as his name evidences a foreign origin. — CROKER.

³ Yet surely it is a very useful work, and of wonderful research and labour for one man to have executed. — BOSWELL.

⁴ As there can be no doubt that Gibbon and his History are the author and the work here alluded to, I once thought that the sceptical tone of the celebrated 15th and 16th chapters might have prompted this sarcasm, but there is in them no particular allusion to Mahometanism, and I now

incline to believe, as was suggested by Mr. Macaulay in the *Edinburgh Review*, that it may have referred to some Oxford rumours of earlier infidelity. Gibbon, in his Memoirs, confesses that the erratic course of study, which finally led to his conversion to Popery, began at Oxford by a turn toward "oriental learning and an inclination to study Arabic." "His tutor," he adds, "discouraged this childish fancy." He complains, too, of the invidious whispers which were afterwards circulated in Oxford on the subject of his apostasy; and we may be certain that JOHNSON did not speak without meaning, some whisper of this early inclination to the language of the Koran may have reached JOHNSON, and occasioned this sarcasm. — CROKER, 1835.

⁵ This was one of Boswell's predominant passions: he was particularly in early life, fond of running after *notorieties* of all sorts. — CROKER.

⁶ Margaret Caroline Rudd, a woman who lived with one of the brothers Perreau, who were about this time executed (Jan. 17, 1776) for a forgery. Her fame "for extraordinary address and insinuation" was probably very unfounded; arose from this: she betrayed her accomplices; and they, in return, charged her with being the real author of the forgery and alleged that they were dupes and instruments in her hands; and, to support this allegation, they and their friends who were numerous and respectable, exaggerated, to the highest degree, Mrs. Rudd's supposed powers of address and fascination. See *post*, p. 518. n. 2. — CROKER.

Mr. Burke was first elected a member of parliament, and Sir John Hawkins expressed a wonder at his attaining a seat, Johnson said, "Now we, who know Mr. Burke, know that he will be one of the first men in the country." And once, when Johnson was ill, and unable to exert himself as much as usual without fatigue, Mr. Burke having been mentioned, he said, "That fellow calls forth all my powers. Were I to see Burke now it would kill me." So much was he accustomed to consider conversation as a contest, and such was his notion of Burke as an opponent.

Next morning, Thursday, 21st March, we set out in a post-chaise to pursue our ramble. It was a delightful day, and we rode through Blenheim park. When I looked at the magnificent bridge built by John Duke of Marlborough, over a small rivulet, and recollected the epigram made¹ upon it—

"The lofty arch his high ambition shows,
The stream an emblem of his bounty flows ;"

and saw that now, by the genius of Brown, a magnificent body of water was collected, I said, "They have *drowned* the epigram." I observed to him, while in the midst of the noble scene around us, "You and I, Sir, have, I think, seen together the extremes of what can be seen in Britain—the wild rough island of Mull, and Blenheim park."

We dined at an excellent inn at Chapel-house, where he expatiated on the felicity of England in its taverns and inns, and triumphed over the French for not having, in any perfection, the tavern life. "There is no private house," said he, "in which people can enjoy themselves so well as at a capital tavern. Let there be ever so great plenty of good things, ever so much grandeur, ever so much elegance, ever so much desire that every body should be easy ; in the nature of things it cannot be : there must always be some degree of care and anxiety. The master of the house is anxious to entertain his guests ; the guests are anxious to be agreeable to him ; and no man, but a very impudent dog indeed, can as freely command what is in another man's house, as if it were his own. Whereas, at a tavern, there is

a general freedom from anxiety. You are sure you are welcome : and the more noise you make, the more trouble you give, the more good things you call for, the welcomer you are. No servants will attend you with the alacrity which waiters do, who are incited by the prospect of an immediate reward in proportion as they please. No, Sir ; there is nothing which has yet been contrived by man, by which so much happiness is produced as by a good tavern or inn."² He then repeated, with great emotion, Shenstone's lines :

"Whoe'er has travell'd life's dull round,
Where'er his stages may have been,
May sigh to think he still has found
The warmest welcome at an inn."³

My illustrious friend, I thought, did not sufficiently admire Shenstone. That ingenious and elegant gentleman's opinion of Johnson appears in one of his letters to Mr. Graves, dated Feb. 9. 1760. "I have lately been reading one or two volumes of the Rambler ; who, excepting against some few hardnesses⁴ in his manner, and the want of more examples to enliven, is one of the most nervous, most perspicuous, most concise, most harmonious prose writers I know. A learned diction improves by time."

In the afternoon, as we were driving rapidly along in the post-chaise, he said to me, "Life has not many things better than this."⁵

We stopped at Stratford-upon-Avon, and drank tea and coffee ; and it pleased me to be with him upon the classic ground of Shakspeare's native place.

He spoke slightly of Dyer's "Fleece." "The subject, Sir, cannot be made poetical. How can a man write poetically of serges and druggets ? Yet you will hear many people talk to you gravely of that *excellent* poem, 'The Fleece.'"⁶ Having talked of Grainger's "Sugar Cane," I mentioned to him Mr. Langton's having told me, that this poem, when read in manuscript at Sir Joshua Reynolds's, had made all the assembled wits burst into a laugh, when, after much blank-verse pomp, the poet began a new paragraph thus :—

"Now, Muse, let's sing of rats."

"Whoe'er has travell'd life's dull round,
Whate'er his various tour has been,
May sigh to think how oft he found
His warmest welcome at an inn."—BOSWELL.

¹ "He too often makes use of the abstract for the concrete."—Shenstone.—BOSWELL.

² The truth is that Johnson's poverty had, till a late period of his life, kept him in ignorance of the luxury of a post-chaise, which he then enjoyed like a new taste. "He loved," says Mrs. Piozzi, "the very act of travelling, and I cannot tell how far one might have taken him in a carriage before he would have wished for refreshment. He was therefore in some respects an admirable companion on the road, as he piqued himself upon feeling no inconvenience, and on despising no accommodations. On the other hand, however, he expected no one else to feel any, and felt exceedingly inflamed with anger if any one complained of the rain, the sun, or the dust. 'How,' said he, 'do other people bear them ?'—CROKER.

¹ By Dr. Evans. — CROKER.

² Sir John Hawkins has preserved very few memorabilia of Johnson. There is, however, to be found in his bulky tome a very excellent one upon this subject. "In contradiction to those who, having a wife and children, prefer domestic enjoyments to those which a tavern affords, I have heard him assert, that a tavern chair was the throne of human felicity. 'As soon,' said he, 'as I enter the door of a tavern, I experience an oblivion of care, and a freedom from solicitude : when I am seated, I find the master courteous, and the servants obsequious to my call ; anxious to know and ready to supply my wants : wine there exhilarates my spirits, and prompts me to free conversation and an interchange of discourse with those whom I most love : I dogmatise and am contradicted, and in this conflict of opinion and sentiments I find delight.'"—BOSWELL.

³ We happened to lie this night at the inn at Henley, where Shenstone wrote these lines ; which I give as they are found in the corrected edition of his works, published after his death. In Dodsley's collection the stanza ran thus :—

And what increased the ridicule was, that one of the company, who slyly overlooked the reader, perceived that the word had been originally *mice*, and had been altered to *rats*, as more dignified.¹

This passage does not appear in the printed work, Dr. Grainger, or some of his friends, it should seem, having become sensible that introducing even *rats*, in a grave poem, might be liable to banter. He, however, could not bring himself to relinquish the idea; for they are thus, in a still more ludicrous manner, periphrastically exhibited in his poem as it now stands:—

“Nor with less waste the whisker'd vermin race,
A countless clan, despoil the lowland cane.”

Johnson said, that Dr. Grainger was an agreeable man; a man who would do any good that was in his power. His translation of Tibullus, he thought, was very well done; but “The Sugar Cane, a Poem,” did not please him²; for, he exclaimed, “What could he make of a sugar cane? One might as well write the ‘Parsley Bed, a Poem;’ or ‘The Cabbage Garden, a Poem.’” BOSWELL. “You must then *pickle* your cabbage with the *sal atticum*.” JOHNSON. “You know there is already ‘The Hop Garden, a Poem;’³ and I think, one could say a great deal about cabbage. The poem might begin with the advantages of civilised society over the rude state, exemplified by the Scotch, who had no cabbages till Oliver Cromwell’s soldiers introduced them; and one might thus show how arts are propagated by conquest, as they were by the Roman arms.” He seemed to be much delighted with the fertility of his own fancy.

I told him, that I heard Dr. Percy was writing the history of the wolf in Great Britain. JOHNSON. “The wolf, Sir; why the wolf? Why does he not write of the bear, which we had formerly? Nay, it is said that we had the beaver. Or why does he not write of the gray rat, the Hanover rat, as it is called, because it is said to have come into this country about the time that the family of Hanover came? I should like to see ‘*The History of the Gray Rat, by Thomas Percy, D.D., Chaplain in Ordinary to His Majesty*’” (laughing immoderately). BOSWELL. “I am afraid a

court chaplain could not decently write of the gray rat.” JOHNSON. “Sir, he need not give it the name of the Hanover rat.” Thus could he indulge a luxuriant sportive imagination, when talking of a friend whom he loved and esteemed.⁴

He mentioned to me the singular history of an ingenious acquaintance. “He had practised physic in various situations with no great emolument. A West India gentleman, whom he delighted by his conversation, gave him a bond for a handsome annuity during his life, on the condition of his accompanying him to the West Indies, and living with him there for two years. He accordingly embarked with the gentleman; but upon the voyage fell in love with a young woman who happened to be one of the passengers, and married the wench. From the imprudence of his disposition he quarrelled with the gentleman, and declared he would have no connexion with him. So he forfeited the annuity. He settled as a physician in one of the Leeward Islands. A man was sent out to him merely to compound his medicines. This fellow set up as a rival to him in his practice of physic, and got so much the better of him in the opinion of the people of the island, that he carried away all the business, upon which he returned to England, and soon after died.”

On Friday, 22d March, having set out early from Henley [in Arden], where we had lain the preceding night, we arrived at Birmingham about nine o’clock, and after breakfast went to call on his old schoolfellow, Mr. Hector. A very stupid maid, who opened the door, told us that “her master was gone out; he was gone to the country; she could not tell when he would return.” In short, she gave us a miserable reception; and Johnson observed, “She would have behaved no better to people who wanted him in the way of his profession.” He said to her, “My name is Johnson; tell him I called. Will you remember the name?” She answered with rustic simplicity, in the Warwickshire pronunciation, “I don’t understand you, Sir.” “Blockhead,” said he, “I’ll write.” I never heard the word *blockhead* applied to a woman before, though I do not see why it should not, when there is evident occasion for it.⁵ He, however, made another attempt to

¹ Such is this little laughable incident, which has been often related. Dr. Percy, the Bishop of Dromore, who was an intimate friend of Dr. Grainger, and has a particular regard for his memory, has communicated to me the following explanation:—

“The passage in question was originally not liable to such a perversion: for the author having occasion in that part of his work to mention the havoc made by rats and mice, had introduced the subject in a kind of mock-heroic, and a parody of Homer’s *Battle of the Frogs and Mice*, invoking the muse of the old Grecian bard in an elegant and well-turned manner. In that state I had seen it; but afterwards, unknown to me and other friends, he had been persuaded, contrary to his own better judgment, to alter it, so as to produce the unlucky effect above mentioned.”

The above was written by the Bishop when he had not the poem itself to recur to: and though the account given was true of it at one period, yet, as Dr. Grainger afterwards altered the passage in question, the remarks in the text do

not now apply to the printed poem. The Bishop gives this character of Dr. Grainger:—“He was not only a man of genius and learning, but had many excellent virtues; being one of the most generous, friendly, and benevolent men I ever knew.” Dr. Johnson said to me, “Percy, Sir, was angry with me for laughing at the Sugar Cane: for he had a mind to make a great thing of Grainger’s rats.”—BOSWELL.

² Yet Dr. Johnson sent a very friendly review of the “*Sugar Cane*” to the *London Chronicle* of July 5, 1764.—CHALMERS.

³ This was “*The Hop Garden, a Georgic in two Books*,” written by Johnson’s friend, Christopher Smart. Thirty years later, Dr. Bookser published a poem with the same unpropitious title.—CROKER, 1846.

⁴ This is a good-natured salvo, introduced by Boswell to excuse himself to Bishop Percy for relating this anecdote but there is abundant evidence that Johnson, for some untold reason, had taken a dislike to Percy.—CROKER.

⁵ My worthy friend Mr. Langton, to whom I am under

make her understand him, and roared loud in her ear, "*Johnson*," and then she caught the sound.

We next called on Mr. Lloyd, one of the people called quakers. He too was not at home, but Mrs. Lloyd was, and received us courteously, and asked us to dinner. Johnson said to me, "After the uncertainty of all human things at Hector's, this invitation came very well." We walked about the town, and he was pleased to see it increasing.

I talked of legitimization by subsequent marriage, which obtained in the Roman law, and still obtains in the law of Scotland. JOHNSON. "I think it a bad thing, because the chastity of women being of the utmost importance, as all property depends upon it, they who forfeit it should not have any possibility of being restored to good character; nor should the children, by an illicit connection, attain the full right of lawful children, by the posterior consent of the offending parties." His opinion upon this subject deserves consideration. Upon his principle there may at times be a hardship, and seemingly a strange one, upon individuals; but the general good of society is better secured. And, after all, it is unreasonable in an individual to repine that he has not the advantage of a state which is made different from his own, by the social institution under which he is born. A woman does not complain that her brother who is younger than her gets their common father's estate. Why then should a natural son complain that a younger brother, by the same parents lawfully begotten, gets it? The operation of law is similar in both cases. Besides, an illegitimate son, who has a younger legitimate brother by the same father and mother, has no stronger claim to the father's estate, than if that legitimate brother had only the same father, from whom alone the estate descends.

Mr. Lloyd joined us in the street; and in a little while we met *friend Hector*, as Mr. Lloyd called him. It gave me pleasure to observe the joy which Johnson and he expressed on seeing each other again. Mr. Lloyd and I left them together, while he obligingly showed me some of the manufactures of this very curious assemblage of artificers. We all met at dinner at Mr. Lloyd's, where we were entertained with great hospitality. Mr. and Mrs. Lloyd had been married the same year with their majesties, and, like them, had been blessed with a numerous family of fine children, their numbers being exactly the same. John-

son said, "Marriage is the best state for man in general; and every man is a worse man, in proportion as he is unfit for the married state."

I have always loved the simplicity of manners, and the spiritual-mindedness, of the quakers; and talking with Mr. Lloyd, I observed, that the essential part of religion was piety, a devout intercourse with the Divinity; and that many a man was a quaker without knowing it.

As Dr. Johnson had said to me in the morning, while we walked together, that he liked individuals among the quakers, but not the sect; when we were at Mr. Lloyd's, I kept clear of introducing any questions concerning the peculiarities of their faith. But I having asked to look at Baskerville's edition of "*Barclay's Apology*," Johnson laid hold of it; and the chapter on baptism happening to open, Johnson remarked, "He says there is neither precept nor practice for baptism in the scriptures; that is false." Here he was the aggressor, by no means in a gentle manner; and the good quakers had the advantage of him; for he had read negligently, and had not observed that Barclay speaks of *infant baptism*; which they calmly made him perceive. Mr. Lloyd, however, was in a great mistake; for when insisting that the rite of baptism by water was to cease, when the *spiritual* administration of Christ began, he maintained that John the Baptist said, "*My baptism shall decrease, but his shall increase*." Whereas the words are, "*He must increase, but I must decrease*." [John iii. 30.]

One of them having objected to the "observance of days, and months, and years," Johnson answered, "The church does not superstitiously observe days, merely as days, but as memorials of important facts. Christmas might be kept as well upon one day of the year as another; but there should be a stated day for commemorating the birth of our Saviour, because there is danger that what may be done on any day will be neglected."

He said to me at another time, "Sir, the holidays observed by our church are of great use in religion." There can be no doubt of this in a limited sense, I mean if the number of such consecrated portions of time be not too extensive. The excellent Mr. Nelson's "*Festivals and Fasts*," which has, I understand, the greatest sale of any book ever printed in England, except the Bible, is a most valuable help to devotion: and in addition to it I would recommend two sermons on the same subject,

innumerable obligations in the course of my Johnsonian History, has furnished me with a droll illustration of this question. An honest carpenter, after giving some anecdote, in his presence, of the ill treatment which he had received from a clergyman's wife, who was a noted ternagant, and whom he accused of unjust dealing in some transaction with him, added, "I took care to let her know what I thought of her." And being asked, "What did you say?" answered, "I told her she was a *scoundrel*."—BOSWELL.

¹ Is it not surprising and disgraceful that in a civilised empire like ours, so important a principle as the state of

marriage, which is the foundation of our whole civil constitution, should be to this hour vague, obscure, and contradictory? One law for England—a different one, or rather none at all, for Ireland—and for Scotland the monstrous doctrine mentioned in the text. It is to be hoped that Mr. Peel, who has done so much towards rationalising our law on other subjects, will see the necessity of doing something similar on this most important one.—CROKER, 1831. In 1846 the same disgraceful anomaly still exists, with the super-addition of a new form of marriage as a civil contract before a registrar.—CROKER, 1846.

by Mr. Pott¹, Archdeacon of St. Alban's, equally distinguished for piety and elegance. I am sorry to have it to say, that Scotland is the only Christian country, catholic or protestant, where the great events of our religion are not solemnly commemorated by its ecclesiastical establishment, on days set apart for the purpose.

Mr. Hector was so good as to accompany me to see the great works of Mr. Boulton, at a place which he has called Soho, about two miles from Birmingham, which the very ingenious proprietor showed me himself to the best advantage. I wished Johnson had been with us: for it was a scene which I should have been glad to contemplate by his light. The vastness and the contrivance of some of the machinery would have "matched his mighty mind." I shall never forget Mr. Boulton's expression to me, "I sell here, Sir, what all the world desires to have — POWER." He had about seven hundred people at work. I contemplated him as an *iron chieftain*, and he seemed to be a father to his tribe. One of them came to him, complaining grievously of his landlord for having distrained his goods. "Your landlord is in the right, Smith (said Boulton). But I'll tell you what: find you a friend who will lay down one half of your rent, and I'll lay down the other half; and you shall have your goods again."

From Mr. Hector I now learnt many particulars of Dr. Johnson's early life, which, with others that he gave me at different times since, have contributed to the formation of this work.

Dr. Johnson said to me in the morning, "You will see, Sir, at Mr. Hector's, his sister, Mrs. Careless², a clergyman's widow. She was the first woman with whom I was in love. It dropped out of my head imperceptibly; but she and I shall always have a kindness for each other." He laughed at the notion that a man can never be really in love but once, and considered it as a mere romantic fancy.

On our return from Mr. Boulton's, Mr. Hector took me to his house, where we found Johnson sitting placidly at tea, with his *first love*; who, though now advanced in years, was a genteel woman, very agreeable and well-bred.

Johnson lamented to Mr. Hector the state of one of their schoolfellows, Mr. Charles Congreve, a clergyman, which he thus described: "He obtained, I believe, considerable preferment in Ireland, but now lives in London, quite as a valetudinarian, afraid to go into any house but his own. He takes a short airing in his post-chaise every day. He has an elderly woman, whom he calls cousin, who lives with

him, and jogs his elbow when his glass has stood too long empty, and encourages him in drinking, in which he is very willing to be encouraged; not that he gets drunk, for he is a very pious man, but he is always muddy. He confesses to one bottle of port every day, and he probably drinks more. He is quite unsocial; his conversation is quite monosyllabical; and when, at my last visit, I asked him what o'clock it was? that signal of my departure had so pleasing an effect on him, that he sprang up to look at his watch, like a greyhound bounding at a hare." When Johnson took leave of Mr. Hector, he said, "Don't grow like Congreve; nor let me grow like him, when you are near me."

When he again talked of Mrs. Careless tonight, he seemed to have his affection revived; for he said, "If I had married her, it might have been as happy for me." BOSWELL. "Pray, Sir, do you not suppose that there are fifty women in the world, with any one of whom a man may be as happy, as with any one woman in particular?" JOHNSON. "Ay, Sir, fifty thousand." BOSWELL. "Then, Sir, you are not of opinion with some who imagine that certain men and certain women are made for each other; and that they cannot be happy if they miss their counterparts." JOHNSON. "To be sure not, Sir. I believe marriages would in general be as happy, and often more so, if they were all made by the lord chancellor, upon a due consideration of the characters and circumstances, without the parties having any choice in the matter."³

I wished to have staid at Birmingham tonight, to have talked more with Mr. Hector; but my friend was impatient to reach his native city; so we drove on that stage in the dark, and were long pensive and silent. When we came within the focus of the Lichfield lamps, "Now," said he, "we are getting out of a state of death." We put up at the Three Crowns, not one of the great inns, but a good old-fashioned one, which was kept by Mr. Wilkins, and was the very next house to that in which Johnson was born and brought up, and which was still his own property.⁴ We had a comfortable supper, and got into high spirits. I felt all my toriyism glow in this old capital of Staffordshire. I could have offered incense *genio loci*; and I indulged in libations of that ale, which Boniface, in "The Beaux Stragem," recommends with such an eloquent jollity.

Next morning he introduced me to Mrs. Lucy Porter, his step-daughter. She was now an old maid, with much simplicity of manner. She had never been in London. Her brother

¹ The Rev. Joseph Holden Pott, afterwards Archdeacon of London, Vicar of Kensington (which he resigned in 1843), and Chancellor of Exeter. As this sheet is passing through the press I learn the death of my venerable friend on the 17th Feb. 1847, æt. 88. — CROKER, 1847.

² See *anté*, p. 458. — C.

³ See *anté*, p. 212. — C.

⁴ I went through the house where my illustrious friend was born, with a reverence with which it doubtless will long be visited. An engraved view of it, with the adjacent buildings, is in the "Gentleman's Magazine" for February 1785. — BOSWELL.



View of the Cathedral of Amiens

21. North Place of Amiens

a captain in the navy, had left her a fortune of ten thousand pounds; about a third of which she had laid out in building a stately house, and making a handsome garden, in an elevated situation in Lichfield. Johnson, when here by himself, used to live at her house. She revered him, and he had a parental tenderness for her.

We then visited Mr. Peter Garrick, who had that morning received a letter from his brother David, announcing our coming to Lichfield. He was engaged to dinner, but asked us to tea, and to sleep at his house. Johnson, however, would not quit his old acquaintance Wilkins of the Three Crowns. The family likeness of the Garricks was very striking; and Johnson thought that David's vivacity was not so peculiar to himself as was supposed. "Sir," said he, "I don't know but, if Peter had cultivated all the arts of gaiety as much as David has done, he might have been as brisk and lively. Depend upon it, Sir, vivacity is much an art, and depends greatly on habit."¹ I believe there is a good deal of truth in this, notwithstanding a ludicrous story told me by a lady abroad, of a heavy German baron, who had lived much with the young English at Geneva, and was ambitious to be as lively as they; with which view, he, with assiduous exertion, was jumping over the tables and chairs in his lodgings; and when the people of the house ran in and asked, with surprise, what was the matter, he answered, "*Sh' apprens l'être fif.*"

We dined at our inn, and had with us a Mr. Jackson², one of Johnson's schoolfellows, whom he treated with much kindness, though he seemed to be a low man, dull and untaught. He had a coarse gray coat, black waistcoat, greasy leather breeches, and a yellow uncurled wig; and his countenance had the ruddiness which betokens one who is in no haste to "leave his can." He drank only ale. He had tried to be a cutler at Birmingham, but had not succeeded; and now he lived poorly at home, and had some scheme of dressing leather in a better manner than common; to his indistinct account of which, Dr. Johnson listened with patient attention, that he might assist him with his advice. Here was an instance of genuine humanity and real kindness in this great man, who has been most unjustly represented as altogether harsh and destitute of

tenderness. A thousand such instances might have been recorded in the course of his long life; though that his temper was warm and hasty, and his manner often rough, cannot be denied.

I saw here, for the first time, *oat ale*; and oat-cakes, not hard as in Scotland, but soft like a Yorkshire cake, were served at breakfast. It was pleasant to me to find, that "*oats*," the "*food of horses*," were so much used as the *food of the people* in Dr. Johnson's own town. He expatiated in praise of Lichfield and its inhabitants, who, he said, were "the most sober, decent people in England, the genteel in proportion to their wealth, and spoke the purest English." I doubted as to the last article of this eulogy; for they had several provincial sounds; as, *there*, pronounced like *fear*, instead of like *fair*; *once* pronounced *woonse*, instead of *wunse* or *wonse*. Johnson himself never got entirely free of those provincial accents. Garrick sometimes used to take him off, squeezing a lemon into a punch-bowl, with uncouth gesticulations, looking round the company, and calling out, "*Who's for poonsh?*"³

Very little business appeared to be going forward in Lichfield. I found, however, two strange manufactures for so inland a place, sail-cloth and streamers for ships; and I observed them making some saddle-cloths, and dressing sheep-skins; but upon the whole, the busy hand of industry seemed to be quite slackened. "Surely, Sir," said I, "you are an idle set of people." "Sir," said Johnson, "we are a city of philosophers; we work with our heads, and make the boobies of Birmingham work for us with their hands." There was at this time a company of players performing at Lichfield. The manager, Mr. Stanton, sent his compliments, and begged leave to wait on Dr. Johnson. Johnson received him very courteously, and he drank a glass of wine with us. He was a plain, decent, well-behaved man, and expressed his gratitude to Dr. Johnson for having once got him permission from Dr. Taylor at Ashbourne to play there upon moderate terms. Garrick's name was soon introduced. JOHNSON. "Garrick's conversation is gay and grotesque. It is a dish of all sorts, but all good things. There is no solid meat in it: there is a want of sentiment in it.

¹ It appears that quite a contrary conclusion might be drawn from the premises; for the liveliness of the Garrick family was obviously natural and hereditary, and (except perhaps in degree) independent of art or habit. The family (whose name was properly *Garrigue*) was of French extraction, and they seem to have preserved the vivacity of their original blood. — CROKER.

² This person's name was Henry. See *post*, Sept. I. 1777. The "scheme for dressing leather" renders it probable that he was the son of the Thomas Jackson mentioned *ante*, p. 6., by Mr. Boswell as a *servant*, and by Mrs. Piozzi as a *workman* (more probably a kind of a *partner*) of old Mr. Johnson's, about the time when the failure of some scheme for *dressing leather* or parchment accelerated his bankruptcy. — CROKER.

³ Garrick himself, like the Lichfieldians, always said, *shuprcme, shuperior*. — BURNEY. This is still the vulgar pro-

nunciation of Ireland, where the pronunciation of the English language by those who have not expatriated is doubtless that which generally prevailed in England in the time of Queen Elizabeth. — MALONE. "*Shuprcme*" and "*shuperior*" are obsolete; yet every one says "*shure*" and "*shuger*" for "*sure*" and "*sugar*." I hardly know what Mr. Malone meant by "*not expatriated*." — I suppose, those who had not visited England. No doubt the English settlers carried over, and may have in some cases preserved, the English idiom and accent of their day. Bishop Kearny, as well as his friend, Mr. Malone, thought that the most remarkable peculiarity of Irish pronunciation, as in *say for sea, tay for tea*, was the English mode even down to the reign of Queen Anne, and there are rhymes in Pope, and more frequently in Dryden, that countenance that opinion; but rhymes cannot be depended upon for minute identity of sound. — CROKER, 1830—1847.

Not but that he has sentiment sometimes, and sentiment too very powerful and very pleasing: but it has not its full proportion in his conversation."

When we were by ourselves he told me, "Forty years ago, Sir, I was in love with an actress here, Mrs. Emmet, who acted Flora, in 'Hob in the Well.'" What merit this lady had as an actress, or what was her figure, or her manner, I have not been informed; but, if we may believe Mr. Garrick, his old master's taste in theatrical merit was by no means refined; he was not an *elegans formarum spectator*.¹ Garrick used to tell, that Johnson said of an actor, who played Sir Harry Wildair at Lichfield, "There is a courtly vivacity about the fellow;" when, in fact, according to Garrick's account, "he was the most vulgar ruffian that ever went upon boards."

We had promised Mr. Stanton to be at his theatre on Monday. Dr. Johnson jocularly proposed to me to write a prologue for the occasion: "A Prologue, by James Boswell, Esqr., from the Hebrides." I was really inclined to take the hint. Methought, "Prologue, spoken before Dr. Samuel Johnson, at Lichfield, 1776," would have sounded as well as "Prologue, spoken before the Duke of York at Oxford," in Charles the Second's time. Much might have been said of what Lichfield had done for Shakspeare, by producing Johnson and Garrick. But I found he was averse to it.

We went and viewed the museum of Mr. Richard Green, apothecary here, who told me he was proud of being a relation of Dr. Johnson's. It was, truly, a wonderful collection, both of antiquities and natural curiosities, and ingenious works of art. He had all the articles accurately arranged, with their names upon labels, printed at his own little press; and on the staircase leading to it was a board, with the names of contributors marked in gold letters. A printed catalogue of the collection was to be had at a bookseller's. Johnson expressed his admiration of the activity and diligence and good fortune of Mr. Green, in getting together, in his situation, so great a variety of things; and Mr. Green told me that Johnson once said to him, "Sir, I should as soon have thought of building a man-of-war, as of collecting such a museum." Mr. Green's obliging alacrity in showing it was very pleasing. His engraved portrait, with which he has favoured me, has a motto truly characteristic of his disposition, "*Nemo sibi vivat*."

A physician being mentioned who had lost his practice, because his whimsically changing his religion had made people distrustful of

him, I maintained that this was unreasonable, as religion is unconnected with medical skill. JOHNSON. "Sir, it is not unreasonable; for when people see a man absurd in what they understand, they may conclude the same of him in what they do not understand. If a physician were to take to eating of horseflesh, nobody would employ him; though one may eat horseflesh, and be a very skilful physician. If a man were educated in an absurd religion, his continuing to profess it would not hurt him, though his changing to it would."²

We drank tea and coffee at Mr. Peter Garrick's, where was Mrs. Aston, one of the maiden sisters of Mrs. Walmsley, wife of Johnson's first friend, and sister also of the lady of whom Johnson used to speak with the warmest admiration, by the name of Molly Aston, who was afterwards married to Captain Brodie of the navy.

CHAPTER LIV.

1776.

Lichfield. — Peter Garrick. — Death of Mr. Thrale's only Son. — Shakspeare's Mulberry-tree. — Lord Bute. — Marriage. — Questioning. — Sir Fletcher Norton. — Ashbourne. — Dr. Taylor. — "Old Men putting themselves to nurse." — "Il Palmerino d'Inghilterra." — Ingratitude. — Mr. Wedderburne. — "Marrying for Love." — Dr. James. — Melancholy. — Captain Cook. — Omai. — Character of a Soldier. — Good Humour of ancient Philosophers. — Public Schools. — English Universities. — Libels on the Dead.

On Sunday, March 24., we breakfasted with Mrs. Cobb, a widow lady, who lived at an agreeable sequestered place close by the town, called the Friary, it having been formerly a religious house. She and her niece, Miss Adey, were great admirers of Dr. Johnson; and he behaved to them with a kindness and easy pleasantry, such as we see between old and intimate acquaintance. He accompanied Mrs. Cobb to St. Mary's Church, and I went to the cathedral, where I was very much delighted with the music, finding it to be peculiarly solemn, and accordant with the words of the service.

We dined at Mr. Peter Garrick's, who was in a very lively humour, and verified Johnson's saying, that if he had cultivated gaiety as much as his brother David, he might have equally

¹ A nice observer of the female form.
Terence, Eun. iii. 5. — C.

² Fothergill, a quaker, and Schomberg, a Jew, had the greatest practice of any two physicians of their time. — BURNET. Mr. D'Israeli thinks it possible, that Ralph Schomberg (the second son of Dr. Meyer Schomberg, the person

mentioned by Dr. Burney) was the person alluded to in the text: but Ralph Schomberg was driven from practice and out of society, for some dishonest tampering with the funds of an hospital, with which he was connected. But I do not think that any of these was meant; but more probably some provincial physician. — CROKER.

excelled in it. He was to-day quite a London narrator, telling us a variety of anecdotes with that earnestness and attempt at mimicry which we usually find in the wits of the metropolis. Dr. Johnson went with me to the cathedral in the afternoon. It was grand and pleasing to contemplate this illustrious writer, now full of fame, worshipping in "the solemn temple" of his native city.

I returned to tea and coffee at Mr. Peter Garriek's, and then found Dr. Johnson at the Reverend Mr. Seward's, canon residentiary, who inhabited the bishop's palace, in which Mr. Walmesley lived, and which had been the scene of many happy hours in Johnson's early life. Mr. Seward had, with ecclesiastical hospitality and politeness, asked me in the morning, merely as a stranger, to dine with him; and in the afternoon, when I was introduced to him, he asked Dr. Johnson and me to spend the evening, and sup with him. He was a genteel, well-bred, dignified clergyman, had travelled with Lord Charles Fitzroy, uncle of the present Duke of Grafton, who died when abroad, and he had lived much in the great world. He was an ingenious and literary man, had published an edition of Beaumont and Fletcher, and written verses in Dodsley's collection. His lady was the daughter of Mr. Hunter, Johnson's first schoolmaster. And now, for the first time, I had the pleasure of seeing his celebrated daughter, Miss Anna Seward, to whom I have since been indebted for many civilities, as well as some obliging communications concerning Johnson.

Mr. Seward mentioned to us the observations which he had made upon the strata of earth in volcanos; from which it appeared, that they were so very different in depth at different periods, that no calculation whatever could be made as to the time required for their formation. This fully refuted an anti-mosaical remark introduced into Captain Brydone's entertaining tour¹, I hope heedlessly, from a kind of vanity which is too common in those who have not sufficiently studied the most important of all subjects. Dr. Johnson, indeed, had said before, independent of this observation, "Shall all the accumulated evidence of the history of the world — shall the authority of what is unquestionably the most ancient writing, be overturned by an uncertain remark such as this?"

On Monday, March 25, we breakfasted at Mrs. Lucy Porter's. Johnson had sent an express to Dr. Taylor's, acquainting him of our being at Lichfield, and Taylor had returned an answer that his post-chaise should come for us this day. While we sat at breakfast, Dr. Johnson received a letter by the post, which seemed to agitate him very much. When he had read it, he exclaimed, "One of the most dreadful

things that has happened in my time." The phrase *my time*, like the word *age*, is usually understood to refer to an event of a public or general nature. I imagined something like an assassination of the king — like a gunpowder plot carried into execution — or like another fire of London. When asked, "What is it, Sir?" he answered, "Mr. Thrale has lost his only son!"² This was, no doubt, a very great affliction to Mr. and Mrs. Thrale, which their friends would consider accordingly; but from the manner in which the intelligence of it was communicated by Johnson, it appeared for the moment to be comparatively small. I, however, soon felt a sincere concern, and was curious to observe how Dr. Johnson would be affected. He said, "This is a total extinction to their family, as much as if they were sold into captivity." Upon my mentioning that Mr. Thrale had daughters, who might inherit his wealth: "Daughters!" said Johnson, warmly, "he'll no more value his daughters than —" I was going to speak. "Sir," said he, "don't you know how you yourself think? Sir, he wishes to propagate his name." In short, I saw male succession strong in his mind, even where there was no name, no family of any long standing. I said, it was lucky he was not present when this misfortune happened. JOHNSON. "It is lucky for *me*. People in distress never think you feel enough." BOSWELL. "And, Sir, they will have the hope of seeing you, which will be a relief in the mean time; and when you get to them, the pain will be so far abated, that they will be capable of being consoled by you, which, in the first violence of it, I believe, would not be the case." JOHNSON. "No, Sir; violent pain of mind, like violent pain of body, *must* be severely felt." BOSWELL. "I own, Sir, I have not so much feeling for the distress of others, as some people have, or pretend to have: but I know this, that I would do all in my power to relieve them." JOHNSON. "Sir, it is affectation to pretend to feel the distress of others as much as they do themselves. It is equally so, as if one should pretend to feel as much pain while a friend's leg is cutting off, as he does. No, Sir; you have expressed the rational and just nature of sympathy. I would have gone to the extremity of the earth to have preserved this boy."

He was soon quite calm. The letter was from Mr. Thrale's clerk, and concluded, "I need not say how much they wish to see you in London." He said, "We shall hasten back from Taylor's."

Mrs. Lucy Porter and some other ladies of the place talked a great deal of him when he was out of the room, not only with veneration, but affection. It pleased me to find that he was so much *beloved* in his native city.

¹ In Sicily and Malta. The remark was that the strata of lava from Mount Etna exhibited a series going back beyond the Mosaical date of the Creation. — CROKER.

² He died *suddenly* before his father's door in the Borough,

23d March, 1776. There seems to have been in the Thrale family a tendency to disease of the head. Mr. Thrale himself died of apoplexy, and several of his children appear to have died of hydrocephalus. — CROKER, 1847.

Mrs. Aston, whom I had seen the preceding night, and her sister, Mrs. Gastrel, a widow lady, had each a house, a garden, and pleasure-ground, prettily situated upon Stowhill, a gentle eminence adjoining to Lichfield. Johnson walked away to dinner there, leaving me by myself without any apology. I wondered at this want of that facility of manners, from which a man has no difficulty in carrying a friend to a house where he is intimate; I felt it very unpleasant to be thus left in solitude in a country town, where I was an entire stranger, and began to think myself unkindly deserted; but I was soon relieved, and convinced that my friend, instead of being deficient in delicacy, had conducted the matter with perfect propriety, for I received the following note in his handwriting:—

“Mrs. Gastrel, at the lower house on Stowhill, desires Mr. Boswell's company to dinner at two.”

I accepted of the invitation, and had here another proof how amiable his character was in the opinion of those who knew him best. I was not informed, till afterwards, that Mrs. Gastrel's husband was the clergyman who, while he lived at Stratford-upon-Avon, where he was proprietor of Shakspeare's garden, with Gothic barbarity cut down his mulberry-tree¹, and, as Dr. Johnson told me, did it to vex his neighbours. His lady, I have reason to believe, on the same authority, participated in the guilt of what the enthusiasts of our immortal bard deem almost a species of sacrilege.

After dinner Dr. Johnson wrote a letter to Mrs. Thrale on the death of her son:—

[JOHNSON TO MRS. THRALE.

“Lichfield, March 25. 1776.

“DEAR MADAM,—This letter will not, I hope, reach you many days before me; in a distress which can be so little relieved, nothing remains for a friend but to come and partake it.

“Poor, dear, sweet little boy! When I read the letter this day to Mrs. Aston, she said, ‘Such a death is the next to translation.’ Yet, however I may convince myself of this, the tears are in my eyes; and yet I could not love him as you loved him, nor reckon upon him for a future comfort as you and his father reckoned upon him.

“He is gone, and we are going! We could not have enjoyed him long, and shall not long be separated from him. He has probably escaped many such pangs as you are now feeling.

“Nothing remains, but that with humble confidence we resign ourselves to Almighty Goodness, and fall down, without irreverent murmurs, before the Sovereign Distributor of Good and Evil, with hope that though sorrow endureth for a night, yet joy may come in the morning.

“I have known you, Madam, too long to think that you want any arguments for submission to the

Supreme Will; nor can my consolation have any effect, but that of showing that I wish to comfort you. What can be done you must do for yourself. Remember, first, that your child is happy; and then, that he is safe, not only from the ills of this world, but from those more formidable dangers which extend their mischief to eternity. You have brought into the world a rational being; have seen him happy during the little life that has been granted to him; and can have no doubt but that his happiness is now.

“When you have obtained by prayer such tranquillity as nature will admit, force your attention, as you can, upon your accustomed duties and accustomed entertainments. You can do no more for our dear boy, but you must not therefore think less on those whom your attention may make fitter for the place to which he is gone. I am, dearest, dearest Madam, your most affectionate humble servant,
SAM. JOHNSON.”]

—Letters.

I said this loss would be very distressing to Thrale, but she would soon forget it, as she had so many things to think of. JOHNSON. “No, Sir, Thrale will forget it first. She has many things that she *may* think of. He has many things that he *must* think of.” This was a very just remark upon the different effects of those light pursuits which occupy a vacant and easy mind, and those serious engagements which arrest attention, and keep us from brooding over grief.

He observed of Lord Bute, “It was said of Augustus, that it would have been better for Rome that he had never been born, or had never died. So it would have been better for this nation if Lord Bute had never been minister, or had never resigned.”

In the evening we went to the Town-hall, which was converted into a temporary theatre, and saw “Theodosius,” with “The Stratford Jubilee.” I was happy to see Dr. Johnson sitting in a conspicuous part of the pit, and receiving affectionate homage from all his acquaintance. We were quite gay and merry. I afterwards mentioned to him that I condemned myself for being so, when poor Mr. and Mrs. Thrale were in such distress. JOHNSON. “You are wrong, Sir; twenty years hence Mr. and Mrs. Thrale will not suffer much pain from the death of their son. Now, Sir, you are to consider, that distance of place, as well as distance of time, operates upon the human feelings. I would not have you be gay in the presence of the distressed, because it would shock them; but you may be gay at a distance. Pain for the loss of a friend, or of a relation, whom we love, is occasioned by the want which we feel. In time the vacuity is filled with something else; or sometimes the vacuity closes up of itself.”

Mr. Seward and Mr. Pearson², another

¹ See an accurate and animated statement of Mr. Gastrel's barbarity, by Mr. Malone, in a note on “Some Account of the Life of William Shakspeare,” prefixed to his admirable edition of that poet's works, vol. i. p. 118.—BOSWELL.

² This was the gentleman whose lady inherited Miss Porter's property, and has contributed so many of her manuscripts to my edition. It was to him that Miss Porter addressed, in the presence of Dr. Johnson, that two-edged

clergyman here, supped with us at our inn, and after they left us, we sat up late, as we used to do in London.

Here I shall record some fragments of my friend's conversation during this jaunt.

“Marriage, Sir, is much more necessary to a man than to a woman: for he is much less able to supply himself with domestic comforts. You will recollect my saying to some ladies the other day, that I had often wondered why young women should marry, as they have so much more freedom, and so much more attention paid to them, while unmarried, than when married. I indeed did not mention the *strong* reason for their marrying — the *mechanical* reason.” BOSWELL. “Why, that is a strong one. But does not imagination make it much more important than it is in reality? Is it not, to a certain degree, a delusion in us as well as in women?” JOHNSON. “Why yes, Sir; but it is a delusion that is always beginning again.” BOSWELL. “I don't know but there is upon the whole more misery than happiness produced by that passion.” JOHNSON. “I don't think so, Sir.”

“Never speak of a man in his own presence. It is always indelicate, and may be offensive.”

“Questioning is not the mode of conversation among gentlemen. It is assuming a superiority¹, and it is particularly wrong to question a man concerning himself. There may be parts of his former life which he may not wish to be made known to other persons, or even brought to his own recollection.”

“A man should be careful never to tell tales of himself to his own disadvantage. People may be amused and laugh at the time; but they will be remembered, and brought out against him upon some subsequent occasion.”

“Much may be done if a man puts his whole mind to a particular object. By doing so, Norton² has made himself the great lawyer that he is allowed to be.”

I mentioned an acquaintance of mine, a secretary, who was a very religious man, who not only attended regularly on public worship with those of his communion, but made a particular study of the Scriptures, and even wrote a commentary on some parts of them, yet was known to be very licentious in indulging himself with women; maintaining that men are to be saved by faith alone, and that the Christian religion had not prescribed any fixed rule for the intercourse between the sexes. JOHNSON. “Sir, there is no trusting to that crazy piety.”

I observed that it was strange how well

Scotchmen were known to one another in their own country, though born in very distant counties; for we do not find that the gentlemen of neighbouring counties in England are mutually known to each other. JOHNSON, with his usual acuteness, at once saw and explained the reason of this: “Why, Sir, you have Edinburgh, where the gentlemen from all your counties meet, and which is not so large but they are all known. There is no such common place of collection in England, except London, where, from its great size and diffusion, many of those who reside in contiguous counties of England may long remain unknown to each other.”

On Tuesday, March 26., there came for us an equipage properly suited to a wealthy, well-beneficed clergyman: Dr. Taylor's large roomy post-chaise, drawn by four stout plump horses, and driven by two steady jolly postilions, which conveyed us to Ashbourne; where I found my friend's schoolfellow living upon an establishment perfectly corresponding with his substantial creditable equipage: his house, garden, pleasure-ground, table, in short every thing good, and no scantiness appearing. Every man should form such a plan of living as he can execute completely. Let him not draw an outline wider than he can fill up. I have seen many skeletons of show and magnificence, which excite at once ridicule and pity. Dr. Taylor had a good estate of his own, and good preferment in the church, being a prebendary of Westminster, and rector of Bosworth. He was a diligent justice of the peace, and presided over the town of Ashbourne, to the inhabitants of which I was told he was very liberal; and as a proof of this it was mentioned to me, he had the preceding winter distributed two hundred pounds among such of them as stood in need of his assistance. He had consequently considerable political interest in the county of Derby, which he employed to support the Devonshire family; for, though the schoolfellow and friend of Johnson, he was a Whig. I could not perceive in his character much congeniality of any sort with that of Johnson, who, however, said to me, “Sir, he has a very strong understanding.” His size, and figure, and countenance, and manner, were that of a hearty English squire, with the parson superinduced: and I took particular notice of his upper-servant, Mr. Peters, a decent grave man, in purple clothes and a large white wig, like the butler or *major-domo* of a bishop.³

Dr. Johnson and Dr. Taylor met with great

reproof, which Dr. Johnson repeated to Mrs. Piozzi. Mr. Pearson having opposed Miss Porter in some argument, she was offended, and exclaimed, “Mr. Pearson, you are just like Dr. Johnson — you contradict every word one speaks.” — CROKER.

¹ This very just observation gives the *rationale* of the *etiquette* by which the conversation of princes, and of those who *ape* princes, consists of so large a proportion of *questions*. The *badands* of all nations used to wonder at Bonaparte's active curiosity and desire of knowledge from the

multitude of his questions, while in fact he was only “*playing at king*.” — CROKER.

² Sir Fletcher Norton, afterwards speaker of the House of Commons, and in 1782 created Baron Granly. — MALONE. But I do not see why Norton should be cited *ad hoc* more than any other eminent lawyer. — CROKER, 1847.

³ I cannot refrain from noticing, as a happy instance of Boswell's pictorial talent, the whole description of Dr. Taylor and his establishment. — CROKER, 1847.

cordiality; and Johnson soon gave him the same sad account of their schoolfellow, Congreve, that he had given to Mr. Hector; adding a remark of such moment to the rational conduct of a man in the decline of life, that it deserves to be imprinted upon every mind: "*There is nothing against which an old man should be so much upon his guard as putting himself to nurse.*" Innumerable have been the melancholy instances of men once distinguished for firmness, resolution, and spirit, who in their latter days have been governed like children, by interested female artifice.

Dr. Taylor commended a physician¹ who was known to him and Dr. Johnson, and said, "I fight many battles for him, as many people in the country dislike him." JOHNSON. "But you should consider, Sir, that by every one of your victories he is a loser; for every man of whom you get the better will be very angry, and resolve not to employ him; whereas if people get the better of you in argument about him, they'll think, 'We'll send for Dr. [Butter] nevertheless.'" This was an observation deep and sure in human nature.

Next day we talked of a book² in which an eminent judge was arraigned before the bar of the public, as having pronounced an unjust decision in a great cause. Dr. Johnson maintained that this publication would not give any uneasiness to the judge. "For," said he, "either he acted honestly, or he meant to do injustice. If he acted honestly, his own consciousness will protect him; if he meant to do injustice, he will be glad to see the man who attacks him so much vexed."

Next day [Wednesday, March 27.], as Dr. Johnson had acquainted Dr. Taylor of the reason for his returning speedily to London, it was resolved that we should set out after dinner. A few of Dr. Taylor's neighbours were his guests that day.

Dr. Johnson talked with approbation of one who had attained to the state of the philosophical wise man, that is, to have no want of any thing, "Then, Sir," said I, "the savage is a wise man." "Sir," said he, "I do not mean simply being without, — but not having a want." I maintained, against this proposition, that it was better to have fine clothes, for instance, than not to feel the want of them. JOHNSON. "No, Sir; fine clothes are good only as they supply the want of other means of procuring respect. Was Charles the Twelfth, think you, less respected for his coarse blue coat and black stock? And you find the King of Prussia dresses plain, because the

dignity of his character is sufficient." I here brought myself into a scrape, for I heedlessly said, "Would not *you*, Sir, be the better for velvet embroidery?" JOHNSON. "Sir, you put an end to all argument when you introduce your opponent himself. Have you no better manners? There is *your want*."³ I apologised by saying, I had mentioned him as an instance of one who wanted as little as any man in the world, and yet, perhaps, might receive some additional lustre from dress.

Having left Ashbourne in the evening, we stopped to change horses at Derby, and availed ourselves of a moment to enjoy the conversation of my countryman, Dr. Butter, then physician there. He was in great indignation because Lord Mountstuart's bill for a Scotch militia had been lost. Dr. Johnson was as violent against it. "I am glad," said he, "that parliament has had the spirit to throw it out. You wanted to take advantage of the timidity of our scoundrels" (meaning, I suppose, the ministry). It may be observed, that he used the epithet *scoundrel*, very commonly, not quite in the sense in which it is generally understood, but as a strong term of disapprobation; as when he abruptly answered Mrs. Thrale, who had asked him how he did, "Ready to become a scoundrel, Madam; with a little more spoiling you will, I think, make me a complete rascal;" he meant, easy to become a capricious and self-indulgent valetudinarian; a character for which I have heard him express great disgust.⁴

Johnson had with him upon this jaunt, "*Il Palmerino d' Inghilterra*," a romance praised by Cervantes; but did not like it much. He said, he read it for the language, by way of preparation for his Italian expedition. We lay this night at Loughborough.

On Thursday, March 28., we pursued our journey. I mentioned that old Mr. Sheridan complained of the ingratitude of Mr. Wedderburne and General Fraser, who had been much obliged to him when they were young Scotchmen entering upon life in England. JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, a man is very apt to complain of the ingratitude of those who have risen far above him. A man, when he gets into a higher sphere, into other habits of life, cannot keep up all his former connexions. Then, Sir, those who knew him formerly upon a level with themselves, may think that they ought still to be treated as on a level, which cannot be: and an acquaintance in a former situation may bring out things which it would be very disagreeable to have mentioned before higher company, though, perhaps, every body knows

¹ Dr. Butter, who afterwards came to practise in London, and attended Johnson in his last illness. He died in March 1805, æt. 79. — CROKER.

² Andrew Stuart's "Letters to Lord Mansfield on the Douglas cause." — CROKER.

³ Both the want seems, on this occasion, to have been common to both. — CROKER.

⁴ *Scoundrel* seems to have been a favourite word of his. "It is so very difficult," he said to Mrs. Piozzi, "for a sick

man not to be a *scoundrel*." And Hawkins tells us that he used to say, that "a man was a *scoundrel* who was afraid of any thing;" and it may be observed, that in his Dictionary he defined *knave*, a scoundrel; *loon*, a scoundrel; *lout*, a scoundrel; *poltroon*, a scoundrel; *sneakup*, a scoundrel; *rascal*, a scoundrel; and *scoundrel* itself he defines a *mean rascal*; a low petty villain, and we have seen (*ante*, p. 298.) that he coined the word *scoundrelism*. — CROKER.

of them." He placed this subject in a new light to me, and showed, that a man who has risen in the world must not be condemned too harshly for being distant to former acquaintance, even though he may have been much obliged to them. It is, no doubt, to be wished, that a proper degree of attention should be shown by great men to their early friends. But if, either from obtuse insensibility to difference of situation, or presumptuous forwardness, which will not submit even to an exterior observance of it, the dignity of high place cannot be preserved, when they are admitted into the company of those raised above the state in which they once were, encroachment must be repelled, and the kinder feelings sacrificed. To one of the very fortunate persons whom I have mentioned, namely, Mr. Wedderburne, now Lord Loughborough, I must do the justice to relate, that I have been assured by another early acquaintance of his, old Mr. Macklin, who assisted in improving his pronunciation, that he found him very grateful. Macklin, I suppose, had not pressed upon his elevation with so much eagerness as the gentleman who complained of him. Dr. Johnson's remark as to the jealousy entertained of our friends who rise far above us is certainly very just. By this was withered the early friendship between Charles Townshend and Aken-side¹; and many similar instances might be adduced.

He said, "It is commonly a weak man who marries for love." We then talked of marrying women of fortune; and I mentioned a common remark, that a man may be, upon the whole, richer by marrying a woman with a very small portion, because a woman of fortune will be proportionably expensive; whereas a woman who brings none will be very moderate in expenses. JOHNSON. "Depend upon it, Sir, this is not true. A woman of fortune, being used to the handling of money, spends it judiciously; but a woman who gets the command of money for the first time upon her marriage, has such a gust in spending it, that she throws it away with great profusion."

He praised the ladies of the present age, insisting that they were more faithful to their husbands, and more virtuous in every respect, than in former times, because their understandings were better cultivated. It was an undoubted proof of his good sense and good disposition, that he was never querulous, never prone to inveigh against the present times, as

is so common when superficial minds are on the fret. On the contrary, he was willing to speak favourably of his own age; and, indeed, maintained its superiority in every respect, except in its reverence for government; the relaxation of which he imputed, as its grand cause, to the shock which our monarchy received at the Revolution, though necessary; and, secondly, to the timid concessions made to faction by successive administrations in the reign of his present majesty. I am happy to think, that he lived to see the crown at last recover its just influence.²

At Leicester we read in the newspaper that Dr. James was dead. I thought that the death of an old schoolfellow, and one with whom he had lived a good deal in London, would have affected my fellow-traveller much; but he only said, "Ah! poor Jany!"³ Afterwards, however, when we were in the chaise, he said, with more tenderness, "Since I set out on this jaunt, I have lost an old friend and a young one;—Dr. James and poor Harry" (meaning Mr. Thrale's son).

Having lain at St. Alban's on Thursday, March 28., we breakfasted the next morning at Barnet. I expressed to him a weakness of mind which I could not help; an uneasy apprehension that my wife and children, who were at a great distance from me, might, perhaps, be ill. "Sir," said he, "consider how foolish you would think it in *them* to be apprehensive that *you* are ill." This sudden turn relieved me for the moment; but I afterwards perceived it to be an ingenious fallacy.⁴ I might, to be sure, be satisfied that they had no reason to be apprehensive about me, because I *knew* that I myself was well: but we might have a mutual anxiety, without the charge of folly; because each was, in some degree, uncertain as to the condition of the other.

I enjoyed the luxury of our approach to London, that metropolis which we both loved so much, for the high and varied intellectual pleasure which it furnishes. I experienced immediate happiness while whirled along with such a companion, and said to him, "Sir, you observed one day at General Oglethorpe's that a man is never happy for the present, but when he is drunk. Will you not add—or when driving rapidly in a post-chaise?" JOHNSON. "No, Sir, you are driving rapidly *from* something, or to something."⁵

Talking of melancholy, he said, "Some men, and very thinking men too, have not those

¹ This is no appropriate instance. Charles Townshend—the grand-nephew of the Duke of Newcastle and of Mr. Pelham, both prime ministers, and grandson of a peer, who was secretary of state, and leader of the House of Lords—was as much above Aken-side in their earliest days as at any subsequent period: nor was Aken-side in rank inferior to Dr. Brocklesby, with whom Charles Townshend continued in intimate friendship to the end of his life. — CROKER.

² This alludes to the triumph of the King and Mr. Pitt over the Coalition Ministry in 1784. — CROKER, 1847.

³ Dr. James died 23d March, 1776, the same day as young Thrale. We have seen (*anté*, p. 101.) that so early as 1756 Johnson showed no great regard for James, — CROKER, 1847.

⁴ Surely it is no fallacy, but a sound and rational argument. He who is perfectly well, and apprehensive concerning the state of another at a distance from him, *knows* to a certainty that the fears of that person concerning *his* health are imaginary and delusive; and hence has a rational ground for supposing that his own apprehensions, concerning his absent wife or friend, are equally unfounded. — MALONE.

⁵ Yet it was but a week before that he had said that "life had few things better than driving rapidly in a post-chaise." This is an instance of the justice of Mrs. Piozzi's observation, that "it was unlucky for those who delighted to echo Johnson's sentiments, that he would not endure from them to-day what he himself had said *yesterday*." — CROKER.

vexing thoughts.¹ Sir Joshua Reynolds is the same all the year round. Beauclerk, except when ill and in pain, is the same. But I believe most men have them in the degree in which they are capable of having them. If I were in the country, and were distressed by that malady, I would force myself to take a book; and every time I did it I should find it the easier. Melancholy, indeed, should be diverted by every means but drinking."

We stopped at Messieurs Dillys, booksellers in the Poultry; from whence he hurried away, in a hackney coach, to Mr. Thrale's in the Borough. I called at his house in the evening, having promised to acquaint Mrs. Williams of his safe return; when, to my surprise, I found him sitting with her at tea, and, as I thought, not in a very good humour: for, it seems, when he had got to Mr. Thrale's, he found the coach was at the door waiting to carry Mrs. and Miss Thrale, and Signor Baretti, their Italian master, to Bath. This was not showing the attention² which might have been expected to the "guide, philosopher, and friend;" the *Imlac* who had hastened from the country to console a distressed mother, who he understood was very anxious for his return. They had, I found, without ceremony, proceeded on their journey. I was glad to understand from him that it was still resolved that his tour to Italy with Mr. and Mrs. Thrale should take place, of which he had entertained some doubt, on account of the loss which they had suffered; and his doubts afterwards appeared to be well founded. He observed, indeed, very justly, that "their loss was an additional reason for their going abroad; and if it had not been fixed that he should have been one of the party, he would force them out; but he would not advise them unless his advice was asked, lest they might suspect that he recommended what he wished on his own account." I was not pleased that his intimacy with Mr. Thrale's family, though it no doubt contributed much to his comfort and enjoyment, was not without some degree of restraint: not, as has been grossly suggested, that it was required of him as a task to talk for the entertainment of them and their company; but that he was not quite at his ease: which, however, might partly be owing to his own honest pride—that dignity of mind which is always jealous of appearing too compliant.

On Sunday, March 31., I called on him and showed him, as a curiosity which I had discovered, his "Translation of Lobo's Account of Abyssinia," which Sir John Pringle had lent me, it being then little known as one of his works. He said, "Take no notice of it," or "Don't talk of it." He seemed to think it beneath him, though done at six-and-twenty. I said to him, "Your style, Sir, is much improved since you translated this." He answered, with a sort of triumphant smile, "Sir, I hope it is."

On Wednesday, April 3., in the morning, I found him very busy putting his books in order, and, as they were generally very old ones, clouds of dust were flying around him. He had on a pair of large gloves, such as hedgers use. His present appearance put me in mind of my uncle Dr. Boswell's description of him, "A robust genius, born to grapple with whole libraries."

I gave him an account of a conversation which had passed between me and Captain Cook, the day before, at dinner at Sir John Pringle's³; and he was much pleased with the conscientious accuracy of that celebrated circumnavigator, who set me right as to many of the exaggerated accounts given by Dr. Hawkesworth of his voyages. I told him that while I was with the captain I caught the enthusiasm of curiosity and adventure, and felt a strong inclination to go with him on his next voyage. JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, a man *does* feel so, till he considers how very little he can learn from such voyages." BOSWELL. "But one is carried away with the general, grand, and indistinct notion of A VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD." JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir, but a man is to guard himself against taking a thing in general." I said I was certain that a great part of what we are told by the travellers to the South Sea must be conjecture, because they had not enough of the language of those countries to understand so much as they have related. Objects falling under the observation of the senses might be clearly known; but every thing intellectual, every thing abstract,—politics, morals, and religion,—must be darkly guessed. Dr. Johnson was of the same opinion. He upon another occasion, when a friend mentioned to him several extraordinary facts, as communicated to him by the circumnavigators⁴, slyly observed,

¹ The phrase "vexing thoughts," is, I think, very expressive. It has been familiar to me from my childhood; for it is to be found in the "Psalms in Metre," used in the churches (I believe I should say *kirk*s) of Scotland, Psal. xliii. v. 5.

"Why art thou then cast down, my soul?
What should discourage thee?
And why with vexing thoughts art thou
Disquieted in me?"

Some allowance must no doubt be made for early prepossession. But at a maturer period of life, after looking at various metrical versions of the Psalms, I am well satisfied that the version used in Scotland is, upon the whole, the best; and that it is vain to think of having a better. It has

in general a simplicity and *unction* of sacred poesy; and in many parts its transfusion is admirable.—BOSWELL.

² How so? Johnson had not been very quick in coming, nor had the Thrales had any notice of his movements. Their journey must have been settled for some days, and, under the melancholy circumstances in which it was arranged, it would surely have been strange if Dr. Johnson's sudden appearance had interrupted it.—CROKER.

³ Sir John Pringle was at this time President of the Royal Society.—CROKER, 1847.

⁴ Meaning Sir Joseph Banks and Dr. Solander. I believe the friend was Boswell himself, who may, by his statement of the facts, have extracted some such observation from Johnson; but I knew Sir Joseph Banks, and the society in which he lived, very well, and I never heard any doubt expressed of his scrupulous veracity.—CROKER, 1847.

"Sir, I never before knew how much I was respected by these gentlemen; they told me none of these things."

He had been in company with Omai, a native of one of the South Sea Islands, after he had been some time in this country. He was struck with the elegance of his behaviour, and accounted for it thus: "Sir, he had passed his time, while in England, only in the best company; so that all that he had acquired of our manners was genteel. As a proof of this, Sir, Lord Mulgrave and he dined one day at Streatham; they sat with their backs to the light fronting me, so that I could not see distinctly; and there was so little of the savage in Omai, that I was afraid to speak to either, lest I should mistake one for the other."

We agreed to dine to-day at the Mitre tavern, after the rising of the House of Lords, where a branch of the litigation concerning the Douglas estate, in which I was one of the counsel, was to come on. I brought with me Mr. Murray, solicitor-general of Scotland, now one of the judges of the court of session, with the title of Lord Henderland. I mentioned Mr. Solicitor's relation, Lord Charles Hay², with whom I knew Dr. Johnson had been acquainted. JOHNSON. "I wrote something³ for Lord Charles, and I thought he had nothing to fear from a court-martial. I suffered a great loss when he died; he was a mighty pleasing man in conversation, and a reading man. The character of a soldier is high. They who stand forth the foremost in danger, for the community, have the respect of mankind. An officer is much more respected than any other man who has little money. In a commercial country, money will always purchase respect. But you find, an officer, who has, properly speaking, no money, is every where well received and treated with attention. The character of a soldier always stands him in stead." BOSWELL. "Yet, Sir, I think that common soldiers are worse thought of than other men in the same rank of life; such as labourers." JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, a common soldier is usually a very gross man, and any quality which procures respect may be overwhelmed by grossness. A man of learning may be so vicious or so ridiculous that you cannot respect him. A common soldier, too, generally eats more than he can pay for. But when a common soldier is civil in his quarters,

his red coat procures him a degree of respect." The peculiar respect paid to the military character in France was mentioned. BOSWELL. "I should think that where military men are so numerous, they would be less valuable, as not being rare." JOHNSON. "Nay, Sir, wherever a particular character or profession is high in the estimation of a people, those who are of it will be valued above other men. We value an Englishman high in this country, and yet Englishmen are not rare in it."

Mr. Murray praised the ancient philosophers for the candour and good humour with which those of different sects disputed with each other. JOHNSON. "Sir, they disputed with good humour, because they were not in earnest as to religion. Had the ancients been serious in their belief, we should not have had their gods exhibited in the manner we find them represented in the poets. The people would not have suffered it. They disputed with good humour upon their fanciful theories, because they were not interested in the truth of them: when a man has nothing to lose, he may be in good humour with his opponent. Accordingly you see, in Lucian, the Epicurean, who argues only negatively, keeps his temper; the Stoic, who has something positive to preserve, grows angry.⁴ Being angry with one who controverts an opinion which you value, is a necessary consequence of the uneasiness which you feel. Every man who attacks my belief, diminishes in some degree my confidence in it, and therefore makes me uneasy; and I am angry with him who makes me uneasy. Those only who believed in revelation have been angry at having their faith called in question; because they only had something upon which they could rest as matter of fact." MURRAY. "It seems to me that we are not angry at a man for controverting an opinion which we believe and value; we rather pity him." JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, to be sure, when you wish a man to have that belief which you think is of infinite advantage, you wish well to him; but your primary consideration is your own quiet. If a madman were to come into this room with a stick in his hand, no doubt we should pity the state of his mind; but our primary consideration would be to take care of ourselves. We should knock him down first, and pity him afterwards. No, Sir, every man will dispute with great good humour upon a subject

¹ This might perhaps have been more justly attributed to the defect of his sight than to any resemblance between Omai and Lord Mulgrave. — CROKER.

² Third son of the third Marquis of Tweeddale. He distinguished himself at the battle of Fontenoy; where he is said to have been the officer who invited the French guards to fire. He was afterwards third in command under Lord Loudon and General Hopson, in an expedition against Canada; but expressing himself with some violence against the tardiness of his superiors, he was, on the 31st July, 1757, put under arrest and sent to England, to be tried by a court martial, which, however, did not assemble till Feb. 1760; and Lord Charles died on the 1st of May following, before the sentence was promulgated. I find in a letter (8th Sept. 1757) of Mr. Calcraft's, a personal friend of Lord

Charles, the real state of this case. Lord Charles had gone mad, and was in that state sent home. He had once before been confined for a similar attack, which required a strait waistcoat, but his family were anxious to "disavow the disorder." — CROKER, 1846.

³ I have looked over the original minutes of this court-martial, and can find nothing that can be supposed to have been written by Johnson. He meant, perhaps, some defence in the press. — CROKER.

⁴ This alludes to the pleadings of a Stoic and an Epicurean for and against the existence of the Divinity in Lucian's *Jupiter the Tragic*, at the close of which the defender of the gods gets very angry, and calls names, while the Epicurean only laughs at him. — CROKER.

in which he is not interested. I will dispute very calmly upon the probability of another man's son being hanged; but if a man zealously enforces the probability that my own son will be hanged, I shall certainly not be in a very good humour with him." I added this illustration: "If a man endeavours to convince me that my wife, whom I love very much, and in whom I place great confidence, is a disagreeable woman, and is even unfaithful to me, I shall be very angry, for he is putting me in fear of being unhappy." MURRAY. "But, Sir, truth will always bear an examination." JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir, but it is painful to be forced to defend it. Consider, Sir, how should you like, though conscious of your innocence, to be tried before a jury for a capital crime, once a week."

We talked of education at great schools; the advantages and disadvantages of which Johnson displayed in a luminous manner; but his arguments preponderated so much in favour of the benefit which a boy of good parts might receive at one of them¹, that I have reason to believe Mr. Murray was very much influenced by what he had heard to-day in his determination to send his own son to Westminster school. I have acted in the same manner with regard to my own two sons; having placed the eldest at Eton, and the second at Westminster. I cannot say which is best. But in justice to both those noble seminaries, I with high satisfaction declare, that my boys have derived from them a great deal of good, and no evil: and I trust they will, like Horace, be grateful to their father for giving them so valuable an education.

I introduced the topic, which is often ignorantly urged, that the universities of England are too rich²; so that learning does not flourish in them as it would do, if those who teach had smaller salaries, and depended on their assiduity for a great part of their income. JOHNSON. "Sir, the very reverse of this is the truth; the English universities are not rich enough. Our fellowships are only sufficient to support a man during his studies to fit him for the world, and accordingly in general they are held no longer than till an opportunity offers of getting away. Now and then, perhaps, there is a fellow who grows old

in his college; but this is against his will, unless he be a man very indolent indeed. A hundred a-year is reckoned a good fellowship, and that is no more than is necessary to keep a man decently as a scholar. We do not allow our fellows to marry, because we consider academical institutions as preparatory to a settlement in the world. It is only by being employed as a tutor, that a fellow can obtain any thing more than a livelihood. To be sure, a man who has enough without teaching will probably not teach; for we would all be idle if we could. In the same manner, a man who is to get nothing by teaching will not exert himself. Gresham College was intended as a place of instruction for London; able professors were to read lectures gratis; they contrived to have no scholars; whereas, if they had been allowed to receive but sixpence a lecture from each scholar, they would have been emulous to have had many scholars. Every body will agree that it should be the interest of those who teach to have scholars; and this is the case in our universities. That they are too rich is certainly not true; for they have nothing good enough to keep a man of eminent learning with them for his life. In the foreign universities a professorship is a high thing. It is as much almost as a man can make by his learning; and therefore we find the most learned men abroad are in the universities. It is not so with us. Our universities are impoverished of learning, by the penury of their provisions. I wish there were many places of a thousand a-year at Oxford, to keep first-rate men of learning from quitting the university." Undoubtedly, if this were the case, literature would have a still greater dignity and splendour at Oxford, and there would be grander living sources of instruction.

I mentioned Mr. Maclaurin's uneasiness on account of a degree of ridicule carelessly thrown on his deceased father, in Goldsmith's "History of Animated Nature," in which that celebrated mathematician is represented as being subject to fits of yawning so violent as to render him incapable of proceeding in his lecture; a story altogether unfounded, but for the publication of which the law would give no reparation.³ This led us to agitate the question, whether legal redress could be obtained,

¹ A peculiar advantage of an education in our public schools was stated in one of his parliamentary speeches, by the late Mr. Canning—himself a great authority and example on such a subject. "Foreigners often ask, 'By what means an uninterrupted succession of men, qualified more or less eminently for the performance of united parliamentary and official duties, is secured?' First, I answer (with the prejudices, perhaps, of Eton and Oxford), that we owe it to our system of public schools and universities. From these institutions is derived (in the language of the prayer of our collegiate churches) 'a due supply of men fitted to serve their country both in church and state.' It is in her public schools and universities that the youth of England are, by a discipline which shallow judgments have sometimes attempted to undervalue, prepared for the duties of public life. There are rare and splendid exceptions, to be sure; but in my conscience I believe, that England would not be what she is without her system of public education, and that no other

country can become what England is without the advantages of such a system." Such was also Mr. Gibbon's opinion. "I shall always be ready to join in the common opinion, that our public schools, which have produced so many eminent characters, are the best adapted to the genius and constitution of the English people."—*Memoirs. Miscel. Works*, vol. i. p. 37.—CROKER.

² Dr. Adam Smith, who was for some time a professor in the university of Glasgow, has uttered, in his "Wealth of Nations," some reflections upon this subject which are certainly not well founded, and seem to be invidious.—BOSWELL.

The great practical fault of our English universities, in this respect, is, that they are too expensive, and too often pervert the minds and injure the fortunes of young men, by the neglect of economy in which they are indulged, if not encouraged.—CROKER, 1847.

³ Dr. Goldsmith was dead before Mr. Maclaurin's dis-

even when a man's deceased relation was calumniated in a publication. Mr. Murray maintained there should be reparation, unless the author could justify himself by proving the fact. JOHNSON. "Sir, it is of so much more consequence that truth should be told, than that individuals should not be made uneasy, that it is much better that the law does not restrain writing freely concerning the characters of the dead. Damages will be given to a man who is calumniated in his lifetime, because he may be hurt in his worldly interest, or at least hurt in his mind: but the law does not regard that uneasiness which a man feels on having his ancestor calumniated. That is too nice. Let him deny what is said, and let the matter have a fair chance by discussion. But if a man could say nothing against a character but what he can prove, history could not be written; for a great deal is known of men of which proof cannot be brought. A minister may be notoriously known to take bribes, and yet you may not be able to prove it." Mr. Murray suggested that the author should be obliged to show some sort of evidence, though he would not require a strict legal proof; but Johnson firmly and resolutely opposed any restraint whatever, as adverse to a free investigation of the characters of mankind.¹

CHAPTER LV.

1776.

Popish Corruptions. — *Licensed Stews.* — *Seduction.* — "Jack Ellis." — *Gaming.* — *Card-playing.* — *Conjugal Obligations.* — *Law of Usury.* — *Beggars.* — *Dr. Cheyne.* — *Solitude.* — *Joseph Simpson.* — *Children.* — *Cowley.* — *Flatman's Poems.* — *Cibber's "Lives."* — *Gray.* — *Akenside.* — *Mason.* — *The Reviews.* — *Lord Lyttelton.* — "The Spectator." — *Dr. Barry.* — *Dinner at General Paoli's.* — "Abel Druggier." — *Italy.* — *The Mediterranean.* — *Poetical Translation.* — *Art of Printing.* — *Education of the People.* — *Thomson.* — "Hudibras." — *Purpose of Tragedy.* — "Othello." — *John Dennis.* — *Swearing.* — *Wine-drinking.* — *Cumberland's "Odes."*

On Thursday, 4th April, having called on Dr. Johnson, I said, it was a pity that truth was not so firm as to bid defiance to all attacks, so that it might be shot at as much as people chose to attempt, and yet remain unhurt. JOHNSON. "Then, Sir, it would not be shot at. Nobody attempts to dispute that two and two make four: but with contests concerning moral truth, human passions are generally mixed, and therefore it must be ever liable to assault and misrepresentation."

On Friday, 5th April, being Good Friday, after having attended the morning service at St. Clement's church, I walked home with Johnson. We talked of the Roman Catholic religion. JOHNSON. "In the barbarous ages, Sir, priests and people were equally deceived: but afterwards there were gross corruptions introduced by the clergy, such as indulgences to priests to have concubines, and the worship of images: not, indeed, inculcated, but knowingly permitted." He strongly censured the licensed

vered the ludicrous error. But Mr. Nourse, the bookeller, who was the proprietor of the work, upon being applied to by Sir John Pringle, agreed very handsomely to have the proof on which it was contained cancelled, and reprinted without it, at his own expense. — BOSWELL.

¹ What Dr. Johnson has here said is undoubtedly good sense: yet I am afraid that law, though defined by Lord Coke "the perfection of reason," is not altogether *with him*; for it is held in the books, that an attack on the reputation of a dead man may be punished as a libel, because tending to a breach of the peace. There is, however, I believe, a modern decided case to that effect. In the King's Bench, Trinity term, 1790, the question occurred on occasion of an indictment, *The King v. Topham*, who, as a proprietor of a newspaper entitled "The World," was found guilty of a libel against Earl Cowper, deceased, because certain injurious charges against his lordship were published in that paper. An arrest of judgment having been moved for, the case was afterwards solemnly argued. My friend, Mr. Constantine, I delight in having an opportunity to praise, not only for his abilities, but his manners—a gentleman whose ancient German blood has been mellowed in England, and who may be truly said to unite the *baron* and the *barrister*, as one of the counsel for Mr. Topham. He displayed much learning and ingenuity upon the general question; which, however, was not decided, as the court granted an arrest chiefly on the informality of the indictment. No man is a higher reverence for the law of England than I have; but, with all deference, I cannot help thinking, that prosecution by indictment, if a defendant is never to be allowed to stiffen, must often be very oppressive, unless juries, whom I am more and more confirmed in holding to be judges of

law as well as of fact, resolutely interpose. Of late an act of parliament has passed, declaratory of their full right to act as well as the other, in matter of libel; and the bill having been brought in by a popular gentleman [Mr. Fox], many of his party have in most extravagant terms declaimed on the wonderful acquisition to the liberty of the press. For my own part I ever was clearly of opinion that this right was inherent in the very constitution of a jury, and indeed in sense and reason inseparable from their important function. To establish it, therefore, by statute, is, I think, narrowing its foundation, which is the broad and deep basis of common law. Would it not rather weaken the right of primogeniture, or any other old and universally acknowledged right, should the legislature pass an act in favour of it? In my "Letter to the People of Scotland, against diminishing the number of the Lords of Session," published in 1785, there is the following passage, which, as a concise, and, I hope, a fair and rational state of the matter, I presume to quote: "The juries of England are judges of *law* as well as of *fact* in *many civil* and in *all criminal* trials. That my principles of *resistance* may not be misapprehended any more than my principles of *submission*, I protest that I should be the last man in the world to encourage juries to contradict rashly, wantonly, or perversely, the opinion of the judges. On the contrary, I would have them listen respectfully to the advice they receive from the bench, by which they may often be well directed in forming *their own opinion*; which, 'and not another's,' is the opinion they are to return upon *their oaths*. But where, after due attention to all that the judge has said, they are decidedly of a different opinion from him, they have not only a *power* and a *right*, but they are bound in *conscience*, to bring in a verdict accordingly." — BOSWELL.

stews at Rome. BOSWELL. "So then, Sir, you would allow of no irregular intercourse whatever between the sexes?" JOHNSON. "To be sure I would not, Sir. I would punish it much more than it is done, and so restrain it. In all countries there has been fornication, as in all countries there has been theft; but there may be more or less of the one, as well as of the other, in proportion to the force of law. All men will naturally commit fornication, as all men will naturally steal. And, Sir, it is very absurd to argue, as has been often done, that prostitutes are necessary to prevent the violent effects of appetite from violating the decent order of life; nay, should be permitted, in order to preserve the chastity of our wives and daughters. Depend upon it, Sir, severe laws, steadily enforced, would be sufficient against those evils, and would promote marriage."

I stated to him this case:—"Suppose a man has a daughter, who he knows has been seduced, but her misfortune is concealed from the world, should he keep her in his house? Would he not, by doing so, be accessory to imposition? And, perhaps, a worthy, unsuspecting man, might come and marry this woman, unless the father inform him of the truth." JOHNSON. "Sir, he is accessory to no imposition. His daughter is in his house; and if a man courts her, he takes his chance. If a friend, or indeed if any man, asks his opinion whether he should marry her, he ought to advise him against it, without telling why, because his real opinion is then required. Or, if he has other daughters who know of her frailty, he ought not to keep her in his house. You are to consider the state of life is this; we are to judge of one another's characters as well as we can; and a man is not bound in honesty or honour to tell us the faults of his daughter or of himself. A man who has debauched his friend's daughter is not obliged to say to every body—"Take care of me; don't let me into your house without suspicion. I once debauched a friend's daughter. I may debauch yours."

Mr. Thrale called upon him, and appeared to bear the loss of his son with a manly com-

posure. There was no affectation about him; and he talked, as usual, upon indifferent subjects. He seemed to me to hesitate as to the intended Italian tour, on which, I flattered myself, he and Mrs. Thrale and Dr. Johnson were soon to set out; and, therefore, I pressed it as much as I could. I mentioned that Mr. Beauclerk had said, that Baretti, whom they were to carry with them, would keep them so long in the little towns of his own district, that they would not have time to see Rome. I mentioned this to put them on their guard. JOHNSON. "Sir, we do not thank Mr. Beauclerk for supposing that we are to be directed by Baretti. No, Sir; Mr. Thrale is to go, by my advice, to Mr. Jackson¹ (the all-knowing), and get from him a plan for seeing the most that can be seen in the time that we have to travel. We must, to be sure, see Rome, Naples, Florence, and Venice, and as much more as we can." (Speaking with a tone of animation.)

When I expressed an earnest wish for his remarks on Italy, he said, "I do not see that I could make a book upon Italy; yet I should be glad to get two hundred pounds, or five hundred pounds, by such a work." This showed both that a journal of his tour upon the continent was not wholly out of his contemplation, and that he uniformly adhered to that strange opinion which his indolent disposition made him utter; "No man but a blockhead ever wrote except for money." Numerous instances to refute this will occur to all who are versed in the history of literature.

He gave us one of the many sketches of character which were treasured in his mind and which he was wont to produce quite unexpectedly in a very entertaining manner. "I lately," said he, "received a letter from the East Indies, from a gentleman² whom I formerly knew very well; he had returned from that country with a handsome fortune, as it was reckoned, before means were found to acquire those immense sums which have been brought from thence of late: he was a scholar and an agreeable man, and lived very prettily in London, till his wife died. After her death he took to dissipation and gaming, and lost all

¹ A gentleman who, from his extraordinary stores of knowledge, has been styled *omniscient*. Johnson, I think very properly, altered it to *all-knowing*, as it is a *verbum solenne*, appropriated to the Supreme Being.—BOSWELL. Mr. Richard Jackson, a barrister, M.P. for New Romney, and F.R.S., had obtained, from the universality of his information on all topics, the appellation of "*omniscient Jackson*." He was an intimate friend of Lord Shelburne's, and became a lord of the treasury in his lordship's administration in 1782. He died May 6, 1787.—CROKER.

² This was Mr. Joseph Fowke, of whom there is quoted in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1817, vii. p. 526, an account very erroneous both in facts and dates. The truth is, he went to India in 1736 as a writer, and served in several subordinate offices till he was appointed, in 1751, fifth member of Council at Madras. He had been, however, for some years a dissatisfied man, and in 1752 resigned the service and came to England, where he became acquainted with Johnson, and may have entertained hopes of going out again in some position which would have enabled him to take Johnson (then in very low circumstances) with him; but of this we have no trace, but what appears in the text. It was not till 1770, when assuredly Johnson could have had no thoughts of

accompanying him, that he was permitted to return as free merchant to Calcutta, where he soon mixed himself up with the opposition to Mr. Hastings, and he and his son Francis were indicted, with the celebrated and unfortunate Nundecmar, for a conspiracy against Mr. Hastings, and found guilty. The letter and packet referred to in the text related of course to this affair. Joseph Fowke was afterwards re-appointed to office in India, but finally resigned the Company's service, and returned to England in 1790, when a vote of the House of Commons, moved by Mr. Burke, forced the reluctant Court of Directors to grant him a pension. He died in Bath, in 1806, æt. 84. In the account referred to I made to state that Johnson told him that Lord Chesterfield had offered him 100*l*. if he would dedicate the Dictionary to his lordship, but that Johnson contemptuously declined "because he must have gilt a rotten post." Johnson could not have told this, for we know that he accepted 10*l*. from Lord Chesterfield for the dedication of the prospect. See *post*, p. 524. I now more confidently believe that the general officer mentioned in p. 42, was General Fowl and that Johnson's zeal about him may have arisen from his relationship to Joseph Fowke. See *antiq.* p. 105. n. 3. CROKER, 1846.

he had. One evening he lost a thousand pounds to a gentleman whose name I am sorry I have forgotten. Next morning he sent the gentleman five hundred pounds, with an apology that it was all he had in the world. The gentleman sent the money back to him, declaring he would not accept of it; and adding, that if Mr. [Fowke] had occasion for five hundred pounds more, he would lend it to him. He resolved to go out again to the East Indies, and make his fortune anew. He got a considerable appointment, and I had some intention of accompanying him. Had I thought then as I do now, I should have gone: but at that time I had objections to quitting England."

It was a very remarkable circumstance about Johnson, whom shallow observers have supposed to have been ignorant of the world, that very few men had seen greater variety of characters; and none could observe them better, as was evident from the strong yet nice portraits which he often drew. I have frequently thought that, if he had made out what the French call *une catalogue raisonnée* of all the people who had passed under his observation, it would have afforded a very rich fund of instruction and entertainment. The suddenness with which his accounts of some of them started out in conversation was not less pleasing than surprising. I remember he once observed to me, "It is wonderful, Sir, what is to be found in London. The most literary conversation that I ever enjoyed was at the table of Jack Ellis, a money-scriver, behind the Royal Exchange, with whom I at one period used to dine generally once a week."¹

Volumes would be required to contain a list of his numerous and various acquaintance, none of whom he ever forgot; and could describe and discriminate them all with precision and vivacity. He associated with persons the most widely different in manners, abilities, rank, and accomplishments. He was at once the companion of the brilliant Colonel Forrester of the

guards, who wrote "The Polite Philosopher," and of the awkward and uncouth Robert Levett; of Lord Thurlow, and Mr. Sastres, the Italian master; and has dined one day with the beautiful, gay, and fascinating Lady Craven², and the next with good Mrs. Gardiner, the tallow-chandler, on Snow-hill.³

On my expressing my wonder at his discovering so much of the knowledge peculiar to different professions, he told me, "I learnt what I know of law chiefly from Mr. Ballow⁴, a very able man. I learnt some too from Chambers; but was not so teachable then. One is not willing to be taught by a young man." When I expressed a wish to know more about Mr. Ballow, Johnson said, "Sir, I have seen him but once these twenty years. The tide of life has driven us different ways." I was sorry at the time to hear this; but whoever quits the creeks of private connections, and fairly gets into the great ocean of London; will, by imperceptible degrees, unavoidably experience such cessations of acquaintance.

"My knowledge of physic," he added, "I learnt from Dr. James, whom I helped in writing the proposals for his Dictionary, and also a little in the Dictionary itself.⁵ I also learnt from Dr. Lawrence, but was then grown more stubborn."

A curious incident happened to-day, while Mr. Thrale and I sat with him. Francis announced that a large packet was brought to him from the post-office, said to have come from Lisbon, and it was charged *seven pounds ten shillings*. He would not receive it, supposing it to be some trick, nor did he even look at it. But upon inquiry afterwards he found that it was a real packet for him, from that very friend in the East Indies of whom he had been speaking [Mr. Joseph Fowke]; and the ship which carried it having come to Portugal, this packet with others had been put into the post-office at Lisbon.

I mentioned a new gaming club⁶, of which

¹ This Mr. Ellis was, I believe, the last of that profession called *scrivers*, which is one of the London companies, but of which the business is no longer carried on separately, but is transacted by attorneys and others. He was a man of literature and talents. He was the author of a Hudibrastic version of Mapheus's Canto, in addition to the *Æneid*; of some poems in Dodsley's collection, and various other small pieces; but, being a very modest man, never put his name to any thing. He showed me a translation which he had made of Ovid's Epistles, very prettily done. There is a good engraved portrait of him by Pether, from a picture by Fry, which hangs in the hall of the Scriveners' company. I visited him October 4. 1790, in his ninety-third year, and found his judgment distinct and clear, and his memory, though faded so as to fail him occasionally, yet, as he assured me, and I indeed perceived, able to serve him very well, after a little recollection. It was agreeable to observe, that he was free from the discontent and fretfulness which too often molest old age. He, in the summer of that year, walked to Rotherhithe, where he dined, and walked home in the evening. He died Dec. 31. 1791. — BOSWELL.

² Lord Macartney, who, with his other distinguished qualities, is remarkable also for an elegant pleasantry, told me that he met Johnson at Lady Craven's, and that he seemed jealous of any interference. "So," said his lordship, smiling, "I kept back." — BOSWELL.

³ This is somewhat exaggerated (see *anté*, p. 79. n. 1). His polite acquaintance did not extend much beyond the circle of Mr. Thrale, Sir Joshua Reynolds, and the members

of the club. Of English bishops he seems to have known only Shipley and Porteus, and, except by a few visits in his latter years at the *basbleus* assemblies of Mrs. Montagu, Mrs. Vesey, and Mrs. Ord, we do not trace him in any thing like fashionable society. This seems strange to us; for happily, in our day, a literary man of much less than Johnson's eminence would be courted into the highest and most brilliant circles. Lord Wellesley recollected, with regret, the little notice, compared with his posthumous reputation, which the *fashionable* world seemed to take of Johnson. He was known as a great writer; but his social and conversational powers were not so generally appreciated. — CROKER.

⁴ There is an account of him in Sir John Hawkins's Life of Johnson, p. 244. Mr. Thomas Ballow was author of an excellent Treatise of Equity, printed anonymously in 1742, and lately republished, with very valuable additions, by John Fonblanque, Esq. Mr. Ballow died suddenly in London, July 26. 1782, aged seventy-five, and is mentioned in the Gentleman's Magazine for that year as "a great Greek scholar, and famous for his knowledge of the old philosophy." — MALCOLM.

⁵ I have in vain endeavoured to find out what parts Johnson wrote for Dr. James; perhaps medical men may. — BOSWELL.

⁶ Almack's. Lord Lauderdale informed me that Mr. Fox told him, that the deepest play he had ever known was about this period, between the year 1772 and the beginning of the American war. Lord Lauderdale instanced 5000*l.* being staked on a single card at faro, and he talked of 70,000*l.* lost and won in a night. — CROKER.

Mr. Beauclerk had given me an account, where the members played to a desperate extent. JOHNSON. "Depend upon it, Sir, this is mere talk. *Who* is ruined by gaming? You will not find six instances in an age. There is a strange rout made about deep play; whereas you have many more people ruined by adventurous trade, and yet we do not hear such an outcry against it." THRALE. "There may be few absolutely ruined by deep play; but very many are much hurt in their circumstances by it." JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir, and so are very many by other kinds of expense." I had heard him talk once before in the same manner; and at Oxford he said, "he wished he had learned to play at cards." The truth, however, is, that he loved to display his ingenuity in argument; and therefore would sometimes in conversation maintain opinions which he was sensible were wrong, but in supporting which, his reasoning and wit would be most conspicuous. He would begin thus: "Why Sir, as to the good or evil of card playing—" "Now," said Garrick, "he is thinking which side he shall take." He appeared to have a pleasure in contradiction, especially when any opinion whatever was delivered with an air of confidence; so that there was hardly any topic, if not one of the great truths of religion and morality, that he might not have been incited to argue either for or against. Lord Elibank² had the highest admiration of his powers. He once observed to me, "Whatever opinion Johnson maintains, I will not say that he convinces me; but he never fails to show me that he had good reasons for it." I have heard Johnson pay his lordship this high compliment: "I never was in Lord Elibank's company without learning something."

We sat together till it was too late for the afternoon service. Thrale said, he had come with the intention to go to church with us. We went at seven to evening prayers at St. Clement's church, after having drunk coffee; an indulgence which I understand Johnson yielded to on this occasion, in compliment to Thrale.³

On Sunday, April 7th, Easter-day, after having been at St. Paul's cathedral, I came to Dr. Johnson, according to my usual custom. It seemed to me, that there was always something particularly mild and placid in his

manner upon this holy festival, the commemoration of the most joyful event in the history of our world, the resurrection of our Lord and Saviour, who, having triumphed over death and the grave, proclaimed immortality to mankind.⁴

I repeated to him an argument of a lady of my acquaintance, who maintained, that her husband's having been guilty of numberless infidelities, released her from conjugal obligations, because they were reciprocal. JOHNSON. "This is miserable stuff, Sir. To the contract of marriage, besides the man and wife, there is a third party—society; and if it be considered as a vow—God: and, therefore, it cannot be dissolved by their consent alone. Laws are not made for particular cases, but for men in general. A woman may be unhappy with her husband; but she cannot be freed from him without the approbation of the civil and ecclesiastical power. A man may be unhappy, because he is not so rich as another; but he is not to seize upon another's property with his own hand." BOSWELL. "But, Sir, this lady does not want that the contract should be dissolved; she only argues that she may indulge herself in gallantries with equal freedom as her husband does, provided she takes care not to introduce a spurious issue into his family. You know, sir, what Macrobius has told of Julia." JOHNSON. "This lady of yours, Sir, I think, is very fit for a brothel."

Mr. Macbean, author of the "Dictionary of Ancient Geography," came in. He mentioned that he had been forty years absent from Scotland. "Ah, Boswell!" said Johnson smiling, "what would you give to be forty years from Scotland?" I said, "I should not like to be so long absent from the seat of my ancestors." This gentleman, Mrs. Williams, and Mr. Levett dined with us.

Dr. Johnson made a remark, which both Mr. Macbean and I thought new. It was this; that "the law against usury is for the protection of creditors as well as debtors; for if there were no such check, people would be apt, from the temptation of great interest, to lend to desperate persons, by whom they would lose their money. Accordingly, there are instances of ladies being ruined, by having injudiciously sunk their fortunes for high annuities, which, after a few years, ceased to be

¹ See *anté*, p. 405. — C.

² Patrick Lord Elibank, who died in 1778. — BOSWELL.

³ This day he himself thus records:—"Though for the past week I have had an anxious design of communicating to-day, I performed no particular act of devotion, till on Friday I went to church. I fasted, though less rigorously than at other times. I, by negligence, poured milk into the tea, and, in the afternoon, drank one dish of coffee with Thrale; yet at night, after a fit of drowsiness, I felt myself very much disordered by emptiness, and called for tea with peevish and impatient eagerness. My distress was very great." — *Pr. and Med.* p. 145. — CROKER.

⁴ Yet with what different colours he paints his own state at this moment!—"The time is again [come] at which, since the death of my poor dear Tetty, on whom God have mercy, I have annually commemorated the mystery of redemption,

and annually purposed to amend my life. My reigning sin to which perhaps many others are appendant, is waste of time, and general sluggishness, to which I was always inclined, and, in part of my life, have been almost compelled by morbid melancholy and disturbance of mind. Melancholy has had in me its paroxysms and remissions, but I have not improved the intervals, nor sufficiently resisted my natural inclination, or sickly habits." He adds, however:—"In the morning I had at church some radiations of comfort." — *Pr. and Med.* p. 145. The habitual state of mind revealed in this and the preceding note, was no doubt the unsuspected cause of many of those peevish, unjust, and offensive observations which Johnson's biographers have too often to record — CROKER, 1846.

⁵ "Nunquam enim nisi navi plenâ tollo vectorem." — *Lib. ii. c. v.* — BOSWELL.

paid, in consequence of the ruined circumstances of the borrower."

Mrs. Williams was very peevish; and I wondered at Johnson's patience with her now, as I had often done on similar occasions. The truth is, that his humane consideration of the forlorn and indigent state in which this lady was left by her father induced him to treat her with the utmost tenderness, and even to be desirous of procuring her amusement, so as sometimes to incommode many of his friends, by carrying her with him to their houses, where, from her manner of eating, in consequence of her blindness, she could not but offend the delicacy of persons of nice sensations.

After coffee, we went to afternoon service in St. Clement's church. Observing some beggars in the street as we walked along, I said to him, I supposed there was no civilised country in the world where the misery of want in the lowest classes of the people was prevented. JOHNSON. "I believe, Sir, there is not; but it is better that some should be unhappy, than that none should be happy, which would be the case in a general state of equality."

When the service was ended, I went home with him, and we sat quietly by ourselves. He recommended Dr. Cheyne's books. I said, I thought Cheyne had been reckoned whimsical. "So he was," said he, "in some things; but there is no end of objections. There are few books to which some objection or other may not be made." He added, "I would not have you read any thing else of Cheyne, but his book on Health, and his 'English Malady.'"

Upon the question whether a man who had been guilty of vicious actions would do well to force himself into solitude and sadness? JOHNSON. "No, Sir, unless it prevent him from being vicious again. With some people, gloomy penitence is only madness turned upside down. A man may be gloomy, till, in order to be relieved from gloom, he has recourse again to criminal indulgences."

On Wednesday, 10th April, I dined with him at Mr. Thrale's, where were Mr. Murphy and some other company. Before dinner, Dr. Johnson and I passed some time by ourselves. I was sorry to find it was now resolved that the proposed journey to Italy should not take place this year. He said, "I am disappointed, to be sure; but it is not a great disappointment." I wondered to see

him bear, with a philosophical calmness, what would have made most people peevish and fretful.¹ I perceived that he had so warmly cherished the hope of enjoying classical scenes, that he could not easily part with the scheme; for he said, "I shall probably contrive to get to Italy some other way."² But I won't mention it to Mr. and Mrs. Thrale, as it might vex them." I suggested that going to Italy might have done Mr. and Mrs. Thrale good. JOHNSON. "I rather believe not, Sir. While grief is fresh, every attempt to divert only irritates. You must wait till grief be digested, and then amusement will dissipate the remains of it."

At dinner, Mr. Murphy entertained us with the history of Mr. Joseph Simpson, a school-fellow of Dr. Johnson's, [p. 117.] a barrister at law, of good parts, but who fell into a dissipated course of life, incompatible with that success in his profession which he once had, and would otherwise have deservedly maintained; yet he still preserved a dignity in his department. He wrote a tragedy on the story of Leonidas, entitled "The Patriot." He read it to a company of lawyers, who found so many faults that he wrote it over again: so then there were two tragedies on the same subject and with the same title. Dr. Johnson told us, that one of them was still in his possession. This very piece was, after his death, published by some person who had been about him, and for the sake of a little hasty profit, was fallaciously advertised so as to make it be believed to have been written by Johnson himself.

I said, I disliked the custom which some people had of bringing their children into company, because it in a manner forced us to pay foolish compliments to please their parents. JOHNSON. "You are right, Sir. We may be excused for not caring much about other people's children, for there are many who care very little about their own children."³ It may be observed, that men who, from being engaged in business, or from their course of life in whatever way, seldom see their children, do not care much about them. I myself should not have had much fondness for a child of my own." MRS. THRALE. "Nay, Sir, how can you talk so?" JOHNSON. "At least, I never wished to have a child."⁴

Mr. Murphy mentioned Dr. Johnson's having a design to publish an edition of Cowley. Johnson said, he did not know but he should; and expressed his disapprobation of Dr. Hurd,

¹ That he cordially assented to the reasons which operated on the minds of Mr. and Mrs. Thrale to postpone the journey, appears from his letter to the lady:—"April 9, 1776. Mr. Thrale's alteration of purpose is not weakness of resolution; it is a wise man's compliance with the change of things, and with the new duties which the change produces. Whoever expects me to effect what will be disappointed. I do not even grieve at the effect; I only grieve for the cause." His desire, however, to go abroad was, says Mrs. Piozzi, "very great; and he had a longing wish to leave some Latin verses at the *Grand Châteaux* (*antiq.* p. 465, n. 4), as Gray had done."—CROKER.

² He probably may have had some idea of accompanying

his friend Mr. Saunders Welsh, who went to Italy in the May of this year. See *antiq.* p. 458., and *post.* p. 567.—CROKER.

³ It seems strange that Mr. and Mrs. Thrale should have given a dinner to "company" on the 10th of April, in less than three weeks from the death of their poor boy, and that even Boswell's indiscretion, or Johnson's inattention, could have led to so painful a topic as "fondness for a child."—CROKER, 1847.

⁴ Yet Miss Hawkins tells us, "that he was kind to children in his own way; my father seldom observed me with him without recollecting the *lion dangle* the *kid*."—*Memoirs* i. 23.—CROKER.

for having published a mutilated edition under the title of "Select Works of Abraham Cowley." Mr. Murphy thought it a bad precedent; observing, that any author might be used in the same manner, and that it was pleasing to see the variety of an author's compositions at different periods.

We talked of Flatman's Poems; and Mrs. Thrale observed, that Pope had partly borrowed from him "The Dying Christian to his Soul." Johnson repeated Rochester's verses upon Flatman¹, which I think by much too severe:—

"Nor that slow drudge in swift Pindaric strains,
Flatman, who Cowley imitates with pains,
And rides a jaded muse, whipt with loose reins."

I like to recollect all the passages that I heard Johnson repeat: it stamps a value on them.

He told us that the book entitled "The Lives of the Poets," by Mr. Cibber, was entirely compiled by Mr. Shiels², a Scotchman, one of his amanuenses. "The booksellers," said he, "gave Theophilus Cibber, who was then in prison, ten guineas to allow Mr. Cibber to be put upon the title-page, as the author; by this, a double imposition was intended; in the first place, that it was the work of a Cibber at all; and, in the second place, that it was the work of old Cibber."

Mr. Murphy said, that "The Memoirs of Gray's Life [by Mason] set him much higher in his estimation than his poems did: for you there saw a man constantly at work in literature." Johnson acquiesced in this; but depreciated the book, I thought, very unreasonably. For he said, "I forced myself to read it, only because it was a common topic of conversation. I found it mighty dull; and, as to the style, it is fit for the second table." Why

he thought so I was at a loss to conceive. He now gave it as his opinion, that "Akenside was a superior poet both to Gray and Mason."

Talking of the Reviews, Johnson said, "I think them very impartial: I do not know an instance of partiality." He mentioned what had passed upon the subject of the Monthly and Critical Reviews, in the conversation with which his Majesty had honoured him.³ He expatiated a little more on them this evening. "The Monthly Reviewers," said he, "are not Deists; but they are Christians with as little Christianity as may be; and are for pulling down all establishments. The Critical Reviewers are for supporting the constitution both in church and state. The Critical Reviewers, I believe, often review without reading the books through; but lay hold of a topic, and write chiefly from their own minds. The Monthly Reviewers are duller men, and are glad to read the books through."

He talked of Lord Lyttelton's extreme anxiety as an author; observing, that "he was thirty years in preparing his history, and that he employed a man to point it for him; as if (laughing) another man could point his sense better than himself."⁴ Mr. Murphy said, he understood his history was kept back several years for fear of Smollett.⁵ Johnson. "This seems strange to Murphy and me, who never felt that anxiety, but sent what we wrote to the press, and let it take its chance. Mrs. Thrale. "The time has been, Sir, when you felt it." Johnson. "Why really, Madam, I do not recollect a time when that was the case."

Talking of "The Spectator," he said, "It is wonderful that there is such a proportion of bad papers in the half of the work which was not written by Addison; for there was all the world to write that half, yet not a half of that

¹ Thomas Flatman was born about 1635, and died in 1688. "He really excelled as an artist: a man must want ears for harmony that can admire his poetry, and even want eyes that can cease to admire his painting. One of his heads is worth a ream of his Pindarics."—*Granger*, vol. iv. p. 54.—WRIGHT.

² Here occurred a note of Mr. Boswell's on the subject of *Cibber's Lives of the Poets*. (*anté*, pp. 57, 171., and *post*, 518.), which, being inconveniently long for this place, I have, with some additional observations, removed to the Appendix. The conclusion to which I had previously arrived on this subject is confirmed by the following letter from Griffiths, the publisher of the work, which Mr. P. Cunningham has pointed out to me in a recently published "Mémorial of the Life of Dr. Edmund Cartwright, 1843."

"Turnham Green, 16th June.

"Dear Sir,—I have sent you a *feast*! Johnson's *new* volumes of the 'Lives of the Poets.' You will observe that Savage's life is one of the volumes. I suppose it is the same which he published about thirty years ago, and therefore you will not be obliged to notice it otherwise than in the course of enumeration. In the account of Hammond (*anté*, p. 57.), my good friend Samuel has stumbled on a material circumstance in the publication of Cibber's 'Lives of the Poets.' He intimates that Cibber never saw the work. This is a reflection on the bookseller, your humble servant. The bookseller has now in his possession Theophilus Cibber's receipt for twenty guineas (Johnson says ten), in consideration of which he engaged to 'revise, correct, and improve the work, and also to affix his name in the title-page.' Mr. Cibber did accordingly very punctually revise every sheet; he made numerous corrections, and added many improvements—particularly in those lives which came down to his own times, and brought him within the circle of his own and his father's

literary acquaintance, especially in the dramatic line. To the best of my recollection, he gave some entire lives, besides inserting abundance of paragraphs, of notes, anecdotes, and remarks, in those which were compiled by Shiels and other writers. I say *other*, because many of the best pieces of biography in that collection were not written by Shiels, but by superior hands. In short, the engagement of Cibber, or some other *Englishman*, to superintend what Shiels in particular should offer, was a measure absolutely necessary, not only to guard against his Scotticisms and other defects of expression, but his virulent Jacobitism, which inclined him to abuse every Whig character that came in his way: This, indeed, he would have done, but Cibber (a staunch Williamite) opposed and prevented him, inasmuch that a violent quarrel arose on the subject. By the way, it seems to me that Shiels's Jacobitism has been the only circumstance that has procured him the regard of Mr. Johnson, and the favourable mention that he has made (in the paragraph referred to) of Shiels's 'virtuous life and pious end'—expressions that must draw a smile from every one who knows, as I did, the real character of Robert Shiels. And now, what think you of noticing this matter, in regard to truth, and the fair fame of the honest bookseller?"—CROKER, 1846.

³ See *anté*, p. 186.

⁴ It may be doubted whether Johnson's dislike of Lord Lyttelton did not here lead him into an error. Persons not so habituated with the details of printing as he was may have been less expert at the use of these conventional signs. Lord Byron wrote to Mr. Murray: "Do you know any one who can stop? I mean *point commas*, and so forth; for I am, I fear, a sad hand at your punctuation."—*Moore's Life of Byron*, vol. i. p. 417.—CROKER.

⁵ Smollett was the founder, and for many years editor, of the *Critical Review*.—CROKER.

half is good. One of the finest pieces in the English language is the paper on Novelty [No. 626.], yet we do not hear it talked of. It was written by Grove¹, a dissenting teacher." He would not, I perceived, call him a *clergyman*, though he was candid enough to allow very great merit to his composition. Mr. Murphy said, he remembered when there were several people alive in London, who enjoyed a considerable reputation merely from having written a paper in "The Spectator." He mentioned particularly Mr. Ince, who used to frequent Tom's coffee-house. "But," said Johnson, "you must consider how highly Steele speaks of Mr. Ince." [No. 555.] He would not allow that the paper [No. 364.] on carrying a boy to travel, signed Philip Homebred, which was reported to be written by the Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, had merit. He said, "it was quite vulgar, and had nothing luminous."

Johnson mentioned Dr. Barry's² System of Physic. "He was a man," said he, "who had acquired a high reputation in Dublin, came over to England, and brought his reputation with him; but had not great success. His notion was, that pulsation occasions death by attrition; and that, therefore, the way to preserve life is to retard pulsation. But we know that pulsation is strongest in infants, and that we increase in growth while it operates in its regular course; so it cannot be the cause of destruction." Soon after this, he said something very flattering to Mrs. Thrale, which I do not recollect; but it concluded with wishing her long life. "Sir," said I, "if Dr. Barry's system be true, you have now shortened Mrs. Thrale's life, perhaps some minutes, by accelerating her pulsation."

[JOHNSON TO MISS REYNOLDS.

"April 11. 1776.

"DEAREST MADAM,— To have acted, with regard to you, in a manner either unfriendly or disrespectful, would give me great pain; and, I hope, will be always very contrary to my intention. That I staid away was merely accidental. I have seldom dined from home; and I did not think my opinion necessary to your information in any proprieties of behaviour. The poor parents of the child are much grieved, and much dejected. The journey to Italy is put off, but they go to Bath on Monday. A visit from you will be well taken, and I think your intimacy is such that you may very properly pay it in a morning. I am sure that it will be

thought seasonable and kind, and I wish you not to omit it. I am, dear Madam, &c.,
— Reynolds MS. "SAM. JOHNSON."]

On Thursday, April 11., I dined with him at General Paoli's, in whose house I now resided, and where I had ever afterwards the honour of being entertained with the kindest attention as his constant guest, while I was in London, till I had a house of my own there. I mentioned my having that morning introduced to Mr. Garrick, Count Neni, a Flemish nobleman of great rank and fortune, to whom Garrick talked of Abel Druggar as a *small part*; and related, with pleasant vanity, that a Frenchman, who had seen him in one of his low characters, exclaimed "*Comment! je ne le crois pas. Ce n'est pas Monsieur Garrick, ce grand homme!*" Garrick added, with an appearance of grave recollection, "If I were to begin life again, I think I should not play those low characters." Upon which I observed, "Sir, you would be in the wrong, for your great excellence is your variety of playing, your representing so well characters so very different. JOHNSON. "Garrick, Sir, was not in earnest in what he said: for, to be sure, his peculiar excellence is his variety; and, perhaps, there is not any one character which has not been as well acted by somebody else, as he could do it." BOSWELL. "Why, then, Sir, did he talk so?" JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, to make you answer as you did." BOSWELL. "I don't know, Sir; he seemed to dip deep into his mind for the reflection." JOHNSON. "He had not far to dip, Sir; he had said the same thing, probably, twenty times before."

Of a nobleman raised at a very early period to high office, he said, "His parts, Sir, are pretty well for a lord; but would not be distinguished in a man who had nothing else but his parts."³

A journey to Italy was still in his thoughts. He said, "A man who has not been in Italy is always conscious of an inferiority, from his not having seen what it is expected a man should see. The grand object of travelling is to see the shores of the Mediterranean. On those shores were the four great empires of the world; the Assyrian, the Persian, the Grecian, and the Roman. All our religion, almost all our law, almost all our arts, almost all that sets us above savages, has come to us from the shores of the Mediterranean." The General observed, that "THE MEDITERRANEAN would be a noble subject for a poem."⁴

¹ Henry Grove was born at Taunton in 1683, and died in 1737. His posthumous works were published by subscription, in 4 vols. 8vo. in 1740. — WRIGHT.

² Sir Edward Barry, Baronet. — BOSWELL. He published, in 1775, a curious work on the Wines of the Ancients. — CROKER.

³ Obvious as this allusion must have been at the time, neither I, nor any of the numerous persons I have consulted, have been able to satisfy ourselves as to the person here meant. Lord Lansdown and Mr. Markland thought the Duke of Grafton; but he was now off the stage. Dr. Harwood and Sir James Mackintosh thought Lord Carlisle; but

he was not yet in office. Of Lord North Johnson used to speak disparagingly, but he could not be said to obtain high office at a *very early* period, as he was forty when he became minister. — C., 1831. On a further consideration of all the circumstances, I incline to believe that *Lord Shelburn* was meant, who was in 1766 made Secretary of State, being then only twenty-nine, and he was one of the few noblemen who had obtained high office with whom Johnson had any acquaintance. See *post*, sub 30th March, 1783. — CROKER, 1846.

⁴ Soon after Boswell's work appeared, Lady Hesketh recommended the "*Mediterranean*" to Cowper as the subject

We talked of translation. I said, I could not define it, nor could I think of a similitude to illustrate it; but that it appeared to me the translation of poetry could be only imitation. JOHNSON. "You may translate books of science exactly. You may also translate history, in so far as it is not embellished with oratory, which is poetical. Poetry, indeed, cannot be translated; and, therefore, it is the poets that preserve languages; for we would not be at the trouble to learn a language, if we could have all that is written in it just as well in a translation. But as the beauties of poetry cannot be preserved in any language except that in which it was originally written, we learn the language."

A gentleman maintained that the art of printing had hurt real learning, by disseminating idle writings. JOHNSON. "Sir, if it had not been for the art of printing, we should now have no learning at all; for books would have perished faster than they could have been transcribed." This observation seems not just, considering for how many ages books were preserved by writing alone.

The same gentleman maintained, that a general diffusion of knowledge among a people was a disadvantage; for it made the vulgar rise above their humble sphere. JOHNSON. "Sir, while knowledge is a distinction, those who are possessed of it will naturally rise above those who are not. Merely to read and write was a distinction at first; but we see when reading and writing have become general, the common people keep their stations. And so, were higher attainments to become general, the effect would be the same."

"Goldsmith," he said, "referred every thing to vanity; his virtues and his vices too were from that motive. He was not a social man. He never exchanged mind with you."¹

We spent the evening at Mr. Hoole's. Mr. Mickle, the excellent translator of "The Lucretius," was there. I have preserved little of the conversation of this evening. Dr. Johnson said, "Thomson had a true poetical genius, the power of viewing every thing in a poetical light. His fault is such a cloud of words sometimes, that the sense can hardly peep through. Shiels, who compiled 'Cibber's Lives of the

Poets,' was one day sitting with me. I took down Thomson, and read aloud a large portion of him, and then asked, — Is not this fine? Shiels having expressed the highest admiration — 'Well, Sir,' said I, 'I have omitted every other line.'"

I related a dispute between Goldsmith and Mr. Robert Dodsley, one day when they and I were dining at Tom Davies's, in 1762. Goldsmith asserted, that there was no poetry produced in this age. Dodsley appealed to his own collection, and maintained, that though you could not find a palace like Dryden's "Ode on St. Cecilia's Day," you had villages composed of very pretty houses; and he mentioned particularly "The Spleen." JOHNSON. "I think Dodsley gave up the question. He and Goldsmith said the same thing; only he said it in a softer manner than Goldsmith did; for he acknowledged there was no poetry, nothing that towered above the common mark. You may find wit and humour in verse, and yet no poetry. 'Hudibras' has a profusion of these; yet it is not to be reckoned a poem. 'The Spleen,' in Dodsley's collection, on which you say he chiefly rested, is not poetry." BOSWELL. "Does not Gray's poetry, Sir, tower above the common mark?" JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir; but we must attend to the difference between what men in general cannot do if they would, and what every man may do if he would. Sixteen-string Jack² towered above the common mark." BOSWELL. "Then, Sir, what is poetry?" JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, it is much easier to say what it is not. We all know what light is; but it is not easy to tell what it is."³

On Friday, April 12., I dined with him at our friend Tom Davies's, where we met Mr. Cradock⁴, of Leicestershire, author of "Zobeide," a tragedy; a very pleasing gentleman, to whom my friend Dr. Farmer's very excellent Essay on the Learning of Shakspeare is addressed; and Dr. Harwood, who has written and published various works, particularly a fantastical translation of the New Testament, in modern phrase, and with a Socinian twist.⁵

I introduced Aristotle's doctrine, in his "Art of Poetry," of *καθαρσις των παθηματων*, the purging of the passions, as the purpose of tragedy.⁶ "But how are the passions to be

of a poem, but he modestly excused himself, adding, that "it was a subject not for one poem but twenty," to which Southey subjoins, "a noble subject indeed, but about as practicable for a poem as for a panorama." — *Life of Cowper*, iii. 16. — P. CUNNINGHAM.

¹ This seems not quite clear. Poor Goldsmith was, in the ordinary sense of the word, social and communicative to a fault. Dr. Johnson no doubt meant, that he was too much of an egotist, and too eager in conversation, to be a man of agreeable social habits; and although he had no reserve whatsoever, and opened whatever he had in his mind with the utmost confidence of indiscretion (see *passim*), yet "never exchanged mind;" that is, he never patiently interchanged opinions. — CROKER.

² A noted highwayman [by name John Rann] who, after having been several times tried and acquitted, was at last hanged [on Nov. 30. 1774]. He was remarkable for foppery in his dress, and particularly for wearing a bunch of sixteen strings at the knees of his breeches. — BOSWELL.

³ Gray, Johnson said, was the very Torrè of poetry; he

played his coruscations so speciously, that his steel dust is mistaken by many for a shower of gold." — *Hawkins's Apophthegms*. Torrè was a foreigner who exhibited a variety of splendid fire-works at Marylebone Gardens. — CROKER.

⁴ Who published, in 1826, "Memoirs of his own Times," of which I have made occasional use. — CROKER.

⁵ He is more advantageously known by a work on the classics. This poor man had, about 1783, a stroke of the palsy, which rendered him a cripple, and, in 1788, he published in the *European Magazine*, a letter, written to him in 1773 by Bishop Lowth, to show that the bishop, though no friend to dissenters, was kind and liberal towards him, and contributed, he says, to the last year of his life, to relieve his wants. — *European Magazine*, 1788, p. 413. — CROKER.

⁶ See an ingenious essay on this subject by the late Dr. Moor, Greek professor at Glasgow. — BOSWELL. See also a learned note on this passage of Aristotle, by Mr. Twining, in his admirable translation of the Poetics, in which the various explanations of other critics are considered, and in which Dr. Moor's essay is particularly discussed. — J. BOSWELL, jun.

purged by terror and pity?" said I, with an assumed air of ignorance, to incite him to talk, for which it was often necessary to employ some address. JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, you are to consider what is the meaning of purging in the original sense. It is to expel impurities from the human body. The mind is subject to the same imperfection. The passions are the great movers of human actions; but they are mixed with such impurities, that it is necessary they should be purged or refined by means of terror and pity. For instance, ambition is a noble passion; but by seeing upon the stage, that a man who is so excessively ambitious as to raise himself by injustice is punished, we are terrified at the fatal consequences of such a passion. In the same manner, a certain degree of resentment is necessary; but if we see that a man carries it too far, we pity the object of it, and are taught to moderate that passion." My record upon this occasion does great injustice to Johnson's expression, which was so forcible and brilliant, that Mr. Cradock whispered me, "O that his words were written in a book!"¹

I observed, the great defect of the tragedy of "Othello" was, that it had not a moral; for that no man could resist the circumstances of suspicion which were artfully suggested to Othello's mind. JOHNSON. "In the first place, Sir, we learn from Othello this very useful moral, not to make an unequal match; in the second place, we learn not to yield too readily to suspicion. The handkerchief is merely a trick, though a very pretty trick; but there are no other circumstances of reasonable suspicion, except what is related by Iago of Cassio's warm expressions concerning Desdemona in his sleep; and that depended entirely upon the assertion of one man. No, Sir, I think Othello has more moral than almost any play."

Talking of a penurious gentleman² of our acquaintance, Johnson said, "Sir, he is narrow, not so much from avarice, as from impotence to spend his money. He cannot find in his heart to pour out a bottle of wine; but he would not much care if it should sour."

He said, he wished to see "John Dennis's Critical Works" collected. Davies said, they would not sell. Dr. Johnson seemed to think otherwise.

Davies said of a well-known dramatic author³, that "he lived upon *potted stories*, and that he made his way as Hannibal did, by vinegar; having begun by attacking people, particularly the players."

He reminded Dr. Johnson of Mr. Murphy's

having paid him the highest compliment that ever was paid to a layman, by asking his pardon for repeating some oaths in the course of telling a story.⁴

Johnson and I supped this evening at the Crown and Anchor tavern, in company with Sir Joshua Reynolds, Mr. Langton, Mr. Nairne, now one of the Scotch judges, with the title of Lord Dunsinane⁵, and my very worthy friend, Sir William Forbes, of Pitsligo.

We discussed the question, whether drinking improved conversation and benevolence. Sir Joshua maintained, it did. JOHNSON. "No, Sir: before dinner men meet with great inequality of understanding; and those who are conscious of their inferiority have the modesty not to talk. When they have drunk wine, every man feels himself happy, and loses that modesty, and grows impudent and vociferous: but he is not improved: he is only not sensible of his defects." Sir Joshua said the Doctor was talking of the effects of excess in wine; but that a moderate glass enlivened the mind, by giving a proper circulation to the blood, "I am," said he, "in very good spirits when I get up in the morning. By dinner-time I am exhausted; wine puts me in the same state as when I got up: and I am sure that moderate drinking makes people talk better." JOHNSON. "No, Sir: wine gives not light, gay, ideal hilarity; but tumultuous, noisy, clamorous merriment. I have heard none of those drunken, — nay, drunken is a coarse word, — none of those *vinous flights*." SIR JOSHUA. "Because you have sat by, quite sober, and felt an envy of the happiness of those who were drinking." JOHNSON. "Perhaps, contempt. And, Sir, it is not necessary to be drunk one's self, to relish the wit of drunkenness. Do we not judge of the drunken wit of the dialogue between Iago and Cassio, the most excellent in its kind, when we are quite sober? Wit is wit, by whatever means it is produced; and, if good, will appear so at all times. I admit that the spirits are raised by drinking, as by the common participation of any pleasure: cock-fighting or bear-baiting will raise the spirits of a company, as drinking does, though surely they will not improve conversation. I also admit, that there are some sluggish men who are improved by drinking; as there are fruits which are not good till they are rotten. There are such men, but they are medlars. I indeed allow that there have been a very few men of talents who were improved by drinking; but I maintain that I am right as to the effects of drinking in general: and let it be considered,

¹ Perhaps, as Dr. Hall observed, an allusion to Job xix. 23. *Oh, that my words were now written! Oh, that they were printed in a book!* — CROKER.

² I suspect this was said of Garrick in one of those alternations of censure and praise, in which he used to talk of him, and which Sir Joshua Reynolds recorded in two, not altogether imaginary, dialogues, *pro* and *con*. — CROKER.

³ Sir James Mackintosh thought Cumberland was meant. I am now satisfied that it was Arthur Murphy. — CROKER, 1835.

⁴ Hawkins says that when a libertine of some note (probably Tom Hervey, p. 183.) was talking before him, and interlarding his stories with oaths, Johnson said, "Sir, all this swearing will do nothing for our story; I beg you will not swear." The narrator went on swearing: Johnson said, "I must again entreat you not to swear." He swore again; Johnson quitted the room. — CROKER.

⁵ See *anté*, p. 280. n. 4. — C.

that there is no position, however false in its universality, which is not true of some particular man." Sir William Forbes said, "Might not a man warmed with wine be like a bottle of beer, which is made brisker by being set before the fire." "Nay," said Johnson, laughing, "I cannot answer that: that is too much for me."

I observed, that wine did some people harm, by inflaming, confusing, and irritating their minds; but that the experience of mankind had declared in favour of moderate drinking. JOHNSON. "Sir, I do not say it is wrong to produce self-complacency by drinking; I only deny that it improves the mind. When I drank wine¹, I scorned to drink it when in company. I have drunk many a bottle by myself; in the first place, because I had need of it to raise my spirits; in the second place, because I would have nobody to witness its effects upon me."

He told us, "almost all his *Ramblers* were written just as they were wanted for the press; that he sent a certain portion of the copy of an essay, and wrote the remainder, while the former part of it was printing. When it was wanted, and he had fairly sat down to it, he was sure it would be done."

He said, that, for general improvement, a man should read whatever his immediate inclination prompts him to; though, to be sure, if a man has a science to learn, he must regularly and resolutely advance. He added, "What we read with inclination makes a much stronger impression. If we read without inclination, half the mind is employed in fixing the attention; so there is but one half to be employed on what we read." He told us, he read Fielding's "Amelia" through without stopping.² He said, "If a man begins to read in the middle of a book, and feels an inclination to go on, let him not quit it, to go to the beginning. He may, perhaps, not feel again the inclination."

Sir Joshua mentioned Mr. Cumberland's "Odes," which were just published. JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, they would have been thought as good as odes commonly are, if Cumberland had not put his name to them; but a name imme-

diately draws censure, unless it be a name that bears down every thing before it. Nay, Cumberland has made his 'Odes' subsidiary to the fame of another man.³ They might have run well enough by themselves; but he has not only loaded them with a name, but has made them carry double."

We talked of the reviews, and Dr. Johnson spoke of them as he did at Thrale's. Sir Joshua said, what I have often thought, that he wondered to find so much good writing employed in them, when the authors were to remain unknown, and so could not have the motive of fame. JOHNSON. "Nay, Sir, those who write in them, write well in order to be paid well."

[JOHNSON TO MISS REYNOLDS.

"April 15. 1776.

"DEAREST MADAM, — When you called on Mrs. Thrale, I find by enquiry that she was really abroad. The same thing happened to Mrs. Montagu, of which I beg you to inform her, for she went likewise by my opinion. The denial, if it had been feigned, would not have pleased me. Your visits, however, are kindly paid, and very kindly taken. We are going to Bath this morning; but I could not part without telling you the real state of your visit. — I am, dearest Madam, &c., — Reynolds MS. "SAM. JOHNSON."]

Soon after this day, he went to Bath with Mr. and Mrs. Thrale. I had never seen that beautiful city, and wished to take the opportunity of visiting it while Johnson was there. Having written to him, I received the following answer: —

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"DEAR SIR, — Why do you talk of neglect? When did I neglect you? If you will come to Bath, we shall all be glad to see you. Come, therefore, as soon as you can. — But I have a little business for you at London. Bid Francis look in the paper drawer of the chest of drawers in my bed-chamber, for two cases⁴; one for the attorney-general, and one for the solicitor-general. They lie, I think, at the top of my papers; otherwise they are somewhere else, and will give me more trouble.

¹ The strongest liquors, says Hawkins, and in very large quantities, produced no other effect on him than moderate exhilaration. Once, and but once, he is known to have had his dose; a circumstance which he himself discovered, on finding one of his sesquipedalian words hang fire; he then started up, and gravely observed, — "I think it time we should go to bed." Mrs. Piozzi tells us that his favourite beverage was port, in large draughts, sweetened with sugar or capillaire; but that was in his earlier days. "After a ten years' forbearance of every fluid except tea and sherbet, I drank," said he to Hawkins, "one glass of wine to the health of Sir Joshua Reynolds, on the evening of the day [Dec. 1768] on which he was knighted. I never swallowed another drop, till old Madeira was prescribed to me as a cordial during my present indisposition; but this liquor did not relish as formerly, and I therefore discontinued it." — CROKER.

² We have here an involuntary testimony to the excellence of this admirable writer, to whom we have seen that Dr. Johnson directly allowed so little merit. — BOSWELL. Johnson appears to have been particularly pleased with the

character of the heroine of this novel. "His attention to veracity," says Mrs. Piozzi, "was without equal or example;" and when I mentioned Clarissa as a perfect character, "On the contrary," said he, "you may observe there is always something which she prefers to truth." "Fielding's Amelia was the most pleasing heroine of all the romances," he said; "but that vile broken nose, never cured, ruined the sale of perhaps the only book, of which, being printed off [published] betimes one morning, a new edition was called for before night." — *Anecdotes*, p. 221. — MALONE.

³ Mr. Romney, the painter, who has now deservedly established a high reputation. — BOSWELL. A curious work might be written on the reputation of painters. Horace Walpole talked at one time of *Ramsay* as of at least equal fame with *Reynolds*; and Hayley dedicated his lyre (such as it was) to Romney. What is a picture of Ramsay or Romney now worth? — CROKER.

⁴ These cases related probably to a law-suit which Dr. Taylor was carrying on, and in which Dr. Johnson assisted him with his advice. — CROKER.

"Please to write to me immediately, if they can be found. Make my compliments to all our friends round the world, and to Mrs. Williams at home. — I am, Sir, your, &c. "SAM. JOHNSON."

"Search for the papers as soon as you can, that, if it is necessary, I may write to you again before you come down."

CHAPTER LVI.

1776.

Boswell's Visit to Bath and Bristol. — Rowley's Poems. — Chatterton. — Garrick's "Archer." — Brute Creation. — Chesterfield's "Letters." — Notes on Shakspeare. — Luxury. — Oglethorpe. Lord Elibank. — Conversation. — Egotism. — Dr. Oldfield. — Commentators on the Bible. — Thompson's Case. — Dinner at Mr. Dilly's. — John Wilkes. — Foote's Mimicry. — Garrick's Wit. — Biography. — Dryden. — Cibber's Plays. — "Difficile est propriè," &c. — City Poets. — "Diabolus Regis." — Lord Bute. — Mrs. Knowles. — Mrs. Rudd.

On the 26th April, I went to Bath; and on my arrival at the Pelican inn, found lying for me an obliging invitation from Mr. and Mrs. Thrale, by whom I was agreeably entertained almost constantly during my stay. They were gone to the rooms: but there was a kind note from Dr. Johnson, that he should sit at home all the evening. I went to him directly; and before Mr. and Mrs. Thrale returned, we had by ourselves some hours of tea-drinking and talk.

I shall group together such of his sayings as I preserved during the few days that I was at Bath.

• Of a person [Mr. Burke] who differed from him in politics, he said, "In private life he is a very honest gentleman; but I will not allow him to be so in public life. People *may* be honest, though they are doing wrong: that is, between their Maker and them. But *we*, who are suffering by their pernicious conduct, are to destroy them. We are sure that [Burke] acts from interest. We know what his genuine principles were.¹ They who allow their passions to confound the distinctions between right and wrong, are criminal. They may be convinced; but they have not come honestly by their conviction."

¹ He means, that, in earlier life, *they*, at the Club, knew that Burke was not what Johnson would call a Whig. — Mr. Burke ended as he began —

"This sun of empire, where he rose, he set!" — CROKER.

² The elder Mr. Langton. — *Hawk. Mem.* It is not easy to understand how any filtration could have cured a mind of such an error as this. — CROKER.

³ I am sorry that there are no memoirs of the Rev. Robert Blair, the author of this poem. He was the representative of the ancient family of Blair, of Blair, in Ayrshire; but the estate had descended to a female, and afterwards passed to

It having been mentioned, I know not with what truth, that a certain female political writer [Mrs. Macaulay], whose doctrines he disliked, had of late become very fond of dress, sat hours together at her toilet, and even put on rouge: — JOHNSON. "She is better employed at her toilet, than using her pen. It is better she should be reddening her own cheeks, than blackening other people's characters."

He told us that "Addison wrote Budgell's papers in the Spectator, at least mended them so much that he made them almost his own; and that Draper, Tonson's partner, assured Mrs. Johnson, that the much admired Epilogue to 'The Distressed Mother,' which came out in Budgell's name, was in reality written by Addison."

"The mode of government by one may be ill adapted to a small society, but is best for a great nation. The characteristic of our own government at present is imbecility. The magistrates dare not call the guards for fear of being hanged. The guards will not come for fear of being given up to the blind rage of popular juries."

Of the father² of one of our friends he observed, "He never clarified his notions, by filtrating them through other minds. He had a canal upon his estate, where at one place the bank was too low. I dug the canal deeper," said he.

He told me that "so long ago as 1748, he had read 'The Grave, a Poem,'³ but did not like it much." I differed from him; for though it is not equal throughout, and is seldom elegantly correct, it abounds in solemn thought and poetical imagery beyond the common reach. The world has differed from him; for the poem has passed through many editions, and is still much read by people of a serious cast of mind.

A literary lady of large fortune [Mrs. Montagu] was mentioned, as one who did good to many, but by no means "by stealth;" and instead of "blushing to find it fame," acted evidently from vanity. JOHNSON. "I have seen no beings who do as much good from benevolence, as she does, from whatever motive. If there are such under the earth, or in the clouds, I wish they would come up, or come down. What Soame Jenyns says upon this subject is not to be minded; he is a wit. No, Sir; to act from pure benevolence is not possible for finite beings. Human benevolence is mingled with vanity, interest, or some other motive."⁴

the son of her husband by another marriage. He was minister of the parish of Athelstaneford, where Mr. John Home was his successor; so that it may truly be called classic ground. His son, who is of the same name, and a man eminent for talents and learning, is now, with universal approbation, solicitor-general of Scotland. — BOSWELL. And was afterwards Lord President of the Court of Session. A life of Blair is given in the editions of the English Poets by Anderson and Chalmers. He died in 1746, in his forty-seventh year. — CROKER.

⁴ The pension which Mrs. Montagu had lately settled on

He would not allow me to praise a lady¹ then at Bath; observing, "She does not gain upon me, Sir; I think her empty-headed." He was, indeed, a stern critic upon characters and manners. Even Mrs. Thrale did not escape his friendly animadversion at times. When he and I were one day endeavouring to ascertain, article by article, how one of our friends² could possibly spend as much money in his family as he told us he did, she interrupted us by a lively extravagant sally, on the expense of clothing his children, describing it in a very ludicrous and fanciful manner. Johnson looked a little angry, and said, "Nay, Madam, when you are declaiming, declaim; and when you are calculating, calculate." At another time, when she said, perhaps affectingly, "I don't like to fly;"—JOHNSON. "With your wings, Madam, you *must* fly: but have a care, there are *clippers* abroad." How very well was this said, and how fully has experience proved the truth of it! But have they not *clipped* rather *rudely*, and gone a great deal *closer* than was necessary?³

A gentleman expressed a wish to go and live three years at Otaheité, or New Zealand, in order to obtain a full acquaintance with people so totally different from all that we have ever known, and be satisfied what pure nature can do for man. JOHNSON. "What could you learn, Sir? What can savages tell, but what they themselves have seen? Of the past or the invisible they can tell nothing. The inhabitants of Otaheité and New Zealand are not in a state of pure nature; for it is plain they broke off from some other people. Had they grown out of the ground, you might have judged of a state of pure nature. Fanciful people may talk of a mythology being amongst them; but it must be invention. They have once had religion, which has been gradually debased. And what account of their religion can you suppose to be learnt from savages? Only consider, Sir, our own state: our religion is in a book; we have an order of men whose duty it is to teach it; we have one day in the week set apart for it, and this is in general pretty well observed: yet ask the first ten gross men you meet, and hear what they can tell of their religion."

On Monday, April 29., he and I made an excursion to Bristol, where I was entertained

with seeing him enquire upon the spot into the authenticity of "Rowley's poetry," as I had seen him enquire upon the spot into the authenticity of "Ossian's poetry." George Catcott, the pewterer, who was as zealous for Rowley as Dr. Hugh Blair was for Ossian (I trust my reverend friend will excuse the comparison), attended us at our inn, and with a triumphant air of lively simplicity, called out, "I'll make Dr. Johnson a convert." Dr. Johnson, at his desire, read aloud some of Chatterton's fabricated verses; while Catcott stood at the back of his chair, moving himself like a pendulum, and beating time with his feet, and now and then looking into Dr. Johnson's face, wondering that he was not yet convinced. We called on Mr. Barret, the surgeon, and saw some of the *originals*, as they were called, which were executed very artificially⁴; but from a careful inspection of them, and a consideration of the circumstances with which they were attended, we were quite satisfied of the imposture, which, indeed, has been clearly demonstrated from internal evidence, by several able critics.⁵

Honest Catcott seemed to pay no attention whatever to any objections, but insisted, as an end of all controversy, that we should go with him to the tower of the church of St. Mary, Redcliff, and *view with our own eyes* the ancient chest in which the manuscripts were found.⁶ To this Dr. Johnson good-naturedly agreed; and, though troubled with a shortness of breathing, laboured up a long flight of steps, till we came to the place where the wondrous chest stood. "*There*," said Catcott, with a bouncing confident credulity, "*there* is the very chest itself." After this *ocular demonstration*, there was no more to be said. He brought to my recollection a Scotch Highlander, a man of learning too, and who had seen the world, attesting, and at the same time giving his reasons for, the authenticity of Fingal: "I have heard all that poem when I was young." "Have you, Sir? Pray what have you heard?" "I have heard Ossian, Oscar, and *every one of them*."⁷

Johnson said of Chatterton, "This is the most extraordinary young man that has encountered my knowledge. It is wonderful how the whelp has written such things."

We were by no means pleased with our inn

Miss Williams (see *anté*, p. 458.) would naturally account for this defence of that lady's beneficence, but it seems also to have induced Johnson to speak of her intellectual powers in a strain of panegyric as excessive as his former depreciation; but I can scarcely believe that he ever could have spoken of her in such terms as the good-natured Miss Reynolds relates. "Sir," he would say, "that lady exerts more *mind* in conversation than any person I ever met with: Sir, she displays such powers of ratiocination—such radiations of intellectual excellence, as are amazing!"—CROKER.

¹ This has been supposed to be Miss Hannah More; yet it seems hard to conceive in what wayward fancy he could call her "empty-headed."—C., 1830. I am glad to find, from Hannah More's Letters, recently published, that my doubt was well founded. She was at this time in London, and could not have been the person meant.—CROKER, 1835.

² Mr. Langton.—CROKER.

³ This alludes to the many sarcastic observations published against Mrs. Piozzi, on her lamentable marriage, and particularly to Baret's brutal strictures in the European Magazine for 1788; which even Boswell, with all his civility towards her, could not approve.—CROKER.

⁴ Several of these originals are now in the British Museum, and in point of penmanship are very sorry fabrications, far inferior to Ireland's Shakespearian forgeries.—P. CUNNINGHAM.

⁵ Mr. Tyrwhitt, Mr. Warton, Mr. Malone.—BOSWELL.

⁶ This *naïveté* resembles the style of evidence which Johnson so pleasantly ridicules in the Idler, No. 10. "Jack Sneaker is a hearty adherent to the protestant establishment; he has known those who saw the bed into which the Pretender was conveyed in a warming-pan."—CROKER.

⁷ Boswell had not told us this in his *Journal*.—CROKER, 1847.

at Bristol. "Let us see now," said I, "how we should describe it." Johnson was ready with his raillery. "Describe it, Sir? Why, it was so bad, that—Boswell wished to be in Scotland!"

After Dr. Johnson returned to London¹ [May 4th], I was several times with him at his house, where I occasionally slept, in the room that had been assigned for me. I dined with him at Dr. Taylor's [7th], at General Oglethorpe's [8th], and at General Paoli's [9th]. To avoid a tedious minuteness, I shall group together what I have preserved of his conversation during this period also, without specifying each scene where it passed, except one, which will be found so remarkable as certainly to deserve a very particular relation. Where the place or the persons do not contribute to the zest of the conversation, it is unnecessary to encumber my page with mentioning them. To know of what vintage our wine is, enables us to judge of its value, and to drink it with more relish: but to have the produce of each vine of one vineyard, in the same year, kept separate, would serve no purpose. To know that our wine (to use an advertising phrase) is "of the stock of an ambassador lately deceased," heightens its flavour: but it signifies nothing to know the bin where each bottle was once deposited.²

"Garriek," he observed, "does not play the part of Archer in the 'Beaux Stratagem' well. The gentleman should break through the footman, which is not the case as he does it."³

"Where there is no education, as in savage countries, men will have the upper hand of women. Bodily strength, no doubt, contributes to this; but it would be so, exclusive of that; for it is mind that always governs. When it comes to dry understanding, man has the better."

"The little volumes entitled, '*Respublicæ*,'⁴ which are very well done, were a bookseller's work."

"There is much talk of the misery which we cause to the brute creation; but they are recompensed by existence. If they were not useful to man, and therefore protected by him, they would not be nearly so numerous." This argument is to be found in the able and benignant Hutchinson's "*Moral Philosophy*." But the question is, whether the animals who

endure such sufferings of various kinds, for the service and entertainment of man, would accept of existence upon the terms on which they have it. Madame de Sevigné, who, though she had many enjoyments, felt with delicate sensibility the prevalence of misery, complains of the task of existence having been imposed upon her without her consent.

"That man is never happy for the present is so true, that all his relief from unhappiness is only forgetting himself for a little while. Life is a progress from want to want, not from enjoyment to enjoyment."

"Though many men are nominally intrusted with the administration of hospitals and other public institutions, almost all the good is done by one man, by whom the rest are driven on; owing to confidence in him and indolence in them."

"Lord Chesterfield's Letters to his Son⁵, I think, might be made a very pretty book. Take out the immorality, and it should be put into the hands of every young gentleman. An elegant manner and easiness of behaviour are acquired gradually and imperceptibly. No man can say, 'I'll be genteel.' There are ten genteel women for one genteel man, because they are more restrained. A man without some degree of restraint is insufferable; but we are all less restrained than women. Were a woman sitting in company to put out her legs before her as most men do, we should be tempted to kick them in." No man was a more attentive and nice observer of behaviour in those whose company he happened to be than Johnson, or, however strange it may seem to many, had a higher estimation of its refinements.⁶

Lord Eliot informs me, that one day when Johnson and he were at dinner in a gentleman's house in London, upon Lord Chesterfield's Letters being mentioned, Johnson surprised the company by this sentence: "Every man of any education would rather be called a rascal, than accused of deficiency in the *graces*." Mr. Gibbon, who was present, turned to a lady who knew Johnson well, and lived much with him, and in his quaint manner, tapping his box, addressed her thus: "Don't you think, Madam (looking towards Johnson), that among *all* your acquaintance, you could find *one* exception?" The lady smiled, and seemed to acquiesce."⁷

¹ It appears from his *Letters*, that being called up to advise Dr. Taylor in an ecclesiastical suit, (*anté*, p. 508, n. 4.) he left Bath on Friday night, 3d May, and arrived in London by seven o'clock on Saturday. — CROKER.

² This metaphor by no means reconciles us to the negligence which it is intended to excuse. Boswell's greatest merit is in his details. — CROKER.

³ Garrick, on the other hand, denied that Johnson was capable of distinguishing the gentleman from the footman. See *anté*, p. 490. — CROKER.

⁴ Accounts of the principal States of Europe. — CROKER.
⁵ "A pretty book" was made up from these letters by the late Dr. Trusler, entitled "*Principles of Politeness*." — Hall. — CROKER.

⁶ "One day," says Mrs. Piozzi, "commended a young lady for her beauty and pretty behaviour, to whom she thought

no objections could have been made. "I saw her (says Dr. Johnson) take a pair of scissors in her left hand; and, although her father is now become a nobleman, and, as you say, excessively rich, I should, were I a youth of quality ten years hence, hesitate between a girl so neglected and a *negro*." — *Anecdotes*. "The child who took a pair of scissors in her left hand is now a woman of quality, highly respected, and would cut us, I conclude, most deservedly, if more were said on the subject." — *Piozzi MS.* I believe that the lady was the eldest daughter of Mr. Lyttelton, afterwards Lord Westcote, married to Sir Richard Hoare. She was born in Jamaica, and thence, perhaps, Johnson's strange allusion to the negro. — CROKER.

⁷ Colman, in his "*Random Records*," has given a lively sketch of the appearance and manners of Johnson and Gibbon in society:—

"I read," said he, "Sharpe's Letters on Italy' over again, when I was at Bath. There is a great deal of matter in them."

"Mrs. Williams was angry that Thrale's family did not send regularly to her every time they heard from me while I was in the Hebrides. Little people are apt to be jealous: but they should not be jealous; for they ought to consider, that superior attention will necessarily be paid to superior fortune or rank. Two persons may have equal merit, and on that account may have an equal claim to attention; but one of them may have also fortune and rank, and so may have a double claim."

Talking of his notes on Shakspeare, he said, "I despise those who do not see that I am right in the passage, where *as* is repeated, and 'asses of great charge' introduced. That on 'To be, or not to be,' is disputable."²

A gentleman, whom I found sitting with him one morning, said, that in his opinion the character of an infidel was more detestable than that of a man notoriously guilty of an atrocious crime. I differed from him, because we are surer of the odiousness of the one, than of the error of the other. JOHNSON. "Sir, I agree with him; for the infidel would be guilty of any crime if he were inclined to it."

"Many things which are false are transmitted from book to book, and gain credit in the world. One of these is the cry against the evil of luxury. Now the truth is, that luxury produces much good. Take the luxury of buildings in London. Does it not produce real advantage in the conveniency and elegance of accommodation, and this all from the exertion of industry? People will tell you, with a melancholy face, how many builders are in gaol. It is plain they are in gaol, not for building; for rents are not fallen. A man gives half-a-guinea for a dish of green peas. How much gardening does this occasion? how many labourers must the competition to have such things early in the market keep in em-

ployment? You will hear it said, very gravely, 'Why was not the half-guinea, thus spent in luxury, given to the poor?' To how many might it have afforded a good meal?' Alas! has it not gone to the *industrious* poor, whom it is better to support than the *idle* poor? You are much surer that you are doing good when you *pay* money to those who work, as the recompense of their labour, than when you *give* money merely in charity. Suppose the ancient luxury of a dish of peacock's brains were to be revived, how many carcases would be left to the poor at a cheap rate! and as to the rout that is made about people who are ruined by extravagance, it is no matter to the nation that some individuals suffer. When so much general productive exertion is the consequence of luxury, the nation does not care though there are debtors in gaol: nay, they would not care though their creditors were there too."

The uncommon vivacity of General Oglethorpe's mind, and variety of knowledge, having sometimes made his conversation seem too desultory; Johnson observed, "Oglethorpe, Sir, never *completes* what he has to say."

He on the same account made a similar remark on Patrick Lord Elibank; "Sir, there is nothing *conclusive* in his talk."

When I complained of having dined at a splendid table without hearing one sentence of conversation worthy of being remembered, he said, "Sir, there seldom is any such conversation." BOSWELL. "Why then meet at table?" JOHNSON. "Why, to eat and drink together, and to promote kindness; and, Sir, this is better done when there is no solid conversation: for when there is, people differ in opinion, and get into bad humour, or some of the company, who are not capable of such conversation, are left out, and feel themselves uneasy. It was for this reason Sir Robert Walpole said, he always talked grossly³ at his table, because in that all could join.

Being irritated by hearing a gentleman⁴ ask Mr. Levett a variety of questions concerning

"The learned Gibbon was a curious counterbalance to the learned (may I not say less learned?) Johnson. Their manners and taste, both in writing and conversation, were as different as their habiliments. On the day I first sat down with Johnson, in his rusty brown suit, and his black worsted stockings, Gibbon was placed opposite to me in a suit of flowered velvet, with a bag and sword. Each had his measured phraseology; and Johnson's famous parallel between Dryden and Pope, might be loosely parodied, in reference to himself and Gibbon: Johnson's style was grand, and Gibbon's elegant: the stateliness of the former was sometimes pedantic, and the latter was occasionally finical. Johnson marched to kettle-drums and trumpets; Gibbon moved to flutes and hautboys: Johnson hewed passages through the Alps, while Gibbon levelled walks through parks and gardens. Mauled as I had been by Johnson, Gibbon poured balm upon my bruises by condescending, once or twice in the course of the evening, to talk with me: the great historian was light and playful, suiting his matter to the capacity of the boy; but it was done *more suo*; — still his mannerism prevailed; still he tapped his snuff-box; still he smirked and smiled, and rounded his periods with the same air of good-breeding, as if he were conversing with men. His mouth, mellifluous as Plato's, was a round hole nearly in the centre of his visage." Vol. i. p. 121. — CROKER.

¹ Mr. Samuel Sharpe, a surgeon, who had travelled for his health, and whose representation of Italian manners was supposed to be tinged by the ill humour of a valetudinarian. Baretti took up the defence of his country, and a smart controversy ensued, which made some noise at the time. — CROKER.

² It may be observed, that Mr. Malone, in his very valuable edition of Shakspeare, has fully vindicated Dr. Johnson from the idle censures which the first of these notes has given rise to. The interpretation of the other passage, which Dr. Johnson allows to be *disputable*, he has clearly shown to be erroneous. — BOSWELL. The first note is on a passage in Hamlet, act v. scene ii. where Johnson detects an obscure quibble of which, I fear, Shakspeare is guilty. In the other, on the celebrated soliloquy, Johnson imagines, very absurdly, that "*To be, or not to be*" is a question, not whether Hamlet shall or not put an end to his existence here, but whether there be a future state. — CROKER.

³ See *anté*, p. 176. n. 6. — C. Thus Swift in his character of Sir Robert says,

"With favour and fortune fastidiously blest,
He is loud in his laugh and is *coarse* in his jest."
P. CUNNINGHAM.

⁴ Probably Mr. Boswell himself, who frequently practised this mode of obtaining information. — CROKER.

him, when he was sitting by, he broke out, "Sir, you have but two topics, yourself and me. I am sick of both." "A man," said he, "should not talk of himself, nor much of any particular person. He should take care not to be made a proverb; and, therefore, should avoid having any one topic of which people can say, 'We shall hear him upon it.' There was a Dr. Oldfield¹, who was always talking of the Duke of Marlborough. He came into a coffee-house one day, and told that his grace had spoken in the House of Lords for half an hour. 'Did he indeed speak for half an hour?' (said Belchier, the surgeon). — 'Yes.' — 'And what did he say of Dr. Oldfield?' — 'Nothing.' — 'Why then, Sir, he was very ungrateful; for Dr. Oldfield could not have spoken for a quarter of an hour, without saying something of him.'"

"Every man is to take existence on the terms on which it is given to him. To some men it is given on condition of not taking liberties, which other men may take without much harm. One may drink wine, and be nothing the worse for it: on another, wine may have effects so inflammatory as to injure him both in body and mind, and perhaps make him commit something for which he may deserve to be hanged."

"Lord Hailes's 'Annals of Scotland' have not that painted form which is the taste of this age; but it is a book which will always sell, it has such a stability of dates, such a certainty of facts, and such a punctuality of citation. I never before read Scotch history with certainty."

I asked him whether he would advise me to read the Bible with a commentary, and what commentaries he would recommend. JOHNSON. "To be sure, Sir, I would have you read the Bible with a commentary; and I would recommend Lowth and Patrick on the Old Testament, and Hammond on the New."

During my stay in London this spring, I solicited his attention to another law case, in which I was engaged. In the course of a contested election for the borough of Dunfermline, which I attended as one of my friend Colonel (afterward Sir Archibald) Campbell's counsel, one of his political agents — who was charged with having been unfaithful to his employer, and having deserted to the opposite party for a pecuniary reward — attacked very rudely in the newspapers the Rev. Mr. James Thomson, one of the ministers of that place, on account of a supposed allusion to him in one of his sermons. Upon this the minister, on a subsequent Sunday, arraigned him by name from the pulpit with some severity; and the agent, after the sermon was over, rose up and asked

the minister aloud, "What bribe he had received for telling so many lies from the chair of verity?"² I was present at this very extraordinary scene. The person arraigned, and his father and brother, who also had a share both of the reproof from the pulpit and in the retaliation, brought an action against Mr. Thomson, in the Court of Session, for defamation and damages, and I was one of the counsel for the reverend defendant. The liberty of the pulpit was our great ground of defence; but we argued also on the provocation of the previous attack, and on the instant retaliation. The Court of Session, however, — the fifteen judges, who are at the same time the jury, — decided against the minister, contrary to my humble opinion; and several of them expressed themselves with indignation against him. He was an aged gentleman, formerly a military chaplain, and a man of high spirit and honour. Johnson was satisfied that the judgment was wrong, and dictated to me, in confutation of it, the following Argument. — [See Appendix.]

When I read this to Mr. Burke, he was highly pleased, and exclaimed, "Well, he does his work in a workmanlike manner."³

Mr. Thomson wished to bring the cause by appeal before the House of Lords, but was dissuaded by the advice of the noble person who lately presided so ably in that most honourable house, and who was then attorney-general. As my readers will no doubt be glad also to read the opinion of this eminent man upon the same subject, I shall also insert it. — [See Appendix.]

I am now to record a very curious incident in Dr. Johnson's life, which fell under my own observation; of which *pars magna fui*, and which I am persuaded will, with the liberal-minded, be much to his credit.

My desire of being acquainted with celebrated men of every description had made me, much about the same time, obtain an introduction to Dr. Samuel Johnson and to John Wilkes, Esq. Two men more different could perhaps not be selected out of all mankind. They had even attacked one another with some asperity in their writings; yet I lived in habits of friendship with both. I could fully relish the excellence of each; for I have ever delighted in that intellectual chemistry, which can separate good qualities from evil in the same person.

Sir John Pringle, "mine own friend and my father's friend," between whom and Dr. Johnson I in vain wished to establish an acquaintance, as I respected and lived in intimacy with both of them, observed to me once, very ingeniously, "It is not in friendship as in ma-

¹ This, I suppose, was Joshua Oldfield, D.D., the only contemporary of the Duke of Marlborough's, of that name and degree, that I know of. — CROKER, 1835.

² A *Galicism*, which has, it appears, with so many others, become vernacular in Scotland. The French call a pulpit "*la chaire de verité*." — CROKER.

³ As a proof of Dr. Johnson's extraordinary powers of

composition, it appears from the original manuscript of this excellent dissertation, of which he dictated the first eight paragraphs on the 10th of May, and the remainder on the 13th, that there are in the whole only seven corrections, or rather variations, and those not considerable. Such were at once the vigorous and accurate emanations of his mind. — BOSWELL.

thematics, where two things, each equal to a third, are equal between themselves. You agree with Johnson as a middle quality, and you agree with me as a middle quality; but Johnson and I should not agree." Sir John was not sufficiently flexible; so I desisted; knowing, indeed, that the repulsion was equally strong on the part of Johnson; who, I know not from what cause, unless his being a Scotchman, had formed a very erroneous opinion of Sir John. But I conceived an irresistible wish, if possible, to bring Dr. Johnson and Mr. Wilkes together. How to manage it, was a nice and difficult matter.¹

My worthy booksellers and friends, Messieurs Dilly in the Poultry², at whose hospitable and well-covered table I have seen a greater number of literary men than at any other, except that of Sir Joshua Reynolds, had invited me to meet Mr. Wilkes and some more gentlemen on Wednesday, May 15. "Pray," said I, "let us have Dr. Johnson." "What, with Mr. Wilkes? not for the world," said Mr. Edward Dilly: "Dr. Johnson would never forgive me." "Come," said I, "if you'll let me negotiate for you, I will be answerable that all shall go well." DILLY. "Nay, if you will take it upon you, I am sure I shall be very happy to see them both here."

Notwithstanding the high veneration which I entertained for Dr. Johnson, I was sensible that he was sometimes a little actuated by the spirit of contradiction, and by means of that I hoped I should gain my point. I was persuaded that if I had come upon him with a direct proposal, "Sir, will you dine in company with Jack Wilkes?" he would have flown into a passion, and would probably have answered, "Dine with Jack Wilkes, Sir! I'd as soon dine with Jack Ketch."³ I, therefore, while we were sitting quietly by ourselves at his house in an evening, took occasion to open my plan thus: "Mr. Dilly, Sir, sends his respectful compliments to you, and would be happy if you would do him the honour to dine with him on Wednesday next along with me, as I must soon go to Scotland." JOHNSON. "Sir, I am obliged to Mr. Dilly. I will wait upon him—" BOSWELL. "Provided, Sir, I suppose, that the company which he is to have is agreeable to you?" JOHNSON. "What do you mean, Sir? What do you take me for? Do you think I am so ignorant of the world as to imagine that I am to prescribe to a gentleman what company he is to have at his table?" BOSWELL. "I beg your pardon, Sir, for wishing to prevent you from meeting people whom you might not like. Perhaps he may have some of what he calls his patriotic friends with him." JOHNSON. "Well, Sir, and what then? What care I for his patriotic friends? Poh!" BOSWELL. "I

should not be surprised to find Jack Wilkes there." JOHNSON. "And if Jack Wilkes *should* be there, what is that to me, Sir? My dear friend, let us have no more of this. I am sorry to be angry with you; but really it is treating me strangely to talk to me as if I could not meet any company whatever, occasionally." BOSWELL. "Pray forgive me, Sir: I meant well. But you shall meet whoever comes, for me." Thus I secured him, and told Dilly that he would find him very well pleased to be one of his guests on the day appointed.

Upon the much expected Wednesday, I called on him about half an hour before dinner, as I often did when we were to dine out together, to see that he was ready in time, and to accompany him. I found him buffeting his books, as upon a former occasion⁴, covered with dust, and making no preparation for going abroad. "How is this, Sir?" said I. "Don't you recollect that you are to dine at Mr. Dilly's?" JOHNSON. "Sir, I did not think of going to Dilly's: it went out of my head. I have ordered dinner at home with Mrs. Williams." BOSWELL. "But, my dear Sir, you know you were engaged to Mr. Dilly, and I told him so. He will expect you, and will be much disappointed if you don't come." JOHNSON. "You must talk to Mrs. Williams about this."

Here was a sad dilemma. I feared that what I was so confident I had secured would yet be frustrated. He had accustomed himself to show Mrs. Williams such a degree of humane attention, as frequently imposed some restraint upon him; and I knew that if she should be obstinate, he would not stir. I hastened down stairs to the blind lady's room, and told her I was in great uneasiness, for Dr. Johnson had engaged to me to dine this day at Mr. Dilly's; but that he had told me he had forgotten his engagement, and had ordered dinner at home. "Yes, Sir," said she, pretty peevishly, "Dr. Johnson is to dine at home." "Madam," said I, "his respect for you is such, that I know he will not leave you, unless you absolutely desire it. But as you have so much of his company, I hope you will be good enough to forego it for a day, as Mr. Dilly is a very worthy man, has frequently had agreeable parties at his house for Dr. Johnson, and will be vexed if the Doctor neglects him to-day. And then, Madam, be pleased to consider my situation; I carried the message, and I assured Mr. Dilly that Dr. Johnson was to come; and no doubt he has made a dinner, and invited a company, and boasted of the honour he expected to have. I shall be quite disgraced if the Doctor is not there." She gradually softened to my solicitations, which were certainly as earnest as most entreaties to ladies upon any occasion, and was graciously pleased to empower me to tell Dr.

¹ Johnson's dislike of Wilkes was very vehement. See Miss Reynolds's *Recollections*. — CROKER.

² No. 22. They were Dissenters, and of course of Whig politics. — CROKER.

³ This has been circulated as if actually said by Johnson; when the truth is, it was only *supposed* by me. — BOSWELL.

⁴ See *anté*, p. 497. — BOSWELL.

Johnson, "That, all things considered, she thought he should certainly go." I flew back to him, still in dust, and careless of what should be the event, "indifferent in his choice to go or stay;" but as soon as I had announced to him Mrs. Williams's consent, he roared, "Frank, a clean shirt!" and was very soon dressed. When I had him fairly seated in a hackney-coach with me, I exulted as much as a fortune-hunter who has got an heiress into a post-chaise with him to set out for Gretna Green.

When we entered Mr. Dilly's drawing-room, he found himself in the midst of a company he did not know. I kept myself snug and silent, watching how he would conduct himself. I observed him whispering to Mr. Dilly, "Who is that gentleman, Sir?"—"Mr. Arthur Lee." JOHNSON. "Too, too, too" (under his breath), which was one of his habitual mutterings. Mr. Arthur Lee could not but be very obnoxious to Johnson, for he was not only a *patriot*, but an *American*. He was afterwards minister from the United States at the court of Madrid. "And who is the gentleman in lace?"—"Mr. Wilkes, Sir." This information confounded him still more; he had some difficulty to restrain himself, and, taking up a book, sat down upon a window-seat and read, or at least kept his eye upon it intently for some time, till he composed himself. His feelings, I dare say, were awkward enough. But he no doubt recollected having rated me for supposing that he could be at all disconcerted by any company, and he therefore resolutely set himself to behave quite as an easy man of the world, who could adapt himself at once to the disposition and manners of those whom he might chance to meet.

The cheering sound of "Dinner is upon the table," dissolved his reverie, and we all sat down without any symptom of ill humour. There were present, beside Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Arthur Lee, who was an old companion of mine when he studied physic at Edinburgh, Mr. (now Sir John) Miller¹, Dr. Lettsom, and Mr. Slater, the druggist. Mr. Wilkes placed himself next to Dr. Johnson, and behaved to him with so much attention and politeness, that he gained upon him insensibly. No man eat more heartily than Johnson, or loved better what was nice and delicate. Mr. Wilkes was very assiduous in helping him to some fine real. "Pray give me leave, Sir—It is better here—A little of the brown—Some fat, Sir—A little of the stuffing—Some gravy—Let me have the pleasure of giving you some butter—Allow me to recommend a squeeze of this orange; or the lemon, perhaps, may have more zest."—"Sir; sir, I am obliged to you, Sir," cried Johnson, bow-

ing, and turning his head to him with a look for some time of "surly virtue,"² but, in a short while, of complacency.

Foote being mentioned, Johnson said, "He is not a good mimic." One of the company added, "A merry-andrew, a buffoon." JOHNSON. "But he has wit too, and is not deficient in ideas, or in fertility and variety of imagery, and not empty of reading; he has knowledge enough to fill up his part. One species of wit he has in an eminent degree, that of escape. You drive him into a corner with both hands; but he's gone, Sir, when you think you have got him—like an animal that jumps over your head. Then he has a great range for wit; he never lets truth stand between him and a jest, and he is sometimes mighty coarse. Garrick is under many restraints from which Foote is free." WILKES. "Garrick's wit is more like Lord Chesterfield's." JOHNSON. "The first time I was in company with Foote was at Fitzherbert's. Having no good opinion of the fellow, I was resolved not to be pleased; and it is very difficult to please a man against his will. I went on eating my dinner pretty sullenly, affecting not to mind him. But the dog was so very comical, that I was obliged to lay down my knife and fork, throw myself back upon my chair, and fairly laugh it out. No, Sir, he was irresistible.³ He upon one occasion experienced, in an extraordinary degree, the efficacy of his powers of entertaining. Amongst the many and various modes which he tried of getting money, he became a partner with a small-beer brewer, and he was to have a share of the profits for procuring customers amongst his numerous acquaintance. Fitzherbert was one who took his small-beer; but it was so bad that the servants resolved not to drink it. They were at some loss how to notify their resolution, being afraid of offending their master, who they knew liked Foote much as a companion. At last they fixed upon a little black boy, who was rather a favourite, to be their deputy, and deliver their remonstrance; and, having invested him with the whole authority of the kitchen, he was to inform Mr. Fitzherbert, in all their names, upon a certain day, that they would drink Foote's small-beer no longer. On that day Foote happened to dine at Fitzherbert's, and this boy served at table; he was so delighted with Foote's stories, and merriment, and grimace, that when he went down stairs, he told them, 'This is the finest man I have ever seen. I will not deliver your message. I will drink his small-beer.'"

Somebody observed that Garrick could not have done this. WILKES. "Garrick would have made the small-beer still smaller. He is now leaving the stage; but he will play *Scrub*

¹ Of Bath Easton. See *anté*, p. 442. n. 4. — CROKER.

² "How, when competitors like these contend,

Can surly virtue hope to fix a friend?"—*London*.
WRIGHT.

³ Foote told me that Johnson said of him, "For loud, obstreperous, broad-faced mirth, I know not his equal." — BOSWELL.

all his life." I knew that Johnson would let nobody attack Garrick but himself, as Garrick said to me, and I had heard him praise his liberality; so to bring out his commendation of his celebrated pupil, I said, loudly, "I have heard Garrick is liberal." JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir, I know that Garrick has given away more money than any man in England that I am acquainted with, and that not from ostentatious views. Garrick was very poor when he began life; so when he came to have money, he probably was very unskilful in giving away, and saved when he should not. But Garrick began to be liberal as soon as he could; and I am of opinion, the reputation of avarice which he has had has been very lucky for him, and prevented his having made enemies. You despise a man for avarice, but do not hate him. Garrick might have been much better attacked for living with more splendour than is suitable to a player¹; if they had had the wit to have assaulted him in that quarter, they might have galled him more. But they have kept clamouring about his avarice, which has rescued him from much obloquy and envy."

Talking of the great difficulty of obtaining authentic information for biography, Johnson told us, "When I was a young fellow, I wanted to write the Life of Dryden², and, in order to get materials, I applied to the only two persons then alive who had seen him; these were old Swinney³, and old Cibber. Swinney's information was no more than this, 'That at Will's coffee-house Dryden had a particular chair for himself, which was set by the fire in winter, and was then called his winter chair; and that it was carried out for him to the balcony in summer, and was then called his summer chair.' Cibber could tell no more but 'That he remembered him a decent old man, arbiter of critical disputes at Will's.' You are to consider that Cibber was then at a great distance from Dryden, had perhaps one leg only in the room, and durst not draw in the other."⁴ BOSWELL. "Yet Cibber was a man of observation?" JOHNSON. "I think not." BOSWELL. "You will allow his 'Apology' to be well done." JOHNSON. "Very well done, to be sure, Sir. That book is a striking proof of the justice of Pope's remark:—

'Each might his several province well command,
Would all but stoop to what they understand.'"

BOSWELL. "And his plays are good." JOHN-

SON. "Yes; but that was his trade; *l'esprit du corps*; he had been all his life among players and play-writers. I wondered that he had so little to say in conversation, for he had kept the best company, and learnt all that can be got by the ear. He abused Pindar to me, and then showed me an ode of his own, with an absurd couplet, making a linnet soar on an eagle's wing.⁵ I told him that when the ancients made a simile, they always made it like something real."

Mr. Wilkes remarked, that "among all the bold flights of Shakspeare's imagination, the boldest was making Birnam-wood march to Dunsinane; creating a wood where there never was a shrub; a wood in Scotland! ha! ha! ha!" And he also observed, that "the clannish slavery of the Highlands of Scotland was the single exception to Milton's remark of 'the mountain nymph, sweet Liberty,' being worshipped in all hilly countries." "When I was at Inverary," said he, "on a visit to my old friend Archibald, Duke of Argyle, his dependents congratulated me on being such a favourite of his Grace. I said, 'It is, then, gentlemen, truly lucky for me; for if I had displeased the duke, and he had wished it, there is not a Campbell among you but would have been ready to bring John Wilkes's head to him in a charger. It would have been only

'Off with his head! so much for Aylesbury.'

I was then member for Aylesbury."

Dr. Johnson and Mr. Wilkes talked of the contested passage in Horace's "Art of Poetry," *Difficile est propriè communia dicere*. Mr. Wilkes, according to my note, gave the interpretation thus: "It is difficult to speak with propriety of common things; as if a poet had to speak of Queen Caroline drinking tea, he must endeavour to avoid the vulgarity of cups and saucers." But, upon reading my note, he tells me that he meant to say, that "the word *communia*, being a Roman law term, signifies here things *communis juris*, that is to say, what have never yet been treated by any body; and this appears clearly from what followed,—

— Tuque

Rectius Iliacum carmen deducis in actus,
Quàm si proferres ignota indictaque primus."

You will easier make a tragedy out of the Iliad than on any subject not handled before."⁶

¹ This observation accredits. I must own, the idea that the character of *Prospero*, in the *Rambler*, was meant for Garrick: see *anté*, p. 68. n. 3. — CROKER.

² This was probably for "Cibber's Lives," as well as the "Life of Shakspeare," mentioned *anté*, p. 171. n. 2. — CROKER.

³ Owen McSwinney, who died in 1754, and bequeathed his fortune to Mrs. Woffington, the actress. He had been a manager of Drury Lane theatre, and afterwards of the Queen's theatre in the Haymarket. He was also a dramatic writer, having produced a comedy entitled "The Quacks, or Love's the Physician," 1705, and two operas. — MALONE.

⁴ Cibber was twenty-nine when Dryden died, and had produced his first comedy of *Love's Last Shift* five years before. — CROKER, 1847.

⁵ See *anté*, p. 137. — BOSWELL.

⁶ My very pleasant friend himself, as well as others who remember old stories, will no doubt be surprised when I observe, that John Wilkes here shows himself to be of the *Warburtonian school*. It is nevertheless true, as appears from Dr. Hurd the bishop of Worcester's very elegant commentary and notes on the "Epistola ad Pisones." — BOSWELL. The rest of a long note on this point will be found in the Appendix.

It seems to result from the whole discussion, that, in the ordinary meaning of the words, the passage is unintelligible, and that, to make sense, we must either alter the words, or assign to them an unusual interpretation. All commentators are agreed — by the help of the context — what the general meaning must be, but no one seems able *verbum verbo reddere fidus interpres*. — CROKER.

JOHNSON. "He means that it is difficult to appropriate to particular persons qualities which are common to all mankind, as Homer has done."

WILKES. "We have no city-poet now: that is an office which has gone into disuse. The last was Elkanah Settle.¹ There is something in names which one cannot help feeling. Now *Elkanah Settle* sounds so queer, who can expect much from that name? We should have no hesitation to give it for John Dryden, in preference to Elkanah Settle, from the names only, without knowing their different merits." JOHNSON. "I suppose, Sir, Settle did as well for aldermen in his time, as John Home could do now. Where did Beckford and Trecothick learn English?"

Mr. Arthur Lee mentioned some Scotch who had taken possession of a barren part of America, and wondered why they should choose it. JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, all barrenness is comparative. The Scotch would not know it to be barren." BOSWELL. "Come, come, he is flattering the English. You have now been in Scotland, Sir, and say if you did not see meat and drink enough there." JOHNSON. "Why, yes, Sir; meat and drink enough to give the inhabitants sufficient strength to run away from home." All these quick and lively sallies were said sportively, quite in jest, and with a smile, which showed that he meant only wit. Upon this topic he and Mr. Wilkes could perfectly assimilate; here was a bond of union between them, and I was conscious that as both of them had visited Caledonia, both were fully satisfied of the strange narrow ignorance of those who imagine that it is a land of famine. But they amused themselves with persevering in the old jokes. When I claimed a superiority for Scotland over England in one respect, that no man can be arrested there for a debt merely because another swears it against him; but there must first be the judgment of a court of law ascertaining its justice; and that a seizure of the person, before judgment is obtained, can take place only if his creditor should swear that he is about to fly from the country, or, as it is technically expressed, is *in meditatione fugæ*. WILKES. "That, I should think, may be safely sworn of all the Scotch nation." JOHNSON (to Mr. Wilkes). "You must know, Sir, I lately took my friend Boswell, and showed him ge-

nine civilised life in an English provincial town. I turned him loose at Lichfield, my native city, that he might see for once real civility; for you know he lives among savages in Scotland, and among rakes in London."

WILKES. "Except when he is with grave, sober, decent people, like you and me." JOHNSON (smiling). "And we ashamed of him."

They were quite frank and easy. Johnson told the story of his asking Mrs. Macaulay to allow her footman to sit down with them, to prove the ridiculousness of the argument for the equality of mankind; and he said to me afterwards, with a nod of satisfaction, "You saw Mr. Wilkes acquiesced." Wilkes talked with all imaginable freedom of the ludicrous title given to the attorney-general, *Diabolus regis*; adding, "I have reason to know something about that officer; for I was prosecuted for a libel." Johnson, who many people would have supposed must have been furiously angry at hearing this talked of so lightly, said not a word. He was now, indeed, "a good-humoured fellow."

After dinner we had an accession of Mrs. Knowles², the Quaker lady, well known for her various talents, and of Mr. Alderman Lee.³ Amidst some patriotic groans, somebody (I think the Alderman) said, "Poor old England is lost." JOHNSON. "Sir, it is not so much to be lamented that old England is lost, as that the Scotch have found it."⁴ WILKES. "Had Lord Bute governed Scotland only, I should not have taken the trouble to write his eulogy, and dedicate 'MORTIMER' to him."

Mr. Wilkes held a candle to show a fine print of a beautiful female figure which hung in the room, and pointed out the elegant contour of the bosom with the finger of an arch connoisseur. He afterwards in a conversation with me waggishly insisted, that all the time Johnson showed visible signs of a fervent admiration of the corresponding charms of the fair Quaker.

This record, though by no means so perfect as I could wish, will serve to give a notion of a very curious interview, which was not only pleasing at the time, but had the agreeable and benignant effect of reconciling any animosity, and sweetening any acidity, which, in the various bustle of political contest, had been produced in the minds of two men, who, though widely different, had so many things in com-

¹ Settle, for his factions audacity, was made the city poet, whose annual office was to describe the glories of the Mayor's-day. Of these bards he was the last. He died, in 1723, a prisoner in the Charterhouse.—*Johnson, Life of Dryden*.—WRIGHT.

² Her maiden name was Morris, and she was the widow of a physician: she was remarkable for her imitations of pictures in needle-work, which Johnson called *sutle* pictures, but which is misprinted in Mrs. Thrale's letters as *futile*. Boswell talks courteously of "*the charms of the fair Quaker*," who survived his publication fifteen years, but she was at this period above fifty, and her contemporaries describe her as having a sharp masculine countenance with somewhat a Puritan expression, and by no means attractive. She died Feb. 1807, aged eighty.—*CROKER*, 1847.

³ It is to this gentleman that allusion is supposed to be made in the following anecdote:—"Some one mentioned a gentleman of that party for having behaved oddly on an occasion where faction was not concerned: 'Is he not a citizen of London, a native of North America, and a Whig?' said Johnson. 'Let him be absurd, I beg of you: when a monkey is too like a man, it shocks one.'"—*Piozzi*, p. 61.—*CROKER*.

⁴ It would not become me to expatiate on this strong and pointed remark, in which a very great deal of meaning is condensed.—*BOSWELL*. Mr. Boswell seems to take as *serious* what was evidently a mere pleasantry, and could have no serious meaning that I can discover.—*CROKER*.

mon — classical learning, modern literature, wit and humour, and ready repartee — that it would have been much to be regretted if they had been for ever at a distance from each other.

Mr. Burke gave me much credit for this successful *negotiation*; and pleasantly said, "that there was nothing equal to it in the whole history of the *corps diplomatique*."

I attended Dr. Johnson home, and had the satisfaction to hear him tell Mrs. Williams how much he had been pleased with Mr. Wilkes's company, and what an agreeable day he had passed.¹

I talked a good deal to him of the celebrated Margaret Caroline Rudd, whom I had visited, induced by the fame of her talents, address, and irresistible power of fascination.² To a lady who disapproved of my visiting her, he said on a former occasion, "Nay, Madam, Boswell is in the right; I should have visited her myself, were it not that they have now a trick of putting every thing into the newspapers." This evening he exclaimed, "I envy him his acquaintance with Mrs. Rudd."

I mentioned a scheme which I had of making a tour to the Isle of Man, and giving a full account of it; and that Mr. Burke had playfully suggested as a motto,

"The proper study of mankind is MAN."

JOHNSON. "Sir, you will get more by the book than the jaunt will cost you; so you will have your diversion for nothing, and add to your reputation."³

CHAPTER LVII.

1776—1777.

Johnson's Temper. — *Sir Joshua Reynolds's Dinners.* — *Goldsmith's Epitaph.* — *The Round Robin.* — *Employment of Time.* — *Correspondence.* — *Reconciliation in the Boswell Family.* — *Blair's Sermons.* — *Severe Indisposition.* — *Easter Day.* — *Prayer.* — *Sir Alexander Dick.* — *Shaw's Erse Grammar.* — *Johnson engages to write "The Lives of the English Poets."* — *Edward Dilly.* — *Correspondence.* — *Charles O'Connor.*

ON the evening of the next day [16th May] I took leave of him, being to set out for

Scotland. I thanked him, with great warmth, for all his kindness. "Sir," said he, "you are very welcome. Nobody repays it with more."

How very false is the notion that has gone round the world, of the rough, and passionate, and harsh manners of this great and good man! That he had occasional sallies of heat of temper, and that he was sometimes, perhaps, too "easily provoked" by absurdity and folly, and sometimes too desirous of triumph in colloquial contest, must be allowed. The quickness both of his perception and sensibility disposed him to sudden explosions of satire; to which his extraordinary readiness of wit was a strong and almost irresistible incitement. To adopt one of the finest images in Mr. Home's "Douglas,"

— "On each glance of thought
Decision followed, as the thunderbolt
Pursues the flash!" —

I admit that the beadle within him was often so eager to apply the lash⁴, that the judge had not time to consider the case with sufficient deliberation.

That he was occasionally remarkable for violence of temper may be granted; but let us ascertain the degree, and not let it be supposed that he was in a perpetual rage, and never without a club in his hand to knock down every one who approached him. On the contrary, the truth is, that by much the greatest part of his time he was civil, obliging, nay, polite in the true sense of the word; so much so, that many gentlemen who were long acquainted with him never received, or even heard a strong expression from him.

[JOHNSON TO MRS. THRALE.

(Extracts.)

"May 18. 1776.

"Boswell went away on Thursday night with no great inclination to travel northward; but who can contend with destiny? He says he had a very pleasant journey. He carries with him two or three good resolutions; I hope they will not mould on the road."

"May 22. 1776.

"On Friday and Saturday I dined with Dr. Taylor, who is in discontent, but resolved not to stay much longer to hear the opinions of lawyers, who are all against him. On Sunday I dined at

¹ The following is Dr. Johnson's own good-humoured account to Mrs. Thrale of this meeting: — "For my part I begin to settle, and keep company with *grave aldermen*. I dined yesterday in the Poultry with Mr. Alderman Wilkes, and Mr. Alderman Lee, and Councillor Lee, his brother. There sat you the while thinking, 'What is Johnson doing? What should he be doing?' He is breaking jokes with Jack Wilkes upon the Scotch. Such, Madam, are the vicissitudes of things! And there was Mrs. Knowles, the Quaker, that works the subtle pictures, who is a great admirer of your conversation." — *Letters.* — CROKER.

² See *anti*, p. 485. n. 8. Her power of fascination was celebrated, because it was the fashion to suppose that she had fascinated her lover to the gallows, when, in fact, she had only betrayed him. We cannot but wonder how Johnson

should have been so imposed on as not merely to tolerate, but, as Boswell makes him say, *envy* his acquaintance with this every way infamous woman. — CROKER, 1831—47.

³ "May 14. 1776. Boswell goes away on Thursday very well satisfied with his journey. Some great men have promised to obtain him a place; and then a fig for his father and his new wife." — *Letters.* This place he never obtained, and the critical reader will observe several passages in this work, the tone of which may be attributed to his disappointment in this point. Lord Auchinleck had lately married Elizabeth Boswell, sister of Claude Irvine Boswell, afterwards a Lord of Session, by the title of Lord Balmuto. She was the cousin germain of her husband. Of this marriage there was no issue. — CROKER.

⁴ Lear, act iv. sc. 6. — C.

Sir Joshua's house on the hill [Richmond], with the Bishop of St. Asaph [Shipley]: the dinner was good¹, and the bishop is knowing and conversable.”]

The following letters concerning an Epitaph which he wrote for the monument of Dr. Goldsmith, in Westminster Abbey, afford at once a proof of his unaffected modesty, his carelessness as to his own writings, and of the great respect which he entertained for the taste and judgment of the excellent and eminent person to whom the first and last are addressed:—

JOHNSON TO REYNOLDS.

“ May 16. 1776.

“ DEAR SIR. — I have been kept away from you, I know not well how, and of these vexatious hindrances I know not when there will be an end. I therefore send you the poor dear Doctor's Epitaph. Read it first yourself; and if you then think it right, show it to the Club. I am, you know, willing to be corrected. If you think any thing much amiss, keep it to yourself till we come together. I have sent two copies, but prefer the card. The dates must be settled by Dr. Perey. I am, Sir, &c.,
SAM. JOHNSON.”

[MISS REYNOLDS TO JOHNSON.²

“ Richmond Hill, June 21. 1776.

“ SIR, — You saw by my last letter that I knew nothing of your illness, and it was unkind of you not to tell me what had been the matter with you; and you should have let me know how Mrs. Thrale and all the family were; but that would have been a sad transgression of the rule you have certainly prescribed to yourself of writing to some sort of people just such a number of lines. Be so good as to favour me with Dr. Goldsmith's Epitaph; and if you have no objection, I should be very glad to send it to Dr. Beattie. I am writing now to Mrs. Beattie, and can scarce hope she will ever excuse my shameful neglect of writing to her, but by sending her something curious for Dr. Beattie.

“ I don't know whether my brother ever mentioned to you what Dr. Beattie said in a letter he received from him the beginning of last month. As I have his letter here, I will transcribe it. ‘ In my third Essay, which treats of the advantages of classical learning, I have said something of Dr.

Johnson, which I hope will please him; I ought not to call it a compliment, for it expresses nothing but the real sentiments of my heart. I can never forget the many and great obligations I am under to his genius and to his virtue, and I wish for an opportunity of testifying my gratitude to the world.’

“ My brother says he has lost Dr. Goldsmith's Epitaph, otherwise I would not trouble you for it. Indeed I should or I ought to have asked if you had any objection to my sending it, before I did send it. I am, my good Sir, &c.,
— Reynolds MS. “ FRANCES REYNOLDS.”

JOHNSON TO MISS REYNOLDS.

“ June 21. 1776.

“ DEAREST MADAM, — You are as naughty as you can be. I am willing enough to write to you when I have any thing to say. As for my disorder, as Sir Joshua saw me, I fancied he would tell you, and that I needed not tell you myself. Of Dr. Goldsmith's Epitaph, I sent Sir Joshua two copies, and had none myself. If he has lost it, he has not done well. But I suppose I can recollect it, and will send it to you. — I am, Madam, &c.,
“ SAM. JOHNSON.

“ P.S. — All the Thrales are well, and Mrs. Thrale has a great regard for Miss Reynolds.”]
— Reynolds MS.

JOHNSON TO REYNOLDS. *

“ June 22. 1776.

“ SIR, — Miss Reynolds has a mind to send the Epitaph to Dr. Beattie; I am very willing, but having no copy, cannot immediately recollect it. She tells me you have lost it. Try to recollect, and put down as much as you retain; you perhaps may have kept what I have dropped. The lines for which I am at a loss are something of *rerum civilium sive naturalium*.³ It was a sorry trick to lose it; help me if you can. — I am, Sir, your most humble servant,
SAM. JOHNSON.

“ The gout grows better, but slowly.”

It was, I think, after I had left London in this year, that this Epitaph gave occasion to a remonstrance to the *Monarch of Literature*, for an account of which I am indebted to Sir William Forbes, of Pitsligo.

¹ This praise of Sir Joshua's dinner was not a matter of course; for his table, though very agreeable, was not what is usually called a *good one*, as appears from the following description given of it by Mr. Courtenay (a frequent and favourite guest) to Sir James Mackintosh:—

“ There was something singular in the style and economy of Sir Joshua's table that contributed to pleasantness and good humour; a coarse inelegant plenty, without any regard to order and arrangement. A table prepared for seven or eight, was often compelled to contain fifteen or sixteen. When this pressing difficulty was got over, a deficiency of knives, forks, plates, and glasses succeeded. The attendance was in the same style; and it was absolutely necessary to call instantly for beer, bread, or wine, that you might be supplied with them before the first course was over. He was once prevailed on to furnish the table with decanters and glasses at dinner, to save time, and prevent the tardy manoeuvres of two or three occasional undisciplined domestics. As these accelerating utensils were demolished in the course of service, Sir Joshua could never be persuaded to replace them. But these trifling embarrassments only served to enhance the hilarity and singular pleasure of the entertainment. The wine, cookery, and dishes were but little attended to; nor was the fish or venison ever talked of or recommended. Amidst this convivial, animated bustle among his

guests, our host sat perfectly composed; always attentive to what was said, never minding what was eat or drunk, but left every one at perfect liberty to scramble for himself. Temporal and spiritual peers, physicians, lawyers, actors, and musicians, composed the motley group, and played their parts without dissonance or discord. At five o'clock precisely dinner was served, whether at the invited guests were arrived or not. Sir Joshua was never so fashionably ill-bred as to wait an hour perhaps for two or three persons of rank or title, and put the rest of the company out of humour by this invidious distinction. His friends and intimate acquaintance will ever love his memory, and will long regret those social hours, and the cheerfulness of that irregular, convivial table, which no one has attempted to revive or imitate, or was indeed qualified to supply.” This homely style, perhaps, may explain an obscure passage in Gibbon's letter to Garrick, 14th Aug. 1777, (*Garrick's Cor.*, 2. 256.): “ Assure Sir Joshua in particular that I have not lost my relish for manly conversation and the society of the *brown table*;” or it may allude to the tavern table of the Club. — CROKER.

² The letters from and to Miss Reynolds I have added to the text to explain the others. — CROKER.

³ These words must have been in the other copy. They are not in that which was preferred. — CROKER.

That my readers may have the subject more fully and clearly before them, I shall insert the Epitaph¹:

"OLIVARIi GOLDSMITH,

Poetæ, Physici, Historici,
Qui nullum ferè scribendi genus
Non tetigit,

Nullum quod tetigit non ornavit²:
Sive risus essent movendi,

Sive lacrymæ,

Affectuum potens at lenis dominator:

Ingenio sublimis, vividus, versatilis,

Oratione grandis, nitidus, venustus:

Hoc monumento memoriam coluit

Sodalium amor,

Amicorum fides,

Lectorum veneratio.

Natus in Hiberniâ Formiæ Longfordiensis,

In loco cui nomen Pallas,

Nov. xxix. mdcxxxix.³

Eblanæ literis institutus;

Obiit Londini,

April. iv. mdccclxxiv."

Sir William Forbes writes to me thus: "I enclose the *Round Robin*. This *jeu d'esprit* took its rise one day at dinner at our friend Sir Joshua Reynolds's. All the company present, except myself, were friends and acquaintance of Dr. Goldsmith. The Epitaph written for him by Dr.

Johnson became the subject of conversation, and various emendations were suggested, which it was agreed should be submitted to the Doctor's consideration. But the question was, who should have the courage to propose them to him? At last it was hinted, that there could be no way so good as that of a *Round Robin*, as the sailors call it, which they make use of when they enter into a conspiracy, so as not to let it be known who puts his name first or last to the paper. This proposition was instantly assented to; and Dr. Barnard, Dean of Derry, now Bishop of Killaloe⁴, drew up an address to Dr. Johnson on the occasion, replete with wit and humour, but which it was feared the Doctor might think treated the subject with too much levity. Mr. Burke then proposed the address as it stands in the paper in writing, to which I had the honour to officiate as clerk.

"Sir Joshua agreed to carry it to Dr. Johnson, who received it with much good humour⁵, and desired Sir Joshua to tell the gentlemen, that he would alter the Epitaph in any manner they pleased, as to the sense of it, but he would never consent to disgrace the walls of Westminster Abbey with an English inscription.

"I consider this *Round Robin* as a species of literary curiosity worth preserving, as it marks, in a certain degree, Dr. Johnson's character."

My readers are presented with a faithful transcript of a paper, which I doubt not of their being desirous to see.

¹ The following nearly literal translation will give a tolerable idea of the matter of this celebrated epitaph, and as much of the manner as I could preserve in an English version.

OF OLIVER GOLDSMITH —

A Poet, Naturalist, and Historian,
Who left scarcely any style of writing
untouched,
And touched nothing that he did not adorn;
Of all the passions,
Whether smiles were to be moved
or tears,

A powerful yet gentle master;
In genius, sublime, vivid, versatile,
In style, elevated, clear, elegant —

The love of companions,
The fidelity of friends,
And the veneration of readers,
Have by this monument honoured the memory.

He was born in Ireland,
At a place called Pallas,
[in the parish] of Forney, [and county] of Longford,
On the 29th Nov. 1731.

Educated at [the University of] Dublin,
And died in London,
4th April, 1774.

² This phrase, to which the epitaph chiefly owes, we think, its celebrity, resembles Fenelon's eulogy on Cicero — "He adorns whatever he attempts." — *Reflex. on Rhetoric and Poetry*. — CROKER.

³ This was a mistake, which was not discovered till after Goldsmith's monument was put up in Westminster Abbey. He was born Nov. 29, 1728; and therefore, when he died, he was in his forty-sixth year. — MALONE.

⁴ This prelate, who was afterwards translated to the see of Limerick, died at Wimbledon, in Surrey, June 7, 1806, in his eightieth year. The original *Round Robin* remained in his possession; the paper which Sir William Forbes transmitted to Mr. Boswell being only a copy. — MALONE. The engraving published by Mr. Boswell was not an exact facsimile of the whole of this curious paper (which is of the size called *foolscap*, and too large to be folded into an ordinary volume), but of the *signatures* only; and, in later editions, even these have, by successive copying, lost some of their original accuracy. By the favour of the Earl of Balcarras

(to whom the paper has descended from his aunt, Lady Anne, the widow of the son of Bishop Barnard) I was enabled to give a fresh and more accurate facsimile of the signatures, which is copied in wood for this edition. — CROKER, 1831—47.

⁵ He, however, upon seeing Dr. Warton's name to the suggestion, that the epitaph should be in English, observed to Sir Joshua, "I wonder that Joe Warton, a scholar by profession, should be such a fool." He said too, "I should have thought Mund Burke would have had more sense." Mr. Langton, who was one of the company at Sir Joshua's, like a sturdy scholar, resolutely refused to sign the *Round Robin*. The epitaph is engraved upon Dr. Goldsmith's monument without any alteration. At another time, when somebody endeavoured to argue in favour of its being in English, Johnson said, "The language of the country of which a learned man was a native is not the language fit for his epitaph, which should be in ancient and permanent language. Consider, Sir, how you should feel, were you to find at Rotterdam an epitaph upon Erasmus *in Dutch*!" For my own part, I think it would be best to have epitaphs written both in a learned language and in the language of the country; so that they might have the advantage of being more universally understood, and at the same time be secured of classical stability. I cannot, however, but be of opinion, that it is not sufficiently discriminative. Applying to Goldsmith equally the epithets of "*Poetæ, Historici, Physici*," is surely not right; for as to his claim to the last of those epithets, I have heard Johnson himself say, "Goldsmith, Sir, will give us a very fine book upon the subject; but if he can distinguish a cow from a horse, that, I believe, may be the extent of his knowledge of natural history." His book is, indeed, an excellent performance, though in some instances he appears to have trusted too much to Buffon, who, with all his theoretical ingenuity and extraordinary eloquence, I suspect had little actual information in the science on which he wrote so admirably. For instance, he tells us that the cow sheds her horns every two years; a most palpable error, which Goldsmith has faithfully transferred into his book. It is wonderful that Buffon, who lived so much in the country, at his noble seat, should have fallen into such a blunder. I suppose he has confounded the cow with the deer. — BOSWELL. See *anté*, p. 313. 392, on the subject of English inscriptions to English writers: and the case of Erasmus, cited by Johnson, is not a case in point. Erasmus had not written in Dutch; nor Goldsmith — who, in fact, was a very poor scholar — in Latin. Johnson's natural good sense was, I think, on this point, overborne by the egotism of his own scholarship. — CROKER.

We, the Circum-
scribers, having read with
great pleasure, an intended
epitaph for the monument of Dr.
Goldsmith, which, considered abstractedly,
appears to be, for elegant composition, and
masterly style, in every respect worthy of the pen
of its learned author, are yet of opinion that the cha-
racter of the deceased as a writer, particularly as a
poet, is perhaps not delineated with all the exactness which
Dr. Johnson is capable of giving it; we therefore, with
deference to his superior judgement, humbly request that
he would at least take the trouble of revising it, and of
making such additions and alterations as he shall think
proper upon a farther perusal; but if we might venture
to express our wishes, they would lead us to request that
he would write the epitaph in English rather than
in Latin, as we think that the memory of so
eminent an English writer ought to be per-
petuated in the language to which his works
are likely to be so lasting an ornament,
which we also know to have been
the opinion of the late
Doctor himself.

Sir William Forbes's observation is very just. The anecdote now related proves, in the strongest manner, the reverence and awe with which Johnson was regarded, by some of the most eminent men of his time, in various departments, and even by such of them as lived most with him; while it also confirms what I have again and again inculcated, that he was by no means of that ferocious and irascible character which has been ignorantly imagined.⁵

This hasty composition is also to be remarked as one of the thousand instances

which evince the extraordinary promptitude of Mr. Burke; who, while he is equal to the greatest things, can adorn the least; can, with equal facility, embrace the vast and complicated speculations of politics, or the ingenious topics of literary investigation.⁶

JOHNSON TO MRS. BOSWELL.

"May 16. 1776.

"MADAM, — You must not think me uncivil in omitting to answer the letter with which you favoured me some time ago. I imagined it to have

¹ See *post*, sub 3d Oct. 1782. — CROKER.

² There would be no doubt that this was Thomas Franklin, D. D., the translator of Sophocles and Lucian, but that the Biog. Dict., and indeed the Doctor's own title-pages, spell his name *Francklin*. See *post*, sub 1780, *ad finem*. He died in 1784, æt. 63. — CROKER.

³ Anthony Chamier, Esq., M.P. for Tamworth, and Under-Secretary of State from 1775 till his death, 12th Oct. 1780. — CROKER.

⁴ This gentleman was a friend of Sir Joshua's, and attended his funeral. — CROKER.

⁵ Most readers, I think, would draw a directly contrary conclusion. — CROKER.

⁶ Besides this Latin epitaph, Johnson honoured the memory of his friend Goldsmith with a short one in Greek. — BOSWELL. See *ante*, p. 414. I know not why Boswell suppressed in his second edition the following conclusion of this note which appeared in his first, "which has been obligingly communicated to me by my learned and ingenious friend Dr. Percy, Bishop of Dromore. His lordship received it from a gentleman in Ireland, Mr. Archdall, who had it from Johnson himself. Mr. Archdall was educated under Dr. Sumner at Harrow." — CROKER.

been written without Mr. Boswell's knowledge, and therefore supposed the answer to require, what I could not find, a private conveyance.

"The difference with Lord Auchinleck is now over; and since young Alexander has appeared, I hope no more difficulties will arise among you; for I sincerely wish you all happy. Do not teach the young ones to dislike me, as you dislike me yourself; but let me at least have Veronica's kindness, because she is my acquaintance.

"You will now have Mr. Boswell home; it is well that you have him; he has led a wild life. I have taken him to Lichfield, and he has followed Mr. Thrale to Bath. Pray take care of him, and tame him. The only thing in which I have the honour to agree with you is, in loving him; and while we are so much of a mind in a matter of so much importance, our other quarrels will, I hope, produce no great bitterness. I am, Madam, &c.,
"SAM. JOHNSON."

BOSWELL TO JOHNSON.

"Edinburgh, June 25. 1776.

"You have formerly complained that my letters were too long. There is no danger of that complaint being made at present; for I find it difficult for me to write to you at all." [Here an account of having been afflicted with a return of melancholy or bad spirits.] "The boxes of books¹ which you sent to me are arrived; but I have not yet examined the contents. I send you Mr. Maclaurin's paper for the negro who claims his freedom in the Court of Session."

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"July 2. 1776.

"DEAR SIR,—These black fits of which you complain, perhaps hurt your memory as well as your imagination. When did I complain that your letters were too long?² Your last letter, after a very long delay, brought very bad news." [Here a series of reflections upon melancholy, and—what I could not help thinking strangely unreasonable in him who had suffered so much from it himself—a good deal of severity and reproof, as if it were owing to my own fault, or that I was, perhaps, affecting it from a desire of distinction.] "Read Cheyne's 'English Malady;' but do not let him teach you a foolish notion that melancholy is a proof of acuteness.

"To hear that you have not opened your boxes of books is very offensive. The examination and arrangement of so many volumes might have afforded you an amusement very seasonable at present, and useful for the whole of life. I am, I confess, very angry that you manage yourself so ill. I do not now say any more, than that I am, with great kindness and sincerity, &c.,

"SAM. JOHNSON.

"It was last year determined by Lord Mansfield

in the Court of King's Bench, that a negro cannot be taken out of the kingdom without his own consent."

[JOHNSON TO FRANCIS FOWKE, ESQ.]

"11th July, 1776.

"SIR,—I received some weeks ago a collection of papers, which contain the trial of my dear friend, Joseph Fowke, of whom I cannot easily be induced to think otherwise than well, and who seems to have been injured by the prosecution and the sentence. His first desire is, that I should prepare his narrative for the press; his second, that if I cannot gratify him by publication, I would transmit the papers to you. To a compliance with his first request I have this objection; that I live in a reciprocation of civilities with Mr. Hastings, and therefore cannot properly diffuse a narrative, intended to bring upon him the censure of the public. Of two adversaries, it would be rash to condemn either upon the evidence of the other; and a common friend must keep himself suspended, at least till he has heard both.

"I am therefore ready to transmit to you the papers, which have been seen only by myself; and beg to be informed how they may be conveyed to you. I see no legal objection to the publication; and of prudential reasons, Mr. Fowke and you will be allowed to be fitter judges.

"If you would have me send them, let me have proper directions: if a messenger is to call for them, give me notice by the post, that they may be ready for delivery.

"To do my dear Mr. Fowke any good would give me pleasure; I hope for some opportunity of performing the duties of friendship to him, without violating them with regard to another. I am, Sir, your most humble servant, SAM. JOHNSON."]

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"July 16. 1776.

"DEAR SIR,—I make haste to write again, lest my last letter should give you too much pain. If you are really oppressed with overpowering and involuntary melancholy, you are to be pitied rather than reproached.

"Now, my dear Boszy, let us have done with quarrels and with censure. Let me know whether I have not sent you a pretty library. There are, perhaps, many books among them which you never need read through; but there are none which it is not proper for you to know, and sometimes to consult. Of these books, of which the use is only occasional, it is often sufficient to know the contents, that, when any question arises, you may know where to look for information.

"Since I wrote, I have looked over Mr. Maclaurin's plea, and think it excellent. How is the suit carried on? If by subscription, I commission you to contribute, in my name, what is proper. Let nothing be wanting in such a case. Dr. Drum-

¹ Upon a settlement of our account of expenses on a tour to the Hebrides, there was a balance due to me, which Dr. Johnson chose to discharge by sending books.—BOSWELL.

² Baretti told me that Johnson complained of my writing very long letters to him when I was upon the continent: which was most certainly true: but it seems my friend did not remember it.—BOSWELL.

³ The brother of Mr. Joseph Fowke, and the editor, I believe, of an edition and translation of "*Phadrus, with a Discourse on the Doctrine of Language*," London, 1774, in which he advocates and practises, in a very strange way, the introduction into English of the inversions of the Latin idiom.—CROKER, 1847.

mond¹, I see, is superseded. His father would have grieved; but he lived to obtain the pleasure of his son's election, and died before that pleasure was abated.

"Langton's lady has brought him a girl, and both are well: I dined with him the other day.

"It vexes me to tell you, that on the evening of the 29th of May I was seized by the gout, and am not quite well. The pain has not been violent, but the weakness and tenderness were very troublesome; and what is said to be very uncommon, it has not alleviated my other disorders. Make use of youth and health while you have them. Make my compliments to Mrs. Boswell. I am, my dear Sir, your most affectionate,
SAM. JOHNSON."

BOSWELL TO JOHNSON.

"Edinburgh, July 18. 1776.

"MY DEAR SIR, — Your letter of the 2d of this month was rather a harsh medicine; but I was delighted with that spontaneous tenderness, which, a few days afterwards, sent forth such balsam as your next brought me. I found myself for some time so ill that all I could do was to preserve a decent appearance, while all within was weakness and distress. Like a reduced garrison that has some spirit left, I hung out flags, and planted all the force I could muster, upon the walls. I am now much better, and I sincerely thank you for your kind attention and friendly counsel.

"Count Manucci² came here last week from travelling in Ireland. I have shown him what civilities I could on his account, on yours, and on that of Mr. and Mrs. Thrale. He has had a fall from his horse, and been much hurt. I regret this unlucky accident, for he seems to be a very amiable man."

As the evidence of what I have mentioned at the beginning of this year, I select from his private register the following passage: —

"July 25. 1776. — O God, who hast ordained that whatever is to be desired should be sought by labour, and who, by thy blessing, bringest honest labour to good effect, look with mercy upon my studies and endeavours. Grant me, O Lord, to design only what is lawful and right; and afford me calmness of mind, and steadiness of purpose, that I may so do thy will in this short life, as to obtain happiness in the world to come, for the sake of Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen." (*Pr. and Med.*, p. 151.)

It appears from a note supposed, that this was composed when he "purposed to apply vigorously to study, particularly of the Greek and Italian tongues."

¹ The son of Johnson's old friend, Mr. William Drummond. (See *anté*, pp. 181. 323.) He was a young man of such distinguished merit, that he was nominated to one of the medical professorships in the college of Edinburgh, without solicitation, while he was at Naples. Having other views, he did not accept of the honour, and soon afterwards died. — Boswell. He was killed at Naples by a fall from a horse which Mr. Beckford, of Fonthill, lent him, and the shock of the event killed Lady Hamilton, Sir William's first wife. — Boswell. — This is one of a few notes which Mr. Boswell — brother of Boswell's "Yorkshire Chief" (see *post*, 24th Aug. 1780) — made on the margin of his copy; they are of little value, but I wish to preserve every contemporary illustration. — CROKER.

² A Florentine nobleman, mentioned by Johnson in his

Such a purpose, so expressed, at the age of sixty-seven, is admirable and encouraging; and it must impress all the thinking part of my readers with a consolatory confidence in habitual devotion, when they see a man of such enlarged intellectual powers as Johnson, thus, in the genuine earnestness of secrecy, imploring the aid of that Supreme Being, "from whom cometh down every good and every perfect gift."

JOHNSON TO REYNOLDS.

"Aug. 3. 1776.

"SIR, — A young man, whose name is Paterson, offers himself this evening to the Academy. He is the son of a man³ for whom I have long had a kindness, and is now abroad in distress. I shall be glad that you will be pleased to show him any little countenance, or pay him any small distinction. How much it is in your power to favour or to forward a young man I do not know; nor do I know how much this candidate deserves favour by his personal merit, or what hopes his proficiency may now give of future eminence. I recommend him as the son of my friend. Your character and station enable you to give a young man great encouragement by very easy means. You have heard of a man who asked no other favour of Sir Robert Walpole, than that he would bow to him at his levee. — I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

BOSWELL TO JOHNSON.

"Edinburgh, Aug. 30. 1776.

(After giving him an account of my having examined the chests of books which he had sent to me, and which contained what may be truly called a numerous and miscellaneous *stall library*, thrown together at random: —) "Lord Hailes was against the decree in the case of my client, the minister; not that he justified the minister, but because the parishioner both provoked and retorted. I sent his lordship your able argument upon the case for his perusal. His observation upon it in a letter to me was, 'Dr. Johnson's *Suasorium* is pleasantly⁴ and artfully composed. I suspect, however, that he has not convinced himself; for I believe that he is better read in ecclesiastical history, than to imagine that a bishop or a presbyter has a right to begin censure or discipline *à cathedra*.'⁵

"For the honour of Count Manucci, as well as to observe that exactness of truth which you have taught me, I must correct what I said in a former letter. He did not fall from his horse, which might

"Notes of his Tour in France." I had the pleasure of becoming acquainted with him in London, in the spring of this year. — Boswell. See *anté*, p. 461., and note 1. next page. — C.

³ See *anté*, p. 238. n. 2. — C.
⁴ Why his Lordship uses the epithet *pleasantly*, when speaking of a grave piece of reasoning, I cannot conceive. But different men have different notions of pleasantry. I happened to sit by a gentleman one evening at the Opera-house in London, who, at the moment when *Madeu* appeared to be in great agony at the thought of killing her children, turned to me with a smile, and said "funny enough." — Boswell.

⁵ Dr. Johnson afterwards told me, that he was of opinion that a clergyman had this right. — Boswell.

have been an imputation on his skill as an officer of cavalry; his horse fell with him.¹

"I have, since I saw you, read every word of 'Granger's Biographical History.' It has entertained me exceedingly, and I do not think him the *Whig* that you supposed. Horace Walpole's being his patron is, indeed, no good sign of his political principles. But he denied to Lord Mountstuart that he was a *Whig*, and said he had been accused by both parties of partiality. It seems he was like Pope, —

'While Tories call me *Whig*, and Whigs a *Tory*.'

I wish you would look more into his book; and as Lord Mountstuart wishes much to find a proper person to continue the work upon Granger's plan, and has desired I would mention it to you, if such a man occurs, please to let me know. His lordship will give him generous encouragement.²

JOHNSON TO LEVETT.

"Brighthelmstone, Oct. 21. 1776.

"DEAR SIR, — Having spent about six weeks at this place, we have at length resolved on returning. I expect to see you all in Fleet Street on the 30th of this month.

"I did not go into the sea till last Friday³; but think to go most of this week, though I know not that it does me any good. My nights are very restless and tiresome, but I am otherwise well. I have written word of my coming to Mrs. Williams.

"Remember me kindly to Francis and Betsey.⁴
— I am, Sir, &c., SAM. JOHNSON."⁵

I again wrote to Dr. Johnson on the 21st of October, informing him, that my father had, in the most liberal manner, paid a large debt for me, and that I had now the happiness of being upon very good terms with him; to which he returned the following answer: —

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"Bolt Court, Nov. 15. 1776.

"DEAR SIR, — I had great pleasure in hearing that you are at last on good terms with your father. Cultivate his kindness by all honest and manly means. Life is but short: no time can be afforded but for the indulgence of real sorrow, or contests upon questions seriously momentous. Let us not throw away any of our days upon useless resentment, or contend who shall hold out longest in stubborn malignity. It is best not to be angry; and best, in the next place, to be quickly reconciled. May you and your father pass the remainder of your time in reciprocal benevolence! * * * Do you ever hear from Mr. Langton? I visit him sometimes, but he does not talk. I do not like his

scheme of life; but as I am not permitted to understand it, I cannot set any thing right that is wrong. His children are sweet babies.

"I hope my irreconcilable enemy, Mrs. Boswell, is well. Desire her not to transmit her malevolence to the young people. Let me have Alexander, and Veronica, and Euphemia, for my friends.

"Mrs. Williams, whom you may reckon as one of your wellwishers, is in a feeble and languishing state, with little hopes of growing better. She went for some part of the autumn into the country, but is little benefited; and Dr. Lawrence confesses that his art is at an end. Death is, however, at a distance: and what more than that can we say of ourselves? I am sorry for her pain, and more sorry for her decay. Mr. Levett is sound, wind and limb.

"I was some weeks this autumn at Brighthelmstone. The place was very dull; and I was not well: the expedition to the Hebrides was the most pleasant journey that I ever made. Such an effort annually would give the world a little diversification. Every year, however, we cannot wander, and must therefore endeavour to spend our time at home as well as we can. I believe it is best to throw life into a method, that every hour may bring its employment, and every employment have its hour. Xenophon observes, in his 'Treatise of Economy,' that if every thing be kept in a certain place, when any thing is worn out or consumed, the vacuity which it leaves will show what is wanting; so if every part of time has its duty, the hour will call into remembrance its proper engagement.

"I have not practised all this prudence myself, but I have suffered much for want of it; and I would have you, by timely recollection and steady resolution, escape from those evils which have lain heavy upon me. I am, my dearest Boswell, &c.,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

On the 16th of November, I informed him that Mr. Strahan had sent me *twelve* copies of the "Journey to the Western Islands," handsomely bound, instead of the *twenty* copies which were stipulated, but which, I supposed, were to be only in sheets; requested to know how they should be distributed; and mentioned that I had another son born to me, who was named David, and was a sickly infant.

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"Dec. 21. 1776.

"DEAR SIR, — I have been for some time ill of a cold, which, perhaps, I made an excuse to myself for not writing, when in reality I know not what to say.

"The books you must at last distribute as you

¹ Signor Manucci was neither a Florentine nobleman nor a count, nor an officer of cavalry, but a private gentleman of Prato in Tuscany, and the title of Count and character of Officer were both assumed, and the writer of this heard the said Signor describe his embarrassment, when upon first entering France and appearing in uniform, he was questioned by some French officers about military matters. — *Boswell*. — CROKER, 1847.

² Lord Mountstuart, afterwards first Marquis of Bute, had also patronised, in a similar manner, Sir John Hill's immense "Vegetable System" (twenty-six vols. folio!); but Sir John's widow published, in 1788, "An Address to the Public," in which she alleged that Lord Bute had acted very penuriously in that matter. — CROKER.

³ Johnson was a good swimmer. "One of the bathing-men at Brighton seeing him swim, said, 'Why, Sir, you must have been a stout-hearted gentleman forty years ago.'" — *Piozzi*. — CROKER.

⁴ His female servant. — MALONE.

⁵ For this and Dr. Johnson's other letters to Mr. Levett, I am indebted to my old acquaintance Mr. Nathaniel Thomas, whose worth and ingenuity have been long known to a respectable though not a wide circle, and whose collection of medals would do credit to persons of greater opulence. — BOSWELL. Mr. Thomas was many years editor of the "St. James's Chronicle." He died March 1. 1795. — MALONE.

think best, in my name, or your own, as you are inclined, or as you judge most proper. Every body cannot be obliged; but I wish that nobody may be offended. Do the best you can.

"I congratulate you on the increase of your family, and hope that little David is by this time well, and his mamma perfectly recovered. I am much pleased to hear of the re-establishment of kindness between you and your father. Cultivate his paternal tenderness as much as you can. To live at variance at all is uncomfortable; and variance with a father is still more uncomfortable. Besides that, in the whole dispute, you have the wrong side; at least you gave the first provocations, and some of them very offensive. Let it now be all over. As you have no reason to think that your new mother has shown you any foul play, treat her with respect, and with some degree of confidence; this will secure your father. When once a discordant family has felt the pleasure of peace, they will not willingly lose it. If Mrs. Boswell would be but friends with me, we might now shut the temple of Janus.

"What came of Dr. Memis's cause? Is the question about the negro determined? Has Sir Allan any reasonable hopes? What is become of poor Macquarry? Let me know the event of all these litigations. I wish particularly well to the negro and Sir Allan.

"Mrs. Williams has been much out of order; and though she is something better, is likely, in her physician's opinion, to endure her malady for life, though she may, perhaps, die of some other. Mrs. Thrale is big, and fancies that she carries a boy; if it were very reasonable to wish much about it, I should wish her not to be disappointed. The desire of male heirs is not appendant only to feudal tenures. A son is almost necessary to the continuance of Thrale's fortune; for what can misses do with a brewhouse? Lands are fitter for daughters than trades.

"Baretti went away from Thrale's in some whimsical fit of disgust, or ill-nature, without taking any leave. It is well if he finds in any other place as good an habitation, and as many conveniences. He has got five and twenty guineas by translating Sir Joshua's Discourses into Italian, and Mr. Thrale gave him an hundred in the spring; so that he is yet in no difficulties.

"Colman has bought Foote's patent, and is to allow Foote for life sixteen hundred pounds a year, as Reynolds told me, and to allow him to play so often on such terms that he may gain four hundred pounds more. What Colman can get by this bargain¹, but trouble and hazard, I do not see. I am, dear Sir, &c.,

SAM. JOHNSON."

The Reverend Dr. Hugh Blair, who had long been admired as a preacher at Edinburgh, thought now of diffusing his excellent sermons more extensively, and increasing his reputation, by publishing a collection of them. He transmitted the manuscript to Mr. Strahan, the

printer, who, after keeping it for some time, wrote a letter to him, discouraging the publication. Such, at first, was the unpropitious state of one of the most successful theological books that has ever appeared. Mr. Strahan, however, had sent one of the sermons to Dr. Johnson for his opinion; and after his unfavourable letter to Dr. Blair had been sent off, he received from Johnson, on Christmas-eve, a note in which was the following paragraph:—

"I have read over Dr. Blair's first sermon with more than approbation: to say it is good, is to say too little."

I believe Mr. Strahan had very soon after this time a conversation with Dr. Johnson concerning them; and then he very candidly wrote again to Dr. Blair, enclosing Johnson's note, and agreeing to purchase the volume, for which he and Mr. Cadell gave one hundred pounds. The sale was so rapid and extensive, and the approbation of the public so high, that, to their honour be it recorded, the proprietors made Dr. Blair a present first of one sum, and afterwards of another, of fifty pounds, thus voluntarily doubling the stipulated price; and, when he prepared another volume, they gave him at once three hundred pounds, being in all five hundred pounds, by an agreement to which I am a subscribing witness; and now for a third octavo volume he has received no less than six hundred pounds.²

[JOHNSON TO MRS. THRALE.

"Wednesday, January 15. 1 in the morning, 1777.³

"*Omnium rerum vicissitudo!* The night after last Thursday was so bad that I took ipecacuanha the next day. The next night was no better. On Saturday I dined with Sir Joshua. The night was such as I was forced to rise and pass some hours in a chair, with great labour of respiration. I found it now time to do something, and went to Dr. Lawrence, and told him I would do what he should order, without reading the prescription. He sent for a chirurgeon, and took about twelve ounces of blood, and in the afternoon I got sleep in a chair.

"At night, when I came to lie down, after trial of an hour or two, I found sleep impracticable, and therefore did what the doctor permitted in a case of distress; I rose, and opening the orifice, let out about ten ounces more. Frank and I were but awkward; but, with Mr. Levett's help, we stopped the stream, and I lay down again, though to little purpose; the difficulty of breathing allowed no rest. I slept again in the daytime, in an erect posture. The doctor has ordered me a second bleeding, which I hope will set my breath at liberty. Last night I could lie but a little at a time.

"Yet I do not make it a matter of much form. I was to-day at Mrs. Gardiner's. When I have bled to-morrow, I will not give up Langton nor

¹ It turned out, however, a very fortunate bargain: for Foote, though not then fifty-six, died at an inn in Dover, in less than a year, October 21. 1777.—MALONE.

² A fourth volume was published on the same liberal terms, and a fifth was published after his death, in 1801, with

"A short Account of his Life, by the Rev. Dr. Finlayson." A larger life appeared in 1807, by Dr. Hill.—CHALMERS.

³ He began this year with a severe indispotion, and the following letter affords a strong proof of his anxiety for society, and the effort he would make, even over disease, to enjoy it.—CROKER.

Paradise. But I beg that you will fetch me away on Friday. I do not know but clearer air may do me good; but whether the air be clear or dark, let me come to you. I am, &c.]

In 1777, it appears from his "Prayers and Meditations," that Johnson suffered much from a state of mind "unsettled and perplexed," and from that constitutional gloom, which, together with his extreme humility and anxiety with regard to his religious state, made him contemplate himself through too dark and unfavourable a medium. It may be said of him, that he "saw God in clouds." Certain we may be of his injustice to himself in the following lamentable paragraph, which it is painful to think came from the contrite heart of this great man, to whose labours the world is so much indebted:—

"When I survey my past life, I discover nothing but a barren waste of time, with some disorders of body, and disturbances of the mind very near to madness, which I hope He that made me will suffer to extenuate many faults, and excuse many deficiencies." (P. 155.)

But we find his devotions in this year eminently fervent; and we are comforted by observing intervals of quiet composure, and gladness.

On Easter-day we find the following emphatic prayer:—

"Almighty and most merciful Father, who seest all our miseries, and knowest all our necessities, look down upon me and pity me. Defend me from the violent incursion of evil thoughts, and enable me to form and keep such resolutions as may conduce to the discharge of the duties which thy providence shall appoint me; and so help me, by thy Holy Spirit, that my heart may surely there be fixed where true joys are to be found, and that I may serve thee with pure affection and a cheerful mind. Have mercy upon me, O God, have mercy upon me! Years and infirmities oppress me; terror and anxiety beset me. Have mercy upon me, my Creator and my Judge! [In all dangers protect me]; in all perplexities relieve and free me; and so help me by thy Holy Spirit, that I may now so commemorate the death of thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, as that, when this short and painful life shall have an end, I may, for his sake, be received to everlasting happiness. Amen." (P. 158.)

While he was at church, the agreeable impressions upon his mind are thus commemorated:—

"On Easter-day I was at church early, and there prayed over my prayer, and commended Tetty and my other friends. I was for some time much distressed, but at last obtained, I hope, from the God of Peace, more quiet than I have enjoyed for a long time. I had made no resolution, but as my heart grew lighter, my hopes revived, and my courage increased; and I wrote with my pencil in my Common Prayer-Book:—

"Vita ordinanda.

Biblia legenda.

Theologiæ opera danda.

Serviendum et lætandum."

"I then went to the altar, having, I believe, again read my prayer. I then went to the table and communicated, praying for some time afterwards, but the particular matter of my prayer I do not remember.

"I dined, by an appointment, with Mrs. Gardiner, and passed the afternoon with such calm gladness of mind as it is very long since I felt before. I came home, and began to read the Bible. I passed the night in such sweet uninterrupted sleep as I have not known since I slept at Fort Augustus.

"On Monday I dined with Seward, on Tuesday with Paradise. The mornings have been devoured by company, and one intrusion has, through the whole week, succeeded to another.

"At the beginning of the year I proposed to myself a scheme of life, and a plan of study; but neither life has been rectified, nor study followed. Days and months pass in a dream; and I am afraid that my memory grows less tenacious, and my observation less attentive. If I am decaying, it is time to make haste. My nights are restless and tedious, and my days drowsy. The flatulence which torments me has sometimes so obstructed my breath, that the act of respiration became not only voluntary, but laborious in a decumbent posture. By copious bleeding I was relieved, but not cured.

"I have this year omitted church on most Sundays, intending to supply the deficiency in the week. So that I owe twelve attendances on worship. I will make no more such superstitious stipulations, which entangle the mind with unbidden obligations." (P. 156—159.)

Mr. Steevens, whose generosity is well known, joined Dr. Johnson in kind assistance to a female relation of Dr. Goldsmith, and desired that, on her return to Ireland, she would procure authentic particulars of the life of her celebrated relation. Concerning her is the following letter:—

JOHNSON TO STEEVENS.

"Feb. 25. 1777.

"DEAR SIR,—You will be glad to hear that, from Mrs. Goldsmith, whom we lamented as drowned, I have received a letter full of gratitude to us all, with promise to make the enquiries which we recommended to her. I would have had the honour of conveying this intelligence to Miss Caulfield, but that her letter is not at hand, and I know not the direction. You will tell the good news. — I am, Sir, &c.,
SAM. JOHNSON."

BOSWELL TO JOHNSON.

"Edinburgh, Feb. 14. 1777.

"MY DEAR SIR,—My state of epistolary accounts with you at present is extraordinary. The balance, as to number, is on your side. I am indebted to you for two letters: one dated the 16th of November, upon which very day I wrote to you, so that our letters were exactly exchanged; and one dated the 21st of December last.

"My heart was warmed with gratitude by the truly kind contents of both of them; and it is amazing and vexing that I have allowed so much time to elapse without writing to you. But delay is inherent in me, by nature or by bad habit. I waited till I should have an opportunity of paying you my compliments on a new year. I have procrastinated till the year is no longer new.

* * * *

"Dr. Memis's cause [p. 454.] was determined against him, with 40*l.* costs. The lord president, and two other of the judges, dissented from the majority upon this ground: that although there may have been no intention to injure him by calling him *doctor of medicine* instead of *physician*; yet, as he remonstrated against the designation before the charter was printed off, and represented that it was disagreeable, and even hurtful to him, it was ill-natured to refuse to alter it, and let him have the designation to which he was certainly entitled. My opinion is, that our court has judged wrong. The defendants were *in malâ fide*, to persist in naming him in a way that he disliked. You remember poor Goldsmith, when he grew important, and wished to appear *Doctor Major*, could not bear your calling him *Goldy*. [p. 262. 294.] Would it not have been wrong to have named him so in your 'Preface to Shakspeare,' or in any serious permanent writing of any sort? The difficulty is, whether an action should be allowed on such petty wrongs. *De minimis non curat lex*.

"The negro cause is not yet decided. A memorial is preparing on the side of slavery. I shall send you a copy as soon as it is printed. Maelaurin is made happy by your approbation of his memorial for the black. Macquarry was here in the winter, and we passed an evening together. The sale of his estate cannot be prevented.

"Sir Allan Maclean's suit against the Duke of Argyle, for recovering the ancient inheritance of his family, is now fairly before all our judges. I spoke for him yesterday, and Maclaurin to-day; Crosbie spoke to-day against him. Three more counsel are to be heard, and next week the cause will be determined. I send you the informations, or cases, on each side, which I hope you will read. You said to me, when we were under Sir Allan's hospitable roof, 'I will help you with my pen.' You said it with a generous glow; and though his Grace of Argyle did afterwards mount you upon an excellent horse, upon which 'you looked like a bishop,' you must not swerve from your purpose at Inch Kenneth. I wish you may understand the points at issue, amidst our Scotch law principles and phrases." [Here followed a full state of the case, in which I endeavoured to make it as clear as I could to an Englishman who had no knowledge of the formularies and technical language of the law of Scotland.]

"I shall inform you how the cause is decided here. But as it may be brought under the review of our judges, and is certainly to be carried by appeal to the House of Lords, the assistance of such a mind as yours will be of consequence. Your paper on *Vicious Intromission* is a noble proof of what you can do even in Scotch law.

"I have not yet distributed all your books. Lord Hailes and Lord Monboddo have each received one,

and return you thanks. Monboddo dined with me lately, and, having drunk tea, we were a good while by ourselves; and as I knew that he had read the 'Journey' superficially, as he did not talk of it as I wished, I brought it to him, and read aloud several passages; and then he talked so, that I told him he was to have a copy *from the author*. He begged that might be marked on it. * * * I ever am, my dear Sir, your most faithful and affectionate humble servant,
JAMES BOSWELL."

SIR ALEXANDER DICK TO JOHNSON.

"Prestonfield, Feb. 17. 1777.

"SIR, — I had yesterday the honour of receiving your book of your 'Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland,' which you were so good as to send me, by the hands of our mutual friend Mr. Boswell of Auchinleck; for which I return you my most hearty thanks; and, after carefully reading it over again, shall deposit it in my little collection of choice books, next our worthy friend's 'Journey to Corsica.' As there are many things to admire in both performances, I have often wished that no travels or journey should be published but those undertaken by persons of integrity, and capacity to judge well, and describe faithfully and in good language, the situation, condition, and manners of the countries passed through. Indeed, our country of Scotland, in spite of the union of the crowns, is still in most places so devoid of clothing or cover from hedges and plantations, that it was well you gave your readers a sound *monitoire* with respect to that circumstance. The truths you have told, and the purity of the language in which they are expressed, as your 'Journey' is universally read, may, and already appear to, have a very good effect. For a man of my acquaintance, who has the largest nursery for trees and hedges in this country, tells me, that of late the demand upon him for these articles is doubled, and sometimes tripled. I have, therefore, listed Dr. Samuel Johnson in some of my memorandums of the principal planters and favourers of the enclosures, under a name which I took the liberty to invent from the Greek, *Pappadendriou*. Lord Auchinleck and some few more are of the list. I am told that one gentleman in the shire of Aberdeen, *viz.* Sir Archibald Grant, has planted above fifty millions of trees on a piece of very wild ground at Monimusk: I must enquire if he has fenced them well, before he enters my list; for that is the soul of enclosing. I began myself to plant a little, our ground being too valuable for much, and that is now fifty years ago; and the trees, now in my seventy-fourth year, I look up to with reverence, and show them to my eldest son, now in his fifteenth year; and they are the full height of my country-house here, where I had the pleasure of receiving you, and hope again to have that satisfaction with our mutual friend, Mr. Boswell. I shall always continue, with the truest esteem, dear Doctor, &c.,

ALEXANDER DICK."¹

¹ For a character of this very amiable man, see *amid*, p. 278., and the Biographical Dictionary. He died in 1785. — BOSWELL.

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"Feb. 18. 1777.

"DEAR SIR, — It is so long since I heard any thing from you¹, that I am not easy about it: write something to me next post. When you sent your last letter, every thing seemed to be mending; I hope nothing has lately grown worse. I suppose young Alexander continues to thrive, and Veronica is now very pretty company. I do not suppose the lady is yet reconciled to me; yet let her know that I love her very well, and value her very much.

"Jr. Blair is printing some sermons. If they are all like the first, which I have read, they are *sermones aurei, ac auro magis aurei*. It is excellently written both as to doctrine and language. Mr. Watson's book² seems to be much esteemed.

"Poor Beauclerk still continues very ill. Langton lives on as he used to do. His children are very pretty, and, I think, his lady loses her Scotch.³ Paoli I never see.

"I have been so distressed by difficulty of breathing, that I lost, as was computed, six-and-thirty ounces of blood in a few days. I am better, but not well. I wish you would be vigilant and get me Graham's 'Telemachus' [*anté*, p. 139.] that was printed at Glasgow, a very little book; and 'Johnstoni Poemata' [*anté*, p. 295.], another little book, printed at Middleburgh.

"Mrs. Williams sends her compliments, and promises that when you come hither she will accommodate you as well as ever she can in the old room. She wishes to know whether you sent her book to Sir Alexander Gordon. My dear Boswell, do not neglect to write to me; for your kindness is one of the pleasures of my life, which I should be sorry to lose. I am, &c., SAM. JOHNSON."

BOSWELL TO JOHNSON.

"Edinburgh, Feb. 24. 1777.

"DEAR SIR, — Your letter dated the 18th instant, I had the pleasure to receive last post. Although my late long neglect, or rather delay, was truly culpable, I am tempted not to regret it, since it has produced me so valuable a proof of your regard. I did, indeed, during that inexcusable silence, sometimes divert the reproaches of my own mind, by fancying that I should hear again from you, enquiring with some anxiety about me, because, for aught you knew, I might have been ill.

"You are pleased to show me that my kindness is of some consequence to you. My heart is elated at the thought. Be assured, my dear Sir, that my affection and reverence for you are exalted and steady. I do not believe that a more perfect attachment ever existed in the history of mankind. And it is a noble attachment; for the attractions are genius, learning, and piety.

"Your difficulty of breathing alarms me, and brings into my imagination an event, which, although, in the natural course of things, I must expect at some period, I cannot view with composure.

"My wife is much honoured by what you say of her. She begs you may accept of her best compliments. She is to send you some marmalade of oranges of her own making. I ever am, my dear Sir, &c., JAMES BOSWELL."

[JOHNSON TO MRS. ASTON.

"Bolt-Court, March 8. 1777.

"DEAR MADAM, — As we pass on through the journey of life, we meet, and ought to expect, many unpleasant occurrences, but many likewise encounter us unexpected. I have this morning heard from Lucy of your illness. I heard, indeed, in the next sentence that you are to a great degree recovered. May your recovery, dearest Madam, be complete and lasting! The hopes of paying you the annual visit is one of the few solaces with which my imagination gratifies me; and my wish is, that I may find you happy.

"My health is much broken; my nights are very restless, and will not be made more comfortable by remembering that one of the friends whom I value most is suffering equally with myself. Be pleased, dearest lady, to let me know how you are; and if writing be troublesome, get dear Mrs. Gastrell to write for you. I hope she is well and able to assist you; and wish that you may so well recover, as to repay her kindness, if she should want you. May you both live long happy together! I am, dear Madam, &c., SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"March 14. 1777.

"DEAR SIR, — I have been much pleased with your late letter, and am glad that my old enemy, Mrs. Boswell, begins to feel some remorse. As to Miss Veronica's Scotch, I think it cannot be helped. An English maid you might easily have; but she would still imitate the greater number, as they would be likewise those whom she must most respect. Her dialect will not be gross. Her mamma has not much Scotch, and you have yourself very little. I hope she knows my name, and does not call me *Johnston*.⁴

"The immediate cause of my writing is this. One Shaw, who seems a modest and a decent man, has written an *Erse Grammar*, which a very learned Highlander, Macbean, has, at my request, examined and approved. The book is very little, but Mr. Shaw has been persuaded by his friends to set it at half a guinea, though I advised only a crown, and thought myself liberal. You, whom the author considers as a great encourager of ingenious men, will receive a parcel of his proposals and receipts. I have undertaken to give you notice of them, and to solicit your countenance. You must ask no poor man, because the price is really too high. Yet such a work deserves patronage.

"It is proposed to augment our club from twenty to thirty, of which I am glad; for as we have several in it whom I do not much like to

¹ By the then course of the post, my long letter of the 14th had not yet reached him. — BOSWELL.

² History of Philip the Second. — BOSWELL.

³ Lady Rothes (*anté*, p. 222.) was a native of England, but she had lived long in Scotland, and never, it is said, entirely lost the accent she had acquired there. — CROKER.

⁴ *Johnson* is the most common English formation of the

surname from *John*; *Johnston* the Scotch. My illustrious friend observed that many North Britons pronounced his name in their own way. — BOSWELL. The names are radically different: one is patronymic, *John's son*; the other local, *John's town*. Wyntown calls the ancestor of the Annandale family "*Schyr Jhon of Jhonstown*." — CROKER, 1835.

cousort with¹, I am for reducing it to a mere miscellaneous collection of conspicuous men, without any determinate character. I am, dear Sir, most affectionately yours,
SAM. JOHNSON.

"My respects to Madam, to Veronica, to Alexander, to Euphemia, to David."

[JOHNSON TO MRS. ASTON.]

"March 15. 1777.

"DEAREST MADAM, — The letter with which I was favoured, by the kindness of Mrs. Gastrell, has contributed very little to quiet my solicitude. I am indeed more frightened than by Mrs. Porter's account. Yet, since you have had strength to conquer your disorder so as to obtain a partial recovery, I think it reasonable to believe, that the favourable season which is now coming forward may restore you to your former health. Do not, dear Madam, lose your courage, nor by despondence or inactivity give way to the disease. Use such exercise as you can bear, and excite cheerful thoughts in your own mind. Do not harass your faculties with laborious attention: nothing is, in my opinion, of more mischievous tendency in a state of body like yours, than deep meditation or perplexing solicitude. Gaiety is a duty, when health requires it. Entertain yourself as you can with small amusements, or light conversation, and let nothing but your devotion ever make you serious. But while I exhort you, my dearest lady, to merriment, I am very serious myself. The loss or danger of a friend is not to be considered with indifference; but I derive some consolation from the thought, that you do not languish unattended; that you are not in the hands of strangers or servants, but have a sister at hand to watch your wants and supply them. If, at this distance, I can be of any use, by consulting physicians, or for any other purpose, I hope you will employ me.

"I have thought on a journey to Staffordshire: and hope, in a few weeks, to climb Stow Hill, and to find there the pleasure which I have so often found. Let me hear again from you. I am, dear Madam, your most humble servant,
SAM. JOHNSON."]
— *Pembroke MSS.*

BOSWELL TO JOHNSON.

"Edinburgh, April 4. 1777.

(After informing him of the death of my little son David, and that I could not come to London this spring); — "I think it hard that I should be a whole year without seeing you. May I presume to petition for a meeting with you in the autumn? You have, I believe, seen all the cathedrals in England, except that of Carlisle. If you are to be with Dr. Taylor, at Ashbourne, it would not be a great journey to come thither. We may pass a few most agreeable days there by ourselves, and I will accompany you a good part of the way to the southward again. Pray think of this.

"You forget that Mr. Shaw's Erse Grammar was put into your hands by myself last year. Lord Eglintoun put it into mine. I am glad that Mr. Macbean approves of it. I have received Mr. Shaw's proposals for its publication, which I can perceive are written by the hand of a master.

"* * * Pray get for me all the editions of 'Walton's Lives.' I have a notion that the republication of them with notes will fall upon me, between Dr. Horne and Lord Hailes."*

Mr. Shaw's proposals for an "Analysis of the Scotch Celtic Language" were thus illuminated by the pen of Johnson: —

"Though the Erse dialect of the Celtic language has, from the earliest times, been spoken in Britain, and still subsists in the northern parts and adjacent islands, yet, by the negligence of a people rather warlike than lettered, it has hitherto been left to the caprice and judgment of every speaker, and has floated in the living voice, without the steadiness of analogy, or direction of rules.

"An Erse Grammar is an addition to the stores of literature; and its author hopes for the indulgence always shown to those that attempt to do what was never done before. If his work shall be found defective, it is at least all his own; he is not, like other grammarians, a compiler or transcriber; what he delivers, he has learned by attentive observation among his countrymen, who, perhaps, will be themselves surprised to see that speech reduced to principles, which they have used only by imitation.

"The use of this book will, however, not be confined to the mountains and islands; it will afford a pleasing and important subject of speculation to those whose studies lead them to trace the affinity of languages, and the migrations of the ancient races of mankind."

BOSWELL TO JOHNSON.

"Glasgow, April 24. 1777.

"MY DEAR SIR, — Our worthy friend Thrale's death having appeared in the newspapers, and been afterwards contradicted, I have been placed in a state of very uneasy uncertainty, from which I hoped to be relieved by you; but my hopes have as yet been vain. How could you omit to write to me on such an occasion? I shall wait with anxiety. — I am going to Auchinleck to stay a fortnight with my father. It is better not to be there very long at one time. But frequent renewals of attention are agreeable to him.

"Pray tell me about this edition of 'English Poets, with a Preface, biographical and critical, to each Author, by Samuel Johnson, LL.D.' which I see advertised. I am delighted with the prospect of it. Indeed, I am happy to feel that I am capable of being so much delighted with literature. But is not the charm of this publication chiefly owing to the *magnum nomen* in the front of it?

¹ On account of their differing from him as to religion and politics. — BOSWELL. Messrs. Burke, Beauchamp, Fox, &c. It was about this time that Mr. Sheridan, Lord Upper Ossory, Dr. Marlay (afterwards Bishop of Waterford), and Mr. Dunning, were admitted; but they were all of the same cast of Whig politics. The Club, though it has the reputation of Johnson's name, had, as its records show, for many of his latter years, very little of his company. — CROKER, 1831, 1847.

² None of the persons here mentioned executed the work which they had in contemplation. Walton's valuable book, however, has been correctly republished in quarto and octavo, with notes and illustrations by the Rev. Mr. Zouch. — MALONE. It was also printed by the Clarendon press, in 1805, in two volumes, 2mo, and in one vol. 8vo, 1821. — HALL. — CROKER.

"What do you say of Lord Chesterfield's Memoirs and last letters?"

"My wife has made marmalade of oranges for you. I left her and my daughters and Alexander all well yesterday. I have taught Veronica to speak of you thus; Dr. Johnson, not *Johnston*.

I remain, &c.,

JAMES BOSWELL."

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"May 3. 1777.

"DEAR SIR, — The story of Mr. Thrale's death, as he had neither been sick nor in any other danger, made so little impression upon me, that I never thought about obviating its effects on any body else. It is supposed to have been produced by the English custom² of making April fools; that is, of sending one another on some foolish errand on the first of April.

"Tell Mrs. Boswell that I shall taste her marmalade cautiously at first. *Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes*. Beware, says the Italian proverb, of a reconciled enemy. But when I find it does me no harm, I shall then receive it, and be thankful for it, as a pledge of firm, and, I hope, of unalterable kindness. She is, after all, a dear, dear lady.

"Please to return Dr. Blair thanks for his sermons. The Scotch write English wonderfully well.

"Your frequent visits to Auchinleck, and your short stay there, are very laudable and very judicious. Your present concord with your father gives me great pleasure; it was all that you seemed to want.

"My health is very bad, and my nights are very unquiet. What can I do to mend them? I have for this summer nothing better in prospect than a journey into Staffordshire and Derbyshire, perhaps with Oxford and Birmingham in my way.

"Make my compliments to Miss Veronica; I must leave it to *her* philosophy to comfort you for the loss of little David. You must remember, that to keep three out of four is more than your share. Mrs. Thrale has but four out of eleven.

"I am engaged to write little Lives, and little Prefaces, to a little edition of the English Poets. I think I have persuaded the booksellers to insert something of Thomson; and if you could give me some information about him, for the life which we have is very scanty, I should be glad.

I am, dear Sir, &c.,

SAM. JOHNSON."

To those who delight in tracing the progress of works of literature, it will be an entertainment to compare the limited design with the ample execution of that admirable performance, "The Lives of the English Poets," which is the richest, most beautiful, and, indeed, most perfect production of Johnson's pen. His notion of it at this time appears in the preceding letter. He has a memorandum in this year:—

"May 29., Easter eve, I treated with booksellers on a bargain, but the time was not long." (*Pr. and Med.* p. 155.)

The bargain was concerning that undertaking; but his tender conscience seems alarmed, lest it should have intruded too much on his devout preparation for the solemnity of the ensuing day. But, indeed, very little time was necessary for Johnson's concluding a treaty with the booksellers; as he had, I believe, less attention to profit from his labours, than any man to whom literature has been a profession. I shall here insert, from a letter to me from my late worthy friend Mr. Edward Dilly, though of a later date, an account of this plan, so happily conceived, since it was the occasion of procuring for us an elegant collection of the best biography and criticism of which our language can boast.

EDWARD DILLY TO BOSWELL.

"Southill, Sept. 20. 1777.

"DEAR SIR, — You find by this letter, that I am still in the same calm retreat, from the noise and bustle of London, as when I wrote to you last. I am happy to find you had such an agreeable meeting with your old friend Dr. Johnson: I have no doubt your stock is much increased by the interview; few men, nay, I may say, scarcely any man has got that fund of knowledge and entertainment as Dr. Johnson in conversation. When he opens freely, every one is attentive to what he says, and cannot fail of improvement as well as pleasure.

"The edition of the poets, now printing, will do honour to the English press; and a concise account of the life of each author, by Dr. Johnson, will be a very valuable addition, and stamp the reputation of this edition superior to any thing that is gone before. The first cause that gave rise to this undertaking, I believe, was owing to the little trifling edition of the poets, printing by the Martins at Edinburgh, and to be sold by Bell in London. Upon examining the volumes which were printed, the type was found so extremely small, that many persons could not read them: not only this inconvenience attended it, but the inaccuracy of the press was very conspicuous. These reasons, as well as the idea of an invasion of what we call our Literary Property, induced the London booksellers to print an elegant and accurate edition of all the English poets of reputation, from Chaucer to the present time.

"Accordingly a select number of the most respectable booksellers met on the occasion: and, on consulting together, agreed, that all the proprietors of copyright in the various poets should be summoned together; and when their opinions were given, to proceed immediately on the business. Accordingly a meeting was held, consisting of about forty of the most respectable booksellers of London, when it was agreed that an elegant and uniform edition of 'The English Poets' should be immediately printed, with a concise account of the life of each author, by Dr. Samuel Johnson; and that three persons should be deputed to wait

¹ Dr. Maty's posthumous edition of the Memoirs and Miscellaneous Works of Lord Chesterfield, published by Mr. Justamond early in 1777. — CROKER.

² Johnson seems not to be aware that it is equally a Scottish custom: it also exists on the Continent; what we call *April fools* the French term "*poisson d'Avril*." — CROKER.

upon Dr. Johnson, to solicit him to undertake the 'Lives,' viz. T. Davies, Strahan, and Cadell. The Doctor very politely undertook it, and seemed exceedingly pleased with the proposal.

"As to the terms, it was left entirely to the Doctor to name his own: he mentioned two hundred guineas¹; it was immediately agreed to; and a farther compliment, I believe, will be made him. A committee was likewise appointed to engage the best engravers, viz. Bartolozzi, Sherwin, Hall, &c. Likewise another committee for giving directions about the paper, printing, &c.; so that the whole will be conducted with spirit, and in the best manner, with respect to authorship, editorship, engravings, &c. &c. My brother will give you a list of the poets we mean to give, many of which are within the time of the Act of Queen Anne, which Martin and Bell cannot give, as they have no property in them: the proprietors are almost all the booksellers in London of consequence.

"I am, dear Sir ever yours,

"EDWARD DILLY."

I shall afterwards have occasion to consider the extensive and varied range which Johnson took, when he was once led upon ground which he trode with a peculiar delight, having long been intimately acquainted with all the circumstances of it that could interest and please.

JOHNSON TO O'CONNOR.*

"May 19, 1777.

"SIR, — Having had the pleasure of conversing with Dr. Campbell about your character and your literary undertaking, I am resolved to gratify myself by renewing a correspondence which began and ended a great while ago, and ended, I am afraid, by my fault; a fault which, if you have not forgotten it, you must now forgive.

"If I have ever disappointed you, give me leave to tell you that you have likewise disappointed me. I expected great discoveries in Irish antiquity, and large publications in the Irish language; but the world still remains as it was, doubtful and ignorant. What the Irish language is in itself, and to what languages it has affinity, are very interesting questions, which every man wishes to see resolved that has any philological or historical curiosity. Dr. Leland begins his history too late: the ages which deserve an exact inquiry are those times (for such there were)³ when Ireland was the school of the West, the quiet habitation of sanctity and literature. If you could give a history, though imperfect, of the Irish nation, from its conversion to Christianity to the invasion from England, you would amplify knowledge with new views and new

objects. Set about it, therefore, if you can: do what you can easily do without anxious exactness. Lay the foundation, and leave the superstructure to posterity. — I am, Sir, your humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

CHAPTER LVIII.

1777.

Bishop Pearce. — Prologue to Kelly's Play. — Richard Brinsley Sheridan. — Savage's "Sir Thomas Overbury." — Thomson. — Mrs. Strickland. — The Townley Collection. — Dr. Dodd. — Boswell at the Tomb of Melancthon. — Isaac De Groot. — Dr. Watts. — Letter to Mrs. Boswell. — Visit to Ashbourne. — "Harry Jackson." — Sidney's "Arcadia." — Projected Trip to the Baltic. — Sale of Ulva and Staffa.

EARLY in this year came out, in two volumes quarto, the posthumous works of the learned Dr. Zachary Pearce, bishop of Rochester; being "A Commentary, with Notes, on the four Evangelists and the Acts of the Apostles," with other theological pieces. Johnson had now an opportunity of making a grateful return to that excellent prelate, who, we have seen, was the only person who gave him any assistance in the compilation of his Dictionary. The bishop had left some account of his life and character, written by himself. To this Johnson made some valuable additions[†], and also furnished to the editor, the Rev. Mr. Derby[‡], a dedication[§], which I shall here insert; both because it will appear at this time with peculiar propriety, and because it will tend to propagate and increase that "fervour of loyalty," which in me, who boast of the name of Tory, is not only a principle but a passion.

"To the King.

"SIR, — I presume to lay before your majesty the last labours of a learned bishop, who died in the toils and duties of his calling.⁵ He is now beyond the reach of all earthly honours and rewards; and only the hope of inciting others to imitate him makes it now fit to be remembered, that he enjoyed in his life the favour of your majesty.

¹ Johnson's moderation in demanding so small a sum is extraordinary. Had he asked one thousand, or even fifteen hundred guineas, the booksellers, who knew the value of his name, would doubtless have readily given it. They have probably got five thousand guineas by this work in the course of twenty-five years. — MALONE. It must be recollected that Johnson at first intended very short prefaces — he afterwards expanded his design. — CROKER.

² See ante, p. 108. — C.

³ This letter Mr. Boswell printed from a copy sent to him from Ireland; but Dr. Campbell, who was the bearer, gave a version of it in his *Strictures on the History of Ireland* in which this parenthesis was given "in such there were:" the variance is important, and I confess that Dr. Campbell's reading seems the more probable of the two, and

I suspect that something of national zeal may have misguided the pen of the Irish copyist. I have in vain enquired after the original letter to clear up this point. — CROKER.

⁴ Rector of Southfleet and Longfield in Kent. See ante, p. 97. He had married Bishop Pearce's niece, Johnson, in a letter to Mrs. Thrale, says, "My clerical friend Derby is dead." He died in 1778. — CROKER.

⁵ This statement, that the Bishop "died in his calling," which might be said of any bishop, seems superfluous, but it is in truth an allusion to the very special circumstance that Bishop Pearce had endeavoured, on account of his age and infirmities, to resign his episcopal charge, but George III. had scruples about such a resignation, and would not permit it. — C., 1831. In some recent instances of episcopal incapacity, *coadjutors* have been nominated. — CROKER, 1847.

"The tumultuary life of princes seldom permits them to survey the wide extent of national interest, without losing sight of private merit; to exhibit qualities which may be imitated by the highest and the humblest of mankind; and to be at once amiable and great.

"Such characters, if now and then they appear in history, are contemplated with admiration. May it be the ambition of all your subjects to make haste with their tribute of reverence! and as posterity may learn from your majesty how kings should live, may they learn likewise from your people how they should be honoured!—I am, may it please your majesty, with the most profound respect, your majesty's most dutiful and devoted subject and servant."

In the summer he wrote a prologue*, which was spoken before "A Word to the Wise," a comedy by Mr. Hugh Kelly, which had been brought upon the stage in 1770; but he being a writer for ministry in one of the newspapers, it fell a sacrifice to popular fury, and, in the playhouse phrase, was *damned*. By the generosity of Mr. Harris, the proprietor of Covent-garden theatre, it was now exhibited for one night, for the benefit of the author's widow and children. To conciliate the favour of the audience was the intention of Johnson's prologue, which, as it is not long, I shall here insert, as a proof that his poetical talents were in no degree impaired.

"This night presents a play, which public rage,
Or right or wrong, once hooted from the stage:
From zeal or malice now no more we dread,
For English vengeance *was not with the dead*.
A generous foe regards with pitying eye
The man whom fate has laid where all must lie.
To wit, reviving from its author's dust,
Be kind, ye judges, or at least be just:
Let no renew'd hostilities invade
Th' oblivious grave's inviolable shade.
Let one great payment every claim appease,
And him who cannot hurt, allow to please;
To please by scenes, unconscious of offence,
By harmless merriment or useful sense.
Where aught of bright or fair the piece displays,
Approve it only; — 'tis too late to praise.
If want of skill or want of care appear,
Forbear to hiss; — the poet cannot hear.
By all, like him, must praise and blame be found,
At last, a fleeting gleam or empty sound:

¹ Mr. Murphy related in Dr. Johnson's hearing one day, and he did not deny it, that when Murphy joked him for having been so diligent of late between Dodd's sermon and Kelly's prologue, Dr. Johnson replied, "Why, Sir, when they come to me with a dead staymaker and a dying parson, what can a man do?" He said, however, that he hated to give away literary performances, or even to sell them too cheaply. "The next generation," added he, "shall not accuse me of beating down the price of literature: one hates besides to *give* what one has been accustomed to *sell*; would not you now," turning to Mr. Thrale, "rather give away money than porter?" — *Pizzini*. — CROKER.

² Our author has here fallen into a slight mistake. The prologue to this revived tragedy being written by Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Boswell very naturally supposed that it was performed at Drury-lane theatre. But in fact, as Mr. Kemble observes to me, it was acted at the theatre in Covent-garden [Feb. 1. 1777]. — MALONE.

³ "Life of Richard Savage, by Dr. Johnson." — SHERIDAN.

⁴ He likewise made some retribution to Dr. Johnson for

Yet then shall calm reflection bless the night
When liberal pity dignified delight;
When pleasure fired her torch at virtue's flame,
And mirth was bounty with an humbler name."¹

A circumstance which could not fail to be very pleasing to Johnson occurred this year. The tragedy of "Sir Thomas Overbury," written by his early companion in London, Richard Savage, was brought out with alterations at Drury-lane theatre.² The prologue to it was written by Mr. Richard Brinsley Sheridan; in which, after describing very pathetically the wretchedness of

"Ill-fated Savage, at whose birth was given

No parent but the Muse, no friend but Heaven;"

he introduced an elegant compliment to Johnson on his Dictionary, that wonderful performance which cannot be too often or too highly praised; of which Mr. Harris, in his *Philological Inquiries* (part i. chap. iv.), justly and liberally observes, "Such is its merit, that our language does not possess a more copious, learned, and valuable work." The concluding lines of this prologue were these:—

"So pleads the tale³ that gives to future times
The son's misfortunes and the parent's crimes;
There shall his fame (if own'd to-night) survive,
Fix'd by the hand that bids our language live."

Mr. Sheridan here at once did honour to his taste and to his liberality of sentiment, by showing that he was not prejudiced from the unlucky difference which had taken place between his worthy father and Dr. Johnson.⁴ I have already mentioned that Johnson was very desirous of reconciliation with old Mr. Sheridan. It will, therefore, not seem at all surprising that he was zealous in acknowledging the brilliant merit of his son. While it had as yet been displayed only in the drama, Johnson proposed him as a member of the Literary Club, observing, that "He who has written the two best comedies of his age is surely a considerable man."⁵ And he had, accordingly, the honour to be elected; for an honour it undoubtedly must be allowed to be, when it is considered of whom that society consists, and that a single black ball excludes a candidate.

the attack he had meditated, about two years before, on the pamphlet he had published about the American question, entitled "Taxation no Tyranny." Some fragments found among Sheridan's papers show that he had intended answering this pamphlet in no very courteous way. See *Moore's Life*, vol. i. p. 152. — *Hall*. — CROKER.

⁵ "Whatever Sheridan has done has been, *par excellence*, always the best of its kind. He has written the best comedy (School for Scandal), the best drama (The Duenna, in my mind, far before the Beggar's Opera), the best farce (the Critic), and the best Address (Monologue on Garrick); and, to crown all, delivered the very best oration (the famous Begum speech) ever conceived or heard in this country." — *Byron*. The *School for Scandal*, however, was not one of the two plays alluded to by Johnson, for it had not yet appeared. He meant the *Nivals* and the *Trip to Scarborough*, or, perhaps, the *Duenna*, though this is not properly a comedy. But it must be observed that Sheridan's admission to the Club took place about five or six weeks after the panegyric prologue. — CROKER.

BOSWELL TO JOHNSON.

" July 9. 1777.

" MY DEAR SIR,—For the health of my wife and children I have taken the little country-house at which you visited my uncle, Dr. Boswell, who, having lost his wife, is gone to live with his son. We took possession of our villa about a week ago. We have a garden of three quarters of an acre, well stocked with fruit-trees and flowers, and gooseberries and currants, and peas and beans, and cabbages, &c. &c., and my children are quite happy. I now write to you in a little study, from the window of which I see around me a verdant grove, and beyond it the lofty mountain called *Arthur's Seat*.

" Your last letter, in which you desire me to send you some additional information concerning Thomson, reached me, very fortunately, just as I was going to Lanark, to put my wife's two nephews, the young Campbells, to school there, under the care of Mr. Thomson, the master of it, whose wife is sister to the author of 'The Seasons.' She is an old woman; but her memory is very good; and she will with pleasure give me for you every particular that you wish to know, and she can tell. Pray, then, take the trouble to send me such questions as may lead to biographical materials. You say that the Life which we have of Thomson is scanty. Since I received your letter, I have read his Life, published under the name of Cibber, but, as you told me, really written by a Mr. Shiels¹; that written by Dr. Murdoch; one prefixed to an edition of the 'Seasons,' published at Edinburgh, which is compounded of both, with the addition of an anecdote of Quin's relieving Thomson from prison; the abridgement of Murdoch's account of him, in the 'Biographia Britannica,' and another abridgement of it in the 'Biographical Dictionary,' enriched with Dr. Joseph Warton's critical panegyric on the 'Seasons,' in his 'Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope:' from all these it appears to me that we have a pretty full account of this poet. However, you will, I doubt not, show me many blanks, and I shall do what can be done to have them filled up. As Thomson never returned to Scotland (which you will think very wise), his sister can speak from her own knowledge only as to the early part of his life. She has some letters from him, which may probably give light as to his more advanced progress, if she will let us see them, which I suppose she will. I believe George Lewis Scott² and Dr. Armstrong are now his only surviving companions, while he lived in and about London; and they, I dare say, can tell

more of him than is yet known. My own notion is, that Thomson was a much coarser man than his friends are willing to acknowledge. His 'Seasons' are indeed full of elegant and pious sentiments; but a rank soil, nay, a dunghill, will produce beautiful flowers.

" Your edition³ of the 'English Poets' will be very valuable on account of the 'Prefaces and Lives.' But I have seen a specimen of an edition of the Poets at the Apollo press, at Edinburgh, which, for excellence in printing and engraving, highly deserves a liberal encouragement.

" Most sincerely do I regret the bad health and bad rest with which you have been afflicted; and I hope you are better. I cannot believe that the prologue which you generously gave to Mr. Kelly's widow and children, the other day, is the effusion of one in sickness and in disquietude; but external circumstances are never sure indications of the state of man. I send you a letter which I wrote to you two years ago at Wilton; and did not send it at the time, for fear of being reproved as indulging too much tenderness; and one written to you at the tomb of Melanethon, which I kept back, lest I should appear at once too superstitious and too enthusiastic. I now imagine that perhaps they may please you.

" You do not take the least notice of my proposal for our meeting at Carlisle.⁴ Though I have meritoriously refrained from visiting London this year, I ask you if it would not be wrong that I should be two years without having the benefit of your conversation, when, if you come down as far as Derbyshire, we may meet at the expense of a few days' journeying and not many pounds. I wish you to see Carlisle, which made me mention that place. But if you have not a desire to complete your tour of the English cathedrals, I will take a larger share of the road between this place and Ashbourne. So tell me where you will fix for our passing a few days by ourselves. Now don't cry 'foolish fellow,' or 'idle dog.' Chain your humour, and let your kindness play.

" You will rejoice to hear that Miss Macleod⁵, of Rasay, is married to Colonel Mure Campbell, an excellent man, with a pretty good estate of his own, and the prospect of having the Earl of Loudoun's fortune and honours. Is not this a noble lot for our fair Hebridean? How happy am I that she is to be in Ayrshire! We shall have the Laird of Rasay, and old Malcolm, and I know not how many gallant Macleods, and bagpipes, &c. &c. at Auchinleck. Perhaps you may meet them all there.

" Without doubt you have read what is called

¹ See *anté*, p. 505. It is particularly observable that the Life of Thomson, which Mr. Boswell here represents Johnson as stating to have been especially written by Shiels, bears strong marks of having been written by Theophilus Cibber. — CROKER.

² See *anté*, p. 60. n. 1. — C.

³ Dr. Johnson was not the *editor* of this collection of the English Poets; he merely furnished the biographical prefaces with which it is enriched, as is rightly stated in a subsequent page. He, indeed, from a virtuous motive, recommended the works of four or five poets (whom he has named) to be added to the collection; but he is no otherwise answerable for any which are found there, or any which are omitted. The poems of Goldsmith (whose life I know he intended to write, for I collected some materials for it by his desire) were omitted in consequence of a petty exclusive interest in some of them, vested in Mr. Carnan, a bookseller [in St. Paul's Churchyard, who died in 1788]. — MALONE.

⁴ Dr. Johnson had himself talked of our seeing Carlisle together. *High* was a favourite word of his to denote a person of rank. He said to me, "Sir, I believe we may meet at the house of a Roman Catholic lady in Cumberland; a high lady, Sir." I afterwards discovered that he meant Mrs. Strickland [see *anté*, p. 465.], sister of Charles Townley, Esq., whose very noble collection of statues and pictures is not more to be admired, than his extraordinary and polite readiness in showing it, which I and several of my friends have agreeably experienced. They who are possessed of valuable stores of gratification to persons of taste should exercise their benevolence in imparting the pleasure. Grateful acknowledgments are due to Welbore Ellis Agar, Esq., for the liberal access which he is pleased to allow to his exquisite collection of pictures. — BOSWELL.

⁵ See *anté*, p. 322. n. 2. — C.

'The *Life* of David Hume,' written by himself, with the letter from Adam Smith subjoined to it. Is not this an age of daring effrontery? My friend Mr. Anderson, professor of natural philosophy at Glasgow, at whose house you and I supped, and to whose care Mr. Windham of Norfolk was intrusted at that university, paid me a visit lately; and after we had talked with indignation and contempt of the poisonous productions with which this age is infested, he said there was now an excellent opportunity for Dr. Johnson to step forth. I agreed with him that you might knock Hume's and Smith's heads together, and make vain and ostentatious infidelity exceedingly ridiculous. Would it not be worth your while to crush such noxious weeds in the moral garden?

"You have said nothing to me of Dr. Dodd.¹ I know not how you think on that subject; though the newspapers give us a saying of yours in favour of mercy to him. But I own I am very desirous that the royal prerogative of remission of punishment should be employed to exhibit an illustrious instance of the regard which God's *Viceroy* will ever show to piety and virtue. If for ten righteous men the Almighty would have spared Sodom, shall not a thousand acts of goodness done by Dr. Dodd counterbalance one crime? Such an instance would do more to encourage goodness, than his execution would do to deter from vice. I am not afraid of any bad consequence to society; for who will persevere for a long course of years in a distinguished discharge of religious duties, with a view to commit a forgery with impunity?

"Pray make my best compliments acceptable to Mr. and Mrs. Thrale, by assuring them of my hearty joy that the *master*, as you call him, is alive. I hope I shall often taste his champagne—*sobberly*.

"I have not heard from Langton for a long time. I suppose he is, as usual,

"'Studious the busy moments to deceive.'

"I remain, my dear Sir, your most affectionate,
&c., JAMES BOSWELL."

On the 23d of June, I again wrote to Dr. Johnson, enclosing a shipmaster's receipt for a

jar of orange marmalade, and a large packet of Lord Hailes's "*Annals of Scotland*."

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"June 28. 1777.

"DEAR SIR,—I have just received your packet from Mr. Thrale's, but have not daylight enough to look much into it. I am glad that I have credit enough with Lord Hailes to be trusted with more copy. I hope to take more care of it than of the last. I return Mrs. Boswell my affectionate thanks for her present, which I value as a token of reconciliation.

"Poor Dodd was put to death yesterday, in opposition to the recommendation of the jury,—the petition of the city of London,—and a subsequent petition signed by three-and-twenty thousand hands. Surely the voice of the public, when it calls so loudly, and calls only for mercy, ought to be heard.

"The saying that was given me in the papers I never spoke; but I wrote many of his petitions, and some of his letters. He applied to me very often. He was, I am afraid, long flattered with hopes of life; but I had no part in the dreadful delusion; for as soon as the king had signed his sentence²; I obtained from Mr. Chamier³ an account of the disposition of the court towards him, with a declaration that there *was no hope even of a respite*. This letter immediately was laid before Dodd; but he believed those whom he wished to be right, as it is thought, till within three days of his end. He died with pious composure and resolution. I have just seen the ordinary that attended him. His address to his fellow-convicts offended the Methodists; but he had a Moravian with him much of his time. His moral character is very bad; I hope all is not true that is charged upon him. Of his behaviour in prison an account will be published.

"I give you joy of your country-house, and your pretty garden, and hope some time to see you in your felicity. I was much pleased with your two letters that had been kept so long in store⁴;

¹ The whole story of Dodd is told in detail, *post*, sub 15th Sept. 1777.—CROKER.

² This is an erroneous expression. The king signs no sentences or death warrants; but out of respect to the Royal prerogative of mercy, expressed by the old adage, "*The King's face gives grace*," the cases of criminals convicted in London, where the king is supposed to be resident, were reported to him by the recorder, that his Majesty might have an option of pardoning. Hence it was seriously doubted whether a recorder's report need, or, indeed, could be made at Windsor. All his Majesty did on these occasions was, to express verbally his assent or dissent to or from the execution of the sentence; and though the King was on such occasions attended by his Ministers and the great legal Privy Councillors, the business was not technically a council business, but the individual act of the King. On the accession of Queen Victoria, the nature of some cases that it might be necessary to report to her Majesty occasioned the abrogation of a practice which was certainly so far unreasonable that it made a difference between London and all the rest of the kingdom. I have thought it worth while, in correcting the popular error as to the King's signing death-warrants, to explain a custom always a little obscure, and now obsolete.—CROKER, 1846.

³ Mr. Chamier was then Under-Secretary of State, and a private friend of Johnson.—CROKER.

⁴ Since they have been so much honoured by Dr. Johnson, I shall here insert them:—

BOSWELL TO JOHNSON.

"Sunday, Sept. 30. 1764.

"MY EVER DEAR AND MUCH-RESPECTED SIR,—You know

my solemn enthusiasm of mind. You love me for it, and I respect myself for it, because in so far I resemble Mr. Johnson. You will be agreeably surprised, when you learn the reason of my writing this letter. I am at Wittenberg, in Saxony. I am in the old church where the reformation was first preached, and where some of the reformers lie interred. I cannot resist the serious pleasure of writing to Mr. Johnson from the tomb of Melancthon. My paper rests upon the grave-stone of that great and good man, who was undoubtedly the worthiest of all the reformers. He wished to reform abuses which had been introduced into the church; but had no private resentment to gratify. So mild was he, that when his aged mother consulted him with anxiety on the perplexing disputes of the times, he advised her 'to keep to the old religion.' At this tomb, then, my ever dear and respected friend! I vow to thee an eternal attachment. It shall be my study to do what I can to render your life happy: and if you die before me, I shall endeavour to do honour to your memory; and, elevated by the remembrance of you, persist in noble piety. May God, the Father of all beings, ever bless you! and may you continue to love your most affectionate friend and devoted servant, JAMES BOSWELL."

BOSWELL TO JOHNSON.

"Wilton-house, April 22. 1775.

"MY DEAR SIR,—Every scene of my life confirms the truth of what you have told me, 'there is no certain happiness in this state of being.' I am here, amidst all that you know is at Lord Pembroke's; and yet I am weary and gloomy. I am just setting out for the house of an old friend in Devonshire, and shall not get back to London for a week

and rejoice at Miss Rasay's advancement, and wish Sir Allan success.

"I hope to meet you somewhere towards the north, but am loath to come quite to Carlisle. Can we not meet at Manchester? But we will settle it in some other letters.

"Mr. Seward¹, a great favourite at Streatham, has been, I think, enkindled by our travels with a curiosity to see the Highlands. I have given him letters to you and Beattie. He desires that a lodging may be taken for him at Edinburgh against his arrival. He is just setting out. Langton has been exercising the militia.² Mrs. Williams is, I fear, declining. Dr. Lawrence says he can do no more. She is gone to summer in the country, with as many conveniences about her as she can expect; but I have no great hope. We must all die; may we all be prepared!

"I suppose Miss Boswell reads her book, and young Alexander takes to his learning. Let me hear about them; for every thing that belongs to you, belongs in a more remote degree, and not, I hope, very remote, to, dear Sir, yours affectionately,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

(By Mr. Seward.)

"June 24. 1777.

"DEAR SIR,—This gentleman is a great favourite at Streatham, and therefore you will easily believe that he has very valuable qualities. Our narrative has kindled him with a desire of visiting the Highlands, after having already seen a great part of Europe. You must receive him as a friend, and when you have directed him to the curiosities of Edinburgh, give him instructions and recommendations for the rest of his journey.

"I am, dear Sir, &c., SAM. JOHNSON."

Johnson's benevolence to the unfortunate was, I am confident, as steady and active as that of any of those who have been most eminently distinguished for that virtue. Innumerable proofs of it I have no doubt will be for ever concealed from mortal eyes. We may, however, form some judgment of it from the many and various instances which have been discovered. One, which happened in the course of this summer, is remarkable from the name and connection of the person who was the object of it. The circumstance to which I allude is ascertained by two letters, one to Mr. Langton, and another to the Rev. Dr. Vyse, rector of Lambeth, son of the respectable clergyman at Lichfield, who was contemporary with Johnson, and in whose father's family Johnson had the happiness of being kindly received in his early years.

yet. You said to me last Good Friday, with a cordiality that warmed my heart, that if I came to settle in London we should have a day fixed every week to meet by ourselves and talk freely. To be thought worthy of such a privilege cannot but exalt me. During my present absence from you, while, notwithstanding the gale which you allow me to possess, I am darkened by temporary clouds, I beg to have a few lines from you; a few lines merely of kindness, as a *viaticum* till I see you again. In your 'Vanity of Human Wishes,' and in Parnell's 'Contentment,' I find the only sure means of enjoying happiness; or, at least, the hopes of

JOHNSON TO LANGTON.

"June 29. 1777.

"DEAR SIR,—I have lately been much disordered by a difficulty of breathing, but am now better. I hope your house is well.

"You know we have been talking lately of St. Cross at Winchester³: I have an old acquaintance whose distress makes him very desirous of an hospital, and I am afraid I have not strength enough to get him into the Chartreux. He is a painter, who never rose higher than to get his immediate living; and from that, at eighty-three, he is disabled by a slight stroke of the palsy, such as does not make him at all helpless on common occasions, though his hand is not steady enough for his art. My request is, that you will try to obtain a promise of the next vacancy from the Bishop of Chester. It is not a great thing to ask, and I hope we shall obtain it. Dr. Warton has promised to favour him with his notice, and I hope he may end his days in peace. I am, Sir, &c.,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO THE REV. DR. VYSE.

"July 9. 1777.

"SIR,—I doubt not but you will readily forgive me for taking the liberty of requesting your assistance in recommending an old friend to his grace the archbishop as governor of the Charterhouse. His name is De Groot⁴; he was born at Gloucester; I have known him many years. He has all the common claims to charity, being old, poor, and infirm to a great degree. He has likewise another claim, to which no scholar can refuse attention; he is by several descents the nephew of Hugo Grotius; of him from whom perhaps every man of learning has learnt something. Let it not be said that in any lettered country a nephew of Grotius asked a charity and was refused. I am, reverend Sir, &c.,

SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO DR. VYSE.

"July 22. 1777.

"If any notice should be taken of the recommendation which I took the liberty of sending you, it will be necessary to know that Mr. De Groot is to be found at No. 8., in Pye-street, Westminster. This information, when I wrote, I could not give you; and being going soon to Lichfield, think it necessary to be left behind me. More I will not say. You will want no persuasion to succour the nephew of Grotius. I am, Sir, &c.,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

DR. VYSE TO BOSWELL.

"Lambeth, June 9. 1787.

"SIR,—I have searched in vain for the letter which I spoke of, and which I wished, at your

happiness. I ever am, with reverence and affection, most faithfully yours,

JAMES BOSWELL."

¹ William Seward, Esq., editor of "Anecdotes of some Distinguished Persons," &c. See *ant.* p. 200, n. 4.—CROKER.

² Mr. Langton was now a captain in the Lincolnshire militia.—CROKER.

³ See *ant.* p. 172, n. 2.—C.

⁴ It appears that Isaac de Groot was admitted into the Charterhouse, where he died Feb. 8. 1779. The *Gent. Mag.*, in announcing his death, calls him 'the great-grandson of the learned Grotius.'—CROKER.

desire, to communicate to you. It was from Dr. Johnson, to return me thanks for my application to Archbishop Cornwallis in favour of poor De Groot. He rejoices at the success it met with, and is lavish in the praise he bestows upon his favourite, Hugo Grotius. I am really sorry that I cannot find this letter, as it is worthy of the writer. That which I send you enclosed¹ is at your service. It is very short, and will not perhaps be thought of any consequence, unless you should judge proper to consider it as a proof of the very humane part which Dr. Johnson took in behalf of a distressed and deserving person. I am, Sir, &c.,

"W. VYSE."²

JOHNSON TO MR. W. SHARP.³

"Bolt Court, July 7. 1777.

"SIR, — To the collection of English poets I have recommended the volume of Dr. Watts to be added; his name has long been held by me in veneration, and I would not willingly be reduced to tell of him only that he was born and died. Yet of his life I know very little, and therefore must pass him in a manner very unworthy of his character, unless some of his friends will favour me with the necessary information. Many of them must be known to you; and by your influence perhaps I may obtain some instruction: my plan does not exact much; but I wish to distinguish Watts, a man who never wrote but for a good purpose. Be pleased to do for me what you can. I am, Sir, &c.,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

BOSWELL TO JOHNSON.

"Edinburgh, July 15. 1777.

"MY DEAR SIR, — The fate of poor Dr. Dodd made a dismal impression upon my mind. I had sagacity enough, to divine that you wrote his speech to the recorder before sentence was pronounced. I am glad you have written so much for him; and I hope to be favoured with an exact list of the several pieces when we meet.

"I received Mr. Seward as the friend of Mr. and Mrs. Thrale, and as a gentleman recommended by Dr. Johnson to my attention. I have introduced him to Lord Kames, Lord Monboddo, and Mr. Nairne. He is gone to the Highlands with Dr. Gregory. When he returns I shall do more for him.

"Sir Allan Maclean has carried that branch of his cause, of which we had good hopes; the president and one other judge only were against him. I wish the house of lords may do as well as the court of session has done. But Sir Allan has not the lands of *Broslos* quite cleared by this judgment, till a long account is made up of debts and interests on the one side, and rents on the other. I am, however, not much afraid of the balance.

"Macquarry's estates, Staffa and all, were sold yesterday, and bought by a Campbell. I fear he

will have little or nothing left out of the purchase-money.

"I send you the case against the negro, by Mr. Cullen, son to Dr. Cullen, in opposition to MacLaurin's for liberty, of which you have approved. Pray read this, and tell me what you think as a politician, as well as a poet, upon the subject.

"Be so kind as to let me know how your time is to be distributed next autumn. I will meet you at Manchester, or where you please; but I wish you would complete your tour of the cathedrals, and come to Carlisle, and I will accompany you a part of the way homewards. I am ever, &c.,

"JAMES BOSWELL."

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"July 22. 1777.

"DEAR SIR, — Your notion of the necessity of an early interview is very pleasing to both my vanity and tenderness. I shall, perhaps, come to Carlisle another year; but my money has not held out so well as it used to do. I shall go to Ashbourne, and I purpose to make Dr. Taylor invite you. If you live a while with me at his house, we shall have much time to ourselves, and our stay will be no expense to us or him. I shall leave London the 28th; and, after some stay at Oxford and Lichfield, shall probably come to Ashbourne about the end of your session; but of all this you shall have notice. Be satisfied we will meet somewhere. What passed between me and poor Dr. Dodd, you shall know more fully when we meet.

"Of lawsuits there is no end; poor Sir Allan must have another trial; for which, however, his antagonist cannot be much blamed, having two judges on his side. I am more afraid of the debts than of the House of Lords. It is scarcely to be imagined to what debts will swell, that are daily increasing by small additions, and how carelessly in a state of desperation debts are contracted. Poor Macquarry was far from thinking that when he sold his islands he should receive nothing. For what were they sold? and what was their yearly value? The admission of money into the Highlands will soon put an end to the feudal modes of life, by making those men landlords who were not chiefs. I do not know that the people will suffer by the change; but there was in the patriarchal authority something venerable and pleasing. Every eye must look with pain on a Campbell turning the Macquarries at will out of their *sedes avite*, their hereditary island.

"Sir Alexander Dick is the only Scotsman liberal enough not to be angry that I could not find trees where trees were not. I was much delighted by his kind letter.

"I remember Rasay with too much pleasure not to partake of the happiness of any part of that amiable family. Our ramble in the Highlands hangs upon my imagination: I can hardly help imagining that we shall go again. Pennant seems

¹ The preceding letter. — BOSWELL.

² Dr. Vyse, at my request, was so obliging as once more to endeavour to recover the letter of Johnson to which he alludes, but without success; for April 23. 1800, he wrote to me thus: "I have again searched, but in vain, for one of his letters, in which he speaks in his own nervous style of Hugo Grotius. De Groot was clearly a descendant of the family

of Grotius, and Archbishop Cornwallis willingly complied with Dr. Johnson's request." — MALONE.

³ Boswell has given this letter as addressed to "Edward Dilly;" a mistake — it was addressed to Mr. William Sharp, junior, who possessed Watts's correspondence. See *Gent. Mag.*, 1787, p. 90. — CROKER.

to have seen a great deal which we did not see: when we travel again let us look better about us.

"You have done right in taking your uncle's house. Some change in the form of life gives from time to time a new epocha of existence. In a new place there is something new to be done, and a different system of thought rises in the mind. I wish I could gather currants in your garden. Now fit up a little study, and have your books ready at hand: do not spare a little money, to make your habitation pleasing to yourself.

"I have dined lately with poor dear Langton. I do not think he goes on well. His table is rather coarse, and he has his children too much about him.¹ But he is a very good man.

"Mrs. Williams is in the country, to try if she can improve her health: she is very ill. Matters have come so about, that she is in the country with very good accommodation; but age, and sickness, and pride, have made her so peevish, that I was forced to bribe the maid to stay with her by a secret stipulation of half-a-crown a week over her wages.

"Our club ended its session about six weeks ago. We now only meet to dine once a fortnight. Mr. Dunning, the great lawyer, is one of our members. The Thrales are well. I long to know how the negro's cause will be decided. What is the opinion of Lord Auchinleck, or Lord Hailes, or Lord Monboddo? I am, dear Sir, &c.,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO MRS. BOSWELL.

"July 22, 1777.

"MADAM, — Though I am well enough pleased with the taste of sweetmeats, very little of the pleasure which I received at the arrival of your jar of marmalade arose from eating it. I received it as a token of friendship, as a proof of reconciliation, things much sweeter than sweetmeats; and upon this consideration I return you, dear Madam, my sincerest thanks. By having your kindness I think I have a double security for the continuance of Mr. Boswell's, which it is not to be expected that any man can long keep, when the influence of a lady so highly and so justly valued operates against him. Mr. Boswell will tell you that I was always faithful to your interest, and always endeavoured to exalt you in his estimation. You must now do the same for me. We must all help one another, and you must now consider me as, dear Madam, your, &c.,

SAM. JOHNSON."

BOSWELL TO JOHNSON.

"Edinburgh, July 23, 1777.

"MY DEAR SIR, — This is the day on which you were to leave London, and I have been amusing myself in the intervals of my law drudgery with figuring you in the Oxford post-coach. I doubt, however, if you have had so merry a journey as you and I had in that vehicle last year, when you made me so much sport with Gwyn, the architect.

Incidents upon a journey are recollected with peculiar pleasure: they are preserved in brisk spirits, and come up again in our minds, tintured with that gaiety, or at least that animation, with which we first perceived them." (I added, that something had occurred which I was afraid might prevent me from meeting him; and that my wife had been affected with complaints which threatened a consumption, but was now better.)

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"Oxford, Aug. 4, 1777.

"DEAR SIR, — Do not disturb yourself about our interviews; I hope we shall have many: nor think it any thing hard or unusual that your design of meeting me is interrupted. We have both endured greater evils, and have greater evils to expect.

"Mrs. Boswell's illness makes a more serious distress. Does the blood rise from her lungs or from her stomach? From little vessels broken in the stomach there is no danger. Blood from the lungs is, I believe, always frothy, as mixed with wind. Your physicians know very well what is to be done. The loss of such a lady would, indeed, be very afflictive, and I hope she is in no danger. Take care to keep her mind as easy as possible.

"I have left Langton in London. He has been down with the militia, and is again quiet at home, talking to his little people, as I suppose you do sometimes. Make my compliments to Miss Veronica.² The rest are too young for ceremony.

"I cannot but hope that you have taken your country-house at a very seasonable time, and that it may conduce to restore or establish Mrs. Boswell's health, as well as provide room and exercise for the young ones. That you and your lady may both be happy, and long enjoy your happiness, is the sincere and earnest wish of, dear Sir, your most, &c.,

SAM. JOHNSON."

BOSWELL TO JOHNSON.

(Informing him that my wife had continued to grow better, so that my alarming apprehensions were relieved: and that I hoped to disengage myself from the other embarrassment which had occurred, and therefore requesting to know particularly when he intended to be at Ashbourne.)

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"Aug. 30, 1777.

"DEAR SIR, — I am this day come to Ashbourne, and have only to tell you, that Dr. Taylor says you shall be welcome to him, and you know how welcome you will be to me. Make haste to let me know when you may be expected. Make my compliments to Mrs. Boswell, and tell her I hope we shall be at variance no more. I am, dear Sir, &c.,

SAM. JOHNSON."

¹ This very just remark I hope will be constantly held in remembrance by parents, who are in general too apt to indulge their own fond feelings for their children at the expense of their friends. The common custom of introducing them after dinner is highly injudicious. It is agreeable enough that they should appear at any other time: but they should not be suffered to poison the moments of festivity by attracting the attention of the company, and in a manner

compelling them from politeness to say what they do not think. — BOSWELL. See *anté*, p. 565. — C.

² This young lady, the author's eldest daughter, and at this time about five years old, died in London, of a consumption, four months after her father, Sept. 26, 1795. — MALONE. And in consequence, it was thought, of a too assiduous attendance on him. — CROKER, 1846.

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"Ashbourne, Sept. 1. 1777.

"DEAR SIR, — On Saturday I wrote a very short letter, immediately upon my arrival hither, to show you that I am not less desirous of the interview than yourself. Life admits not of delays; when pleasure can be had, it is fit to catch it: every hour takes away part of the things that please us, and, perhaps, part of our disposition to be pleased. When I came to Lichfield, I found my old friend Harry Jackson dead [p. 489.]. It was a loss, and a loss not to be repaired, as he was one of the companions of my childhood. I hope we may long continue to gain friends; but the friends which merit or usefulness can procure us are not able to supply the place of old acquaintance, with whom the days of youth may be retraced, and those images revived which gave the earliest delight. If you and I live to be much older, we shall take great delight in talking over the Hebridean Journey. In the mean time it may not be amiss to contrive some other little adventure, but what it can be I know not; leave it, as Sidney says,

'To virtue, fortune, time, and woman's breast;'¹

for I believe Mrs. Boswell must have some part in the consultation. One thing you will like. The doctor, so far as I can judge, is likely to leave us enough to ourselves. He was out to-day before I came down, and, I fancy, will stay out to dinner. I have brought the papers about poor Dodd, to show you, but you will soon have despatched them.

"Before I came away, I sent poor Mrs. Williams into the country, very ill of a pituitous defluxion, which wastes her gradually away, and which her physician declares himself unable to stop. I supplied her as far as could be desired with all conveniences to make her excursion and abode pleasant and useful. But I am afraid she can only linger a short time in a morbid state of weakness and pain.

"The Thrales, little and great, are all well, and purpose to go to Brighthelmstone at Michaelmas. They will invite me to go with them, and, perhaps, I may go, but I hardly think I shall like to stay the whole time; but of futurity we know but little.

"Mrs. Porter is well; but Mrs. Aston, one of the ladies at Stow-hill, has been struck with a palsy,

¹ By an odd mistake, in the first three editions we find a reading in this line to which Dr. Johnson would by no means have subscribed, *wine* having been substituted for *time*. That error probably was a mistake in the transcript of Johnson's original letter, his handwriting being often very difficult to read. The other deviation in the beginning of the line (*virtue* instead of *nature*) must be attributed to his memory having deceived him; and therefore has not been disturbed. The verse quoted is the concluding line of a sonnet of Sidney's, of which the earliest copy, I believe, is found in Harrington's translation of Ariosto, 1591, in the notes on the eleventh book:—"And therefore," he says, "that excellent verse of Sir Philip Sydney in his first Arcadia (which I know not by what mishap is left out in the printed book) [4to. 1590.] is in mine opinion worthy to be praised and followed, to make a true and virtuous wife:

"Who doth desire that chaste his wife should be,
First be he true, for truth doth truth deserve;
Then he be such, as she his worth may see,
And, alwaies one, credit with her preserve:
Not toying kynd nor causelessly unkynd,
Not stirring thoughts, nor yet denying right,
Not spying faults, nor in plaies errors blind,
Never hard hand, nor ever rays (reins) too light;

from which she is not likely ever to recover. How soon may such a stroke fall upon us!

"Write to me, and let us know when we may expect you. I am, dear Sir, your most humble servant,
SAML. JOHNSON."

BOSWELL TO JOHNSON.

"Edinburgh, Sept. 9. 1777.

(After informing him that I was to set out next day, in order to meet him at Ashbourne:—) "I have a present for you from Lord Hailes; the fifth book of 'Lactantius,' which he has published with Latin notes. He is also to give you a few anecdotes for your 'Life of Thomson,' who I find was private tutor to the present Earl of Haddington. Lord Hailes's cousin, a circumstance not mentioned by Dr. Murdoch. I have keen expectations of delight from your edition of the English Poets.

"I am sorry for poor Mrs. Williams's situation. You will, however, have the comfort of reflecting on your kindness to her. Mr. Jackson's death, and Mrs. Aston's palsy, are gloomy circumstances. You surely we should be habituated to the uncertainty of life and health. When my mind is unclouded by melancholy, I consider the temporary distress of this state of being as 'light afflictions,' I stretching my mental view into that glorious after-existence, when they will appear to be nothing. But present pleasures and present pains must be felt. I lately read 'Rasselas' over again with satisfaction.

"Since you are desirous to hear about Macquarry's sale, I shall inform you particularly. The gentleman who purchased Ulva is Mr. Campbell of Auchnab: our friend Macquarry was proprietor of two-thirds of it, of which the rent was 156*5s.* 1*3d.* This parcel was set up at 406*9*5s.* 1*0d.* but it sold for no less than 554*0*l.** The other third of Ulva, with the island of Staffa, belonged to Macquarry of Ormaig. Its rent, including that of Staffa, 83*l.* 12*s.* 2*4d.*—set up at 217*8*l.** 16*s.* 4*d.*—sold for no less than 354*0*l.** The Laird of C wished to purchase Ulva, but he thought the price too high. There may, indeed, be great improvements made there, both in fishing and agriculture, but the interest of the purchase-money exceeds the rent so very much, that I doubt if the bargain will be profitable. There is an island called Litt*

As far from want, as far from vaine expence,
Th' one doth enforce, the t'other doth entice:
Allow good companie, but drive from thence
All filthie mouths that glorie in their vice:
This done, thou hast no more but leave the rest
To nature, fortune, time, and woman's breast."

I take this opportunity to add, that in England's Parnassus a collection of poetry printed in 1600, the second couplet of this sonnet is thus corruptly exhibited:

"Then he be such as he his words may see,
And alwaies one credit which her preserve:"

a variation which I the rather mention, because the reading of that book have been triumphantly quoted, when they happened to coincide with the sophistications of the second folio edition of Shakspeare's plays in 1632, as adding I know not what degree of authority and authenticity to the latter: as the corruptions of one book (and that abounding with the grossest falsifications of the authors from whose works I extract are made) could give any kind of support to another which in every page is still more adulterated and unfaithful. See Mr. Steevens's *Shakspeare*, vol. xx. p. 97., fifth ed. 1803. — MALONE.

Colonsay, of 10*l.* yearly rent, which I am informed has belonged to the Macquarrys of Ulva for many ages, but which was lately claimed by the Presbyterian Synod of Argyle, in consequence of a grant made to them by Queen Anne. It is believed that their claim will be dismissed, and that Little Colonsay will also be sold for the advantage of Macquarry's creditors. What think you of purchasing this island, and endowing a school or college there, the master to be a clergyman of the church of England? How venerable would such an institution make the name of Dr. SAM. JOHNSON in the Hebrides! I have, like yourself, a wonderful pleasure in recollecting our travels in those islands. The pleasure is, I think, greater than it reasonably should be, considering that we had not much either of beauty or elegance to charm our imaginations, or of rude novelty to astonish. Let us, by all means, have another expedition. I shrink a little from our scheme of going up the Baltic. I am sorry you have already been in Wales: for I wish to see it. Shall we go to Ireland, of which I have seen but little? We shall try to strike out a plan when we are at Ashbourne. I am ever your most faithful servant,

JAMES BOSWELL."

It appears that Johnson, now in his sixty-eighth year, was seriously inclined to realise the project of our going up the Baltic, which I had started when we were in the Isle of Sky; for he thus writes to Mrs. Thrale:—

"Ashbourne, 13th Sept. 1777. — Boswell, I believe, is coming. He talks of being here to-day: I shall be glad to see him; but he shrinks from the Baltic expedition, which, I think, is the best scheme in our power: what we shall substitute, I know not. He wants to see Wales; but, except the woods of *Bâch y Graig* [p. 419.], what is there in Wales that can fill the hunger of ignorance, or quench the thirst of curiosity? We may, perhaps, form some scheme or other; but, in the phrase of *Hockley in the Hole*, it is pity he has not better bottom."

Such an ardour of mind, and vigour of enterprise, is admirable at any age; but more particularly so at the advanced period at which Johnson was then arrived. I am sorry now that I did not insist on our executing that scheme. Besides the other objects of curiosity and observation, to have seen my illustrious friend received, as he probably would have been, by a prince so eminently distinguished for his variety of talents and acquisitions as the late King of Sweden, and by the Empress of Russia, whose extraordinary abilities, information, and magnanimity, astonish the world, would have afforded a noble subject for contemplation and record. This reflection may possibly be thought too visionary by the more sedate and cold-blooded part of my readers; yet I own I frequently indulge it with an earnest, unavailing regret.

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"Ashbourne, Sept. 11. 1777.

"DEAR SIR, — I write to be left at Carlisle, as you direct me: but you cannot have it. Your

letter, dated Sept. 6th, was not at this place till this day, Thursday, Sept. 11th; and I hope you will be here before this is at Carlisle.¹ However, what you have not going, you may have returning; and as I believe I shall not love you less after our interview, it will then be as true as it is now, that I set a very high value upon your friendship, and count your kindness as one of the chief felicities of my life. Do not fancy that an intermission of writing is a decay of kindness. No man is always in a disposition to write; nor has any man at all times something to say.

"That distrust which intrudes so often on your mind is a mode of melancholy, which, if it be the business of a wise man to be happy, it is foolish to indulge; and, if it be a duty to preserve our faculties entire for their proper use, it is criminal. Suspicion is very often an useless pain. From that, and all other pains, I wish you free and safe; for I am, dear Sir, &c.,

SAM. JOHNSON."

[JOHNSON TO MRS. ASTON.

"Ashbourne, Sept. 13. 1777.

"DEAR MADAM, — As I left you so much disordered, a fortnight is a long time to be without any account of your health. I am willing to flatter myself that you are better, though you gave me no reason to believe that you intended to use any means for your recovery. Nature often performs wonders, and will, I hope, do for you more than you seem inclined to do for yourself.

"In this weakness of body, with which it has pleased God to visit you, he has given you great cause of thankfulness, by the total exemption of your mind from all effects of your disorder. Your memory is not less comprehensive or distinct, nor your reason less vigorous and acute, nor your imagination less active and sprightly than in any former time of your life. This is a great blessing, as it respects enjoyment of the present; and a blessing yet far greater, as it bestows power and opportunity to prepare for the future.

"All sickness is a summons. But as you do not want exhortations, I will send you only my good wishes, and exhort you to believe the good wishes very sincere, of, dear Madam, &c.,

— Pembroke MSS. "SAM. JOHNSON."]

CHAPTER LIX.

1777.

Boswell at Ashbourne. — Grief for Relatives and Friends. — Incomes of Curates. — Johnson's Interference for Dr. Dodd. — Mr. Fitzherbert. — Hamilton of Bungour. — Bleeding. — Hume. — Fear of Death. — Duties of a Biographer. — Stuart Family. — Birth-days. — Warton's Poems.

ON Sunday evening, Sept. 14., I arrived at Ashbourne, and drove directly up to Dr. Tay-

¹ It so happened. The letter was forwarded to my house at Edinburgh. — BOSWELL.

lor's door. Dr. Johnson and he appeared before I had got out of the post-chaise, and welcomed me cordially.¹

I told them that I had travelled all the preceding night, and gone to bed at Leek, in Staffordshire; and that when I rose to go to church in the afternoon, I was informed there had been an earthquake, of which, it seems, the shock had been felt in some degree at Ashbourne. JOHNSON. "Sir, it will be much exaggerated in public talk: for, in the first place, the common people do not accurately adapt their thoughts to the objects; nor, secondly, do they accurately adapt their words to their thoughts: they do not mean to lie; but, taking no pains to be exact, they give you very false accounts. A great part of their language is proverbial. If any thing rocks at all, they say *it rocks like a cradle*; and in this way they go on."

The subject of grief for the loss of relations and friends being introduced, I observed that it was strange to consider how soon it in general wears away. Dr. Taylor mentioned a gentleman of the neighbourhood as the only instance he had ever known of a person who had endeavoured to *retain* grief. He told Dr. Taylor, that after his lady's death, which affected him deeply, he *resolved* that the grief, which he cherished with a kind of sacred fondness, should be lasting; but that he found he could not keep it long. JOHNSON. "All grief for what cannot in the course of nature be helped soon wears away; in some sooner indeed, in some later; but it never continues very long, unless where there is madness, such as will make a man have pride so fixed in his mind as to imagine himself a king; or any other passion in an unreasonable way: for all unnecessary grief is unwise, and therefore will not be long retained by a sound mind. If, indeed, the cause of our grief is occasioned by our own misconduct, if grief is mingled with remorse of conscience, it should be lasting." BOSWELL. "But, Sir, we do not approve of a man who very soon forgets the loss of a wife or a friend." JOHNSON. "Sir, we disapprove of him, not because he soon forgets his grief, for the sooner it is forgotten the better; but because we suppose, that if he forgets his wife or his friend soon, he has not had much affection for them."

I was somewhat disappointed in finding that the edition of the "English Poets," for which he was to write prefaces and lives, was not an undertaking directed by him, but that he was to furnish a preface and life to any poet the booksellers pleased. I asked him if he would do this to any dunce's works, if they should ask him. JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir; and

say he was a dunce." My friend seemed now not much to relish talking of this edition.

On Monday, Sept. 15., Dr. Johnson observed, that every body commended such parts of his "Journey to the Western Islands" as were in their own way. "For instance," said he, "Mr. Jackson (the all-knowing), [*antè*, p. 136.] told me there was more good sense upon trade in it, than he should hear in the House of Commons in a year, except from Burke. Jones commended the part which treats of language; Burke, that which describes the inhabitants of mountainous countries."²

After breakfast, Johnson carried me to see the garden belonging to the school of Ashbourne, which is very prettily formed upon a bank, rising gradually behind the house. The Rev. Mr. Langley, the head-master [*antè*, p. 416.], accompanied us.

While we sat basking in the sun upon a seat here, I introduced a common subject of complaint, the very small salaries which many curates have; and I maintained, that no man should be invested with the character of a clergyman, unless he has a security for such an income as will enable him to appear respectable; that, therefore, a clergyman should not be allowed to have a curate, unless he gives him a hundred pounds a year; if he cannot do that, let him perform the duty himself. JOHNSON. "To be sure, Sir, it is wrong that any clergyman should be without a reasonable income; but as the church revenue were sadly diminished at the Reformation, the clergy who have livings cannot afford, in many instances, to give good salaries to curates without leaving themselves too little; and, no curate were to be permitted unless he has a hundred pounds a year, their number would be very small, which would be a disadvantage as then there would not be such choice in the nursery for the church, curates being candidates for the higher ecclesiastical offices, according to their merit and good behaviour. He explained the system of the English hierarchy exceedingly well. "It is not thought fit," said he, "to trust a man with the care of a parish till he has given proof, as a curate, that he shall deserve such a trust." This is an excellent theory; and if the practice were according to it, the church of England would be admirable indeed. However, as I have heard Dr. Johnson observe as to the universities, bad practice does not infer that the constitution is bad.

We had with us at dinner several of Dr. Taylor's neighbours, good civil gentlemen, who seemed to understand Dr. Johnson very well, and not to consider him in the light that a ce

¹ Johnson writes to Mrs. Thrale on the 15th: "Last night came Boswell. I am glad that he is come, and seems to be very brisk and lively, and laughs a little at ———." No doubt his host, Dr. Taylor — CROKER.

² Johnson evidently thought, either that Ireland is generally mountainous, or that Mr. Burke came from a part which was: but he was mistaken. — CROKER, 1847.

ain person [George Garrick] did, who being struck, or rather stunned, by his voice and manner, when he was afterwards asked what he thought of him, answered, "He's a tremendous companion."

Johnson told me, that "Taylor was a very sensible acute man, and had a strong mind: that he had great activity in some respects, and yet such a sort of indolence, that if you should put a pebble upon his chimney-piece, you would find it there, in the same state, a year afterwards."

And here is a proper place to give an account of Johnson's humane and zealous interference in behalf of the Reverend Dr. William Dodd, formerly prebendary of Brecon, and chaplain in ordinary to his majesty; celebrated as a very popular preacher¹, an encourager of charitable institutions, and author of a variety of works, chiefly theological. Having unhappily contracted expensive habits of living, partly occasioned by licentiousness of manners, he in an evil hour, when pressed by want of money, and dreading an exposure of his circumstances, forged a bond, of which he attempted to avail himself to support his credit, flattering himself with hopes that he might be able to repay its amount without being detected. The person whose name he thus rashly and criminally presumed to falsify was the Earl of Chesterfield, to whom he had been tutor, and who he perhaps, in the warmth of his feelings, flattered himself would have generously paid the money in case of an alarm being taken, rather than suffer him to fall a victim to the dreadful consequences of violating the law against forgery, the most dangerous crime in a commercial country: but the unfortunate divine had the mortification to find that he was mistaken. His noble pupil appeared against him, and he was capitally convicted.

Johnson told me that Dr. Dodd was very little acquainted with him, having been but once² in his company, many years previous to this period (which was precisely the state of my own acquaintance with Dodd); but in his distress he bethought himself of Johnson's persuasive power of writing, if haply it might avail to obtain for him the royal mercy. He did not apply to him directly, but, extraordinary as it may seem, through the late

Countess of Harrington³, who wrote a letter to Johnson, asking him to employ his pen in favour of Dodd. Mr. Allen, the printer, who was Johnson's landlord and next neighbour in Bolt-court, and for whom he had much kindness, was one of Dodd's friends, of whom, to the credit of humanity be it recorded, that he had many who did not desert him, even after his infringement of the law had reduced him to the state of a man under sentence of death. Mr. Allen told me that he carried Lady Harrington's letter to Johnson; that Johnson read it, walking up and down his chamber, and seemed much agitated, after which he said, "I will do what I can;" and certainly he did make extraordinary exertions.

He this evening, as he had obligingly promised in one of his letters, put into my hands the whole series of his writings upon this melancholy occasion, and I shall present my readers with the abstract which I made from the collection; in doing which I studied to avoid copying⁴ what had appeared in print, and now make part of the edition of "Johnson's Works," published by the booksellers of London, but taking care to mark Johnson's variations in some of the pieces there exhibited.

Dr. Johnson wrote, in the first place, Dr. Dodd's "Speech to the Recorder of London," at the Old Bailey, when sentence of death was about to be pronounced upon him.

He wrote also "The Convict's Address to his unhappy Brethren," a sermon delivered by Dr. Dodd in the chapel of Newgate. According to Johnson's manuscript, it began thus after the text, *What shall I do to be saved?*⁵

"These were the words with which the keeper, to whose custody Paul and Silas were committed by their prosecutors, addressed his prisoners, when he saw them freed from their bonds by the perceptible agency of divine favour, and was, therefore, irresistibly convinced that they were not offenders against the laws, but martyrs to the truth."

Dr. Johnson was so good as to mark for me with his own hand, on a copy of this sermon which is now in my possession, such passages as were added by Dr. Dodd. They are not many: whoever will take the trouble to look at the printed copy, and attend to what I mention, will be satisfied of this.

¹ Horace Walpole, who was one of a large fashionable party who attended Prince Edward to the Magdalen asylum, gives the following account of Dodd's exhibition as "a popular preacher:"—

"As soon as we entered the chapel the organ played, and the Magdalens sung a hymn in parts. You cannot imagine how well. The chapel was dressed with orange and myrtle, and there wanted nothing but a little incense to drive away the devil, or to invite him. Prayers then began; Psalms and a sermon; the latter by a young clergyman, one Dodd, who contributed to the Popish idea one had imbibed, by haranguing entirely in the French style, and very eloquently and touchingly. He apostrophised the lost sheep, who sobbed and cried from their souls: so did my Lady Hertford and Fanny Pelham; till, I believe, the city dames took them for Jane Shores. The confessor then turned to the audience, and addressed himself to his Royal Highness, whom he called *most illustrious prince*, beseeching his protection. In short,

it was a very pleasing performance, and I got the *most illustrious* to desire it might be printed. — *Walpole to Montagu*, 28th Jan. 1760. — CROKER, 1847.

² See Dr. Dodd's account of this meeting, *post*, April 13. 1778, n. — CROKER, 1835.

³ Caroline, eldest daughter of the Duke of Grafton and wife of William, the second Earl of Harrington. — MALONE. Lady Harrington's interest about Dodd arose probably from his former connexion with the elder branch of the Stanhope family; but I cannot discover why *she* should have thought of applying for Johnson's assistance. — CROKER.

⁴ This reserve arose from Boswell's jealousy about *copyright* (see *ante*, p. 184. n. 4.), but it seems strange how they, delivered and published as they were as Dr. Dodd's, could have become subject to copyright as Dr. Johnson's. They were in Hawkins's edition, but are not in the common collections of Johnson's works. — CROKER.

⁵ What *must* I do to be saved? — *Acts*, c. 17. v. 30. — C.

There is a short introduction by Dr. Dodd, and he also inserted this sentence: "You see with what confusion and dishonour I now stand before you; no more in the pulpit of instruction, but on this humble seat with yourselves." The notes are entirely Dodd's own, and Johnson's writing ends at the words, "the thief whom he pardoned on the cross." What follows was supplied by Dr. Dodd himself.¹

The other pieces mentioned by Johnson in the above mentioned collection are two letters; one to the Lord Chancellor Bathurst (not Lord North, as is erroneously supposed), and one to Lord Mansfield. A petition from Dr. Dodd to the King. A petition from Mrs. Dodd to the Queen. Observations of some length inserted in the newspapers, on occasion of Earl Percy's having presented to his majesty a petition for mercy to Dodd, signed by twenty thousand people, but all in vain. He told me that he had also written a petition for the city of London; "but (said he, with a significant smile) they *mended it*."²

The last of these articles which Johnson wrote is "Dr. Dodd's last solemn Declaration," which he left with the sheriff at the place of execution. Here also my friend marked the variations on a copy of that piece now in my possession. Dodd inserted, "I never knew or attended to the calls of frugality, or the needful minuteness of painful economy;" and in the next sentence he introduced the words which I distinguished by italics: "my life for some *few unhappy* years past has been *dreadfully erroneous*." Johnson's expression was *hypocritical*: but his remark on the margin is, "With this he said he could not charge himself."

Having thus authentically settled what part of the "Occasional Papers," concerning Dr. Dodd's miserable situation came from the pen of Johnson, I shall proceed to present my readers with my record of the unpublished writings relating to that extraordinary and interesting matter.

I found a letter to Dr. Johnson from Dr. Dodd, May 23. 1777, in which "The Convict's Address" seems clearly to be meant:—

DR. DODD TO DR. JOHNSON.

"I am so penetrated, my ever dear Sir, with a sense of your extreme benevolence towards me, that I cannot find words equal to the sentiments of my heart.

"You are too conversant in the world to need the slightest hint from me of what infinite utility the speech³ on the awful day has been to me. I experience, every hour, some good effect from it. I am sure that effects still more salutary and important must follow from *your kind and intended favour*. I will labour—God being my helper—to do justice to it from the pulpit. I am sure, had I your sentiments constantly to deliver from thence, in all their mighty force and power, not a soul could be left unconvinced and unpersuaded.

"May God Almighty bless and reward, with his choicest comforts, your philanthropic actions, and enable me at all times to express what I feel of the high and uncommon obligations which I owe to the *first man* in our times!"

On Sunday, June 22., he writes, begging Dr. Johnson's assistance in framing a supplicatory letter to his majesty:

"If his majesty could be moved of his royal clemency to spare me and my family the horrors and ignominy of a *public death*, which the *public* itself is solicitous to wave, and to grant me in some silent distant corner of the globe to pass the remainder of my days in penitence and prayer, I would bless his clemency and be humbled."

This letter was brought to Dr. Johnson when in church. He stooped down and read it⁴; and wrote, when he went home, the following letter for Dr. Dodd to the king:—

"Sir,—May it not offend your majesty, that the most miserable of men applies himself to your clemency, as his last hope and his last refuge; that your mercy is most earnestly and humbly implored by a clergyman, whom your⁵ laws and judges have condemned to the horror and ignominy of a public execution.

"I confess the crime, and own the enormity of its consequences, and the danger of its example. Nor have I the confidence to petition for impunity; but humbly hope, that public security may be established, without the spectacle of a clergyman dragged through the streets, to a death of infamy, amidst

¹ Dr. Johnson, in a letter from Lichfield, relates with some complacency, that Miss Porter (whom he had not told of his transactions with Dr. Dodd), said, "when I read Dr. Dodd's Sermon to the Prisoners, I said, *Dr. Johnson could not make a better*." *Letters*, i. 352. But he was not, I dare say, equally flattered with the criticism on it in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, v. 47, p. 450: "As none but a convict could have written this, all convicts ought to read it."—CROKER.

² Having unexpectedly, by the favour of Mr. Stone, of London Field, Hackney, seen the original in Johnson's handwriting of "The Petition of the City of London to his Majesty, in favour of Dr. Dodd," I now present it to my readers, with such passages as were omitted enclosed in crochets, and the additions or variations marked in italics:—

"That William Dodd, Doctor of Laws, now lying under sentence of death in *your majesty's gaol of Newgate* for the crime of forgery, has for a great part of his life set a useful and laudable example of diligence in his calling [and, as we have reason to believe, has exercised his ministry with great fidelity and efficacy], *which, in many instances, has produced the most happy effect*.

"That he has been the first institutor [or] and a very ear-

nest and active promoter of several modes of useful charity, and [that], therefore [he], may be considered as having been on many occasions a benefactor to the public.

"[That when they consider his past life, they are willing to suppose his late crime to have been, not the consequence of habitual depravity, but the suggestion of some sudden and violent temptation.]

"[That] *your petitioners*, therefore, considering his case as, in some of its circumstances, unprecedented and peculiar, and encouraged by *your majesty's known clemency*, [they] most humbly recommend the said William Dodd to [his] *your majesty's* most gracious consideration, in hopes that he will be found not altogether [unfit] *unworthy* to stand an example of royal mercy."—BOSWELL.

It does seem that these few alterations were *amendments*.—CROKER.

³ His speech at the Old Bailey when found guilty.—BOSWELL.

⁴ He afterwards expressed a hope that this deviation from the duties of the place would be forgiven him.—CROKER.

⁵ Mr. Chalmers thought, and I agree with him, this phrase indecorous and unconstitutional.—CROKER.

he derision of the profligate and profane ; and that justice may be satisfied with irrevocable exile, perpetual disgrace, and hopeless penury.

"My life, Sir, has not been useless to mankind. I have benefited many. But my offences against God are numberless, and I have had little time for repentance. Preserve me, Sir, by your prerogative of mercy, from the necessity of appearing unprepared at that tribunal, before which kings and subjects must stand at last together. Permit me to hide my guilt in some obscure corner of a foreign country, where, if I can ever attain confidence to hope that my prayers will be heard, they shall be poured with all the fervour of gratitude, for the life and happiness of your majesty.

"I am, Sir, your majesty's, &c."

DR. JOHNSON TO DR. DODD.

"Sir, — I most seriously enjoin you not to let it be at all known that I have written this letter, and to return the copy to Mr. Allen in a cover to me. I hope I need not tell you that I wish it success. But do not indulge hope. Tell nobody."

It happened luckily that Mr. Allen was pitched on to assist in this melancholy office, for he was a great friend of Mr. Akerman, the keeper of Newgate. Dr. Johnson never went to see Dr. Dodd. He said to me, "It would have done *him* more harm than good to Dodd, who once expressed a desire to see him, but not earnestly."

Dr. Johnson, on the 20th of June, wrote the following letter :—

TO THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES JENKINSON.

"Sir, — Since the conviction and condemnation of Dr. Dodd, I have had, by the intervention of a friend, some intercourse with him, and I am sure I shall lose nothing in your opinion by tenderness and commiseration. Whatever be the crime, it is not easy to have any knowledge of the delinquent, without a wish that his life may be spared ; at least when no life has been taken away by him. I will therefore take the liberty of suggesting some reasons for which I wish this unhappy being to escape the utmost rigour of his sentence.

"He is, so far as I can recollect, the first clergyman of our church who has suffered public execution for immorality ; and I know not whether it would not be more for the interests of religion to bury such an offender in the obscurity of perpetual exile, than to expose him in a cart, and on the gallows, to all who for any reason are enemies to the clergy.

"The supreme power has, in all ages, paid some attention to the voice of the people ; and that voice does not least deserve to be heard when it calls out for mercy. There is now a very general desire that Dodd's life should be spared. More is not wished ; and, perhaps, this is not too much to be granted.

"If you, Sir, have any opportunity of enforcing these reasons, you may, perhaps, think them worthy of consideration : but whatever you determine, I most respectfully entreat that you will be pleased to pardon for this intrusion, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,
SAM. JOHNSON."

It has been confidently circulated, with invasions remarks, that to this letter no attention whatever was paid by Mr. Jenkinson (afterwards Earl of Liverpool), and that he did not even deign to show the common civility of owning the receipt of it. I could not but wonder at such conduct in the noble lord, whose own character and just elevation in life, I thought, must have impressed him with all due regard for great abilities and attainments. As the story had been much talked of, and apparently from good authority, I could not but have animadverted upon it in this work, had it been as was alleged ; but from my earnest love of truth, and having found reason to think that there might be a mistake, I presumed to write to his lordship, requesting an explanation ; and it is with the sincerest pleasure that I am enabled to assure the world that there is no foundation for it, the fact being, that owing to some neglect or accident, Johnson's letter never came to Lord Liverpool's hands. I should have thought it strange indeed, if that noble lord had undervalued my illustrious friend ; but instead of this being the case, his lordship, in the very polite answer with which he was pleased immediately to honour me, thus expresses himself : "I have always respected the memory of Dr. Johnson, and admire his writings ; and I frequently read many parts of them with pleasure and great improvement."

All applications for the royal mercy having failed, Dr. Dodd prepared himself for death ; and, with a warmth of gratitude, wrote to Dr. Johnson as follows :—

DR. DODD TO JOHNSON.

"June 25. midnight.

"Accept, thou *great* and *good* heart, my earnest and fervent thanks and prayers for all thy benevolent and kind efforts in my behalf. — Oh ! Dr. Johnson ! as I sought your knowledge at an early hour in life, would to Heaven I had cultivated the love and acquaintance of so excellent a man ! — I pray God most sincerely to bless you with the highest transports — the in-felt satisfaction of *humane* and benevolent exertions ! — And admitted, as I trust I shall be, to the realms of bliss before you, I shall hail *your* arrival there with transports, and rejoice to acknowledge that you were my comfort, my advocate, and my *friend* ! God be ever with you !"

Dr. Johnson lastly wrote to Dr. Dodd this solemn and soothing letter :—

¹ It must however be observed, that Mr. Jenkinson was at this time Secretary at War, and was obnoxious to popular odium from an unfounded imputation of being the channel of a secret influence over the king. To request, therefore, his

influence with the king on a matter so wholly foreign to his duties and station, was a kind of verification of the slander, to which Mr. Jenkinson might naturally have been reluctant to assent. —CROKER.

JOHNSON TO DODD.

"June 26. 1777.

"DEAR SIR, — That which is appointed to all men is now coming upon you. Outward circumstances, the eyes and the thoughts of men, are below the notice of an immortal being about to stand the trial for eternity, before the Supreme Judge of heaven and earth. Be comforted: your crime, morally or religiously considered, has no very deep dye of turpitude. It corrupted no man's principles; it attacked no man's life. It involved only a temporary and reparable injury. Of this, and of all other sins, you are earnestly to repent; and may God, who knoweth our frailty, and desirerth not our death, accept your repentance, for the sake of his son Jesus Christ, our Lord!

"In requital of those well-intended offices which you are pleased so emphatically to acknowledge, let me beg that you make in your devotions one petition for my eternal welfare. I am, dear Sir, your most affectionate servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

Under the copy of this letter I found written, in Johnson's own hand, "Next day, June 27., he was executed."¹

To conclude this interesting episode with a useful application, let us now attend to the reflections of Johnson at the end of the "Occasional Papers," concerning the unfortunate Dr. Dodd.

"Such were the last thoughts of a man whom we have seen exulting in popularity and sunk in shame. For his reputation, which no man can give to himself, those who conferred it are to answer. Of his public ministry, the means of judging were sufficiently attainable. He must be allowed to preach well whose sermons strike his audience with forcible conviction. Of his life, those who thought it consistent with his doctrine did not originally form false notions. He was at first what he endeavoured to make others; but the world broke down his resolution, and he in time ceased to exemplify his own instructions.

"Let those who are tempted to his faults tremble at his punishment; and those whom he impressed from the pulpit with religious sentiments endeavour to confirm them, by considering the regret and self-abhorrence with which he reviewed in prison his deviations from rectitude."²

¹ See Miss Reynolds's *Recollections*. — CROKER.

² Hawkins says, "Johnson was deeply concerned at the failure of the petitions in behalf of Dr. Dodd. But although he assisted in the solicitations for pardon, yet, in his private judgment, he thought Dodd unworthy of it; having been known to say, that had he been the adviser of the king, he should have told him, that, in pardoning Dodd, his justice in consigning the Perreaus to their sentence would have been called in question." — *Life*. There is no doubt that the king's personal wish was to have saved Dodd's life; but the recent fate of the Perreaus, and the unhappy man's own previous character, had some influence in the opposite direction. Indeed it somewhat alleviates the pain with which, even at this distance of time, one reads this lamentable story, to recollect that Dodd's offence was not the momentary aberration of an otherwise good and pious man; but that his whole life had been irregular, and some of it scandalous: he had been dismissed from being one of the king's chaplains, for an attempt at simony. He married indiscreetly, in 1751, Mary Perkins, a person of inferior station, but of so much sensibility as to lose her reason at his death; and she died, still mad, in 1784. Foote, in his play of the Cozeners (1774), had intro-

duced her as Mrs. *Simony*, and the description he puts into her mouth of 'her doctor,' as a '*popular preacher*,' was but little exaggerated; but all these disparaging circumstances Johnson, and indeed every body, were willing to forget in the presence of so great a calamity. Dodd was in his forty-ninth year. — CROKER, 1847.

³ See *anté*, pp. 110, 225. See also Mrs. Piozzi's *Anecdotes* (p. 122) for Johnson's striking sketches of Mr. Fitzherbert and his excellent lady. — CROKER.

⁴ Dr. Gisborne, physician to his Majesty's household, having obligingly communicated to me a fuller account of this story than had reached Dr. Johnson. The affected gentleman was the late John Gilbert Cooper, Esq., author of a *Life of Socrates*, and of some poems in Dodsley's collection. Mr. Fitzherbert found him one morning, apparently, in such a violent agitation, on account of the indisposition of his son, as to seem beyond the power of comfort. At length, however, he exclaimed, "I'll write an elegy." Mr. Fitzherbert, being satisfied by the sincerity of his emotions, silly, said, "Had not you better take a post-chaise, and go and see him?" It was the shrewdness of the insinuation which made the story be circulated. — BOSWELL.

Tuesday, September 16., Dr. Johnson having mentioned to me the extraordinary size and price of some cattle reared by Dr. Taylor, I rode out with our host, surveyed his farm, and was shown one cow which he had sold for a hundred and twenty guineas, and another for which he had been offered a hundred and thirty. Taylor thus described to me his old schoolfellow and friend, Johnson: — "He is a man of a very clear head, great power of words, and a very gay imagination; but there is no disputing with him. He will not hear you, and, having a louder voice than you, must roar you down."

In the afternoon I tried to get Dr. Johnson

to like the Poems of Mr. Hamilton of Bangour¹, which I had brought with me: I had been much pleased with them at a very early age: the impression still remained on my mind; it was confirmed by the opinion of my friend the Hon. Andrew Erskine, himself both a good poet and a good critic, who thought Hamilton as true a poet as ever wrote, and that his not having fame was unaccountable. Johnson, upon repeated occasions, while I was at Ashbourne, talked slightly of Hamilton. He said there was no power of thinking in his verses, nothing that strikes one, nothing better than what you generally find in magazines; and that the highest praise they deserved was, that they were very well for a gentleman to hand about among his friends. He said the imitation of *Ne sit ancillæ tibi amor*, &c. was too solemn: he read part of it at the beginning. He read the beautiful pathetic song, "Ah, the poor shepherd's mournful fate," and did not seem to give attention to what I had been used to think tender elegant strains, but laughed at the rhyme, in Scotch pronunciation, *wishes* and *blushes*, reading *wushes*—and there he stopped. He owned that the epitaph on Lord Newhall was pretty well done. He read the "Inscription in a Summer-house," and a little of the Imitations of Horace's Epistles; but said he found nothing to make him desire to read on. When I urged that there were some good poetical passages in the book, "Where," said he, "will you find so large a collection without some?" I thought the description of Winter might obtain his approbation:

"See Winter, from the frozen north,
Drives his iron chariot forth!
His grisly hand in icy chains
Fair Tweeda's silver flood constrains," &c.

He asked why an "iron chariot?" and said "icy chains" was an old image. I was struck with the uncertainty of taste, and somewhat sorry that a poet whom I had long read with fondness was not approved by Dr. Johnson. I comforted myself with thinking that the beauties were too delicate for his robust perceptions. Garrick² maintained that he had not a taste for the finest productions of genius: but I was sensible, that when he took the trouble to analyse critically, he generally convinced us that he was right.

In the evening the Rev. Mr. Seward, of Lichfield, who was passing through Ashbourne in his way home, drank tea with us. Johnson described him thus: "Sir, his ambition is to be a fine talker; so he goes to Buxton and

such places, where he may find companies to listen to him. And, Sir, he is a valetudinarian, one of those who are always mending themselves. I do not know a more disagreeable character than a valetudinarian, who thinks he may do any thing that is for his ease, and indulges himself in the grossest freedoms: Sir, he brings himself to the state of a hog in a sty."

Dr. Taylor's nose happening to bleed, he said it was because he had omitted to have himself bled four days after a quarter of a year's interval. Dr. Johnson, who was a great dabbler in physic, disapproved much of periodical bleeding. "For," said he, "you accustom yourself to an evacuation which nature cannot perform of herself, and therefore she cannot help you, should you from forgetfulness or any other cause omit it; so you may be suddenly suffocated. You may accustom yourself to other periodical evacuations, because, should you omit them, nature can supply the omission; but nature cannot open a vein to blood you."³ "I do not like to take an emetic," said Taylor, "for fear of breaking some small vessels." "Poh!" said Johnson, "if you have so many things that will break, you had better break your neck at once, and there's an end on't. You will break no small vessels" (blowing with high derision).

I mentioned to Dr. Johnson, that David Hume's persisting in his infidelity when he was dying shocked me much. JOHNSON. "Why should it shock you, Sir? Hume owned he had never read the New Testament with attention. Here, then, was a man who had been at no pains to inquire into the truth of religion, and had continually turned his mind the other way. It was not to be expected that the prospect of death would alter his way of thinking, unless God should send an angel to set him right." I said I had reason to believe that the thought of annihilation gave Hume no pain. JOHNSON. "It was not so, Sir. He had a vanity in being thought easy. It is more probable that he should assume an appearance of ease, than that so very improbable a thing should be, as a man not afraid of going (as, in spite of his delusive theory, he cannot be sure but he may go) into an unknown state, and not being uneasy at leaving all he knew. And you are to consider, that upon his own principle of annihilation he had no motive to speak the truth."⁴ The horror of death, which I had always observed in Dr. Johnson, appeared strong to-night. I ventured to tell him, that I had been, for moments in my life, not afraid

¹ See *anté*, p. 276. We may suspect that Boswell's admiration of Hamilton was enhanced by something even stronger than mere nationality. Hamilton was a gentleman of Ayrshire, Boswell's own county, and actually bore arms at Culloden, for the Jacobite cause. His poetry is best remembered by Johnson's lucky refusal to read it. — CROKER.

² An attentive reader can have hardly failed to observe the art with which Boswell, when Johnson happens to have

thwarted some of his own feelings or prejudices, brings in some auxiliary to depreciate the judgment of his great friend. — CROKER, 1847.

³ Nature, however, may supply the evacuation by an hemorrhage. — KEARNEY.

⁴ Johnson, says Hawkins, would never hear Hume mentioned with any temper. "A man," said he, "who endeavoured to persuade his friend, who had the stone, to shoot himself!" — *Apoph.* — CROKER.

of death; therefore I could suppose another man in that state of mind for a considerable space of time. He said, "he never had a moment in which death was not terrible to him." He added, that it had been observed, that scarce any man dies in public but with apparent resolution; from that desire of praise which never quits us. I said, Dr. Dodd seemed to be willing to die, and full of hopes of happiness. "Sir," said he, "Dr. Dodd would have given both his hands and both his legs to have lived. The better a man is, the more afraid is he of death, having a clearer view of infinite purity." He owned, that our being in an unhappy uncertainty as to our salvation was mysterious; and said, "Ah! we must wait till we are in another state of being to have many things explained to us." Even the powerful mind of Johnson seemed foiled by futurity. But I thought, that the gloom of uncertainty in solemn religious speculation, being mingled with hope, was yet more consolatory than the emptiness of infidelity. A man can live in thick air, but perishes in an exhausted receiver.

Dr. Johnson was much pleased with a remark which I told him was made to me by General Paoli: "That it is impossible not to be afraid of death; and that those who at the time of dying are not afraid, are not thinking of death, but of applause, or something else, which keeps death out of their sight: so that all men are equally afraid of death when they see it; only some have a power of turning their sight away from it better than others."

On Wednesday, September 17., Dr. Butter, physician at Derby, drank tea with us; and it was settled that Dr. Johnson and I should go on Friday and dine with him. Johnson said, "I am glad of this." He seemed weary of the uniformity of life at Dr. Taylor's.

Talking of biography, I said, in writing a life, a man's peculiarities should be mentioned, because they mark his character. JOHNSON. "Sir, there is no doubt as to peculiarities: the question is, whether a man's vices should be mentioned; for instance, whether it should be mentioned that Addison and Parnell drank too freely¹; for people will probably more easily indulge in drinking from knowing this; so that more ill may be done by the example, than good by telling the whole truth." Here was an instance of his varying from himself in talk; for when Lord Hailes and he sat one morning calmly conversing in my house at Edinburgh, I well remember that Dr. Johnson maintained, that, "if a man is to write a *Panegyric*, he may keep vices out of sight; but if he professes to write a *Life*, he must represent it really as it was:" and when I objected to the danger of

telling that Parnell drank to excess, he said that "it would produce an instructive caution to avoid drinking, when it was seen that even the learning and genius of Parnell could be debased by it." And in the *Hebribes* he maintained [p. 345.] that a man's intimate friend should mention his faults if he writes his life.

He had this evening, partly, I suppose, from the spirit of contradiction to his Whig friend, a violent argument with Dr. Taylor, as to the inclinations of the people of England at this time towards the Royal Family of Stuart. He grew so outrageous as to say, "that if England were fairly polled, the present king would be sent away to-night, and his adherents hanged to-morrow." Taylor, who was as violent a Whig as Johnson was a Tory, was roused by this to a pitch of bellowing. He denied loudly what Johnson said; and maintained that there was an abhorrence against the Stuart family, though he admitted that the people were not much attached to the present king.² JOHNSON. "Sir, the state of the country is this: the people, knowing it to be agreed on all hands that this king has not the hereditary right to the crown, and there being no hope that he who has it can be restored, have grown cold and indifferent upon the subject of loyalty, and have no warm attachment to any king. They would not, therefore, risk any thing to restore the exiled family. They would not give twenty shillings apiece to bring it about. But if a mere vote could do it, there would be twenty to one; at least there would be a very great majority of voices for it. For, Sir, you are to consider, that all those who think a king has a right to his crown as a man has to his estate, which is the just opinion, would be for restoring the king, who certainly has the hereditary right, could he be trusted with it; in which there would be no danger now, when laws and every thing else are so much advanced; and every king will govern by the laws. And you must also consider, Sir, that there is nothing on the other side to oppose to this; for it is not alleged by any one that the present family has any inherent right: so that the Whigs could not have a contest between two rights."

Dr. Taylor admitted, that if the question as to hereditary right were to be tried by a poll of the people of England, to be sure the abstract doctrine would be given in favour of the family of Stuart; but he said, the conduct of that family, which occasioned their expulsion, was so fresh in the minds of the people, that they would not vote for a restoration. Dr. Johnson, I think, was contented with the admission as to the hereditary right, leaving the original point in dispute, viz. what the people upon the whole would do, taking in right and affection;

¹ Horace had no scruple about it. —

Narratur et prisci Catonis,
Sæpe meo caluisse virtus. — *Od.* iii. 21.

² Old Cato's virtue, often warmed with wine." — CROKER.

² Dr. Taylor was very ready to make this admission, be-

cause the party with which he was connected was not in power. There was then some truth in it, owing to the pertinacity of faction's clamour. Had he lived till now, it would have been impossible for him to deny that his Majesty possessed the warmest affection of his people. — BOSWELL.

CHAPTER LX.

1777.

Keddlestone. — Derby. — Shaving. — Nichols's "*De Animâ Medicâ*." — Dr. Dodd. — Blair. — Goldsmith. — Monboddo's "*Air-bath*." — Early-rising. — Sleep. — Water-drinking. — Ratty's "*Spiritual Diary*." — Autobiographers. — Imitators of Johnson's Style. — *Biographia Britannica*. — Melancholy and Madness. — London Life. — Profession of the Law. — Employment. — Dr. Taylor's "*Sermons*." — Actors.

FRIDAY, September 19., after breakfast, Dr. Johnson and I set out in Dr. Taylor's chaise to go to Derby. The day was fine, and we resolved to go by Keddlestone, the seat of Lord Scarsdale, that I might see his lordship's fine house. I was struck with the magnificence of the building; and the extensive park, with the finest verdure, covered with deer, and cattle, and sheep, delighted me. The number of old oaks, of an immense size, filled me with a sort of respectful admiration; for one of them sixty pounds was offered. The excellent smooth gravel roads; the large piece of water formed by his lordship from some small brooks, with a handsome barge upon it; the venerable Gothic church, now the family chapel, just by the house; in short, the grand group of objects agitated and distended my mind in a most agreeable manner. "One should think," said I, "that the proprietor of all this *must* be happy." "Nay, Sir," said Johnson, "all this excludes but one evil — poverty."¹

Our names were sent up, and a well-drest elderly housekeeper, a most distinct articulator, showed us the house; which I need not describe, as there is an account of it published in "*Adams's Works in Architecture*." Dr. Johnson thought better of it to-day, than when he saw it before [p. 416.]; for he had lately attacked it violently, saying, "It would do excellently for a town-hall. The large room with the pillars," said he, "would do for the judges to sit in at the assizes; the circular room for a jury-chamber; and the room above for prisoners." Still he thought the large room ill lighted, and of no use but for dancing in; and the bedchambers but indifferent rooms; and that the immense sum which it cost was injudiciously laid out. Dr. Taylor had put him in mind of his *appearing* pleased with the house. "But," said he, "that was when Lord Scarsdale was present. Politeness obliges us to appear pleased with a

man's works when he is present. No man will be so ill-bred as to question you. You may therefore pay compliments without saying what is not true. I should say to Lord Scarsdale of his large room. 'My lord, this is the most costly room that I ever saw;' which is true."

Dr. Manningham, physician in London, who was visiting at Lord Scarsdale's, accompanied us through many of the rooms; and soon afterwards my lord himself, to whom Dr. Johnson was known, appeared, and did the honours of the house. We talked of Mr. Langton. Johnson, with a warm vehemence of affectionate regard, exclaimed, "The earth does not bear a worthier man than Bennet Langton." We saw a good many fine pictures, which I think are described in one of "Young's Tours." There is a printed catalogue of them, which the housekeeper put into my hand. I should like to view them at leisure. I was much struck with Daniel interpreting Nebuchadnezzar's dream, by Rembrandt. We were shown a pretty large library. In his lordship's dressing-room lay Johnson's small dictionary: he showed it to me, with some eagerness, saying, "Look ye! *Que regio in terris nostri non plena laboris*." He observed, also, Goldsmith's "Animated Nature;" and said, 'Here's our friend!' The poor doctor would have been happy to hear of this."

In our way, Johnson strongly expressed his love of driving fast in a post-chaise. [p. 495.] "If," said he, "I had no duties, and no reference to futurity, I would spend my life in driving briskly in a post-chaise with a pretty woman; but she should be one that could understand me, and would add something to the conversation." I observed, that we were this day to stop just where the Highland army did in 1745. JOHNSON. "It was a noble attempt." BOSWELL. "I wish we could have an authentic history of it." JOHNSON. "If you were not an idle dog, you might write it, by collecting from every body what they can tell, and putting down your authorities." BOSWELL. "But I could not have the advantage of it in my lifetime." JOHNSON. "You might have the satisfaction of its fame, by printing it in Holland; and as to profit, consider how long it was before writing came to be considered in a pecuniary view. Baretti says, he is the first man that ever received copy-money in Italy." I said that I would endeavour to do what Dr. Johnson suggested; and I thought that I might write so as to venture to publish my "History of the Civil War in Great Britain in 1745 and 1746" without being obliged to go to a foreign press.²

¹ When I mentioned Dr. Johnson's remark to a lady of admirable good sense and quickness of understanding, she observed, "It is true all this excludes only one evil; but how much good does it let in!" — *First edition*. To this observation much praise has been justly given. Let me then now do myself the honour to mention, that the lady who made it was the late Margaret Montgomerie, my very valuable wife, and the very affectionate mother of my children, who, if they inherit her good qualities, will have no reason

to complain of their lot. *Dos magna parentum virtus*. — *Second edition*. — BOSWELL.

² I am now happy to understand that Mr. John Home, who was himself gallantly in the field for the reigning family in that interesting warfare, but is generous enough to do justice to the other side, is preparing an account of it for the press. — BOSWELL. It appeared in 1802, but produced little sensation. — CROKER, 1847.

When we arrived at Derby, Dr. Butter accompanied us to see the manufactory of china there. I admired the ingenuity and delicate art with which a man fashioned clay into a cup, a saucer, or a teapot, while a boy turned round a wheel to give the mass rotundity. I thought this as excellent in its species of power, as making good verses in its species. Yet I had no respect for this potter. Neither, indeed, has a man of any extent of thinking for a mere verse-maker, in whose numbers, however perfect, there is no poetry, no mind. The china was beautiful, but Dr. Johnson justly observed it was too dear; for that he could have vessels of silver, of the same size, as cheap as what were here made of porcelain.¹

I felt a pleasure in walking about Derby, such as I always have in walking about any town to which I am not accustomed. There is an immediate sensation of novelty; and one speculates on the way in which life is passed in it, which, although there is a sameness every where upon the whole, is yet minutely diversified. The minute diversities in every thing are wonderful. Talking of shaving the other night at Dr. Taylor's, Dr. Johnson said, "Sir, of a thousand shavers, two do not shave so much alike as not to be distinguished." I thought this not possible, till he specified so many of the varieties in shaving; — holding the razor more or less perpendicular; drawing long or short strokes; beginning at the upper part of the face, or the under — at the right side or the left side. Indeed, when one considers what variety of sounds can be uttered by the windpipe, in the compass of a very small aperture, we may be convinced how many degrees of difference there may be in the application of a razor.

We dined with Dr. Butter², whose lady is daughter of my cousin Sir John Douglas, whose grandson is now presumptive heir of the noble family of Queensberry.³ Johnson and he had a good deal of medical conversation. Johnson said he had somewhere or other given an account of Dr. Nichols's discourse "*De Animâ Medicâ*." He told us, "that whatever a man's distemper was, Dr. Nichols would not attend him as a physician, if his mind was not at ease: for he believed that no medicines would have any influence."⁴ He once attended a man in trade, upon whom he found none of the medicines he prescribed had any effect: he asked the man's wife privately whether his affairs were not in a bad way? She said no. He continued his attendance some time, still without

success. At length the man's wife told him she had discovered that her husband's affairs *were* in a bad way. When Goldsmith was dying, Dr. Turton said to him, 'Your pulse is in greater disorder than it should be, from the degree of fever which you have: is your mind at ease?' Goldsmith answered it was not."

After dinner, Mrs. Butter went with me to see the silk-mill which Mr. John Lombe had⁵ had a patent for, having brought away the contrivance from Italy. I am not very conversant with mechanics; but the simplicity of this machine, and its multiplied operations, struck me with an agreeable surprise. I had learnt from Dr. Johnson, during this interview, not to think with a dejected indifference of the works of art, and the pleasures of life, because life is uncertain and short; but to consider such indifference as a failure of reason, a morbidness of mind; for happiness should be cultivated as much as we can, and the objects which are instrumental to it should be steadily considered as of importance, with a reference not only to ourselves, but to multitudes in successive ages. Though it is proper to value small parts, as

"Sands make the mountain, moments make the year;" — YOUNG. [*Antiq.* p. 357.]

yet we must contemplate, collectively, to have a just estimation of objects. One moment's being uneasy or not, seems of no consequence; yet this may be thought of the next, and the next, and so on, till there is a large portion of misery. In the same way one must think of happiness, of learning, of friendship. We cannot tell the precise moment when friendship is formed. As in filling a vessel drop by drop, there is at last a drop which makes it run over; so in a series of kindnesses there is at last one which makes the heart run over. We must not divide the objects of our attention into minute parts, and think separately of each part. It is by contemplating a large mass of human existence, that a man, while he sets a just value on his own life, does not think of his death as annihilating all that is great and pleasing in the world, as if actually *contained in his mind*, according to Berkeley's reverie [p. 160.]. If his imagination be not sickly and feeble, it "wings its distant way" far beyond himself, and views the world in unceasing activity of every sort. It must be acknowledged, however, that Pope's plaintive reflection, that all things would be as gay as ever, on the day of his death, is natural and common. We are apt to transfer to all

¹ I was once present when a flower pot of *Sèvres* china, of about the size that would hold a pint of water, was sold by auction for seventy pounds. — CROKER.

² Dr. Butter was at this time a practising physician at Derby. He afterwards removed to London, where he died, March 22, 1805. He is author of several medical tracts. — MALONE.

³ He succeeded to the marquise in 1810, the dukedom and estates passing to the Duke of Buccleugh. It is worthy

of notice that the two last dukes attained the ages of 80 and 83, and enjoyed the title for *one hundred years*. — CROKER.

⁴ Dr. Nichols's opinion had made a strong impression on Johnson's mind, and was, Dr. Hall thought, the cause of his urging Mrs. Aston and his other friends to keep their minds as much as possible at ease. — CROKER.

⁵ See Hutton's "*History of Derby*," a book which is deservedly esteemed for its information, accuracy, and good narrative. Indeed, the age in which we live is eminently distinguished by topographical excellence. — BOSWELL.

around us our own gloom, without considering that at any given point of time there is, perhaps, as much youth and gaiety in the world as at another. Before I came into this life, in which I have had so many pleasant scenes, have not thousands and ten thousands of deaths and funerals happened, and have not families been in grief for their nearest relations? But have those dismal circumstances at all affected *me*? Why, then, should the gloomy scenes which I experience, or which I know, affect others? Let us guard against imagining that there is an end of felicity upon earth, when we ourselves grow old, or are unhappy.

Dr. Johnson told us at tea, that when some of Dr. Dodd's pious friends were trying to console him by saying that he was going to leave a "wretched world," he had honesty enough not to join in the cant: — "No, no," said he, "it has been a very agreeable world to me." Johnson added, "I respect Dodd for thus speaking the truth; for, to be sure, he had for several years enjoyed a life of great voluptuousness."

He told us that Dodd's city friends stood by him so, that a thousand pounds were ready to be given to the gaoler, if he would let him escape. He added, that he knew a friend of Dodd's, who walked about Newgate for some time on the evening before the day of his execution, with five hundred pounds in his pocket, ready to be paid to any of the turnkeys who could get him out, but it was too late; for he was watched with much circumspection. He said, Dodd's friends had an image of him made of wax, which was to have been left in his place; and he believed it was carried into the prison.¹

Johnson disapproved of Dr. Dodd's leaving the world persuaded that "The Convict's Address to his unhappy Brethren" was of his own writing. "But, Sir," said I, "you contributed to the deception; for when Mr. Seward expressed a doubt to you that it was not Dodd's own, because it had a great deal more force of mind in it than any thing known to be his, you answered, — 'Why should you think so? Depend upon it, Sir, when any man knows he is to be hanged in a fortnight, it concentrates his mind wonderfully.'" JOHNSON. "Sir, as Dodd got it from me to pass as his own, while that could do him any good, that was an *implied promise* that I should not own it. To own it, therefore, would have been telling a lie, with the addition of breach of promise, which was worse than simply telling a lie to make it be believed it was Dodd's. Besides, Sir, I did not

directly tell a lie: I left the matter uncertain. Perhaps I thought that Seward would not believe it the less to be mine for what I said: but I would not put it in his power to say I had owned it."²

He praised Blair's Sermons: "Yet," said he (willing to let us see he was aware that fashionable fame, however deserved, is not always the most lasting), "perhaps they may not be reprinted after seven years; at least not after Blair's death."³

He said, "Goldsmith was a plant that flowered late. There appeared nothing remarkable about him when he was young; though when he had got high in fame, one of his friends began to recollect something of his being distinguished at college.⁴ Goldsmith in the same manner recollected more of that friend's early years, as he grew a greater man."

I mentioned that Lord Monboddo told me he awaked every morning at four, and then for his health got up and walked in his room naked with the window open, which he called taking *an air bath*; after which he went to bed again and slept two hours more. Johnson, who was always ready to beat down any thing that seemed to be exhibited with disproportionate importance, thus observed: "I suppose, Sir, there is no more in it than this; he wakes at four, and cannot sleep till he chills himself, and makes the warmth of the bed a grateful sensation."

I talked of the difficulty of rising in the morning. Dr. Johnson told me, "that the learned Mrs. Carter, at that period when she was eager in study, did not awake as early as she wished, and she therefore had a contrivance that, at a certain hour, her chamber light should burn a string to which a heavy weight was suspended, which then fell with a strong sudden noise: this roused her from sleep, and then she had no difficulty in getting up." But I said *that* was my difficulty; and wished there could be some medicine invented which would make one rise without pain, which I never did unless after lying in bed a very long time. Perhaps there may be something in the store of Nature which could do this. I have thought of a pulley to raise me gradually; but that would give me pain, as it would counteract my internal inclination. I would have something that can dissipate the *vis inertiae*, and give elasticity to the muscles. As I imagine that the human body may be put, by the operation of other substances, into any state in which it has ever been; and as I have experienced a state in which rising from bed was not disagreeable

¹ It is stated in Miss Reynolds's *Recollections*, and in the *Gent. Mag.* v. 47, p. 346., that experiments were tried to restore him to life; but having hung an hour, and forty minutes more having elapsed before he was put into the hearse, the attempt was as hopeless as its success would have been lamentable. — CROKER, 1847.

² Johnson's assistance in writing the *letters and petitions* which Dodd was to sign, was justified by custom and by the necessity of such cases; but I confess I do not see how the

deception, as Boswell truly calls it, of the "*address*" can be defended. — CROKER, 1847.

³ This was a sagacious opinion — they have, no doubt, been reprinted since Blair's death, but have declined in reputation, and after the publication of the third volume we thought to want earnestness and vigour. — CROKER, 1847.

⁴ Mr. Burke. — CROKER.

⁵ This was a mistake. See *anté*, p. 140. — CROKER.

but easy, nay, sometimes agreeable; I suppose that this state may be produced, if we knew by what. We can heat the body, we can cool it; we can give it tension or relaxation; and surely it is possible to bring it into a state in which rising from bed will not be a pain.

Johnson observed, that "a man should take a sufficient quantity of sleep, which Dr. Mead says is between seven and nine hours." I told him, that Dr. Cullen said to me, that a man should not take more sleep than he can take at once. JOHNSON. "This rule, Sir, cannot hold in all cases; for many people have their sleep broken by sickness: and surely, Cullen would not have a man to get up, after having slept but an hour. Such a regimen would soon end in a *long sleep*."¹ Dr. Taylor remarked, I think very justly, that "a man who does not feel an inclination to sleep at the ordinary times, instead of being stronger than other people, must not be well; for a man in health has all the natural inclinations to eat, drink, and sleep, in a strong degree."

Johnson advised me to-night not to *refine* in the education of my children. "Life," said he, "will not bear refinement: you must do as other people do."

As we drove back to Ashbourne, Dr. Johnson recommended to me, as he had often done, to drink water only: "For," said he, "you are then sure not to get drunk; whereas, if you drink wine, you are never sure." I said, drinking wine was a pleasure which I was unwilling to give up. "Why, Sir," said he, "there is no doubt that not to drink wine is a great deduction from life; but it may be necessary." He however owned, that in his opinion a free use of wine did not shorten life; and said, he would not give less for the life of a certain Scotch Lord² (whom he named), celebrated for hard drinking, than for that of a sober man. "But stay," said he, with his usual intelligence and accuracy of inquiry—"does it take much wine to make him drunk?" I answered, "a great deal, either of wine or strong punch."—"Then," said he, "that is the worse." I presume to illustrate my friend's observation thus: "A fortress which soon surrenders has its walls less shattered than when a long and obstinate resistance is made."

I ventured to mention a person who was as violent a Scotchman as he was an Englishman; and literally had the same contempt for an Englishman compared with a Scotchman, that

he had for a Scotchman compared with an Englishman; and that he would say of Dr. Johnson, "Damned rascal! to talk as he does of the Scotch." This seemed for a moment, "to give him pause." It, perhaps, presented his extreme prejudice against the Scotch in a point of view somewhat new to him by the effect of *contrast*.

By the time when we returned to Ashbourne, Dr. Taylor was gone to bed. Johnson and I sat up a long time by ourselves.

He was much diverted with an article which I showed him in the "Critical Review" of this year, giving an account of a curious publication, entitled "A Spiritual Diary and Soliloquies, by John Rutty, M.D." Dr. Rutty was one of the people called quakers, a physician of some eminence in Dublin, and author of several works. This Diary, which was kept from 1753 to 1775, the year in which he died, and was now published in two volumes octavo, exhibited, in the simplicity of his heart, a minute and honest register of the state of his mind; which, though frequently laughable enough, was not more so than the history of many men would be, if recorded with equal fairness. The following specimens were extracted by the reviewers:—

"Tenth month, 1753, 23. — Indulgence in bed an hour too long.

"Twelfth month, 17. — An hypochondriac obnubilation from wind and indigestion.

"Ninth month, 28. — An over-dose of whisky.

"29. — A dull, cross, choleric day.

"First month, 1757, 22. — A little swinish at dinner and repast. Dogged on provocation.

"Second month, 5. — Very dogged or snappish.

"14. — Snappish on fasting.

"26. — Cursed snappishness to those under me, on a bodily indisposition.

"Third month, 11. — On a provocation, exercised a dumb resentment for two days, instead of scolding.

"22. Scolded too vehemently.

"23. — Dogged again.

"Fourth month, 29. — Mechanically and sinfully dogged."

Johnson laughed heartily at this good Quietist's self-condemning minutes; particularly at his mentioning, with such a serious regret, occasional instances of "*swinishness* in eating, and *doggedness of temper*." He thought the observations of the Critical Reviewers

¹ This regimen (not *Sir John*), in his life of that venerable prelate, p. 4., tells us, "And that neither his study might be the aggressor on his hours of instruction, or what he judged his duty, prevent his Improvements; or both, his closet addresses to his God; he strictly accustomed himself to but one sleep, which often obliged him to rise at one or two of the clock in the morning, and sometimes sooner; and grew so habitual, that it continued with him almost till his last illness. And so lively and cheerful was his temper, that he would be very factious and entertaining to his friends in the evening, even when it was perceived that with difficulty he kept his eyes open; and then seemed to go to rest with no other purpose than the refreshing and enabling him with

more vigour and cheerfulness to sing his morning hymn, as he then used to do to his lute before he put on his clothes." — BOSWELL.

² Perhaps Thomas, sixth Earl of Kellie, died in 1781, æt. 43. He was remarkable for some musical talents, but still more for his conviviality. Even the *Peccage* confesses that "he was more assiduous in the service of Bacchus than Apollo." — C., 1831. After this note was written, Sir James Mackintosh told me that he believed that Lord Erol was meant here, as well as *post*, April 28, 1778; and this seems likely from Boswell's report, *ante*, p. 296. Johnson would not have made a good purchase of his life, for he died next year (June 3, 1778), æt. 53. — CHOKER, 1835.

upon the importance of a man to himself so ingenious and so well expressed, that I shall here introduce them. After observing, that "there are few writers who have gained any reputation by recording their own actions," they say, —

"We may reduce the egotists to four classes. In the *first* we have Julius Cæsar: he relates his own transactions; but he relates them with peculiar grace and dignity, and his narrative is supported by the greatness of his character and achievements. In the *second* class we have Marcus Antoninus: this writer has given us a series of reflections on his own life; but his sentiments are so noble, his morality so sublime, that his meditations are universally admired. In the *third* class we have some others of tolerable credit, who have given importance to their own private history by an intermixture of literary anecdotes, and the occurrences of their own times: the celebrated *Huetius*¹ has published an entertaining volume upon this plan, '*De Rebus ad eum pertinentibus*.' In the *fourth* class we have the journalists, temporal and spiritual: Elias Ashmole, William Lilly, George Whitefield, John Wesley, and a thousand other old women and fanatic writers of memoirs and meditations."

I mentioned to him that Dr. Hugh Blair, in his Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres, which I heard him deliver at Edinburgh, had animadverted on the Johnsonian style as too pompous; and attempted to imitate it, by giving a sentence of Addison in "The Spectator," No. 411., in the manner of Johnson. When treating of the utility of the pleasures of imagination in preserving us from vice, it is observed of those "who know not how to be idle and innocent," that, "their very first step out of business is into vice or folly;" which Dr. Blair supposed would have been expressed in "The Rambler" thus: "their very first step out of the regions of business is into the perturbation of vice, or the vacuity of folly."² JOHNSON. "Sir, these are not the words I should have used. No, Sir; the imitators of my style have not hit it. Miss Aikin has done it the best; for she has imitated the sentiment as well as the diction."³

I intend, before this work is concluded, to exhibit specimens of imitation of my friend's style in various modes; some caricaturing or mimicking it, and some formed upon it, whether intentionally, or with a degree of similarity to it, of which, perhaps, the writers were not conscious.

In Baretti's Review, which he published in Italy, under the title of "FRUSTA LETTERA-

RIA," it is observed, that Dr. Robertson the historian had formed his style upon that of "*Il celebre Samuele Johnson*." My friend himself was of that opinion; for he once said to me, in a pleasant humour, "Sir, if Robertson's style be faulty, he owes it to me; that is, having too many words, and those too big ones."

I read to him a letter which Lord Monboddo had written to me, containing some critical remarks upon the style of his "Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland." His lordship praised the very fine passage upon landing at Icolmkill [p. 381.]: but his own style being exceedingly dry and hard, he disapproved of the richness of Johnson's language, and of his frequent use of metaphorical expressions. JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, this criticism would be just, if, in my style, superfluous words, or words too big for the thoughts, could be pointed out; but this I do not believe can be done. For instance, in the passage which Lord Monboddo admires, 'We were now treading that illustrious region,' the word *illustrious* contributes nothing to the mere narration; for the fact might be told without it: but it is not, therefore, superfluous; for it wakes the mind to peculiar attention, where something of more than usual importance is to be presented. 'Illustrious!' — for what? and then the sentence proceeds to expand the circumstances connected with Iona. And, Sir, as to metaphorical expression, that is a great excellence in style, when it is used with propriety, for it gives you two ideas for one; — conveys the meaning more luminously, and generally with a perception of delight."

He told me, that he had been asked to undertake the new edition of the "Biographia Britannica," but had declined it; which he afterwards said to me he regretted. In this regret many will join, because it would have procured us more of Johnson's most delightful species of writing; and although my friend Dr. Kippis⁴ has hitherto discharged the task judiciously, distinctly, and with more impartiality than might have been expected from a separatist: it were to have been wished that the superintendence of this literary Temple of Fame had been assigned to "a friend to the constitution in church and state." We should not then have had it too much crowded with obscure dissenting teachers, doubtless men of merit and worth, but not quite to be numbered amongst "the most eminent persons who have flourished in Great Britain and Ireland."⁵

¹ Huet, Bishop of Avranches. *Antiq.* p. 22. n. 5. — CROKER.

² When Dr. Blair published his "Lectures," he was invensively attacked for having omitted his censure on Johnson's style, and, on the contrary, praising it highly. But before that time, Johnson's "Lives of the Poets" had appeared, in which his style was considerably easier than when he wrote "The Rambler." It would, therefore, have been unkind in Blair, even supposing his criticism to have been just, to have preserved it. — BOSWELL.

³ Probably in an essay on "Imitation," by Miss Aikin, afterwards Mrs. Barbauld, in a volume of miscellaneous pieces by her and Dr. Aikin, in 1773. — CROKER.

⁴ After having given to the public the first five volumes (folio) of a new edition of the *BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA*, between the years 1778 and 1793, Dr. Kippis died, October 1795; and the work is not likely to be soon completed. MALONE.

⁵ In this censure, which has been carelessly uttered, carelessly joined. But in justice to Dr. Kippis, who, with that manly, candid good temper which marks his character me right, I now with pleasure retract it; and I desire, may be particularly observed, as pointed out by him to me, that "The new lives of dissenting divines, in the first four volumes of the second edition of the 'Biographia Britannica'.

On Saturday, September 20., after breakfast, when Taylor was gone out to his farm, Dr. Johnson and I had a serious conversation by ourselves on melancholy and madness; which he was, I always thought, erroneously inclined to confound together [p. 336.]. Melancholy, like "great wit," may be "near allied to madness; but there is, in my opinion, a distinct separation between them. When he talked of madness, he was to be understood as speaking of those who were in any great degree disturbed, or, as it is commonly expressed, "troubled in mind." Some of the ancient philosophers held, that all deviations from right reason were madness; and whoever wishes to see the opinions both of ancients and moderns upon this subject, collected and illustrated with a variety of curious facts, may read Dr. Arnold's very entertaining work.¹

Johnson said, "A madman loves to be with people whom he fears; not as a dog fears the lash, but of whom he stands in awe." I was struck with the justice of this observation. To be with those of whom a person, whose mind is wavering and dejected, stands in awe, represses, and composes an uneasy tumult of spirits, and consoles him with the contemplation of something steady, and at least comparatively great.²

He added, "Madmen are all sensual in the lower stages of the distemper. They are eager for gratifications to soothe their minds, and divert their attention from the misery which they suffer; but when they grow very ill, pleasure is too weak for them, and they seek for pain.³ Employment, Sir, and hardships, prevent melancholy. I suppose, in all our army in America, there was not one man who went mad."

are those of John Abernethy, Thomas Amory, George Benson, Hugh Broughton, the learned puritan, Simon Browne, Joseph Boyse, of Dublin, Thomas Cartwright, the learned puritan, and Samuel Chandler. The only doubt I have ever heard suggested is, whether there should have been an article of Dr. Amory. But I was convinced, and am still convinced, that he was entitled to one, from the reality of his learning, and the excellent and candid nature of his practical writings. The new lives of clergymen of the Church of England, in the same four volumes, are as follows: John Balguy, Edward Bentham, George Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne, William Berrian, Thomas Birch, William Borlase, Thomas Bott, James Bradley, Thomas Broughton, John Browne, John Burton, Joseph Butler, Bishop of Durham, Thomas Carte, Edmund Castell, Edmund Chishull, Charles Churchill, William Clarke, Robert Clayton, Bishop of Clogher, John Conybeare, Bishop of Bristol, George Costard, and Samuel Croxall. — "I am not conscious," says Dr. Kippis, "of any partiality in conducting the work. I would not willingly insert a dissenting minister that does not justly deserve to be noticed, or omit an established clergyman that does. At the same time, I shall not be deterred from introducing dissenters into the Biographia, when I am satisfied that they are entitled to that distinction, from their writings, learning, and merit." "Let me add that the expression 'A friend to the constitution in church and state,' was not meant by me as any reflection upon this reverend gentleman, as if he were an enemy to the political constitution of his country, as established at the Revolution, but, from my steady and avowed predilection for a *Tory*, was quoted from 'Johnson's Dictionary,' where that distinction is so defined. Note to second edition. — BOSWELL. But even *Whigs* could be dissatisfied with Dr. Kippis's conduct of the work. See Cowper's lively epigram, "On observing some names of little note in the Biographia," and Horace Walpole's anecdote. "I happened to say that the Biographia was an apology for every body. This reached the ears of Dr. Kippis, who retorted that the

We entered seriously upon a question of much importance to me, which Johnson was pleased to consider with friendly attention. I had long complained to him that I felt myself discontented in Scotland, as too narrow a sphere, and that I wished to make my chief residence in London, the great scene of ambition, instruction, and amusement; a scene which was to me, comparatively speaking, a heaven upon earth. JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, I never knew any one who had such a *grist* for London as you have: and I cannot blame you for your wish to live there; yet, Sir, were I in your father's place, I should not consent to your settling there; for I have the old feudal notions, and I should be afraid that Auchinleck would be deserted, as you would soon find it more desirable to have a country seat in a better climate. I own, however, that to consider it as a *duty* to reside on a family estate is a prejudice; for we must consider, that working-people get employment equally, and the produce of land is sold equally, whether a great family resides at home or not; and if the rents of an estate be carried to London, they return again in the circulation of commerce; nay, Sir, we must perhaps allow, that carrying the rents to a distance is a good, because it contributes to that circulation. We must, however, allow, that a well-regulated great family may improve a neighbourhood in civility and elegance, and give an example of good order, virtue, and piety; and so its residence at home may be of much advantage. But if a great family be disorderly and vicious, its residence at home is very pernicious to a neighbourhood. There is not now the same inducement to live in the country as formerly; the pleasures of social life are much better enjoyed

life of Sir Robert Walpole should prove that the Biographia was not an apology for every body. Soon after this I was surprised by a visit from the Doctor to solicit materials for my father's life. You may guess that I very civilly refused." *Walpoliana*, xciv., and Letter to Cole, Sept., 1. 1778. — CROKER, 1847.

¹ "Observations on Insanity," by Thomas Arnold, M.D., London, 1782. — BOSWELL.

² "He was," says Hawkins, "a great enemy to the present fashionable way of supposing worthless and infamous persons mad," that is, he disapproved of palliating wickedness by attributing it to physical causes, for he certainly thought (and no doubt felt) that the exercises of piety, and the restraints of conscience, might repress a tendency towards insanity. He also, I suppose, regretted the degree of impunity which is sometimes afforded to crime under the plea of insanity. — CROKER.

³ We read in the Gospels, that those unfortunate persons, who were possessed with evil spirits (which, after all, I think is the most probable cause of madness, as was first suggested to me by my respectable friend Sir John Pringle), had recourse to pain, tearing themselves, and jumping sometimes into the fire, sometimes into the water. Mr. Seward has furnished me with a remarkable anecdote in confirmation of Dr. Johnson's observation. A tradesman, who had acquired a large fortune in London, retired from business, and went to live at Worcester. His mind, being without its usual occupation, and having nothing else to supply its place, preyed upon itself, so that existence was a torment to him. At last he was seized with the stone; and a friend who found him in one of its severest fits, having expressed his concern, "No, no, Sir," said he, "don't pity me; what I now feel is ease, compared with the torture of mind from which it relieves me." — BOSWELL. Cardan composed his mind tending to madness (or rather actually mad, for such he seems in his writings, learned as they are) by exciting voluntary pain. V. Card. Op. et. Vit. — KEARNEY.

in town; and there is no longer in the country that power and influence in proprietors of land which they had in old times, and which made the country so agreeable to them. The Laird of Auchinleck now is not near so great a man as the Laird of Auchinleck was a hundred years ago."

I told him, that one of my ancestors never went from home without being attended by thirty men on horseback. Johnson's shrewdness and spirit of inquiry were exerted upon every occasion. "Pray," said he, "how did your ancestor support his thirty men and thirty horses when he went at a distance from home, in an age when there was hardly any money in circulation?" I suggested the same difficulty to a friend who mentioned Douglas's going to the Holy Land with a numerous train of followers.¹ Douglas could, no doubt, maintain followers enough while living upon his own lands, the produce of which supplied them with food; but he could not carry that food to the Holy Land; and as there was no commerce by which he could be supplied with money, how could he maintain them in foreign countries?

I suggested a doubt, that if I were to reside in London, the exquisite zest with which I relished it in occasional visits might go off, and I might grow tired of it. JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, you find no man, at all intellectual, who is willing to leave London. No, Sir, when a man is tired of London, he is tired of life; for there is in London all that life can afford."

To obviate his apprehension, that by settling in London I might desert the seat of my ancestors, I assured him that I had old feudal principles to a degree of enthusiasm; and that I felt all the *dulcedo of the natale solum*. I reminded him, that the Laird of Auchinleck had an elegant house, in front of which he could ride ten miles forward upon his own territories, upon which he had upwards of six hundred people attached to him; that the family seat was rich in natural romantic beauties of rock, wood, and water; and that in my "morn of life" I had appropriated the finest descriptions in the ancient classics to certain scenes there, which were thus associated in my mind. That when all this was considered, I should certainly pass a part of the year at home, and enjoy it the more from variety, and from bringing with me a share of the intellectual stores of the metropolis. He listened to all this, and kindly "hoped it might be as I now supposed."

¹ James de Douglas was requested by King Robert Bruce in his last hours, to repair with his heart to Jerusalem, and humbly to deposit it at the sepulchre of our Lord; which (according to Boëce, whom Boswell seems to follow) he did in 1330; but other writers represent, probably more truly, that he was killed by the way in fight with the Saracens in Spain; that his remains were brought home and interred at Douglas; and that the king's heart was also brought back and buried at Melrose. — *Haites's Annals*, ii. 146—151. Hence the *crowned heart* in the arms of Douglas. — CROKER.

² Now, at the distance of fifteen years since this conversation passed, the observation which I have had an opportunity of making in Westminster Hall has convinced me that, however true the opinion of Dr. Johnson's legal friend may have been some time ago, the same certainty of success cannot

He said, a country gentleman should bring his lady to visit London as soon as he can, that they may have agreeable topics for conversation when they are by themselves.

As I meditated trying my fortune in Westminster Hall, our conversation turned upon the profession of the law in England. JOHNSON. "You must not indulge too sanguine hopes, should you be called to our bar. I was told, by a very sensible lawyer, that there are a great many chances against any man's success in the profession of the law; the candidates are so numerous, and those who get large practice so few. He said, it was by no means true that a man of good parts and application is sure of having business, though he, indeed, allowed that if such a man could but appear in a few causes, his merit would be known, and he would get forward; but that the great risk was, that a man might pass half a lifetime in the courts, and never have an opportunity of showing his abilities."²

We talked of employment being absolutely necessary to preserve the mind from wearying and growing fretful, especially in those who have a tendency to melancholy; and I mentioned to him a saying which somebody had related of an American savage, who, when an European was expatiating on all the advantages of money, put this question: "Will it purchase *occupation*?" JOHNSON. "Depend upon it, Sir, this saying is too refined for a savage. And, Sir, money *will* purchase *occupation*; it will purchase all the conveniences of life; it will purchase variety of company; it will purchase all sorts of entertainment."³

I talked to him of Forster's "Voyage to the South Seas,"⁴ which pleased me; but I found he did not like it. "Sir," said he, "there is a great affectation of fine writing in it." BOSWELL. "But he carries you along with him." JOHNSON. "No, Sir; he does not carry *me* along with him; he leaves me behind him; or rather, indeed, he sets me before him; for he makes me turn over many leaves at a time."

On Sunday, September 21., we went to the church of Ashbourne, which is one of the largest and most luminous that I have seen in any town of the same size. I felt great satisfaction in considering that I was supported in my fondness for solemn public worship by the general concurrence and munificence of mankind.

now be promised to the same display of merit. The reasons, however, of the rapid rise of some, and the disappointment of others equally respectable, are such as it might seem invidious to mention, and would require a longer detail than would be proper for this work. — BOSWELL. Mr. Boswell's personal feelings here have clouded his perception, for Johnson's friend was so far from holding out a *certainty* of success, that he scarcely admitted a probability. — CROKER.

³ Nay, it may be said to purchase, or rather to create, *occupation* too, by the various kinds of business which wealth necessarily imposes. — CROKER.

⁴ A Voyage round the World, in His Britannic Majesty's Ship Resolution, commanded by Captain James Cook. London, 1777. 2 vols. — P. CUNNINGHAM.

Johnson and Taylor were so different from each other, that I wondered at their preserving an intimacy. Their having been at school and college together¹ might, in some degree, account for this: but Sir Joshua Reynolds has furnished me with a stronger reason; for Johnson mentioned to him, that he had been told by Taylor he was to be his heir. I shall not take upon me to animadvert upon this; but certain it is that Johnson paid great attention to Taylor. He now, however, said to me, "Sir, I love him; but I do not love him more; my regard for him does not increase. As it is said in the Apocrypha, 'his talk is of bullocks.'² I do not suppose he is very fond of my company. His habits are by no means sufficiently clerical: this he knows that I see; and no man likes to live under the eye of perpetual disapprobation."

I have no doubt that a good many sermons were composed for Taylor by Johnson. At this time I found upon his table a part of one which he had newly begun to write: and *Concio pro Taylora* appears in one of his diaries. When to these circumstances we add the internal evidence from the power of thinking and style, in the collection which the Reverend Mr. Hayes had published, with the significant title of "*Sermons left for Publication*," by the Reverend John Taylor, LL.D.,³ our conviction will be complete.

I, however, would not have it thought that Dr. Taylor, though he could not write like Johnson, (as, indeed, who could?) did not sometimes compose sermons as good as those which we generally have from very respectable divines. He showed me one with notes on the margin in Johnson's handwriting; and I was present when he read another to Johnson, that he might have his opinion of it, and Johnson said it was "very well." These, we may be sure, were not Johnson's; for he was above little arts, or tricks of deception.

Johnson was by no means of opinion that every man of a learned profession should consider it as incumbent upon him, or as necessary to his credit, to appear as an author. When, in the ardour of ambition for literary fame, I regretted to him one day that an eminent judge⁴ had nothing of it, and therefore would leave no perpetual monument of himself to posterity; "Alas! Sir," said Johnson, "what a mass of confusion should we have, if every bishop, and

every judge, every lawyer, physician, and divine, were to write books!"

I mentioned to Johnson a respectable person of a very strong mind⁵, who had little of that tenderness which is common to human nature; as an instance of which, when I suggested to him that he should invite his son, who had been settled ten years in foreign parts, to come home and pay him a visit, his answer was, "No, no, let him mind his business." JOHNSON. "I do not agree with him, Sir, in this. Getting money is not all a man's business: to cultivate kindness is a valuable part of the business of life."

In the evening, Johnson, being in very good spirits, entertained us with several characteristic portraits: I regret that any of them escaped my retention and diligence. I found from experience, that to collect my friend's conversation so as to exhibit it with any degree of its original flavour, it was necessary to write it down without delay. To record his sayings, after some distance of time, was like preserving or pickling long-kept and faded fruits, or other vegetables, which, when in that state, have little or nothing of their taste when fresh.

I shall present my readers with a series of what I gathered this evening from the Johnsonian garden.

"My friend, the late Earl of Cork, [p. 57.] had a great desire to maintain the literary character of his family: he was a genteel man, but did not keep up the dignity of his rank. He was so generally civil, that nobody thanked him for it."

"Did we not hear so much said of Jack Wilkes, we should think more highly of his conversation. Jack has a great variety of talk, Jack is a scholar, and Jack has the manners of a gentleman. But after hearing his name sounded from pole to pole, as the phoenix of convivial felicity, we are disappointed in his company. He has always been at me: but I would do Jack a kindness, rather than not. The contest is now over."

"Garrick's gaiety of conversation has delicacy and elegance: Foote makes you laugh more; but Foote has the air of a buffoon paid for entertaining the company. He indeed well deserves his hire."

"Colley Cibber once consulted me as to one of his birthday odes [ante, p. 137.] a long time before it was wanted. I objected very freely to several passages. Cibber lost patience, and

¹ Not of the same college, nor even, it seems, cotemporaries at the university. See ante, p. 18. n. 3. — CROKER, 1847.

² Ecclesiasticus, chap. xxxviii. v. 25. The whole chapter may be read as an admirable illustration of the superiority of cultivated minds over the gross and illiterate. — BOSWELL. It is quoted in Burke's "Reflections on the French Revolution." — CROKER.

³ "Before I release you," writes Bishop Porteus to Dr. Beattie, 1788, "I must mention one more publication, on account of its singularity as well as its merit. It is a volume of sermons, published by Dr. Taylor, prebendary of Westminster, who is lately dead. He was an old friend and school-fellow of Dr. Johnson's, and was long suspected of preaching sermons written by the Doctor. To confute this calumny, he ordered this volume of sermons to be published after his

death. But I am afraid it will not quite answer his purpose; for I will venture to say, that there is not a man in England who knows anything of Dr. Johnson's peculiarities of style, sentiment, and composition, that will not instantly pronounce these sermons to be his. Indeed, they are (some of them at least) in his very best manner; and Taylor was no more capable of writing them than of making an epic poem." — MARKLAND. It seems, then, that the candour of the significant or rather equivocating title was Mr. Hayes's; and yet it seems incredible that Dr. Taylor could have meant to have practised such a deception. There can be no doubt that the sermons were Johnson's. — CROKER, 1847.

⁴ Probably Lord Mansfield. — CROKER.

⁵ He means his father, Lord Auchinleck; and the absent son was David, who spent so many years in Spain. — CROKER.

would not read his ode to an end. When we had done with criticism we walked over to Richardson's, the author of 'Clarissa,' and I wondered to find Richardson displeased that I 'did not treat Cibber with more respect.' Now, Sir, to talk of *respect* for a *player*!"¹ (smiling disdainfully.) BOSWELL. "There, Sir, you are always heretical: you never will allow merit to a player." JOHNSON. "Merit, Sir! what merit? Do you respect a rope-dancer or a ballad-singer?" BOSWELL. "No, sir; but we respect a great player, as a man who can conceive lofty sentiments, and can express them gracefully." JOHNSON. "What! Sir, a fellow who claps a hump on his back, and a lump on his leg, and cries, '*I am Richard the Third*?' Nay, Sir, a ballad-singer is a higher man, for he does two things; he repeats and he sings: there is both recitation and music in his performance; the player only recites." BOSWELL. "My dear Sir, you may turn any thing into ridicule. I allow, that a player of farce is not entitled to respect; he does a little thing; but he who can represent exalted characters, and touch the noblest passions, has very respectable powers; and mankind have agreed in admiring great talents for the stage. We must consider, too, that a great player does what very few are capable to do; his art is a very rare faculty. Who can repeat Hamlet's soliloquy, 'To be, or not to be,' as Garrick does it?" JOHNSON. "Any body may. Jenny, there (a boy about eight years old, who was in the room), will do as well in a week." BOSWELL. "No, no, Sir: and as a proof of the merit of great acting, and of the value which mankind set upon it, Garrick has got a hundred thousand pounds." JOHNSON. "Is getting a hundred thousand pounds a proof of excellence? That has been done by a scoundrel commissary."

This was most fallacious reasoning. I was sure, for once, that I had the best side of the argument. I boldly maintained the just distinction between a tragedian and a mere theatrical droll; between those who rouse our terror and pity, and those who only make us laugh. "If," said I, "Betterton and Foote were to walk into this room, you would respect Betterton much more than Foote." JOHNSON. "If Betterton were to walk into this room with Foote, Foote would soon drive him out of it. Foote, Sir, *quatenus* Foote, has powers superior to them all."²

¹ Johnson seems to have had a personal pique against Cibber. I hope it had some better grounds than his having kept Johnson waiting in Lord Chesterfield's ante-room (*anté*, p. 84, n. 3). Cibber was not merely a good actor, but one of the best of our comic dramatists. — CROKER.

² "The fact was," says Murphy, "that Johnson could not see the passions as they rose and chased one another in the varied features of the expressive face of Garrick." Mr. Murphy remembered being in conversation with Johnson near the

CHAPTER LXI.

1777—1778.

Personal Disputes. — *Duke of Devonshire.* — *Burke's Definition of a Free Government.* — *Ham.* — *The Christian Revelation.* — *Mungo Campbell.* — *Dr. Taylor's Bull-dog.* — *Æsop at play.* — *Memory.* — *Rochester's Poems.* — *Prior.* — *Hypochondria.* — *Books.* — *Homer and Virgil.* — *Lord Bacon.* — *Topham Beauclerk.* — *Grainger's "Ode on Solitude."* — *Music.* — *Happiness.* — *Future State.* — *Slave Trade.* — *American Independence.* — *Corruption of Parliament.* — *Planting.* — *"Oddity Johnson."* — *Decision of the Negro Cause.* — *Mr. Saunders Welch.* — *Advice to Travellers.* — *Correspondence.*

ON Monday, September 22., when at breakfast, I unguardedly said to Dr. Johnson, "I wish I saw you and Mrs. Macaulay together." He grew very angry; and, after a pause, while a cloud gathered on his brow, he burst out, "No, Sir; you would not see us quarrel, to make you sport. Don't you know that it is very uncivil to *pit* two people against one another?" Then, checking himself, and wishing to be more gentle, he added, "I do not say you should be hanged or drowned for this; but it is very uncivil." Dr. Taylor thought him in the wrong, and spoke to him privately of it; but I afterwards acknowledged to Johnson that I was to blame, for I candidly owned that I meant to express a desire to see a contest between Mrs. Macaulay and him; but then I knew how the contest would end; so that I was to see him triumph. JOHNSON. "Sir, you cannot be sure how a contest will end; and no man has a right to engage two people in a dispute by which their passions may be inflamed, and they may part with bitter resentment against each other. I would sooner keep company with a man from whom I must guard my pockets, than with a man who contrives to bring me into a dispute with somebody that he may hear it. This is the great fault of—³ (naming one of our friends), endeavouring to introduce a subject upon which he knows two people in the company differ." BOSWELL. "But he told me, Sir, he does it for instruction." JOHNSON. "Whatever the motive be, Sir, the man who does so, does very wrong. He has no more right to instruct himself at such risk, than he has to make two people fight a duel, that he may learn how to defend himself."

side of the scenes, during the tragedy of King Lear: when Garrick came off the stage, he said, "You two talk so loud, you destroy all my feelings." — "Prithee," replied Johnson, "do not talk of feelings; Punch has no feelings." — CROKER.
³ Mr. Langton is, no doubt, meant here, and in the next paragraph. See *anté*, pp. 263, 265, and 292, the possible cause of Johnson's frequent and fretful recurrence to this complaint. — CROKER.

He found great fault with a gentleman of our acquaintance for keeping a bad table. "Sir," said he, "when a man is invited to dinner, he is disappointed if he does not get something good. I advised Mrs. Thrale, who has no card-parties at her house, to give sweetmeats, and such good things, in an evening, as are not commonly given, and she would find company enough come to her; for every body loves to have things which please the palate put in their way, without trouble or preparation."¹ Such was his attention to the *minutiae* of life and manners.

He thus characterised the Duke of Devonshire², grandfather of the present representative of that very respectable family: "He was not a man of superior abilities, but he was a man strictly faithful to his word. If, for instance, he had promised you an acorn, and none had grown that year in his woods, he would not have contented himself with that excuse: he would have sent to Denmark for it. So unconditional was he in keeping his word; so high as to the point of honour." This was a liberal testimony from the Tory Johnson to the virtue of a great Whig nobleman.

Mr. Burke's "Letter to the Sheriffs of Bristol, on the Affairs of America," being mentioned, Johnson censured the composition much, and he ridiculed the definition of a free government; *viz.* "For any practical purpose, it is what the people thinks so." "I will let the King of France govern me on those conditions," said he, "for it is to be governed just as I please." And when Dr. Taylor talked of a girl being sent to a parish workhouse, and asked how much she could be obliged to work, "Why," said Johnson, "as much as is reasonable; and what is that? as much as *she* thinks reasonable."

Dr. Johnson obligingly proposed to carry me to see Ilam, a romantic scene, now belonging to a family of the name of Port, but formerly the seat of the Congreves.³ I suppose it is well described in some of the tours. Johnson described it distinctly and vividly; at which I could not but express to him my wonder; because, though my eyes, as he

observed, were better than his, I could not by any means equal him in representing visible objects. I said, the difference between us in this respect was as that between a man who has a bad instrument, but plays well on it, and a man who has a good instrument, on which he can play very imperfectly.

I recollect a very fine amphitheatre, surrounded with hills covered with woods, and walks neatly formed along the side of a rocky steep, on the quarter next the house, with recesses under projections of rock, overshadowed with trees; in one of which recesses, we were told, Congreve wrote his "Old Bachelor." We viewed a remarkable natural curiosity at Ilam; two rivers bursting near each other from the rock, not from immediate springs, but after having run for many miles under ground. Plott, in his "History of Staffordshire" (p. 69.), gives an account of this curiosity; but Johnson would not believe it, though we had the attestation of the gardener, who said he had put in corks⁴, where the river *Manyfold* sinks into the ground, and had caught them in a net, placed before one of the openings where the water bursts out. Indeed, such subterraneous courses of water are found in various parts of our globe.⁵

Talking of Dr. Johnson's unwillingness to believe extraordinary things, I ventured to say, "Sir, you come near Hume's argument against miracles, that 'it is more probable witnesses should lie, or be mistaken, than that they should happen.'" JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, Hume, taking the proposition simply, is right.⁶ But the Christian revelation is not proved by the miracles alone, but as connected with prophecies, and with the doctrines in confirmation of which the miracles were wrought."

He repeated his observation, that the differences among Christians are really of no consequence. "For instance," said he, "if a Protestant objects to a Papist, 'You worship images;' the Papist can answer, 'I do not insist on your doing it; you may be a very good Papist without it; I do it only as a help to my devotion.'" I said, the great article of Christianity is the revelation of immortality.⁷ Johnson admitted it was.

¹ "Of another lady's entertainments he said, 'What signifies going thither? there is neither *meat*, *drink*, nor *talk*.'" *Hawkins*. — CROKER.

² William, third Duke of Devonshire, who died in 1758. His knowledge of the Duke of Devonshire he derived, no doubt, from Dr. Taylor and Mr. Fitzherbert. — CROKER.

³ This is a mistake. The *Ports* had been seated at Ilam time out of mind; and, perhaps, derived their name from the narrow pass into Dove-dale. Congreve had visited that family at Ilam; and *his seat*, that is, the *bench* on which he sometimes sat, in the gardens, used to be shown: this, Mr. Bernard Port — one of the ancient family, and now vicar of Ilam — thinks was the cause of Mr. Boswell's error. Ilam has since passed into the hands of Mr. Watts Russell, who has replaced the old residence of the Ports by a stately Gothic mansion. — CROKER, 1831.

⁴ So fond are people of fabricating anecdotes, that the gardener at Ilam told me that it was Johnson himself who had made this experiment. But there is no doubt that the river sinks suddenly into the earth behind a hill above the valley, and bursts out again about four miles below. — CROKER.

⁵ See Plott's "History of Staffordshire," p. 88., and the authorities referred to by him. — BOSWELL.

⁶ This is not quite true. It is, indeed, more probable that one or two witnesses should lie, than that a miracle should have happened; but that distant and unconnected witnesses and circumstances should concur in evidencing a falsehood, — and that falsehood one in itself unnatural, — would be as miraculous as any miracle in Scripture; and thus, by Hume's own argument, the balance of probability is in favour of the miracles. — CROKER.

⁷ This is loosely expressed. The ancients believed in immortality, and even a state of retribution. One sect, at least, of the Jews, as well as the Mahomedans, acknowledge a future state. On so vital a question it is not safe to rest on Mr. Boswell's colloquial phrases, which have some importance when they appear to be sanctioned by the admission of Dr. Johnson. Immortality is, indeed, assured, and a thousand social blessings and benefits are vouchsafed to us by the Christian revelation; but: "the great article of Christianity" is surely the ATONEMENT! — CROKER.

In the evening, a gentleman farmer, who was on a visit at Dr. Taylor's, attempted to dispute with Johnson in favour of Mungo Campbell, who shot Alexander, Earl of Eglington, upon his having fallen, when retreating from his lordship, who he believed was about to seize his gun, as he had threatened to do. He said he should have done just as Campbell did. JOHNSON. "Whoever would do as Campbell did, deserves to be hanged; not that I could, as a jurymen, have found him legally guilty of murder; but I am glad they found means to convict him."¹ The gentleman farmer said, "A poor man has as much honour as a rich man; and Campbell had *that* to defend." Johnson exclaimed, "A poor man has no honour." The English yeoman, not dismayed, proceeded: "Lord Eglington was a damned fool to run on upon Campbell, after being warned that Campbell would shoot him if he did." Johnson, who could not bear any thing like swearing, angrily replied, "He was *not* a damned fool: he only thought too well of Campbell. He did not believe Campbell would be such a *damned* scoundrel, as to do so *damned* a thing." His emphasis on *damned*, accompanied with frowning looks, reproved his opponent's want of decorum in *his* presence.

Talking of the danger of being mortified by rejection, when making approaches to the acquaintance of the great, I observed, "I am, however, generally for trying: 'Nothing venture, nothing have.'" JOHNSON. "Very true, Sir; but I have always been more afraid of failing, than hopeful of success." And, indeed, though he had all just respect for rank, no man ever less courted the favour of the great.²

During this interview at Ashbourne, Johnson seemed to be more uniformly social, cheerful, and alert, than I had almost ever seen him. He was prompt on great occasions and on small. Taylor, who praised every thing of his own to excess, in short, "whose geese were all swans," as the proverb says, expatiated on the excellence of his bull-dog, which he told us was "perfectly well shaped." Johnson, after examining the animal attentively, thus repressed the vain-glory of our host:—"No, Sir, he is *not* well shaped; for there is not the quick transition from the thickness of the forepart, to the *tenuity*—the thin part—behind, which a bull-dog ought to have." This *tenuity* was the only *hard word* that I heard him use during this interview, and it will be observed, he instantly put another expression in its place. Taylor said, a small bull-dog was as

good as a large one. JOHNSON. "No, Sir; for, in proportion to his size, he has strength; and your argument would prove, that a good bull-dog may be as small as a mouse." It was amazing how he entered with perspicuity and keenness upon every thing that occurred in conversation. Most men, whom I know, would no more think of discussing a question about a bull-dog, than of attacking a bull.

I cannot allow any fragment whatever that floats in my memory concerning the great subject of this work to be lost. Though a small particular may appear trifling to some, it will be relished by others; while every little spark adds something to the general blaze: and to please the true, candid, warm admirers of Johnson, and in any degree increase the splendour of his reputation, I bid defiance to the shafts of ridicule, or even of malignity. Showers of them have been discharged at my "Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides;" yet it still sails unhurt along the stream of time, and as an attendant upon Johnson,

"Pursues the triumph, and partakes the gale."

One morning after breakfast, when the sun shone bright, we walked out together, and "pored" for some time with placid indolence upon an artificial waterfall, which Dr. Taylor had made by building a strong dyke of stone across the river behind the garden. It was now somewhat obstructed by branches of trees and other rubbish, which had come down the river, and settled close to it. Johnson, partly from a desire to see it play more freely, and partly from that inclination to activity which will animate at times the most inert and sluggish mortal, took a long pole which was lying on a bank, and pushed down several parcels of this wreck with painful assiduity, while I stood quietly by, wondering to behold the sage thus curiously employed, and smiling with a humorous satisfaction each time when he carried his point. He worked till he was quite out of breath; and having found a large dead cat so heavy that he could not move it after several efforts, "Come," said he (throwing down the pole), "*you* shall take it now;" which I accordingly did, and being a fresh man, soon made the cat tumble over the cascade. This may be laughed at as too trifling to record; but it is a small characteristic trait in the *Flemish* picture which I give of my friend, and in which, therefore, I mark the most minute particulars. And let it be remembered, that "*Æsop at play*" is one of the instructive apologues of antiquity. [*Phæd.* iii. 14.]

¹ The expression attributed in the text to Johnson is, I think, one of the worst specimens of what he candidly called his *laziness of talk*, and I cannot but hope that Boswell's partiality to Lord Eglington has somewhat distorted it. Lord Eglington, it must be remembered, was an intimate friend and companion of Mr. Boswell's, and son of the lady who treated Johnson with such flattering attention. Campbell terminated his own life in prison. It is

hard to believe (though there was every such appearance) that the government could have permitted him to be executed; for Lord Eglington was grossly the aggressor, and Campbell fired (whether by accident or design) when in the act of falling, as he *retreated* from Lord Eglington.

—CROKER.

² But no man more keenly resented any slight. Witness Lords Chesterfield, Lyttelton, and North. — CROKER, 1847.

I mentioned an old gentleman of our acquaintance whose memory was beginning to fail. JOHNSON. "There must be a diseased mind where there is a failure of memory at seventy. A man's head, Sir, must be morbid if he fails so soon."¹ My friend, being now himself sixty-eight, might think thus: but I imagine, that *threescore and ten*, the Psalmist's period of sound human life in later ages, may have a failure, though there be no disease in the constitution.

Talking of Rochester's Poems, he said he had given them to Mr. Steevens to castrate² for the edition of the poets, to which he was to write prefaces. * * *³ I asked if Burnet had not given a good life of Rochester. JOHNSON. "We have a good *Death*; there is not much *Life*." I asked whether Prior's poems were to be printed entire; Johnson said they were. I mentioned Lord Hailes's censure of Prior, in his preface to a collection of "Sacred Poems," by various hands, published by him at Edinburgh a great many years ago, where he mentions "those impure tales which will be the eternal opprobrium of their ingenious author." JOHNSON. "Sir, Lord Hailes has forgot. There is nothing in Prior that will excite to lewdness. If Lord Hailes thinks there is, he must be more combustible than other people." I instanced the tale of "Paulo Purganti and his wife." JOHNSON. "Sir, there is nothing there, but that his wife wanted to be kissed, when poor Paulo was out of pocket. No, Sir, Prior is a lady's book. No lady is ashamed to have it standing in her library."⁴

The hypochondriac disorder being mentioned, Dr. Johnson did not think it so common as I supposed. "Dr. Taylor," said he, "is the same one day as another. Burke and Reynolds are the same. Beauclerk, except when in pain, is the same. I am not so myself; but this I do not mention commonly."

I complained of a wretched changefulness, so that I could not preserve, for any long continuance, the same views of any thing. It was most comfortable to me to experience in Dr. Johnson's company a relief from this uneasiness. His steady, vigorous mind held firm before me those objects which my own feeble and tremulous imagination frequently pre-

sented in such a wavering state, that my reason could not judge well of them.

Dr. Johnson advised me to-day to have as many books about me as I could; that I might read upon any subject upon which I had a desire for instruction at the time. "What you read *then*," said he, "you will remember; but if you have not a book immediately ready, and the subject moulds in your mind, it is a chance if you have again a desire to study it." He added, "If a man never has an eager desire for instruction, he should prescribe a task for himself. But it is better when a man reads from immediate inclination."

He repeated a good many lines of Horace's Odes while we were in the chaise; I remember particularly the Ode "*Eheu fugaces*."

He said, the dispute as to the comparative excellence of Homer or Virgil⁵ was inaccurate. "We must consider," said he, "whether Homer was not the greatest poet, though Virgil may have produced the finest poem.⁶ Virgil was indebted to Homer for the whole invention of the structure of an epic poem, and for many of his beauties."

He told me, that Bacon was a favourite author with him; but he had never read his works till he was compiling the English Dictionary, in which, he said, I might see Bacon very often quoted. Mr. Seward recollects his having mentioned that a dictionary of the English language might be compiled from Bacon's writings alone, and that he had once an intention of giving an edition of Bacon, at least of his English works, and writing the life of that great man. Had he executed this intention, there can be no doubt that he would have done it in a most masterly manner. Mallet's Life of Bacon has no inconsiderable merit as an acute and elegant dissertation relative to its subject; but Mallet's mind was not comprehensive enough to embrace the vast extent of Lord Verulam's genius and research. Dr. Warburton therefore observed, with witty justness, "that Mallet in his Life of Bacon had forgotten that he was a philosopher; and if he should write the Life of the Duke of Marlborough, which he had undertaken to do, he would probably forget that he was a general."

¹ Probably Boswell's father, Lord Auchinleck, was meant; but this is one of those unreasonable assertions into which Johnson was so often betrayed by his private feelings and prejudices: the Psalmist says, and successive ages have proved, that the years of man are threescore years and ten; yet, because that Johnson was now near seventy, he ventures to assert that any decay of the faculties at that age must be morbid. — CROKER.

² This was unnecessary, for it had been done in the early part of the present century by Jacob Tonson. — MALONE.

³ Here a coarse and bad joke of Dr. Taylor's is omitted. See *anti*, p. 176. n. 6. Boswell, in reference to this bad joke — the only one he says Taylor ever made — adds, "I am told that Horace, Earl of Orford, has a collection of hon mots by persons who never made but one." — CROKER, 1847.

⁴ Again; what sad "*fatuity of talk*" from one who angrily reproved Hannah More for having read Tom Jones (*Life*, i. 163.) It is surprising enough that Mr. Boswell should

have recorded any thing so indecent as these expressions; and I wish I could have omitted or veiled them; but I have not thought myself at liberty to do so in this case, and can only express my regret that Johnson should have been driven by a spirit of conversational contradiction to maintain such a paradox. — CROKER.

⁵ I am informed by Mr. Langton, that a great many years ago he was present when this question was agitated between Dr. Johnson and Mr. Burke; and, to use Johnson's phrase, they "talked their best;" Johnson for Homer, Burke for Virgil. It may well be supposed to have been one of the ablest and most brilliant contests that ever was exhibited. How much must we regret that it has not been preserved! — BOSWELL.

⁶ But where is the *inaccuracy*, if the admirers of Homer contend, that he was not only prior to Virgil in point of time, but superior in excellence? — J. BOSWELL, jun.

Wishing to be satisfied what degree of truth there was in a story which a friend of Johnson's and mine had told me to his disadvantage, I mentioned it to him in direct terms; and it was to this effect;—that a gentleman¹ who had lived in great intimacy with him, shown him much kindness, and even relieved him from a spunging-house, having afterwards fallen into bad circumstances, was one day, when Johnson was at dinner with him, seized for debt, and carried to prison; that Johnson sat still undisturbed, and went on eating and drinking; upon which the gentleman's sister, who was present, could not suppress her indignation; "What, Sir!" said she, "are you so unfeeling, as not even to offer to go to my brother in his distress; you, who have been so much obliged to him?" And that Johnson answered, "Madam, I owe him no obligation; what he did for me he would have done for a dog."

Johnson assured me, that the story was absolutely false; but, like a man conscious of being in the right, and desirous of completely vindicating himself from such a charge, he did not arrogantly rest on a mere denial, and on his general character, but proceeded thus:—"Sir, I was very intimate with that gentleman, and was once relieved by him from an arrest; but I never was present when he was arrested, never knew that he was arrested, and I believe he never was in difficulties after the time when he relieved me. I loved him much; yet, in talking of his general character, I may have said, though I do not remember that I ever did say so, that as his generosity proceeded from no principle, but was a part of his profusion, he would do for a dog what he would do for a friend; but I never applied this remark to any particular instance, and certainly not to his kindness to me. If a profuse man, who does not value his money, and gives a large sum to a whore, gives half as much, or an equally large sum, to relieve a friend, it cannot be esteemed as virtue. This was all that I could say of that gentleman; and, if said at all, it must have been said after his death. Sir, I would have gone to the world's end to relieve him. The remark about the dog, if made by me, was such a sally as might escape one when painting a man highly."

On Tuesday, September 23., Johnson was remarkably cordial to me. It being necessary

for me to return to Scotland soon, I had fixed on the next day for my setting out, and I felt a tender concern at the thought of parting with him. He had, at this time, frankly communicated to me many particulars, which are inserted in this work in their proper places; and once, when I happened to mention that the expense of my jaunt would come to much more than I had computed, he said, "Why, Sir, if the expense were to be an inconvenience, you would have reason to regret it; but, if you have had the money to spend, I know not that you could have purchased as much pleasure with it in any other way."

During this interview at Ashbourne, Johnson and I frequently talked with wonderful pleasure of mere trifles which had occurred in our tour to the Hebrides; for it had left a most agreeable and lasting impression upon his mind.

He found fault with me for using the phrase to *make* money. "Don't you see," said he, "the impropriety of it? To *make* money is to *coin* it; you should say *get* money."² The phrase, however, is, I think, pretty current. But Johnson was at all times jealous of infractions upon the genuine English language, and prompt to repress colloquial barbarisms; such as *pledging myself for undertaking; line for department or branch, as the civil line the banking line*. He was particularly indignant against the almost universal use of the word *idea*, in the sense of *notion or opinion*, when it is clear that *idea* can only signify something of which an image can be formed in the mind. We may have an *idea or image* of a mountain, a tree, a building; but we cannot surely have an *idea or image* of an *argument or proposition*. Yet we hear the sages of the law "delivering their *ideas* upon the question under consideration;" and the first speakers in parliament "entirely coinciding in the *idea* which has been ably stated by an honourable member;" or "reprobating an *idea* as unconstitutional, and fraught with the most dangerous consequences to a great and free country." Johnson called this "modern cant."

I perceived that he pronounced the word *heard*, as if spelt with a double *e*, *heerd*, instead of sounding it *herd*, as is most usually done.³ He said, his reason was, that if it were pronounced *herd*, there would be a single exception from the English pronunciation of the

¹ It appears from part of the original journal in Mr. Anderson's papers, that the friend who told the story was Mr. Beauclerk, and the gentleman and lady alluded to were Mr. (probably Henry) and Miss Harvey. There is reason to fear that Boswell's indiscretion in betraying Mr. Beauclerk's name impaired the cordiality between him and Dr. Johnson. — CROKER, 1835.

² "To *get* money," would not always express the meaning; money may be gotten by inheritance or donation: "to *make* money" implies some degree of personal effort or attention; and Johnson himself admits it in this sense in his Dictionary. "To *MAKE*—to raise a profit from any thing," with an example from Shakespeare—"he made five marks ready money." — CROKER, 1847.

³ In the age of Queen Elizabeth this word was frequently

written, as doubtless it was pronounced, *hard*. — MALONE. Doctor Hall thought Johnson's pronunciation a provincialism, and that Boswell must have misstated Johnson's reasons, as there are many words in which *ear* is not pronounced as *eer*, e. g. *earn, learn; bear, pear, wear, tear*, &c. Perhaps Johnson said *card*, for the only two instances of that termination that I remember, *afraid* and *beard*, are generally pronounced after his fashion; and I recollect a sharp controversy on the point, about the beginning of this century, when Mr. Kemble pronounced *beard*, *berd*. A better reason, however, would have been the analogy of the language, as *heard* is, in doubt, a contraction of *heared*; and *feared*, and such words, are pronounced *feard*, &c.: but uniformity is certainly not the *jus et norma loquendi* in English. — CROKER, 1846.

syllable *ear*, and he thought it better not to have that exception.

He praised Grainger's "Ode on Solitude," in Dodsley's collection, and repeated, with great energy, the exordium:—

"O Solitude, romantic maid!
Whether by nodding towers you tread;
Or haunt the desert's trackless gloom,
Or hover o'er the yawning tomb;
Or climb the Andes' elifted side,
Or by the Nile's coy source abide:
Or, starting from your half-year's sleep,
From Hecla view the thawing deep:
Or, at the purple dawn of day,
Tadmor's marble wastes survey."

observing, "This, Sir, is very noble."

In the evening our gentleman-farmer, and two others, entertained themselves and the company with a great number of tunes on the fiddle. Johnson desired to have "Let Ambition fire thy Mind" played over again, and appeared to give a patient attention to it; though he owned to me that he was very insensible to the power of music. I told him that it affected me to such a degree, as often to agitate my nerves painfully, producing in my mind alternate sensations of pathetic dejection, so that I was ready to shed tears; and of daring resolution, so that I was inclined to rush into the thickest part of the battle. "Sir," said he, "I should never hear of it, if it made me such a fool."

Much of the effect of music, I am satisfied, is owing to the association of ideas. That air, which instantly and irresistibly excites in the Swiss, when in a foreign land, the *maladie du pays*¹, has, I am told, no intrinsic power of sound. And I know from my own experience, that Scotch reels, though brisk, make me melancholy, because I used to hear them in my early years, at a time when Mr. Pitt called for soldiers, "from the mountains of the north," and numbers of brave Highlanders were going abroad, never to return. Whereas the airs in "The Beggar's Opera," many of which are very soft, never fail to render me gay, because they are associated with the warm sensations and high spirits of London. This evening, while some of the tunes of ordinary composition were played with no great skill, my frame was agitated, and I was conscious of a generous attachment to Dr. Johnson, as my preceptor and friend, mixed with an affectionate regret that he was an old man, whom I should probably lose in a short time. I thought I could defend him at the point of my sword. My

reverence and affection for him were in full glow. I said to him, "My dear Sir, we must meet every year, if you don't quarrel with me." JOHNSON. "Nay, Sir, you are more likely to quarrel with me, than I with you. My regard for you is greater almost than I have words to express; but I do not choose to be always repeating it: write it down in the first leaf of your pocket-book, and never doubt of it again."

I talked to him of misery being "the doom of man" in this life, as displayed in his "Vanity of Human Wishes."

"Yet hope not life from grief or danger free,
Nor think the doom of man revers'd for thee."

Yet I observed that things were done upon the supposition of happiness; grand houses were built, fine gardens were made, splendid places of public amusement were contrived, and crowded with company. JOHNSON. "Alas, Sir, these are only struggles for happiness. When I first entered Ranelagh, it gave an expansion and gay sensation to my mind, such as I never experienced any where else. But, as Xerxes wept when he viewed his immense army, and considered that not one of that great multitude would be alive a hundred years afterwards, so it went to my heart to consider that there was not one in all that brilliant circle that was not afraid to go home and think; but that the thoughts of each individual there would be distressing when alone." This reflection was experimentally just. The feeling of languor², which succeeds the animation of gaiety, is itself a very severe pain; and when the mind is then vacant, a thousand disappointments and vexations rush in and excruciate. Will not many even of my fairest readers allow this to be true?

I suggested, that being in love, and flattered with hopes of success; or having some favourite scheme in view for the next day, might prevent that wretchedness of which we had been talking. JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, it may sometimes be so as you suppose; but my conclusion is in general but too true."

While Johnson and I stood in calm conference by ourselves in Dr. Taylor's garden, at a pretty late hour in a serene autumn night, looking up to the heavens, I directed the discourse to the subject of a future state. My friend was in a placid and most benignant frame of mind. "Sir," said he, "I do not imagine that all things will be made clear to us immediately after death, but that the ways of Providence will be explained to us very

¹ The *Ranz des Vaches*—"an air," says Rousseau, "so dear to the Swiss, that it was forbidden, under the pain of death, to play it to the troops, as it immediately drew tears from them, and made them who heard it desert, or die of what is called the *maladie du pays*, so ardent a desire did it excite to return to their country. It is in vain to seek in this air for energetic accents capable of producing such astonishing effects, for which strangers are unable to account from the music, which is in itself uncouth and wild."—WRIGHT.

² Pope mentions,

"Stretch'd on the rack of a too easy chair."

But I recollect a couplet quite apposite to my subject in "Virtue, an Ethic Epistle," a beautiful and instructive poem, by an anonymous writer, in 1759; who, treating of pleasure in excess, says,

"Till languor, suffering on the rack of bliss,
Confess that man was never made for this."

BOSWELL.

gradually." I ventured to ask him whether, although the words of some texts of Scripture seemed strong in support of the dreadful doctrine of an eternity of punishment, we might not hope that the denunciation was figurative, and would not literally be executed. JOHNSON. "Sir, you are to consider the intention of punishment in a future state. We have no reason to be sure that we shall then be no longer liable to offend against God. We do not know that even the angels are quite in a state of security; nay, we know that some of them have fallen. It may therefore, perhaps, be necessary, in order to preserve both men and angels in a state of rectitude, that they should have continually before them the punishment of those who have deviated from it; but we hope that by some other means a fall from rectitude may be prevented. Some of the texts of Scripture upon this subject are, as you observe, indeed strong; but they may admit of a mitigated interpretation." He talked to me upon this awful and delicate question in a gentle tone, and as if afraid to be decisive.

After supper I accompanied him to his apartment, and at my request he dictated to me an argument in favour of the negro who was then claiming his liberty, in an action in the court of session in Scotland. He had always been very zealous against slavery in every form, in which I with all deference thought that he discovered "a zeal without knowledge." Upon one occasion, when in company with some very grave men at Oxford, his toast was, "Here's to the next insurrection of the negroes in the West Indies." His violent prejudice against our West Indian and American settlers appeared whenever there was an opportunity. Towards the conclusion of his "Taxation no Tyranny," he says, "How is it that we hear the loudest yelps for liberty among the drivers of negroes?" and in his conversation with Mr. Wilkes he asked, "Where did Beckford and Trecothick learn English?" [*Ante*, p. 517.] That Trecothick could both speak and write good English is well known. I myself was favoured with his correspondence concerning the brave Corsicans. And that Beckford could speak it with a spirit of honest resolution even to his majesty, as his "faithful lord mayor of London," is commemorated by the noble monument erected to him in Guildhall.¹

The argument dictated by Dr. Johnson was as follows:—

"It must be agreed that in most ages many countries have had part of their inhabitants in a state of slavery; yet it may be doubted whether slavery can ever be supposed the natural condition

of man. It is impossible not to conceive that men in their original state were equal; and very difficult to imagine how one would be subjected to another but by violent compulsion. An individual may, indeed, forfeit his liberty by a crime; but he cannot by that crime forfeit the liberty of his children. What is true of a criminal seems true likewise of a captive. A man may accept life from a conquering enemy on condition of perpetual servitude; but it is very doubtful whether he can entail that servitude on his descendants; for no man can stipulate without commission for another. The condition which he himself accepts, his son or grandson would have rejected. If we should admit, what perhaps may with more reason be denied, that there are certain relations between man and man which may make slavery necessary and just, yet it can never be proved that he who is now suing for his freedom ever stood in any of those relations. He is certainly subject by no law, but that of violence, to his present master; who pretends no claim to his obedience, but that he bought him from a merchant of slaves, whose right to sell him never was examined. It is said, that according to the constitutions of Jamaica he was legally enslaved; these constitutions are merely positive; and apparently injurious to the rights of mankind, because whoever is exposed to sale is condemned to slavery without appeal, by whatever fraud or violence he might have been originally brought into the merchant's power. In our own time princes have been sold, by wretches to whose care they were intrusted, that they might have an European education; but when once they were brought to a market in the plantations, little would avail either their dignity or their wrongs. The laws of Jamaica afford a negro no redress. His colour is considered as a sufficient testimony against him. It is to be lamented that moral right should ever give way to political convenience. But if temptations of interest are sometimes too strong for human virtue, let us at least retain a virtue where there is no temptation to quit it. In the present case there is apparent right on one side, and no convenience on the other. Inhabitants of this island can neither gain riches nor power by taking away the liberty of any part of the human species. The sum of the argument is this:—No man is by nature the property of another. The defendant is, therefore, by nature free. The rights of nature must be some way forfeited before they can be justly taken away. That the defendant has, by any act, forfeited the rights of nature, we require to be proved; and if no proof of such forfeiture can be given, we doubt not but the justice of the court will declare him free."

I record Dr. Johnson's argument fairly upon this particular case; where, perhaps, he was in the right. But I beg leave to enter my most solemn protest against his general doctrine with respect to the slave trade. For I will resolutely say, that his unfavourable no-

¹ Boswell's zeal for his friend Wilkes must have been very strong and very lasting, to have induced him to speak thus of Lord Mayor Beckford's factious and insulting speech to the king on the throne in April 1770. Mr. Boswell's manuscript note on this passage says, that "the monument records, not the words of Beckford, but what was prepared for him by John Horne Tooke, as agreed on at a dinner at Mr. George Bellas's in Doctors' Commons." This, I think, is also stated in a manuscript note in the Museum copy;

but Mr. Gifford says "he never uttered one syllable of the speech."—(*Ben Jonson*, i. 481.) Perhaps he said something which was afterwards put into its present shape by Horne Tooke.

As the argument on the slavery question is of more general interest than the other law cases which I have thrown into the Appendix, and is also commented on by Boswell, I retain it in the text. — CROKER, 1847.

tion of it was owing to prejudice, and imperfect or false information. The wild and dangerous attempt which has for some time been persisted in to obtain an act of our legislature, to abolish so very important and necessary a branch of commercial interest, must have been crushed at once, had not the insignificance of the zealots who vainly took the lead in it made the vast body of planters, merchants, and others, whose immense properties are involved in that trade, reasonably enough suppose that there could be no danger. The encouragement which the attempt has received excites my wonder and indignation; and though some men of superior abilities have supported it, whether from a love of temporary popularity when prosperous, or a love of general mischief when desperate, my opinion is unshaken. To abolish a *status*, which in all ages God has sanctioned, and man has continued, would not only be robbery to an innumerable class of our fellow-subjects, but it would be extreme cruelty to the African savages, a portion of whom it saves from massacre, or intolerable bondage in their own country, and introduces into a much happier state of life; especially now when their passage to the West Indies and their treatment there is humanely regulated. To abolish that trade would be to

“—shut the gates of mercy on mankind.”

Whatever may have passed elsewhere concerning it, the House of Lords is wise and independent:

“Intaminatis fulget honoribus;
Nec sumit aut ponit seures
Arbitrio popularis aure.”¹

I have read, conversed, and thought much upon the subject, and would recommend to all who are capable of conviction, an excellent tract by my learned and ingenious friend, John Ranby, Esq., entitled “Doubts on the Abolition of the Slave Trade.” To Mr. Ranby’s “Doubts,” I will apply Lord Chancellor Hardwicke’s expression in praise of a Scotch law book, called “Dirleton’s Doubts;” “*his doubts*, said his lordship, “are better than most people’s certainties.”

When I said now to Johnson, that I was afraid I kept him too late up;—“No, Sir,” said he, “I don’t care though I sit all night with you.” This was an animated speech from a man in his sixty-ninth year.²

Had I been as attentive not to displease him

as I ought to have been, I know not but this vigil might have been fulfilled; but I unluckily entered upon the controversy concerning the right of Great Britain to tax America, and attempted to argue in favour of our fellow-subjects on the other side of the Atlantic. I insisted that America might be very well governed, and made to yield sufficient revenue by the means of *influence*, as exemplified in Ireland, while the people might be pleased with the imagination of their participating of the British constitution, by having a body of representatives, without whose consent money could not be exacted from them. Johnson could not bear my thus opposing his avowed opinion, which he had exerted himself with an extreme degree of heat to enforce; and the violent agitation into which he was thrown, while answering, or rather reprimanding me, alarmed me so, that I heartily repented of my having unthinkingly introduced the subject. I myself, however, grew warm, and the change was great, from the calm state of philosophical discussion in which we had a little before been pleasingly employed.

I talked of the corruption of the British parliament, in which I alleged that any question, however unreasonable or unjust, might be carried by a venal majority; and I spoke with high admiration of the Roman senate, as if composed of men sincerely desirous to resolve what they should think best for their country. My friend would allow no such character to the Roman senate; and he maintained that the British parliament was not corrupt, and that there was no occasion to corrupt its members; asserting, that there was hardly ever any question of great importance before parliament, any question in which a man might not very well vote either upon one side or the other. He said there had been none in his time except that respecting America.

We were fatigued by the contest, which was produced by my want of caution; and he was not then in the humour to slide into easy and cheerful talk. It therefore so happened, that we were after an hour or two very willing to separate and go to bed.

On Wednesday, September 24., I went into Dr. Johnson’s room before he got up, and finding that the storm of the preceding night was quite laid, I sat down upon his bedside, and he talked with as much readiness and good humour as ever. He recommended to me to

¹ “—with native honours shines;

Nor takes up power, nor lays it down,

As giddy rabbles smile or frown.”—

Hor. Od. iii. 2.—Elphinston.—WRIGHT.

² Dr. Johnson loved late hours extremely, or, more properly, hated early ones. Nothing was more terrifying to him than the idea of retiring to bed, which he never would call going to rest, or suffer another to call so. “I lie down,” said he, “that my acquaintance may sleep; but I lie down to endure oppressive misery, and soon rise again to pass the night in anxiety and pain.” By this pathetic manner, which no one ever possessed in so eminent a degree, he used to hock me from quitting his company, till I hurt my own

health not a little by sitting up with him when I was myself far from well: nor was it an easy matter to oblige him even by compliance, for he always maintained that no one forbore their own gratifications for the sake of pleasing another, and if one *did* sit up, it was probably to amuse one’s self. Some right, however, he certainly had to say so, as he made his company exceedingly entertaining when he had once forced one, by his vehement lamentations and piercing reproofs, not to quit the room, but to sit quietly and make tea for him, as I often did in London till four o’clock in the morning. At Streatham I managed better, having always some friend who was kind enough to engage him in talk, and favour my retreat: and he rose in the morning as unwillingly as he went to bed.—*Piozzi.—CROKER.*

plant a considerable part of a large moorish farm which I had purchased, and he made several calculations of the expense and profit; for he delighted in exercising his mind on the science of numbers. He pressed upon me the importance of planting at the first in a very sufficient manner, quoting the saying, "*In bello non licet bis errare*:" and adding, "this is equally true in planting."

I spoke with gratitude of Dr. Taylor's hospitality; and as evidence that it was not on account of his good table alone that Johnson visited him often, I mentioned a little anecdote which had escaped my friend's recollection, and at hearing which repeated, he smiled. One evening, when I was sitting with him, Frank delivered this message: "Sir, Dr. Taylor sends his compliments to you, and begs you will dine with him to-morrow. He has got a hare." My compliments," said Johnson, "and I'll dine with him — hare or rabbit."

After breakfast I departed, and pursued my journey northwards.

JOHNSON TO MRS. THRALE.

(Extracts.)

Ashbourne, Sept. 25. 1777.

"Boswell is gone, and is, I hope, pleased that he has been here; though to look on any thing with pleasure is not very common. He has been gay and good-humoured in his usual way, but we have not agreed upon any other expedition."

"September 29. He says, his wife does not love me quite well yet, though we have made a formal peace. He kept his journal very diligently; but then what was there to journalise? I should be glad to see what he says of [Taylor]."

— Letters.

I took my post-chaise from the Green Man, a very good inn at Ashbourne, the mistress of which, a mighty civil gentlewoman, courtesying very low, presented me with an engraving of the sign of her house; to which she had subjoined, in her own handwriting, an address in such singular simplicity of style, that I have preserved it pasted upon one of the boards of my original Journal at this time, and shall here insert it for the amusement of my readers:—

"M. Killingley's duty waits upon Mr. Boswell, is exceedingly obliged to him for this favour; whenever he comes this way, hopes for a continuance of the same. Would Mr. Boswell name the house to his extensive acquaintance, it would be a singular favour conferred on one who has it not in her power to make any other return but her most grateful thanks, and sincerest prayers for his happiness in time, and in a blessed eternity."

"Tuesday morning."

From this meeting at Ashbourne I derived

a considerable accession to my Johnsonian store. I communicated my original Journal to Sir William Forbes, in whom I have always placed deserved confidence; and what he wrote to me concerning it is so much to my credit as the biographer of Johnson, that my readers will, I hope, grant me their indulgence for here inserting it: "It is not once or twice going over it," says Sir William, "that will satisfy me; for I find in it a high degree of instruction as well as entertainment; and I derive more benefit from Dr. Johnson's admirable discussions than I should be able to draw from his personal conversation; for I suppose there is not a man in the world to whom he discloses his sentiments so freely as to yourself."

I cannot omit a curious circumstance which occurred at Edensor-inn, close by Chatsworth, to survey the magnificence of which I had gone a considerable way out of my road to Scotland. The inn was then kept by a very jolly landlord, whose name, I think, was Malton. He happened to mention that "the celebrated Dr. Johnson had been in his house." I inquired *who* this Dr. Johnson was, that I might hear my host's notion of him. "Sir," said he, "Johnson, the great writer; *Oddity*, as they call him. He's the greatest writer in England; he writes for the ministry; he has a correspondence abroad, and lets them know what's going on."

My friend, who had a thorough dependence upon the authenticity of my relation without any *embellishment*, as *falsehood* or *fiction* is too gently called, laughed a good deal at this representation of himself.

BOSWELL TO JOHNSON.

Edinburgh, Sept. 29. 1777.

"MY DEAR SIR, — By the first post I inform you of my safe arrival at my own house, and that I had the comfort of finding my wife and children all in good health.

"When I look back upon our late interview, it appears to me to have answered expectation better than almost any scheme of happiness that I ever put in execution. My Journal is stored with wisdom and wit; and my memory is filled with the recollection of lively and affectionate feeling, which now, I think, yield me more satisfaction than at the time when they were first excited. I have experienced this upon other occasions. I shall be obliged to you if you will explain it to me: for it seems wonderful that pleasure should be more vivid at a distance than when near. I wish you may find yourself in a humour to do me this favour; but I flatter myself with no strong hope of it; for I have observed, that, unless upon very serious occasions, your letters to me are not *answers* to those which I write."

(I then expressed much uneasiness that had mentioned to him the name of the gentleman² who had told me the story so much

¹ We smile in these luxurious days at a Prebendary's considering a hare as such a tempting delicacy. — CROKER, 1847.

² Mr. Beauclerk. See *ante*, p. 560. — CROKER.

his disadvantage, the truth of which he had completely refuted; for that my having done so might be interpreted as a breach of confidence, and offend one whose society I valued; therefore earnestly requesting that no notice might be taken of it to any body, till I should be in London, and have an opportunity to talk it over with the gentleman.)

[JOHNSON TO MRS. THRALE.¹

(Extracts.)

"Lichfield, Oct. 22.

"I am come, at last, to Lichfield, and am really glad that I have got away from a place where there was indeed no evil, but very little good. My visit to Stow-hill has been paid. I have seen there a collection of misery. Mrs. Aston paralytic, Mrs. Walmsley lame, Mrs. Hervey blind, and I think another lady deaf. Even such is life. I hope dear Mrs. Aston is a little better; it is, however, very little. She was, I believe, glad to see me; and to have any body glad to see me is a great pleasure."

—*Letters.*

JOHNSON TO MRS. ASTON.

"London, Nov. 20. 1777.

"DEAR MADAM,—Through Birmingham and Oxford I got without any difficulty or disaster to London, though not in so short a time as I expected, for I did not reach Oxford before the second day. I came home very much incommode by obstructed respiration; but by vigorous methods am something better. I have since been at Brighthelmstone, and am now designing to settle.

"Different things, Madam, are fit for different people. It is fit for me to settle, and for you to move. I wish I could hear of you at Bath; but I am afraid that is hardly to be expected from your resolute inactivity. My next hope is that you will endeavour to grow well where you are. I cannot help thinking that I saw a visible amendment between the time when I left you to go to Ashbourne, and the time when I came back. I hope you will go on mending and mending, to which exercise and cheerfulness will very much contribute. Take care, therefore, dearest Madam, to be busy and cheerful.

"I have great confidence in the care and conversation of dear Mrs. Gastrell. It is very much the interest of all that know her that she should continue well, for she is one of few people that has the proper regard for those that are sick. She was so kind to me that I hope I never shall forget it; and if it be troublesome to you to write, I shall hope that she will do me another act of kindness by answering this letter, for I beg that I may hear from you by some hand or another. I am, Madam, your, &c.,

SAM. JOHNSON."

—*Pemb. MS.*

JOHNSON TO MRS. PORTER.

"London, Nov. 20. 1777.

"DEAR LOVE,—You ordered me to write you word when I came home. I have been for some days at Brighthelmstone, and came back on Tuesday night.

"You know that when I left you I was not well; I have taken physic very diligently, and am perceptibly better; so much better that I hope by care and perseverance to recover, and see you again from time to time.

"Mr. Nollekens, the statuary, has had my direction to send you a cast of my head. I will pay the carriage when we meet. Let me know how you like it; and what the ladies of your rout say to it. I have heard different opinions. I cannot think where you can put it.

"I found every body here well. Miss [Thrale] has a mind to be womanly, and her womanhood does not sit well upon her. Please to make my compliments to all the ladies and all the gentlemen to whom I owe them, that is, to a great part of the town. I am, dear Madam, your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON."

—*Pearson MS.*

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"London, Nov. 29. 1777.

"DEAR SIR,—You will wonder, or you have wondered, why no letter has come from me. What you wrote at your return had in it such a strain of cowardly caution as gave me no pleasure. I could not well do what you wished; I had no need to vex you with a refusal. I have seen [Mr. Beauclerk], and as to him have set all right, without any inconvenience, so far as I know, to you. Mrs. Thrale had forgot the story. You may now be at ease.

"And at ease I certainly wish you, for the kindness that you showed in coming so long a journey to see me. It was pity to keep you so long in pain, but, upon reviewing the matter, I do not see what I could have done better than I did. I hope you found at your return my dear enemy and all her little people quite well, and had no reason to repent of your journey, I think on it with great gratitude.

"I was not well when you left me at the doctor's, and I grew worse; yet I staid on, and at Lichfield was very ill. Travelling, however, did not make me worse; and when I came to London, I complied with a summons to go to Brighthelmstone, where I saw Beauclerk, and staid three days.

"Our club has recommenced last Friday, but I was not there. Langton has another wench.² Mrs. Thrale is in hopes of a young brewer. They got by their trade last year a very large sum, and their expenses are proportionate. Mrs. Williams's health is very bad. And I have had for some time

¹ Johnson, we see, returned by Lichfield, where he found his female friends in the melancholy condition described in his letter, and took leave of them in the following note:—"Mr. Johnson sends his compliments to the ladies at Stow-hill, of whom he would have taken a more formal leave, but that he was willing to spare a ceremony which he hopes would have been no pleasure to them, and would have been painful to himself."—CROKER.

² A daughter born to him.—BOSWELL. My amiable friend Miss Jane Langton, to whom Johnson was godfather, and who still survives, in the enjoyment of good health, good spirits, good looks, and a perfect memory of her illustrious friend.—CROKER, 1847. She died in 1854.

a very difficult and laborious respiration; but I am better by purges, abstinence, and other methods. I am yet, however, much behind-hand in my health and rest.

"Dr. Blair's sermons are now universally commended; but let him think that I had the honour of first finding and first praising his excellencies. I did not stay to add my voice to that of the public.

"My dear friend, let me thank you once more for your visit; you did me great honour, and I hope met with nothing that displeased you. I staid long at Ashbourne, not much pleased, yet awkward at departing. I then went to Lichfield, where I found my friend at Stowhill [Mrs. Aston] very dangerously diseased. Such is life. Let us try to pass it well, whatever it be, for there is surely something beyond it.

"Well, now, I hope all is well; write as soon as you can to, dear Sir, &c.,
SAM. JOHNSON."

BOSWELL TO JOHNSON.

"Edinburgh, Nov. 29. 1777.

"MY DEAR SIR, — This day's post has at length relieved me from much uneasiness, by bringing me a letter from you. I was, indeed, doubly uneasy; on my own account and yours. I was very anxious to be secured against any bad consequences from my imprudence in mentioning the gentleman's name who had told me a story to your disadvantage; and as I could hardly suppose it possible that you would delay so long to make me easy, unless you were ill, I was not a little apprehensive about you. You must not be offended when I venture to tell you that you appear to me to have been too rigid upon this occasion. The '*cowardly caution which gave you no pleasure*,' was suggested to me by a friend here, to whom I mentioned the strange story, and the detection of its falsity, as an instance how one may be deceived by what is apparently very good authority. But as I am still persuaded that as I might have obtained the truth without mentioning the gentleman's name, it was wrong in me to do it, I cannot see that you are just in blaming my caution. But if you were ever so just in your disapprobation, might you not have dealt more tenderly with me?

"I went to Auchinleck about the middle of October, and passed some time with my father very comfortably.

"I am engaged in a criminal prosecution against a country schoolmaster, for indecent behaviour to his female scholars. There is no statute against such abominable conduct; but it is punishable at common law. I shall be obliged to you for your assistance in this extraordinary trial. I ever am, &c.,
JAMES BOSWELL."

About this time I wrote to Johnson, giving him an account of the decision of the Negro cause, by

the court of session, which by those who hold eve the mildest and best regulated slavery in abo mination (of which number I do not hesitate to declare that I am none) should be remembered with high respect, and to the credit of Scotland; for it went upon a much broader ground than the case of *Somerset*, which was decided in England¹; being truly the general question, whether a perpetual obligation of service to one master in any mode should be sanctified by the law of a free country. A negro, then called *Joseph Knight*, a native of Africa, having been brought to Jamaica in the usual course of the slave trade, and purchased by a Scotch gentleman in that island, had attended his master to Scotland, where it was officiously suggested to him that he would be found entitled to his liberty without any limitation. He accordingly brought his action, in the course of which the advocates on both sides did themselves great honour. Mr. MacLaurin has had the praise of Johnson, for his argument² in favour of the negro, and Mr. Macconochie³ distinguished himself on the same side, by his ingenuity and extraordinary research. Mr. Cullen, on the part of the master, discovered good information and sound reasoning; in which he was well supported by Mr. James Ferguson, remarkable for a manly understanding, and a knowledge both of books and of the world. But I cannot too highly praise the speech which Mr. Henry Dundas [*ant* p. 233.] generously contributed to the cause of the sooty stranger. Mr. Dundas's Scottish accent, which has been so often in vain obtruded as an objection to his powerful abilities in parliament, was no disadvantage to him in his own country. And I do declare, that upon the memorable question he impressed me, and believe all his audience, with such feelings as were produced by some of the most eminent orations of antiquity. This testimony I liberally give to the excellence of an old friend, with whom it has been my lot to differ very widely upon many political topics: yet I persuade myself without malice. A great majority of the lords of session decided for the negro. But four of their number, the Lord President [Dundas], Lord Ellick [Veitch], Lord Monboddo [Burnett], and Lord Covington [Lockhart], resolutely maintained the lawfulness of a *status*, which has been acknowledged in all ages and countries, and that when freedom flourished, as in old Greece and Rome.

[JOHNSON TO MRS. GASTRELL.

"Bolt Court, Dec. 23. 1777

"DEAR MADAM. — Your long silence portends no good; yet I hope the danger is not so near

¹ See State Trials, vol. xi. p. 339., and Mr. Hargrave's argument. — BOSWELL.

² The motto to it was happily chosen: —

"Quamvis ille niger, quamvis tu candidus esses."

I cannot avoid mentioning a circumstance no less strange than true, that a brother advocate in considerable practice

[Mr. Wright], but of whom it certainly cannot be said, *Ipse minus didicit fideliter artes*, asked Mr. MacLaurin, with a look of suppliant assurance, "Are these words your own?" — BOSWELL.

³ Afterwards a lord of session, by the title of Lord McDowbank, and father of another lord of session, of the same title. — CROKER.

our anxiety sometimes makes us fear. Winter is indeed to all those that any distemper has enfeebled a very troublesome time; but care and caution may pass safely through it, and from spring and summer some relief is always to be hoped. When I came hither I fell to taking care of myself, and by physic and opium had the constriction that obstructed my breath very suddenly removed. My nights still continue very laborious and tedious, but they do not grow worse.

"I do not ask you, dear Madam, to take care of Mrs. Aston; I know how little you want any such exhortations; but I earnestly entreat her to take care of herself. Many lives are prolonged by a diligent attention to little things, and I am far from thinking it unlikely that she may grow better by degrees. However, it is her duty to try, and when we do our duty we have reason to hope. I am, dear Madam, &c., SAM. JOHNSON." — *Pemb. MS.*

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"Dec. 27. 1777.

"DEAR SIR, — This is the time of the year in which all express their good wishes to their friends, and I send mine to you and your family. May your lives be long, happy, and good. I have been much out of order, but, I hope, do not grow worse.

"The crime of the schoolmaster whom you are engaged to prosecute is very great, and may be suspected to be too common. In our law it would be a breach of the peace and a misdemeanour; that is, a kind of indefinite crime, not capital, but punishable at the discretion of the court. You cannot want matter: all that needs to be said will easily occur.

"Mr. Shaw, the author of the Gaelic Grammar, desires me to make a request for him to Lord Eglintoun, that he may be appointed chaplain to one of the new-raised regiments.

"All our friends are as they were; little has happened to them of either good or bad. Mrs. Thrale ran a great black hair-dressing pin into her eye; but by great evacuation she kept it from inflaming, and it is almost well. Miss Reynolds has been out of order, but is better. Mrs. Williams is in a very poor state of health.

"If I should write on, I should, perhaps, write only complaints, and therefore I will content myself with telling you, that I love to think on you, and to hear from you; and that I am, dear Sir, yours faithfully, SAM. JOHNSON."

BOSWELL TO JOHNSON.

"Edinburgh, Jan. 8. 1778.

"DEAR SIR, — Your congratulations upon a new year are mixed with complaint; mine must be so too. My wife has for some time been ill, having been confined to the house these three months by a severe cold, attended with alarming symptoms."

(Here I gave a particular account of the distress which the person, upon every account most dear to me, suffered; and of the dismal state of apprehension in which I now was: adding, that I never stood more in need of his consoling philosophy.)

"Did you ever look at a book written by Wilson,

a Scotchman, under the Latin name of *Volusenus*, according to the custom of literary men at a certain period? It is entitled "*De Animi Tranquillitate*." I earnestly desire tranquillity. *Bona res quies*; but I fear I shall never attain it; for, when uncoccupied, I grow gloomy, and occupation agitates me to feverishness. I am, dear Sir, &c.,

"JAMES BOSWELL."

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"Jan. 24. 1778.

"DEAR SIR, — To a letter so interesting as your last, it is proper to return some answer, however little I may be disposed to write. Your alarm at your lady's illness was reasonable, and not disproportionate to the appearance of the disorder. I hope your physical friend's conjecture is now verified, and all fear of a consumption at an end: a little care and exercise will then restore her. London is a good air for ladies; and if you bring her hither, I will do for her what she did for me — I will retire from my apartments for her accommodation. Behave kindly to her, and keep her cheerful.

"You always seem to call for tenderness. Know, then, that in the first month of the present year I very highly esteem and very cordially love you. I hope to tell you this at the beginning of every year as long as we live; and why should we trouble ourselves to tell or hear it oftener? Tell Veronica, Euphemia, and Alexander, that I wish them, as well as their parents, many happy years.

"You have ended the negro's cause much to my mind. Lord Auchinleck and dear Lord Hailes were on the side of liberty. Lord Hailes's name reproaches me; but if he saw my languid neglect of my own affairs, he would rather pity than resent my neglect of his. I hope to mend, *ut et mihi vivam et amicis*. I am, dear Sir, yours affectionately, SAM. JOHNSON."

"My service to my fellow-traveller, Joseph."

Johnson maintained a long and intimate friendship with Mr. Welch, who succeeded the celebrated Henry Fielding as one of his majesty's justices of the peace for Westminster; kept a regular office for the police of that great district; and discharged his important trust, for many years, faithfully and ably. Johnson, who had an eager and unceasing curiosity to know human life in all its variety, told me, that he attended Mr. Welch in his office for a whole winter, to hear the examinations of the culprits; but that he found an almost uniform tenor of misfortune, wretchedness, and profligacy. Mr. Welch's health being impaired, he was advised to try the effect of a warm climate; and Johnson, by his interest with Mr. Chamier, procured him leave of absence to go to Italy, and a promise that the pension or salary of two hundred pounds a year, which government allowed him, should not be discontinued. Mr. Welch accordingly went abroad, accompanied by his

¹ Florence Wilson, born at Elgin, died near Lyons, in 1547. Besides the dialogue "*De Animi Tranquillitate*," he wrote one or two other works of no note — CROKER, 1835.

daughter Anne, a young lady of uncommon talents and literature.¹

JOHNSON TO SAUNDERS WELCH,

At the English Coffee-House, Rome.

"Feb. 3. 1778.

"DEAR SIR,—To have suffered one of my best and dearest friends to pass almost two years in foreign countries without a letter, has a very shameful appearance of inattention. But the truth is, that there was no particular time, in which I had anything particular to say; and general expressions of good will, I hope, our long friendship is grown too solid to want.

"Of public affairs you have information from the newspapers wherever you go, for the English keep no secret; and of other things Mrs. Nollekens informs you. My intelligence could, therefore, be of no use; and Miss Nancy's letters made it unnecessary to write to you for information; I was likewise for some time out of humour, to find that motion and nearer approaches to the sun did not restore your health so fast as I expected. Of your health the accounts have lately been more pleasing; and I have the gratification of imagining to myself a length of years which I hope you have gained, and of which the enjoyment will be improved by a vast accession of images and observations which your journeys and various residence have enabled you to make and accumulate. You have travelled with this felicity, almost peculiar to yourself, that your companion is not to part from you at your journey's end; but you are to live on together, to help each other's recollections, and to supply each other's omissions. The world has few greater pleasures than that which two friends enjoy, in tracing back, at some distant time, those transactions and events through which they have passed together. One of the old man's miseries is, that he cannot easily find a companion able to partake with him of the past. You and your fellow traveller have this comfort in store, that your conversation will be not easily exhausted; one will always be glad to say what the other will always be willing to hear.

"That you may enjoy this pleasure long, your health must have your constant attention. I suppose you propose to return this year. There is no need of haste: do not come hither before the height of summer, that you may fall gradually into the inconveniences of your native clime. July seems to be the proper month. August and September will prepare you for the winter. After having travelled so far to find health, you must take care not to lose it at home; and I hope a little care will effectually preserve it.

"Miss Nancy has doubtless kept a constant and copious journal. She must not expect to be

welcome when she returns without a great mass of information. Let her review her journal often, and set down what she finds herself to have omitted, that she may trust to memory as little as possible, for memory is soon confused by a quick succession of things; and she will grow every day less confident of the truth of her own narratives, unless she can recur to some written memorials. If she has satisfied herself with hints, instead of full representations, let her supply the deficiencies now, while her memory is yet fresh, and while her father's memory may help her. If she observes this direction, she will not have travelled in vain; for she will bring home a book with which she may entertain herself to the end of life. If it were not now too late, I would advise her to note the impression which the first sight of any thing new and wonderful made upon her mind. Let her now set her thoughts down as she can recollect them; for, faint as they may already be, they will grow every day fainter.

"Perhaps I do not flatter myself unreasonably, when I imagine that you may wish to know some thing of me. I can gratify your benevolence with no account of health. The hand of time, or of disease, is very heavy upon me. I pass restless and uneasy nights, harassed with convulsions of my breast, and flatulencies at my stomach; and restless nights make heavy days. But nothing will be mended by complaints, and therefore I will make an end. When we meet, we will try to forget our cares and our maladies, and contribute, as we can, to the cheerfulness of each other. If I had gone with you, I believe I should have been better, but I do not know that it was in my power. I am, dear Sir, your most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

This letter, while it gives admirable advice how to travel to the best advantage, and which therefore be of very general use, is another eminent proof of Johnson's warm and affectionate heart.

JOHNSON TO MRS. LUCY PORTER.

"Feb. 19. 1778.

"DEAR MADAM,—I have several little things to mention which I have hitherto neglected. You judged rightly in thinking that the bust² would not please. It is condemned by Mrs. Thrale, Mr. Reynolds, and Mrs. Garrick; so that your disapprobation is not singular.

"These things have never cost me any thing, so that I do not much know the price. My bust was made for the Exhibition, and shown for honour to the artist, who is a man of reputation above any the other sculptors. To be modelled in clay cost me, I believe, twenty guineas; but the casts, when the

¹ The friendship between Mr. Welch and him was broken. Mr. Welch died not many months before him, and bequeathed him five guineas for a ring, which Johnson received with tenderness, as a kind memorial. His regard was constant for his friend Mr. Welch's daughters; of whom Mary is married to Mr. Nollekens, the statuary, whose merit is too well known to require any praise from me. — BOSWELL. Mr. and Miss Welch were probably the "folk" who were anxious, as Johnson states, *ante*, p. 458., that he should visit Italy. There is a great deal about both the sisters in Smith's *Life of Nollekens*, and Miss Hawkins's *Memoirs*. — CROKER.

² This bust is now in the possession of Mrs. Pearson, of H. Ridware, near Lichfield. — *Harwood*. Mr. Smith tells that Johnson was displeased with the disproportion of the bust, copied, says Smith, from an Irish porter. I see no disproportion, and the bust is assuredly a very fine one: the absence of the wig no doubt took off from the every day resemblance, and might, therefore, disappoint his female friends. Nollekens himself thought it one of his best works, and presented an early cast to the second Earl of Liverpool, who gave it me. — CROKER, 1847. Chantrey also thought it Nollekens's finest work. — P. CUNNINGHAM.

model is made, are of no great price; whether a guinea, or two guineas, I cannot tell.

"When you complained for want of oysters, I ordered you a barrel weekly for a month; you sent me word sooner that you had enough, but I did not countermand the rest. If you could not eat them, could you not give them away? When you want any thing, send me word. I am very poorly, and have very restless and oppressive nights, but always hope for better. Pray for me. I am, &c.,
SAM. JOHNSON."

—Pearson MSS.

BOSWELL TO JOHNSON.

"Edinburgh, Feb. 26. 1778.

"MY DEAR SIR,—Why I have delayed, for near a month, to thank you for your last affectionate letter, I cannot say; for my mind has been in better health these three weeks than for some years past. I believe I have evaded till I could send you a copy of Lord Hailes's opinion on the negro's cause, which he wishes you to read, and correct any errors that there may be in the language; for, says he, 'we live in a critical, though not a learned age; and I seek to screen myself under the shield of Ajax.' I communicated to him your apology for keeping the sheets of his 'Annals' so long. He says, 'I am sorry to see that Dr. Johnson is in a state of languor. Why should a sober Christian, neither an enthusiast nor a fanatic, be very merry or very sad?' I envy his lordship's comfortable constitution; but well do I know that languor and dejection will afflict the best, however excellent their principles. I am in possession of Lord Hailes's opinion in his own handwriting, and have had it for some time. My excuse then for procrastination must be, that I wanted to have it copied; and I have now put that off so long, that it will be better to bring it with me than send it, as I shall probably get you to look at it sooner when I solicit you in person.

"My wife, who is, I thank God, a good deal better, is much obliged to you for your very polite and courteous offer of your apartment: but if she goes to London, it will be best for her to have lodgings in the more airy vicinity of Hyde-park. I, however, doubt much if I shall be able to prevail with her to accompany me to the metropolis; for she is so different from you and me, that she dislikes travelling; and she is so anxious about her children, that she thinks she should be unhappy if at a distance from them. She therefore wishes rather to go to some country place in Scotland, where she can have them with her.

"I purpose being in London about the 20th of next month, as I think it creditable to appear in the house of lords as one of Douglas's counsel, in the great and last competition between Duke Hamilton and him.

¹ Dr. Percy, the Bishop of Dromore, humorously observed, that Levett used to breakfast on the crust of a roll, which Johnson, after tearing out the crum for himself, *threw* to his humble friend. — BOSWELL. Perhaps the word *threw* is here too strong. Dr. Johnson never treated Levett with contempt; it is clear, indeed, from various circumstances, that he had great kindness for him. I have often seen Johnson at breakfast, accompanied, or rather attended, by Levett, who had always the management of the tea-kettle. — MALONE. Sir J. Hawkins states, that "Dr. Johnson frequently observed that Levett was indebted to him for nothing more

"I am sorry poor Mrs. Williams is so ill: though her temper is unpleasant, she has always been polite and obliging to me. I wish many happy years to good Mr. Levett, who, I suppose, holds his usual place at your breakfast-table.¹ I ever am, dear Sir, your affectionate servant,

"JAMES BOSWELL"

BOSWELL TO JOHNSON.

"Edinburgh, Feb. 28. 1778.

"MY DEAR SIR,—You are at present busy amongst the English poets, preparing, for the public instruction and entertainment, prefaces biographical and critical. It will not, therefore, be out of season to appeal to you for the decision of a controversy which has arisen between a lady and me concerning a passage in Parnell. That poet tells us that his hermit quitted his cell

'——— to know the world by sight,
To find if *books* or *swains* report it right;
(For yet by *swains* alone the world he knew,
Whose feet came wand'ring o'er the nightly dew.)'

I maintain, that there is an inconsistency here; for as the hermit's notions of the world were formed from the reports both of *books* and *swains*, he could not justly be said to know by *swains* alone. Be pleased to judge between us, and let us have your reasons.²

"What do you say to 'Taxation no Tyranny,' now, after Lord North's declaration, or confession, or whatever else his conciliatory speech should be called? I never differed from you in politics but upon two points — the Middlesex election, and the taxation of the Americans by the British houses of representatives. There is a *charm* in the word *parliament*, so I avoid it. As I am a steady and a warm tory, I regret that the king does not see it to be better for him to receive constitutional supplies from his American subjects by the voice of their own assemblies, where his royal person is represented, than through the medium of his British subjects. I am persuaded that the power of the crown, which I wish to increase, would be greater when in contact with all its dominions, than if 'the rays of legal bounty'³ were 'to shine' upon America through that dense and troubled body, a modern British parliament. But enough of this subject; for your angry voice at Ashbourne upon it still sounds awful 'in my mind's ears.' — I ever am, &c.,
JAMES BOSWELL."

[JOHNSON TO MRS. MONTAGU.

"March 5. 1778.

"MADAM,—And so you are alarmed, naughty lady? You might know that I was ill enough when Mr. Thrale brought you my excuse. Could you think that I missed the honour of being at (your) table for any slight reason? But you (have)

than house-room, his share in a penny loaf at breakfast, and now and then a dinner on a Sunday. Johnson always treated him with marked courtesy. — CROKER.

² See this subject discussed in a subsequent page, under May 3. 1779. — MALONE.

³ Alluding to a line in his "Vanity of Human Wishes," describing Cardinal Wolsey in a state of elevation: —

"Through him the rays of regal bounty shine."

too many to miss any one of us, and I am (proud) to be remembered at last. I am much better. A little cough (still) remains, which will not confine me. To houses (like yours) of great delicacy I am not willing to bring it.

"Now, dear Madam, we must talk of business. Poor Davies, the bankrupt bookseller, is soliciting his friends to collect a small sum for the repurchase of part of his household stuff. Several of them gave him five guineas. It would be an honour to him to owe part of his relief to Mrs. Montagu.

"Let me thank you, Madam, once more, for your inquiry; you have, perhaps, among your numerous train not one that values a kind word or a kind look more than, Madam, yours, &c.,

—Montagu MS.

"SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO MRS. MONTAGU.

"March 6. 1778.

"MADAM,—I hope Davies, who does not want wit, does not want gratitude, and then he will be almost as thankful for the bill as I am for the letter that enclosed it.

"If I do not lose, what I hope always to keep, my reverence for transcendent merit, I shall continue to be with unalterable fidelity, Madam, your &c.,

SAM. JOHNSON."]

—Montagu MS.

BOSWELL TO JOHNSON.

"Edinburgh, March 12. 1778.

"MY DEAR SIR,—The alarm of your late illness distressed me but a few hours, for on the evening of the day that it reached me, I found it contradicted in 'The London Chronicle,' which I could depend upon as authentic concerning you, Mr. Strahan being the printer of it. I did not see the paper in which 'the approaching extinction of a bright luminary' was announced. Sir William Forbes told me of it; and he says he saw me so uneasy, that he did not give me the report in such strong terms as he read it. He afterwards sent me a letter from Mr. Langton to him, which relieved me much. I am, however, not quite easy, as I have not heard from you; and now I shall not have that comfort before I see you, for I set out for London to-morrow before the post comes in. I hope to be with you on Wednesday morning; and I ever am, with the highest veneration, my dear Sir, your most obliged, faithful, and affectionate humble servant,

JAMES BOSWELL."

CHAPTER LXII.

1778.

Inmates of Bolt Court. — Tom Davies. — Counsel at the Bar of the House of Commons. — Thomas à Kempis. — Uses of a Diary. — Strict Adherence to Truth. — Ghosts. — John Wesley. — Alcibiades' Dog. — Emigration. — Parliamentary Eloquence. — Place Hunters. — Irish Language. — Thicknesse's "Travels." — Honesty. — Temptation. — Dr. Kennedy's Tragedy. — Shooting a Highwayman. — Mr. Dunning. — Contentment. — Laziness of Narration. — Mrs. Montagu. — Harris of Salisbury. — Definition. — Wine-drinking. — Pleasure. — Goldsmith. — Charles the Fifth. — Best English Sermons. — "Seeing Scotland." — Absenteeism. — Delany's "Observations on Swift."

On Wednesday, March 18., I arrived in London, and was informed by good Mr. Francis that his master was better, and was gone to Mr. Thrale's at Streatham, to which place I wrote to him, begging to know when he would be in town. He was not expected for some time; but next day, having called on Dr. Taylor, in Dean's-yard, Westminster, I found him there, and was told he had come to town for a few hours. He met me with his usual kindness, but instantly returned to the writing of something on which he was employed when I came in, and on which he seemed much intent. Finding him thus engaged, I made my visit very short, and had no more of his conversation, except his expressing a serious regret that a friend of ours [Mr. Langton] was living at too much expense, considering how poor an appearance he made: "If," said he, "a man has splendour from his expense, if he spends his money in pride or in pleasure, he has no value; but if he lets others spend it for him, which is most commonly the case, he has no advantage from it."

On Friday, March 20., I found him at his own house, sitting with Mrs. Williams, and was informed that the room formerly allotted to him was now appropriated to a charitable purpose. Mrs. Desmoulins¹, and, I think, her daughter and a Miss Carmichael, being also lodged in it. Such was his humanity, and such his generosity, that Mrs. Desmoulins herself told me he allowed her half a guinea a week. Let it be remembered, that this was above a twelfth part of his pension.²

¹ Daughter of Dr. Swinfen, Johnson's godfather (and early benefactor, see *anté*, p. 4. n. 1.), and widow of Mr. Desmoulins, a writing-master. — BOSWELL.

² See *post* (sub. 2d Nov. 1778), an account of the trials his patience had to suffer from the discussions of the various inmates of his house. "The dissensions," says Mrs. Piozzi, "of the many odd inhabitants of his house, distressed and mortified him exceedingly. He really was sometimes afraid of going home, because he was so sure to be met at the door

with numberless complaints; and he used to lament that they made his life miserable from the impossibility he found of making them happy, when every favour he bestowed on them was wormwood to the rest. If, however, I ventured to blame their ingratitude, and condemn their conduct, would instantly set about softening the one and justifying the other; and finished commonly by telling me, that I knew not how to make allowances for situations I never experienced." — *Anecdotes*. — CROKER.

His liberality, indeed, was at all periods of his life very remarkable. Mr. Howard, of Lichfield, at whose father's house Johnson had in his early years been kindly received, told me, that when he was a boy at the Charterhouse, his father wrote to him to go and pay a visit to Mr. Samuel Johnson, which he accordingly did, and found him in an upper room, of poor appearance. Johnson received him with much courtesousness, and talked a great deal to him, as to a schoolboy, of the course of his education, and other particulars. When he afterwards came to know and understand the high character of this great man, he recollected his condescension with wonder. He added, that when he was going away, Mr. Johnson presented him with half a guinea; and this, said Mr. Howard, was at a time when he probably had not another.

We retired from Mrs. Williams to another room. Tom Davies soon after joined us. He had now unfortunately failed in his circumstances, and was much indebted to Dr. Johnson's kindness for obtaining for him many alleviations of his distress. After he went away, Johnson blamed his folly in quitting the stage, by which he and his wife got five hundred pounds a year. I said, I believed it was owing to Churchill's attack upon him, "He mouths a sentence as curs mouth a bone." JOHNSON. "I believe so too, Sir. But what a man is he who is to be driven from the stage by a line? Another line would have driven him from his shop!"

I told him that I was engaged as counsel at the bar of the House of Commons to oppose a road-bill in the county of Stirling, and asked him what mode he would advise me to follow in addressing such an audience. JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, you must provide yourself with a good deal of extraneous matter, which you are to produce occasionally, so as to fill up the time; for you must consider, that they do not listen much. If you begin with the strength of your cause, it may be lost before they begin to listen. When you catch a moment of attention, press the merits of the question upon them." He said, as to one point of the merits, that he thought "it would be a wrong thing to deprive the small landholders of the privilege of assessing themselves for making and repairing the high roads: *it was destroying a certain portion of liberty without a good reason, which was always a bad thing.*" When I mentioned this observation next day to Mr. Wilkes, he pleasantly said, "What! does he talk of liberty? *Liberty is as ridiculous in his mouth as religion in mine.*" Mr. Wilkes's advice as to the best mode of speaking at the bar of the

House of Commons was not more respectful towards the senate than that of Dr. Johnson. "Be as impudent as you can, as merry as you can, and say whatever comes uppermost. Jack Lee¹ is the best heard there of any counsel; and he is the most impudent dog, and always abusing us."

In my interview with Dr. Johnson this evening, I was quite easy, quite as his companion; upon which I find in my journal the following reflection: "So ready is my mind to suggest matter for dissatisfaction, that I felt a sort of regret that I was so easy. I missed that awful reverence with which I used to contemplate Mr. SAMUEL JOHNSON, in the complex magnitude of his literary, moral, and religious character. I have a wonderful superstitious love of *mystery*; when, perhaps, the truth is, that it is owing to the cloudy darkness of my own mind. I should be glad that I am more advanced in my progress of being, so that I can view Dr. Johnson with a steadier and clearer eye. My dissatisfaction to-night was foolish. Would it not be foolish to regret that we shall have less mystery in a future state? That 'we now see in a glass darkly,' but shall 'then see face to face?'" This reflection, which I thus freely communicate, will be valued by the thinking part of my readers, who may have themselves experienced a similar state of mind.

He returned next day to Streatham, to Mr. Thrale's; where, as Mr. Strahan once complained to me, "he was in a great measure absorbed from the society of his old friends."² I was kept in London by business, and wrote to him on the 27th, that "a separation from him for a week, when we were so near, was equal to a separation for a year, when we were at four hundred miles distance." I went to Streatham on Monday, March 30. Before he appeared, Mrs. Thrale made a very characteristic remark: "I do not know for certain what will please Dr. Johnson: but I know for certain that it will displease him to praise any thing, even what he likes, extravagantly."

At dinner he laughed at querulous declamations against the age, on account of luxury, — increase of London, — scarcity of provisions, — and other such topics. "Houses," said he, "will be built till rents fall; and corn is more plentiful now than ever it was."

I had before dinner repeated a ridiculous story told me by an old man, who had been a passenger with me in the stage-coach to-day. Mrs. Thrale, having taken occasion to allude to it in talking to me, called it, "The story told you by the old woman." "Now, Madam," said I, "give me leave to catch you in the

¹ Mr. Lee, afterwards Solicitor-General in the Rockingham administration. "He was a man of strong parts, though of coarse manners, and who never hesitated to express in the coarsest language whatever he thought." — *Wrazall's Mem.* vol. II. p. 237. — CROKER.

² Goldsmith notices this in the *Haunch of Venison*.

"My friend bade me welcome, but struck me quite dumb With tidings that Johnson and Burke would not come: For I knew it (quoth he), both eternally fall, The one with his speeches, and the other with Thrale." CROKER, 1847.

fact: it was not an old woman, but an old man, whom I mentioned as having told me this." I presumed to take an opportunity, in the presence of Johnson, of showing this lively lady how ready she was, unintentionally, to deviate from exact authenticity of narration.

Thomas à Kempis (he observed) must be a good book, as the world has opened its arms to receive it. It is said to have been printed, in one language or other, as many times as there have been months since it first came out.¹ I always was struck with this sentence in it: "Be not angry that you cannot make others as you wish them to be, since you cannot make yourself as you wish to be."²

He said, "I was angry with Hurd about Cowley, for having published a selection of his works: but, upon better consideration, I think there is no impropriety in a man's publishing as much as he chooses of any author, if he does not put the rest out of the way. A man, for instance, may print the Odes of Horace alone." He seemed to be in a more indulgent humour than when this subject was discussed between him and Mr. Murphy.

When we were at tea and coffee, there came in Lord Trimlestown, in whose family was an ancient Irish peerage, but it suffered by taking the generous side in the troubles of the last century.³ He was a man of pleasing conversation, and was accompanied by a young gentleman, his son.

I mentioned that I had in my possession the Life of Sir Robert Sibbald, the celebrated Scottish antiquary, and founder of the royal college of physicians at Edinburgh, in the original manuscript in his own handwriting; and that it was, I believed, the most natural and candid account of himself that ever was given by any man. As an instance, he tells that the Duke of Perth, then chancellor of Scotland, pressed him very much to come over to the Roman Catholic faith; that he resisted all his grace's arguments for a considerable time, till one day he felt himself, as it were, instantaneously convinced, and with tears in his eyes ran into the duke's arms, and embraced the ancient religion; that he continued very steady in it for some time, and accompanied his grace to London one winter, and lived in his household; that there he found the rigid fasting prescribed by the church very severe upon him; that this disposed him to reconsider the controversy; and having then seen that he was in the wrong, he returned to Protestantism. I talked of some time or other publishing this curious life. MRS. THRALE. "I

think you had as well let alone that publication. To discover such weakness exposes a man when he is gone." JOHNSON. "Nay, it is an honest picture of human nature. How often are the primary motives of our greatest actions as small as Sibbald's for his re-conversion!" MRS. THRALE. "But may they not as well be forgotten?" JOHNSON. "No, Madam; a man loves to review his own mind. That is the use of a diary or journal." LORD TRIMLESTOWN. "True, Sir. As the ladies love to see themselves in a glass, so a man likes to see himself in his journal." BOSWELL. "A very pretty allusion." JOHNSON. "Yes, indeed." BOSWELL. "And as a lady adjusts her dress before a mirror, a man adjusts his character by looking at his journal." I next year found the very same thought in Atterbury's "Funeral Sermon on Lady Cutts;" where, having mentioned her Diary, he says, "In this glass she every day dressed her mind." This is a proof of coincidence, and not of plagiarism; for I had never read that sermon before.

Next morning, while we were at breakfast Johnson gave a very earnest recommendation of what he himself practised with the utmost conscientiousness: I mean a strict attention to truth even in the most minute particulars "Accustom your children," said he, "constantly to this: if a thing happened at one window, and they, when relating it, say that it happened at another, do not let it pass, but instantly check them: you do not know where deviation from truth will end." BOSWELL. "I may come to the door: and when once an account is at all varied in one circumstance, it may by degrees be varied so as to be totally different from what really happened." Our lively hostess, whose fancy was impatient of the rein, fidgeted at this, and ventured to say "Nay, this is too much. If Dr. Johnson should forbid me to drink tea, I would comply, as should feel the restraint only twice a day; but little variations in narrative must happen thousand times a day, if one is not perpetually watching." JOHNSON. "Well, Madam, as you ought to be perpetually watching. It is more from carelessness about truth, than from intentional lying, that there is so much falsehood in the world."

In his review of Dr. Warton's "Essay on the Writings and Genius of Pope," Johnson has given the following salutary caution upon the subject: "Nothing but experience could evince the frequency of false information, or enable any man to conceive that so many groundless reports should be propagated as every man

¹ The first edition was in 1492. Between that period and 1792, according to this account, there were 3,600 editions. But this is very improbable. — MALONE. No doubt; but Malone, by a strange blunder of his own greatly magnifies the improbability, by taking the date of Boswell's publication instead of that of the remark — whenever it was first made.

² CROKER.

³ The original passage is: "Si non potes te talem facere,

qualem vis, quomodo poteris alium ad talem habere beneficium?" *De Imit. Christ.* lib. i. c. xvi. — J. BOSWELL, J.

³ Since this was written, the attainder has been reversed, and Nicholas Burnell is now a peer of Ireland with that title. The person mentioned in the text had studied philosophy and prescribed gratis to the poor. Hence arose the subsequent conversation. — MALONE.

eminence may hear of himself. Some men relate what they think as what they know; some men of confused memories and habitual inaccuracy ascribe to one man what belongs to another; and some talk on without thought or care. A few men are sufficient to broach falsehoods, which are afterwards innocently diffused by successive relaters."¹ Had he lived to read what Sir John Hawkins and Mrs. Piozzi have related concerning himself, how much would he have found his observation illustrated!² He was, indeed, so much impressed with the prevalence of falsehood, voluntary or unintentional, that I never knew any person who, upon hearing an extraordinary circumstance told, discovered more of the *incredulus odi*. He would say, with a significant look and decisive tone, "It is not so. Do not tell this again."³ He inculcated upon all his friends the importance of perpetual vigilance against the slightest degrees of falsehood; the effect of which, as Sir Joshua Reynolds observed to me, has been, that all who were of his *school* are distinguished for a love of truth and accuracy, which they would not have possessed in the same degree if they had not been acquainted with Johnson.

Talking of ghosts, he said, "It is wonderful that five thousand years have now elapsed since the creation of the world, and still it is undecided whether or not there has ever been an instance of the spirit of any person appearing after death. All argument is against it; but all belief is for it."

He said, "John Wesley's conversation is good, but he is never at leisure. He is always obliged to go at a certain hour. This is very disagreeable to a man who loves to fold his legs and have out his talk, as I do."

On Friday, April 3., I dined with him in London, in a company⁴ where were present several eminent men, whom I shall not name,

but distinguish their parts in the conversation by different letters.

F. "I have been looking at this famous antique marble dog of Mr. Jennings⁵, valued at a thousand guineas, said to be Alcibiades' dog." JOHNSON. "His tail then must be docked. That was the mark of Alcibiades' dog." E. "A thousand guineas! The representation of no animal whatever is worth so much. At this rate, a dead dog would, indeed, be better than a living lion." JOHNSON. "Sir, it is not the worth of the thing, but of the skill in forming it, which is so highly estimated. Every thing that enlarges the sphere of human powers, that shows man he can do what he thought he could not do, is valuable. The first man who balanced a straw upon his nose; Johnson, who rode upon three horses at a time; in short, all such men deserve the applause of mankind, not on account of the use of what they did, but of the dexterity which they exhibited." BOSWELL. "Yet a misapplication of time and assiduity is not to be encouraged. Addison, in one of his 'Spectators,' commends the judgment of a king, who, as a suitable reward to a man that by long perseverance had attained to the art of throwing a barley-corn through the eye of a needle, gave him a bushel of barley." JOHNSON. "He must have been a king of Scotland, where barley is scarce." F. "One of the most remarkable antique figures of an animal is the boar at Florence." JOHNSON. "The first boar that is well made in marble should be preserved as a wonder. When men arrive at a facility of making boars well, then the workmanship is not of such value; but they should, however, be preserved as examples, and as a greater security for the restoration of the art, should it be lost."

E. "We hear prodigious complaints at present of emigration. I am convinced that

¹ Literary Magazine, 1756, p. 37.

² The following plausible but over-prudent counsel on this subject is given by an Italian writer, quoted by *Redi*, "*De generatione insectorum*," with the epithet of "*divini poeta*."

³ *Sempre a quel ver che ha faccia di menzogna
Dee l'uom chiuder le labbra quanto ei puote;
Però ché senza colpa fa vergogna.* — BOSWELL.

It is strange that Boswell should not have discovered that these lines were from Dante. The following is Wright's translation:—

"That truth which bears the semblance of a lie,
Should never pass the lips, if possible;
Tho' crime be absent, still disgrace is nigh."

Infern. xvi. 124. — CROKER, 1847.

⁴ I must again enter my protest against this asperser. Mrs. Piozzi is sometimes inaccurate in expressions and small details, as must always be the case of a report of conversation made after a lapse of time from memory; and Hawkins was certainly disposed to take unamiable views of mankind, and was in some respects unfriendly to Johnson; but as regards their anecdotes of him, I am, after a close inquiry, satisfied of their authenticity and general accuracy. They had not (who ever had?) the, at once, vivid and accurate truth of Boswell; but they were not false. Both Boswell, and his friend and editor, Mr. Malone, were deeply prejudiced against the rival authors. — CROKER, 1847.

⁵ *The Club*. — This seems to be the only instance in which Mr. Boswell has ventured to give in any detail the conversation of that society; and we see that on this occasion he has not mentioned the *names*, but has disguised the parties under what look like *initials*. All these letters, however—even

with the names of the company before us—it is not easy to appropriate. It appears by the books of the Club, as Mr. Hatchett informed me, that the company on that evening consisted of Dr. Johnson, president, Mr. Burke, Mr. Boswell, Dr. George Fordyce, Mr. Gibbon, Dr. Johnson (again named), Sir Joshua Reynolds, Lord Upper Ossory, and Mr. R. B. Sheridan. In Mr. Boswell's account, the letter E. no doubt stands for Edmund Burke; F., in allusion to his family name of Fitzpatrick, probably means Lord Upper Ossory; but the appropriation of the other letters is very difficult. The medical observations, and the allusions to Holland, made by C., suggest that Dr. George Fordyce, a physician who was educated in Holland, was meant, although why he should have been designated by C. I cannot guess. R. may mean Richard B. Sheridan, then a young man not yet in parliament. The story of Sir Godfrey Kneller made me doubt whether P. was not Sir Joshua, President of the Royal Academy, but the initial J., as well as the style of observations made by him, seem to indicate Sir Joshua. If this be so, then P. would be Gibbon, who, perhaps, from Johnson's coming late, or some accidental cause, may have acted as president of the night; and it is to be observed that P. puts the question. These latter conjectures are by no means satisfactory to my mind. Sir James Mackintosh and Mr. Chalmers were equally dubious. I have shown (*note*, p. 445, n. 4.) why Mr. Boswell so seldom repeats the conversation at the Club; but why in this case he did not adopt one uniform mode of designating the interlocutors, seems unaccountable. — CROKER.

⁶ This sculpture was at this date an object of curiosity in London. See *Ann. Reg.*, April 4, 1778, p. 174., where it is stated to have been sold for a thousand guineas. — CROKER. It is now at Duncombe Park, in Yorkshire, the seat of Lord Faversham. — P. CUNNINGHAM.

emigration makes a country more populous."

J. "That sounds very much like a paradox."

E. "Exportation of men, like exportation of all other commodities, makes more be produced." JOHNSON. "But there would be more people were there not emigration, provided there were food for more." E. "No; leave a few breeders, and you'll have more people than if there were no emigration." JOHNSON.

"Nay, Sir, it is plain there will be more people, if there are more breeders. Thirty cows in good pasture will produce more calves than ten cows, provided they have good bulls."

E. "There are bulls enough in Ireland."¹

JOHNSON (smiling). "So, Sir, I should think from your argument." BOSWELL. "You said

exportation of men, like exportation of other commodities, makes more be produced. But a bounty is given to encourage the exportation of corn, and no bounty is given for the exportation of men; though, indeed, those who go gain by it."

R. "But the bounty on the exportation of corn is paid at home." E. "That's the same thing." JOHNSON. "No, Sir."

R. "A man who stays at home gains nothing by his neighbour's emigrating." BOSWELL. "I can understand that emigration may be the cause

that more people may be produced in a country; but the country will not therefore be the more populous; for the people issue from it. It can only be said that there is a flow of people. It is an encouragement to have children, to know that they can get a living

by emigration." R. "Yes, if there were an emigration of children under six years of age. But they don't emigrate till they could earn their livelihood in some way at home."

C. "It is remarkable that the most unhealthy countries, where there are the most destructive diseases, such as Egypt and Bengal, are the most populous." JOHNSON. "Countries which

are the most populous have the most destructive diseases. That is the true state of the proposition."

C. "Holland is very unhealthy, yet it is exceedingly populous." JOHNSON. "I know not that Holland is unhealthy. But its populousness is owing to an influx of people from all other countries. Disease cannot be the cause of populousness; for it not only carries off a great proportion of the people; but those who are left are weakened, and unfit for the purposes of increase."

R. "Mr. E., I don't mean to flatter, but when posterity reads one of your speeches in parliament, it will be difficult to believe that you took so much pains, knowing with certainty that it could produce no effect, that not one vote would be gained by it." E. "Waving your compliment to me, I shall say, in

general, that it is very well worth while for a man to take pains to speak well in parliament. A man, who has vanity, speaks to display his talents; and if a man speaks well, he gradually establishes a certain reputation and consequence in the general opinion, which sooner or later will have its political reward. Besides, though not one vote is gained, a good speech has its effect. Though an act which has been ably opposed passes into a law, yet in its progress it is modelled, it is softened in such a manner, that we see plainly the minister has been told, that the members attached to him are so sensible of its injustice or absurdity from what they have heard, that it must be altered." JOHNSON. "And, Sir, there is a gratification of pride. Though we cannot out-vote them, we will out-argue them. They shall not do wrong, without its being shown both to themselves and to the world." E. "The House of Commons is a mixed body. (I except the minority, which I hold to be pure (smiling), but I take the whole house.) It is a mass by no means pure; but neither is it wholly corrupt, though there is a large proportion of corruption in it. There are many members who generally go with the minister, who will not go all lengths. There are many honest well-meaning country gentlemen who are in parliament only to keep up the consequence of their families. Upon most of these a good speech will have influence." JOHNSON. "We are all more or less governed by interest. But interest will not make us do every thing. In a case which admits of doubt, we try to think or the side which is for our interest, and generally bring ourselves to act accordingly. But the subject must admit of diversity of colouring; it must receive a colour on that side. In the House of Commons there are members enough who will not vote what is grossly unjust or absurd. No, Sir; there must always be right enough, or appearance of right, to keep wrong in countenance." BOSWELL. "There is surely always a majority in parliament who have places, or who want to have them, and who therefore will be generally ready to support government, without requiring any pretext." E. "True, Sir; that majority will always follow

'Quo clamor vocat et turba faventium.' 2

BOSWELL. Well now, let us take the common phrase, Place-hunters. I thought they had hunted without regard to any thing, just as their huntsman, the minister, leads, looking only to the prey."³ J. "But taking your metaphor, you know that in hunting there are few so desperately keen as to follow without

¹ All this, as Mr. Boswell elsewhere says, must be a very imperfect record of the conversation. Mr. Burke, no doubt, meant to allude (perhaps with a double meaning) to the superabundant population of Ireland. — CROKER.

² Surely the Oppositions have in general had the clamor and the turba on their side. — CROKER, 1846.

³ Lord Bolingbroke, who, however detestable as a meta-

physician, must be allowed to have had admirable talents as a political writer, thus describes the House of Commons in his "Letter to Sir William Wyndham":—"You know the nature of that assembly: they grow like hounds, fond of the man who shows them game, and by whose halloo they are used to be encouraged." — BOSWELL.

reserve. Some do not choose to leap ditches and hedges and risk their necks, or gallop over steeps, or even to dirty themselves in bogs and mire." BOSWELL. "I am glad there are some good, quiet, moderate political hunters." E. "I believe in any body of men in England I should have been in the minority; I have always been in the minority." P. "The House of Commons resembles a private company. How seldom is any man convinced by another's argument; passion and pride rise against it." R. "What would be the consequence, if a minister, sure of a majority in the House of Commons, should resolve that there should be no speaking at all upon his side?" E. "He must soon go out. That has been tried; but it was found it would not do."——

E. "The Irish language is not primitive; it is Teutonic, a mixture of the northern tongues; it has much English in it." JOHNSON. "It may have been radically Teutonic; but English and High Dutch have no similarity to the eye, though radically the same. Once, when looking into Low Dutch, I found, in a whole page, only one word similar to English; *ströem*, like *stream*, and it signified *tide*."¹ E. "I remember having seen a Dutch sonnet, in which I found this word *roesnopies*. Nobody would at first think that this could be English; but, when we inquire, we find *roes*, rose, and *nopie*, knob; so we have *rosebuds*."

JOHNSON. "I have been reading Thicknesse's Travels, which I think are entertaining." BOSWELL. "What, Sir, a good book?" JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir, to read once. I do not say you are to make a study of it, and digest it; and I believe it to be a true book in his intention. All travellers generally mean to tell truth; though Thicknesse observes, upon Smollett's account of his alarming a whole town in France by firing a blunderbuss, and frightening a French nobleman till he made him tie on his portmanteau, that he would be loth to say Smollett had told two lies in one page; but he had found the only town in France where these things could have happened. Travellers must often be mistaken. In every thing, except where mensuration can be applied, they may honestly differ. There has been, of late, a strange turn in travellers to be displeased."

E. "From the experience which I have had, — and I have had a great deal, — I have learnt to think *better* of mankind." JOHNSON. "From my experience I have found them worse in

commercial dealings, more disposed to cheat, than I had any notion of; but more disposed to do one another good than I had conceived." J. "Less just and more beneficent." JOHNSON. "And, really, it is wonderful, — considering how much attention is necessary for men to take care of themselves, and ward off immediate evils which press upon them, — it is wonderful how much they do for others. As it is said of the greatest liar, that he tells more truth than falsehood; so it may be said of the worst man, that he does more good than evil." BOSWELL. "Perhaps from experience men may be found *happier* than we suppose." JOHNSON. "No, Sir; the more we inquire, we shall find men the less happy." P. "As to thinking better or worse of mankind from experience, some cunning people will not be satisfied unless they have put men to the test, as they think. There is a very good story told of Sir Godfrey Kneller, in his character of a justice of the peace. A gentleman brought his servant before him, upon an accusation of having stolen some money from him; but it having come out that he had laid it purposely in the servant's way, in order to try his honesty, Sir Godfrey sent the master to prison."² JOHNSON. "To resist temptation once is not a sufficient proof of honesty. If a servant, indeed, were to resist the continued temptation of silver lying in a window, as some people let it lie, when he is sure his master does not know how much there is of it, he would give a strong proof of honesty. But this is a proof to which you have no right to put a man. You know, humanly speaking, there is a certain degree of temptation which will overcome any virtue. Now, in so far as you approach temptation to a man, you do him an injury; and, if he is evercome, you share his guilt." P. "And, when once overcome, it is easier for him to be got the better of again." BOSWELL. "Yes, you are his seducer; you have debauched him. I have known a man resolved to put friendship to the test, by asking a friend to lend him money, merely with that view, when he did not want it." JOHNSON. "That is very wrong, Sir. Your friend may be a narrow man, and yet have many good qualities; narrowness may be his only fault. Now you are trying his general character as a friend by one particular singly, in which he happens to be defective, when, in truth, his character is composed of many particulars."

¹ Dr. Johnson seems to have been in error in this point. *Stroom* signifies just what *stream* does in English — *current*, flowing water, and thence *tide*: and the languages have undoubtedly a general similarity. Let us take as examples the explanations given in *Marin's Dutch Dictionary*, of the very two words to which Johnson alluded, with the English subjoined:

CURRENT. — *Stroom* — *ras*.
stream — *race*.

TIDE. — *Water* — *ty* — *stroom* — *ebb en vloet van der see*
water — *tide* — *stream* — *ebb and flow of the sea*.

And under the word *current* is quoted a Dutch phrase which is almost English:

Dat bock word tien crownen
That book worth ten crowns. — CROKER.

² Pope thus introduces this story: —

"Faith, in such case if you should prosecute,
I think Sir Godfrey should decide the suit,
Who sent the thief who stole the cash away,
And punish'd him that put it in his way."

Imit. of Horace, b. ii. ep. 2. — BOSWELL.

E. "I understand the hogshead of claret, which this society was favoured with by our friend the dean¹, is nearly out; I think he should be written to, to send another of the same kind. Let the request be made with a happy ambiguity of expression, so that we may have the chance of his sending it also as a present. JOHNSON. "I am willing to offer my services as secretary on this occasion." P. "As many as are for Dr. Johnson being secretary, hold up your hands.—Carried unanimously." BOSWELL. "He will be our dictator." JOHNSON. "No, the company is to dictate to me. I am only to write for wine; and I am quite disinterested, as I drink none; I shall not be suspected of having forged the application. I am no more than humble scribe." E. "Then you shall pre-scribe." BOSWELL. "Very well. The first play of words to-day." J. "No, no; the bulls in Ireland." JOHNSON. "Were I your dictator, you should have no wine. It would be my business *cavere ne quid detrimenti Respublica caperet*, and wine is dangerous. Rome was ruined by luxury" (smiling). E. "If you allow no wine as dictator, you shall not have me for your master of horse."

On Saturday, April 4, I drank tea with Johnson at Dr. Taylor's, where he had dined. He entertained us with an account of a tragedy written by a Dr. Kennedy (not the London physician)² * * *. "It is hardly to be believed," he added, "what absurd and indecent images men will introduce into their writings, without being sensible of the absurdity and indecency. I remember Lord Orrery told me, that there was a pamphlet written against Sir Robert Walpole, [under a learned but indecent title.] The Duchess of Buckingham asked Lord Orrery who this person was? He answered, he did not know. She said, she would send to Mr. Pulteney, who, she supposed, could inform her. So then, to prevent her from making herself ridiculous, Lord Orrery sent her grace a note, in which he gave her to understand what was meant."

He was very silent this evening, and read in a variety of books; suddenly throwing down one, and taking up another.

He talked of going to Streatham that night. TAYLOR. "You'll be robbed, if you do; or you must shoot a highwayman. Now, I would rather be robbed than do that; I would not shoot a highwayman." JOHNSON. "But I would rather shoot him in the instant when he

is attempting to rob me, than afterwards swear against him at the Old Bailey, to take away his life, after he has robbed me. I am surer I am right in the one case, than in the other. I may be mistaken as to the man when I swear I cannot be mistaken if I shoot him in the act. Besides, we feel less reluctance to take away a man's life, when we are heated by the injury, than to do it at a distance of time by an oath, after we have cooled." BOSWELL. "So, Sir, you would rather act from the motive of private passion, than that of public advantage." JOHNSON. "Nay, Sir, when I shoot the highwayman, I act from both." BOSWELL. "Very well, very well. There is no catching him." JOHNSON. "At the same time, one does not know what to say. For perhaps one may, a year after, hang himself from uneasiness for having shot a highwayman. Few minds are fit to be trusted with so great a thing." BOSWELL. "Then, Sir, you would not shoot him?" JOHNSON. "But I might be vexed afterwards for that too."

Thrall's carriage not having come for him as he expected, I accompanied him some part of the way home to his own house. I told him, that I had talked of him to Mr. Dunning a few days before, and had said, that in his company we did not so much interchange conversation, as listen to him; and that Dunning observed, upon this, "One is always willing to listen to Dr. Johnson;" to which I answered "That is a great deal from you, Sir." "Yes, Sir," said Johnson, "a great deal indeed. Here is a man willing to listen, to whom the world is listening all the rest of the year." BOSWELL. "I think, Sir, it is right to tell one man of such a handsome thing, which has been said of him by another. It tends to increase benevolence." JOHNSON. "Undoubtedly it is right, Sir."

On Tuesday, April 7, I breakfasted with him at his house. He said, "Nobody was content." I mentioned to him a respectable person⁴ in Scotland whom he knew; and asserted, that I really believed he was always content. JOHNSON. "No, Sir, he is not content with the present; he has always some new scheme, some new plantation, something which is future. You know he was not content as widower, for he married again." BOSWELL. "But he is not restless." JOHNSON. "Sir, I am only locally at rest. A chymist is locally at rest; but his mind is hard at work. The gentleman has done with external exertion. It is too late for him to engage in distant

¹ Dr. Barnard, Dean of Derry, afterwards Bishop of Kil-macoe and Limerick. — CROKER.

² Here a few lines relating to the indelicate subject of this tragedy are omitted, and a few words of the following anecdote altered. (See *anté*, p. 176. n. 6.) I cannot but think it very strange that Boswell should have printed this absurd and indelicate stuff in the face of Johnson's reprehensive remark. — CROKER.

³ The late Duke of Montrose was generally said to have been uneasy on that account; but I can contradict the report from his grace's own authority. As he used to admit me to very easy conversation with him, I took the liberty to intro-

duce the subject. His grace told me, that when riding at night near London, he was attacked by two highwaymen on horseback, and that he instantly shot one of them, upon which the other galloped off; that his servant, who was well mounted, proposed to pursue him and take him, but that his grace said, "No, we have had blood enough; I hope no man may live to repent." His grace, upon my presuming to put the question, assured me that his mind was not at all clouded by what he had thus done in self-defence. BOSWELL.

⁴ Lord Auchinleck, Mr. Boswell's father. — CROKER.

projects." BOSWELL. "He seems to amuse himself quite well; to have his attention fixed, and his tranquillity preserved, by very small matters. I have tried this; but it would not do to me." JOHNSON (laughing). "No, Sir; it must be born with a man to be contented to take up with little things. Women have a great advantage, that they may take up with little things without disgracing themselves; a man cannot, except with fiddling. Had I learnt to fiddle, I should have done nothing else." BOSWELL. "Pray, Sir, did you ever play on any musical instrument?" JOHNSON. "No, Sir. I once bought me a flageolet; but I never made out a tune." BOSWELL. "A flageolet, Sir!—so small an instrument? I should have liked to hear you play on the violoncello. That should have been *your* instrument." JOHNSON. "Sir, I might as well have played on the violoncello as another; but I should have done nothing else. No, Sir; a man would never undertake great things, could he be amused with small. I once tried nothing. Dempster's sister undertook to teach me; but I could not learn it." BOSWELL. "So, Sir; it will be related in pompous narrative, 'Once for his amusement he tried nothing; nor did this Hercules disdain the liffaff.'" JOHNSON. "Knitting of stockings is a good amusement. As a freeman of Aberdeen, I should be a knitter of stockings." He asked me to go down with him and dine at Mr. Thrale's, at Streatham, to which I agreed. I had sent him "An Account of Scotland, in 1702," written by a man of various inquiry, an English chaplain to a regiment stationed there. JOHNSON. "It is sad stuff, Sir, miserably written, as books in general then were. There is now an elegance of style universally diffused. A man now writes so ill as 'Martin's Account of the Hebrides' is written. A man could not write so ill, if he should try. Set a merchant's clerk now to write, and he'll do better."

He talked to me with serious concern of a

certain female friend's² "laxity of narration, and inattention to truth." "I am as much vexed," said he, "at the ease with which she hears it mentioned to her, as at the thing itself. I told her, 'Madam, you are contented to hear every day said to you, what the highest of mankind have died for, rather than bear. You know, Sir, the highest of mankind have died rather than bear to be told they had uttered a falsehood. Do talk to her of it; I am weary.'" BOSWELL. "Was not Dr. John Campbell a very inaccurate man in his narrative, Sir? He once told me, that he drank thirteen bottles of port at a sitting."³ JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, I do not know that Campbell ever lied with pen and ink; but you could not entirely depend on any thing he told you in conversation, if there was fact mixed with it. However, I loved Campbell; he was a solid orthodox man; he had a reverence for religion. Though defective in practice, he was religious in principle; and he did nothing grossly wrong that I have heard."⁴

I told him that I had been present the day before, when Mrs. Montagu, the literary lady, sat to Miss Reynolds for her picture; and that she said, "she had bound up Mr. Gibbon's History without the last two defensive chapters; for that she thought the book so far good, as it gave, in an elegant manner, the substance of the bad writers *medii ævi*, which the late Lord Lyttelton advised her to read." JOHNSON. "Sir, she has not read them; she shows none of this impetuosity⁵ to me; she does not know Greek, and, I fancy, knows little Latin. She is willing you should think she knows them; but she does not say she does." BOSWELL. "Mr. Harris, who was present, agreed with her." JOHNSON. "Harris was laughing at her, Sir. Harris is a sound sullen scholar; he does not like interlopers. Harris, however, is a prig, and a bad prig.⁶ I looked into his book, and thought he did not understand

¹ When I told this to Miss Seward, she smiled, and related with admirable readiness, from "Acis and Galatea,"

"Bring me a hundred reeds of ample growth,
To make a pipe for my capacious mouth."

BOSWELL.

² Mrs. Thrale. Dr. Johnson is here made to say, that he is "weary of chiding her on this subject." It is, however, remarkable that in all his letters to her—written certainly with equal freedom and affection—there should be no allusion of this kind. Without accusing Mr. Boswell of saying what was not true, we may suspect that on these occasions he did not tell the whole truth; and that Dr. Johnson's expressions were answers to suggestions of his own; and to enable us to judge fairly of the answer, the suggestion itself should have been stated. This seems the more probable from Johnson's saying "Do talk to her of it;" which would have been a violation of all decency and friendship (considering the relative situations of Mrs. Thrale, Dr. Johnson, and Boswell), if it did not allude to some particular fact of which Boswell himself had complained. — CROKER.

³ Lord Macartney observes upon this passage, "I have heard him tell many things, which, though embellished by his mode of narrative, had their foundation in truth; but I never remember any thing approaching to this. If he had taken it, I should have supposed some wag had put the cure of one before the three." I am, however, absolutely

certain that Dr. Campbell told me it, and I gave particular attention to it, being myself a lover of wine, and therefore curious to hear whatever is remarkable concerning drinking. There can be no doubt that some men can drink, without suffering any injury, such a quantity as to others appears incredible. It is but fair to add, that Dr. Campbell told me, he took a very long time to this great potation; and I have heard Dr. Johnson say, "Sir, if a man drinks very slowly, and lets one glass evaporate before he takes another, I know not how long he may drink." Dr. Campbell mentioned a colonel of militia who sat with him all the time, and drank equally. — BOSWELL.

⁴ Dr. John Campbell died about two years before this conversation took place; December 1775. — MALONE.

⁵ Surely the word "impetuosity" must be a mistake. — CROKER.

⁶ What my friend meant by these words concerning the amiable philosopher of Salisbury, I am at a loss to understand. A friend suggests, that Johnson thought his manner as a writer affected, while at the same time the matter did not compensate for that fault. In short, that he meant to make a remark quite different from that which a celebrated gentleman made on a very eminent physician: He is a coxcomb, but a satisfactory coxcomb. — BOSWELL. The celebrated gentleman here alluded to was the late Right Hon. William Gerard Hamilton. — MALONE.

his own system." BOSWELL. "He says plain things in a formal and abstract way, to be sure; but his method is good; for to have clear notions upon any subject, we must have recourse to analytic arrangement." JOHNSON. "Sir, it is what every body does, whether they will or no. But sometimes things may be made darker by definition. I see a cow. I define her, *Animal quadrupes ruminans cornutum*. But a goat ruminates, and a cow may have no horns. Cow is plainer." BOSWELL. "I think Dr. Franklin's definition of *Man* a good one — 'A tool-making animal.'" JOHNSON. "But many a man never made a tool; and suppose a man without arms, he could not make a tool."

Talking of drinking wine, he said, "I did not leave off wine because I could not bear it; I have drunk three bottles of port without being the worse for it. University College has witnessed this."¹ BOSWELL. "Why, then, Sir, did you leave it off?" JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, because it is so much better for a man to be sure that he is never to be intoxicated, never to lose the power over himself. I shall not begin to drink wine again till I grow old², and want it." BOSWELL. "I think, Sir, you once said to me, that not to drink wine was a great deduction from life." JOHNSON. "It is a diminution of pleasure, to be sure; but I do not say a diminution of happiness. There is more happiness in being rational." BOSWELL. "But if we could have pleasure always, should not we be happy? The greatest part of men would compound for pleasure." JOHNSON. "Supposing we could have pleasure always, an intellectual man would not compound for it. The greatest part of men would compound, because the greatest part of men are gross." BOSWELL. "I allow there may be greater pleasure than from wine. I have had more pleasure from your conversation. I have, indeed; I assure you I have." JOHNSON. "When we talk of pleasure, we mean sensual pleasure. When a man says he had pleasure with a woman, he does not mean conversation, but something of a different nature. Philosophers tell you, that pleasure is *contrary* to happiness. Gross men prefer animal pleasure. So there are men who have preferred living among savages. Now, what a wretch must he be, who is content with such conversation as can be had among savages! You may remember an officer at Fort Augustus, who had served in America, told us of a woman whom they were obliged to *bind*, in order to get her back from savage life." BOSWELL. "She must have been an animal, a beast." JOHNSON. "Sir, she was a speaking cat."

I mentioned to him that I had become very weary in company where I heard not a single

intellectual sentence, except that "a man who had been settled ten years in Minorca would become a much inferior man to what he was in London, because a man's mind grows narrow in a narrow place." JOHNSON. "A man's mind grows narrow in a narrow place whose mind is enlarged only because he has lived in a large place; but what is got by books and thinking is preserved in a narrow place as well as in a large place. A man cannot know modes of life as well in Minorca as in London; but he may study mathematics as well in Minorca." BOSWELL. "I don't know, Sir; if you had remained ten years in the Isle of Col, you would not have been the man that you now are." JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir, if I had been there from fifteen to twenty five; but not if from twenty-five to thirty-five." BOSWELL. "I own, Sir, the spirit which I have in London make me do ever thing with more readiness and vigour. I can talk twice as much in London as any where else."

Of Goldsmith, he said, "He was not a agreeable companion, for he talked always for fame. A man who does so never can be pleasing. The man who talks to unburden his mind is the man to delight you. An eminent friend of ours³ is not so agreeable as the variety of his knowledge would otherwise make him, because he talks partly from ostentation."

Soon after our arrival at Thrale's, I heard one of the maids calling eagerly on another to go to Dr. Johnson. I wondered what that could mean. I afterwards learnt, that it was to give her a Bible, which he had brought from London as a present to her.

He was for a considerable time occupied reading "Mémoires de Fontenelle," leaning and swinging upon the low gate into the court without his hat.

I looked into Lord Kaimes's "Sketches of the History of Man;" and mentioned to Dr. Johnson his censure of Charles V., for celebrating his funeral obsequies in his lifetime which, I told him, I had been used to think solemn and affecting act." JOHNSON. "Well, Sir, a man may dispose his mind to think so that act of Charles; but it is so liable to ridicule, that if one man out of ten thousand laughs at it, he'll make the other nine thousand nine hundred and ninety-nine laugh too." could not agree with him in this.

Sir John Pringle had expressed a wish that I would ask Dr. Johnson's opinion what was the best English sermons for style. I took an opportunity to-day of mentioning several to him. "Atterbury?" JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir, one of the best." BOSWELL. "Tillotson." JOHNSON. "Why, not now. I should advise a preacher at this day to imitate Till-

¹ See *post*, sub 17 April, 1778. — C.

² He was now in his *seventieth* year. — CROKER.

³ Mr. Burke. — CROKER.

son's style; though I don't know; I should be cautious of objecting to what has been applauded by so many suffrages.—South is one of the best, if you except his peculiarities, and his violence, and sometimes coarseness of language.—Seed has a very fine style; but he is not very theological.—Jortin's sermons are very elegant.—Sherlock's style, too, is very elegant, though he has not made it his principal study.—And you may add Smalridge. All the latter preachers have a good style. Indeed, nobody now talks much of style: every body composes pretty well. There are no such inharmonious periods as there were a hundred years ago. I should recommend Dr. Clarke's sermons, were he orthodox. However, it is very well known *where* he is not orthodox, which was upon the doctrine of the Trinity, as to which he is a condemned heretic; so one is aware of it." BOSWELL. "I like Ogden's Sermons on Prayer very much, both for neatness of style and subtilty of reasoning." JOHNSON. "I should like to read all that Ogden has written." BOSWELL. "What I wish to know is, what sermons afford the best specimen of English pulpit eloquence." JOHNSON. "We have no sermons addressed to the passions, that are good for any thing; if you mean that kind of eloquence." A CLERGYMAN (whose name I do not recollect). "Were not Dodd's sermons addressed to the passions?" JOHNSON. "They were nothing, Sir, be they addressed to what they may."

At dinner, Mrs. Thrale expressed a wish to go and see Scotland. JOHNSON. "Seeing Scotland, Madam, is only seeing a worse England. It is seeing the flower gradually fade away to the naked stalk. Seeing the Hebrides, indeed, is seeing quite a different scene."

Our poor friend, Mr. Thomas Davies, was soon to have a benefit at Drury Lane Theatre, as some relief to his unfortunate circumstances.¹ We were all warmly interested for his success, and had contributed to it. However, we thought there was no harm in having our joke, when he could not be hurt by it. I proposed that he should be brought on to speak a prologue upon the occasion; and I began to mutter fragments of what it might be; as, that when now grown *old*, he was obliged to cry "Poor Tom's *a-cold*;"—that he owned he had been driven from the stage by a Churchill, but that this was no disgrace, for a Churchill had beat the French;—that he had been satirised as "mouthing a sentence as curs mouth a bone," but he was now glad of a bone to pick. "Nay," said Johnson, "I would have him to say,—

'Mad Tom is come to see the world again.'

He and I returned to town in the evening. Upon the road, I endeavoured to maintain in argument, that a landed gentleman is not under any obligation to reside upon his estate; and that by living in London he does no injury to his country. JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, he does no injury to his country in general, because the money which he draws from it gets back again in circulation; but to his particular district, his particular parish, he does an injury. All that he has to give away is not given to those who have the first claim to it. And though I have said that the money circulates back, it is a long time before that happens. Then, Sir, a man of family and estate ought to consider himself as having the charge of a district, over which he is to diffuse civility and happiness."²

Next day I found him at home in the morning. He praised Delany's "Observations on Swift;" said that his book and Lord Orrery's might both be true, though one viewed Swift more, and the other less, favourably; and that, between both, we might have a complete notion of Swift.

Talking of a man's resolving to deny himself the use of wine, from moral and religious considerations, he said, "He must not doubt about it. When one doubts as to pleasure, we know what will be the conclusion. I now no more think of drinking wine than a horse does. The wine upon the table is no more for me, than for the dog who is under the table."

CHAPTER LXIII.

1778.

Horace's Villa.—*Country Life.*—*Great Cities.*—*French Literature.*—*Old Age.*—"Unius Lacerta." *Potter's Æschylus.*—*Pope's Homer.*—*Sir W. Temple's Style.*—*Elphinston's Martial.*—*Hawkins's Tragedy.*—*Insubordination.*—*Fame.*—*Use of Riches.*—*Economy.*—*Soldiers and Sailors.*—*Charles Fox.*—*De Foe.*—*Cock-Lane Ghost.*—*Asking Questions.*—*Hulks.*—*Foreign Travel.*—*Short Hand.*—*Dodd's Poems.*—*Pennant.*—*Johnson and Percy.*—*Stratagem.*—*Correspondence.*

On Thursday, April 9, I dined with him at Sir Joshua Reynolds's, with the Bishop of St. Asaph (Dr. Shipley), Mr. Allan Ramsay³, Mr. Gibbon, Mr. Cambridge, and Mr. Langton. Mr. Ramsay had lately returned from Italy, and entertained us with his observations upon Horace's villa, which he had examined with

¹ Davies had become bankrupt in the preceding January, and his benefit took place 27th May, 1778, when he, after an interval of fifteen years, appeared in the character of *Fainall*, in *the Way of the World*.—CROKER.

² See, however, *antè*, p. 553., where his decision on this subject is more favourable to the absentee.—MALONE. This last opinion is the truer view of the subject.—CROKER.

³ Allan Ramsay, painter to his Majesty, who died 10th of August, 1784, in the seventy-first year of his age, much regretted by his friends.—BOSWELL. He was the son of the Scottish poet: and died at Dover, on his return from his fourth visit to Italy. *The Biography* places his birth in 1709, and the *Gent. Mag.* in 1713. Mr. Allan Cunningham (as well as Boswell) follows the latter date.—CROKER.

great care. I relished this much, as it brought fresh into my mind what I had viewed with great pleasure thirteen years before. The bishop, Dr. Johnson, and Mr. Cambridge joined with Mr. Ramsay, in recollecting the various lines in Horace relating to the subject.

Horace's journey to Brundisium being mentioned, Johnson observed, that the brook which he describes is to be seen now, exactly as at that time; and that he had often wondered how it happened, that small brooks, such as this, kept the same situation for ages, notwithstanding earthquakes, by which even mountains have been changed, and agriculture, which produces such a variation upon the surface of the earth. CAMBRIDGE. "A Spanish writer has this thought in a poetical conceit. After observing, that most of the solid structures of Rome are totally perished, while the Tiber remains the same, he adds, —

'Lo que era firme huió, solamente
Lo fugitivo permanece y dura.'"¹

JOHNSON. "Sir, that is taken from Janus Vitalis: —

'————— immota labescunt;
Et quæ perpetuò sunt agitata manent."

The bishop said, it appeared from Horace's writings that he was a cheerful, contented man. JOHNSON. "We have no reason to believe that, my Lord. Are we to think Pope was happy, because he says so in his writings? We see in his writings what he wished the state of his mind to appear. Dr. Young, who pined for preferment, talks with contempt of it in his writings², and affects to despise every thing that he did not despise." BISHOP OF ST. ASAPH. "He was like other chaplains, looking for vacancies: but that is not peculiar to the clergy. I remember, when I was with the army³, after the battle of Lafeldt, the officers seriously grumbled that no general was killed." CAMBRIDGE. "We may believe Horace more, when he says, —

'Romæ Tibur amem ventosus, Tibure Romam,'⁴

than when he boasts of his consistency: —

'Me constare mihi scis, et discedere tristem,
Quandocunque trahunt invisa negotia Romam.'"⁵

BOSWELL. "How hard is it that man can never be at rest!" RAMSAY. "It is not in his nature to be at rest. When he is at rest, he is in the

worst state that he can be in: for he has nothing to agitate him. He is then like the mar in the Irish song⁶: —

'There lived a young man in Ballinacrazy,
Who wanted a wife for to make him unaisy.'

Goldsmith being mentioned, Johnson observed, that it was long before his merit came to be acknowledged: that he once complained to him in ludicrous terms of distress, "Whenever I write any thing, the public *make a point* to know nothing about it:" but that his "Traveller"⁷ brought him into high reputation LANGTON. "There is not one bad line in that poem; not one of Dryden's careless verses." SIR JOSHUA. "I was glad to hear Charles Fox say, it was one of the finest poems in the English language." LANGTON. "Why were you glad? You surely had no doubt of this before." JOHNSON. "No; the merit of 'The Traveller' is so well established, that Mr. Fox's praise cannot augment it, nor his censure diminish it." SIR JOSHUA. "But his friends may suspect they had too great a partiality for him." JOHNSON. "Nay, Sir, the partiality of his friends was always against him. I was with difficulty we could give him a hearing. Goldsmith had no settled notion upon any subject; so he talked always at random. It seemed to be his intention to blurt out whatever was in his mind, and see what would become of it. He was angry, too, when caught in an absurdity; but it did not prevent him from falling into another the next minute. I remember Chamier, after talking with him some time, said, 'Well, I do believe he wrote this poem himself; and, let me tell you, that believing a great deal.' Chamier once asked him, what he meant by *slow*, the last word of the first line of 'The Traveller,' —

'Remote, unfriended, melancholy, slow.'

Did he mean tardiness of locomotion? Goldsmith, who would say something without consideration, answered, 'Yes.' I was sitting by and said, 'No, Sir, you do not mean tardiness of locomotion; you mean that sluggishness of mind which comes upon a man in solitude.' Chamier believed then that I had written that line, as much as if he had seen me write it. Goldsmith, however, was a man, who, whatever he wrote, did it better than any other man could do. He deserved a place in Westminster Abbey; and every year he lived would have

¹ Things fixed and firm away have passed;
The fugitive remain and last. — C.

² The comparative neglect into which Young's works have fallen, may, I think, be in some degree attributed to his disgusting flattery of his patrons, male and female: all his wit, pathos, and force — and they are very great — cannot counteract the effect of such deplorable adulation as he practised. — CROKER.

³ Dr. Shipley, as chaplain to the Duke of Cumberland. This battle was fought 20th July, 1747. — CROKER.

⁴ "Inconstant as the wind, I various rove,
At Tibur, Rome — at Rome I Tibur love."
Hor. l. Ep. 8. 12. Francis. — C.

⁵ "More constant to myself, I leave with pain,
By hateful business forced, the rural scene."
Hor. l. Ep. 14. 16. Francis. — C.

⁶ Called "Alley Croker." This lady, a celebrated beauty in her day, was Alicia, the youngest daughter of Col. Croker, of Ballynagard, in the county of Limerick. A lover whose rejection has immortalised her name is unknown; but she married Charles Langley, Esq., of Lisnack. She died without issue, about the middle of the 18th century. — CROKER.

⁷ First published in 1765. — MALONE.

⁸ See *anti*, p. 174., as to the lines of this poem which Johnson wrote. — CROKER.

deserved it better. He had, indeed, been at no pains to fill his mind with knowledge. He transplanted it from one place to another, and it did not settle in his mind; so he could not tell what was in his own books."

We talked of living in the country. JOHNSON. "No wise man will go to live in the country, unless he has something to do which can be better done in the country. For instance; if he is to shut himself up for a year to study a science, it is better to look out to the fields than to an opposite wall.¹ Then if a man walks out in the country, there is nobody to keep him from walking in again; but if a man walks out in London, he is not sure when he shall walk in again. A great city is, to be sure, the school for studying life; and 'the proper study of mankind is man,' as Pope observes." BOSWELL. "I fancy London is the best place for society; though I have heard that the very first society of Paris is still beyond any thing that we have here." JOHNSON.

"Sir, I question if in Paris such a company as is sitting round this table could be got together in less than half a year. They talk in France of the felicity of men and women living together: the truth is, that there the men are not higher than the women, they know no more than the women do, and they are not held down in their conversation by the presence of women." RAMSAY. "Literature is upon the growth, it is in its spring in France: here it is rather *passée*." JOHNSON. "Literature was in France long before we had it. Paris was the second city for the revival of letters: Italy had it first, to be sure. What have we done for literature, equal to what was done by the Stephani and others in France? Our literature came to us through France. Caxton printed only two books, Chaucer and Gower, that were not translated from the French; and Chaucer, we know, took much from the Italians. No, Sir, if literature be in its spring in France, it is a second spring; it is after a winter. We are now before the French in literature: but we had it long after them. In England, any man who wears a sword and a powdered wig is ashamed to be illiterate. I believe it is not so in France. Yet there is, probably, a great deal of learning in France, because they have such a number of religious establishments; so many men who have nothing else to do but to study. I do not know this; but I take it upon the common principles of chance. Where there are many shooters, some will hit."

¹ Mr. Cumberland was of a contrary opinion. "In the ensuing year I again paid a visit to my father at Clonfert; and there, in a little closet, at the back of the palace, as it was called, unfurnished, and out of use, with no other prospect from its single window but that of a turf-stack, with which it was almost in contact, I seated myself by choice, and began to plan and compose *The West Indian*. In all my hours of study, it has been through life my object so to locate myself as to have little or nothing to distract my attention, and, therefore, brilliant rooms or pleasant prospects I have ever avoided. A dead wall, or, as in the present case, an Irish turf-stack, are not attractions that can call off the fancy from its pursuits; and whilst in those pursuits it can find

We talked of old age. Johnson (now in his seventieth year) said, "It is a man's own fault, it is from want of use, if his mind grows torpid in old age."² The bishop asked if an old man does not lose faster than he gets. JOHNSON. "I think not, my Lord, if he exerts himself." One of the company rashly observed, that he thought it was happy for an old man that insensibility comes upon him. JOHNSON (with a noble elevation and disdain). "No, Sir, I should never be happy by being less rational." BISHOP OF ST. ASAPH. "Your wish then, Sir, is *γρησκειν ἐλάσσομενος*." JOHNSON. "Yes, my Lord." His Lordship mentioned a charitable establishment in Wales, where people were maintained, and supplied with every thing, upon the condition of their contributing the weekly produce of their labour; and, he said, they grew quite torpid for want of property. JOHNSON. "They have no object for hope. Their condition cannot be better. It is rowing without a port."

One of the company asked him the meaning of the expression in Juvenal, *unius lacerte*. JOHNSON. "I think it clear enough; as much ground as one may have a chance to find a lizard upon."

Commentators have differed as to the exact meaning of the expression by which the poet intended to enforce the sentiment contained in the passage where these words occur. It is enough that they mean to denote even a very small possession, provided it be a man's own:—

"Est aliquid, quocunque loco, quocunque recessu,
Unius sese dominum fecisse lacerte."³

This season there was a whimsical fashion in the newspapers of applying Shakspeare's words to describe living persons well known in the world; which was done under the title of "Modern Characters from Shakspeare;" many of which were admirably adapted. The fancy took so much, that they were afterwards collected into a pamphlet. Somebody said to Johnson, across the table, that he had not been in those characters. "Yes," said he, "I have. I should have been sorry to have been left out." He then repeated what had been applied to him:—

"You must borrow me Garagantua's mouth."⁴

Miss Reynolds not perceiving at once the meaning of this, he was obliged to explain it to her, which had something of an awkward and ludicrous effect. "Why, Madam, it has a reference

interest and occupation, it wants no outward aids to cheer it." — *Mem.* vol. i. p. 271. 277. — CROKER.

² Hobbes was of the same opinion with Johnson on this subject; and, in his answer to D'Avenant's Preface to Gondibert, with great spirit explodes the current opinion, that the mind in old age is subject to a necessary and irresistible debility. Hobbes was then sixty-two years old, and D'Avenant forty-five. — MYLONE.

³ "And sure—in any corner we can get—

To call one lizard ours, is something yet."

Gifford, *Juv. Sat.* iii. l. 230. — C.

⁴ As *You Like It*, act iii. sc. 2. — C.

to me, as using big words, which require the mouth of a giant to pronounce them. Garagantua is the name of a giant in Rabelais." BOSWELL. "But, Sir, there is another amongst them for you:—

'He would not flatter Neptune for his trident,
Or Jove for his power to thunder.'¹

JOHNSON. "There is nothing marked in that. No, Sir, Garagantua is the best." Notwithstanding this ease and good-humour, when I, a little while afterwards, repeated his sarcasm on Kenrick [p. 171.], which was received with applause, he asked, "Who said that?" and on my suddenly answering,—*Garagantua*, he looked serious, which was a sufficient indication that he did not wish it to be kept up.

When we went to the drawing-room, there was a rich assemblage. Besides the company who had been at dinner, there were Mr. Garrick, Mr. Harris of Salisbury, Dr. Percy, Dr. Burney, the Honourable Mrs. Cholmondeley, Miss Hannah More, &c. &c.

After wandering about in a kind of pleasing distraction for some time, I got into a corner, with Johnson, Garrick, and Harris. GARRICK (to Harris). "Pray, Sir, have you read Potter's *Æschylus*?" HARRIS. "Yes, and I think it pretty." GARRICK (to Johnson). "And what think you, Sir, of it?" JOHNSON. "I thought what I read of it *verbiage*: but upon Mr. Harris's recommendation, I will read a play. (To Mr. Harris.) Don't prescribe two." Mr. Harris suggested one, I do not remember which. JOHNSON. "We must try its effect as an English poem; that is the way to judge of the merit of a translation. Translations are, in general, for people who cannot read the original." I mentioned the vulgar saying, that Pope's Homer was not a good representation of the original. JOHNSON. "Sir, it is the greatest work of the kind that has ever been produced." BOSWELL. "The truth is, it is impossible perfectly to translate poetry. In a different language it may be the same tune, but it has not the same tone. Homer plays it on a bassoon: Pope on a flageolet." HARRIS. "I think heroic poetry is best in blank verse; yet it appears that rhyme is essential to English poetry, from our deficiency in metrical quantities. In my opinion, the chief excellence of our language is numerous prose." JOHNSON. "Sir William Temple was the first writer who gave cadence to English prose."²

Before his time they were careless of arrangement, and did not mind whether a sentence ended with an important word or an insignificant word, or with what part of speech it was concluded." Mr. Langton, who now had joined us, commended Clarendon. JOHNSON. "He objected to for his parentheses, his involution clauses, and his want of harmony. But he supported by his matter. It is, indeed, owing to a plethora of matter that his style is faulty: every *substance* (smiling to Mr. Harris) has so many *accidents*.—To be distinct, we must talk *analytically*. If we analyse language, we must speak of it grammatically; if we analyse argument, we must speak of it logically." GARRICK. "Of all the translations that ever we attempted, I think Elphinston's *Martial* the most extraordinary."³ He consulted me upon it, who am a little of an epigrammatist myself you know. I told him freely, 'You don't seem to have that turn.' I asked him if he was serious, and finding he was, I advised him against publishing. Why, his translation is more difficult to understand than the original. I thought him a man of some talents; but seems crazy in this." JOHNSON. "Sir, you have done what I had not courage to do. But he did not ask my advice, and I did not force upon him, to make him angry with me." GARRICK. "But as a friend, Sir——" JOHNSON. "Why, such a friend as I am with him——" GARRICK. "But if you see a friend going to tumble over a precipice?" JOHNSON. "That is an extravagant case, Sir. You are such a friend will thank you for hindering him from tumbling over a precipice: but, in the other case, I should hurt his vanity, and do him no good. He would not take my advice." His brother-in-law, Strahan, sent him a subscription of fifty pounds, and said he would send him fifty more if he would not publish." GARRICK. "What! eh! is Strahan a good judge of an epigram? Is not he rather an obtuse man, eh?" JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, he may not be a judge of an epigram: but I see he is a judge of what is *not* an epigram." BOSWELL. "It is easy for you, Mr. Garrick, to talk to an author as you talked to Elphinston; you, who have been so long the manager of a theatre, rejecting the plays of poor authors. You are an old judge, who have often pronounced sentence of death. You are a practiced surgeon, who have often amputated limbs;

¹ *Coriolanus*, act. iii. sc. 1.—C.

² Mr. Boswell, in p. 69, says, that Johnson once told him, "that he had formed his style upon that of Sir William Temple, and upon Chambers's Proposal for his Dictionary. He certainly was mistaken; or, if he imagined, at first, that he was imitating Temple, he was very unsuccessful; for nothing can be more unlike than the simplicity of Temple and the richness of Johnson." This observation of our author, on the first view, seems perfectly just; but, on a closer examination, it will, I think, appear to have been founded on a misapprehension. Mr. Boswell understood Johnson too literally. He did not, I conceive, mean that he endeavoured to imitate Temple's style in all its parts; but that he formed his style on him and Chambers (perhaps the paper published in 1737, relative to his second edition, entitled "Con-

siderations," &c.), taking from each what was most worthy of imitation. The passage before us, I think, shows that he learned from Temple to modulate his periods, and, *at least* respect only, made him his pattern. In this view of the subject there is no difficulty. He might learn from Chambers, compactness, strength, and precision (in opposition to the laxity of style which had long prevailed); from Sir Thomas Browne (who was certainly one of his archetypes), *prosaic* verborum, vigour and energy of expression; and from many other arts and graces of composition here enumerated: and yet, after all, his style might bear no strong resemblance to that of any of these writers, though profited by each.—MALONE.

³ See *anté*, p. 65. n. 4.—C.

and though this may have been for the good of your patients, they cannot like you. Those who have undergone a dreadful operation are not very fond of seeing the operator again." GARRICK. "Yes, I know enough of that. There was a reverend gentleman (Mr. Hawkins), who wrote a tragedy, the *siege* of something¹, which I refused." HARRIS. "So, the siege was raised." JOHNSON. "Ay, he came to me and complained; and told me, that Garrick said his play was wrong in the *concoction*. Now, what is the *concoction* of a play!" (Here Garrick started, and twisted himself, and seemed sorely vexed; for Johnson told me, he believed the story was true.) GARRICK. "I—I—I—said, *first concoction*."² JOHNSON (smiling). "Well, he left out *first*. And Rich, he said, refused him in *false English*; he could show it under his hand." GARRICK. "He wrote to me in violent wrath, for having refused his play: 'Sir, this is growing a very serious and terrible affair. I am resolved to publish my play. I will appeal to the world; and how will your judgment appear?' I answered, 'Sir, notwithstanding all the seriousness and all the terrors I have no objection to your publishing your play: and, as you live at a great distance (Devonshire, I believe), if you will send it to me, I will convey it to the press.'³ I never heard more of it, ha! ha! ha!"

On Friday, April 10., I found Johnson at home in the morning. We resumed the conversation of yesterday. He put me in mind of some of it which had escaped my memory, and enabled me to record it more perfectly than I otherwise could have done. He was much pleased with my paying so great attention to his recommendation in 1763, the period when our acquaintance began, that I should keep a journal; and I could perceive he was secretly pleased to find so much of the fruit of his mind preserved; and as he had been used to imagine and say, that he always laboured when he said a good thing,—it delighted him, on a review, to find that his conversation teemed with point and imagery.

I said to him, "You were, yesterday, Sir, in remarkably good humour; but there was

nothing to offend you, nothing to produce irritation or violence. There was no bold offender. There was not one capital conviction. It was a maiden assize. You had on your white gloves."⁴

He found fault with our friend Langton for having been too silent. "Sir," said I, "you will recollect that he very properly took up Sir Joshua for being glad that Charles Fox had praised Goldsmith's 'Traveller,' and you joined him." JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir, I knocked Fox on the head, without ceremony. Reynolds is too much under Fox and Burke at present. He is under the *Fox star* and the *Irish constellation*. He is always under some planet." BOSWELL. "There is no Fox star." JOHNSON. "But there is a dog star." BOSWELL. "They say, indeed, a fox and a dog are the same animal."

I reminded him of a gentleman who, Mrs. Cholmondeley said, was first talkative from affectation, and then silent from the same cause; that he first thought, "I shall be celebrated as the liveliest man in every company;" and then, all at once, "O! it is much more respectable to be grave and look wise." "He has reversed the Pythagorean discipline, by being first talkative and then silent. He reverses the course of nature too; he was first the gay butterfly, and then the creeping worm." Johnson laughed loud and long at this expansion and illustration of what he himself had told me.

We dined together with Mr. Scott (now Sir William Scott, his majesty's advocate general), at his chambers in the Temple, nobody else there. The company being [so] small, Johnson was not in such spirits as he had been the preceding day⁵, and for a considerable time little was said. At last he burst forth:—"Subordination is sadly broken down in this age. No man, now, has the same authority which his father had—except a gaoler. No master has it over his servants: it is diminished in our colleges; nay, in our grammar-schools." BOSWELL. "What is the cause of this, Sir?" JOHNSON. "Why, the coming in of the Scotch," laughing sarcastically. BOSWELL. "That is to say, things have been turned topsy-turvy.—But your serious cause." JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, there are

¹ It was called "The Siege of Aleppo." Mr. Hawkins, the author of it, was formerly professor of poetry at Oxford. It is printed in his "Miscellanies," 3 vols. 8vo.—BOSWELL. The Mr. Hawkins, here so slightly mentioned, is, nevertheless, introduced as one of the great men which Pembroke College produced. See *anté*, p. 18.—WRIGHT.

² Garrick had high authority for this expression. Dryden uses it in his preface to "Œdipus."—MALONE. And, surely, "*concoction*" alone was as good as "*first concoction*," which latter phrase Johnson was willing to admit: but it appears from the letters in the Garrick Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 6., that Garrick really wrote "*first concoction*."—CROKER.

³ Garrick a little embellishes the reply. He did not offer epigrammatically "to convey the play to the press." but in a long, contentious letter says, that he will "forgive Hawkins's publishing an appeal on the rejection of his plays, if he will publish the plays themselves;" and this was so far from silencing Hawkins, that he rejoined in a still more violent letter.

The reader will, perhaps, not be sorry to see a sketch of this evening by another hand, more partial to Garrick. Hannah More writes, "I dined with the Garricks on Thurs-

day; he went with me in the evening to Sir Joshua's, where I was engaged to pass the evening. I was not a little proud of being the means of bringing such a beau into such a party. We found Gibbon, Johnson, Hermes Harris, Burney, Chambers, Ramsay, the Bishop of St. Asaph, Boswell, Langton, &c., and scarce an expletive man or woman amongst them. Garrick put Johnson into such good spirits, that I never knew him so entertaining or more instructive. He was as brilliant as himself, and as good-humoured as any one else."—*More's Life*, vol. i. p. 146. But how infinitely inferior are these generalities to the vivacious details of Boswell!—CROKER, 1835.

⁴ At an assize, where there has been no capital conviction, the judge receives a pair of white gloves.—CROKER.

⁵ Hannah More says, on the contrary, of a very small party at her lodgings, "Johnson, full of wisdom and piety, was very communicative. To enjoy Dr. Johnson perfectly, one must have him to oneself, as he seldom cares to speak in mixed parties."—*Life*, vol. i. p. 64. sub an. 1776. I, however, believe Boswell was right as to the usual result.—CROKER, 1835.

many causes, the chief of which is, I think, the great increase of money. No man now depends upon the lord of a manor, when he can send to another country and fetch provisions. The shoe-black at the entry of my court does not depend on me. I can deprive him but of a penny a day, which he hopes somebody else will bring him; and that penny I must carry to another shoe-black; so the trades suffers nothing. I have explained, in my 'Journey to the Hebrides,' how gold and silver destroy feudal subordination. But, besides, there is a general relaxation of reverence. No son now depends upon his father, as in former times. Paternity used to be considered as of itself a great thing, which had a right to many claims. That is, in general, reduced to very small bounds. My hope is, that as anarchy produces tyranny, this extreme relaxation will produce *freni strictio*."

Talking of fame, for which there is so great a desire, I observed, how little there is of it in reality, compared with the other objects of human attention. "Let every man recollect, and he will be sensible how small a part of his time is employed in talking or thinking of Shakspeare, Voltaire, or any of the most celebrated men that have ever lived, or are now supposed to occupy the attention and admiration of the world. Let this be extracted and compressed; into what a narrow space will it go!" I then slyly¹ introduced Mr. Garrick's fame, and his assuming the airs of a great man. JOHNSON. "Sir, it is wonderful how little Garrick assumes. No, Sir, Garrick *fortunam reverenter habet*. Consider, Sir; celebrated men, such as you have mentioned, have had their applause at a distance; but Garrick had it dashed in his face, sounded in his ears, and went home every night with the plaudits of a thousand in his *cranium*. Then, Sir, Garrick did not *find*, but *made* his way to the tables, the levees, and almost the bed-chambers of the great. Then, Sir, Garrick had under him a numerous body of people; who, from fear of his power and hopes of his favour, and admiration of his talents, were constantly submissive to him. And here is a man who has advanced

the dignity of his profession. Garrick has made a player a higher character." SCOTT. "And he is a very sprightly writer too." JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir; and all this supported by great wealth of his own acquisition. If all this had happened to me, I should have had a couple of fellows with long poles walking before me to knock down every body that stood in the way. Consider, if all this had happened to Cibber or Quin, they'd have jumped over the moon. Yet Garrick speaks to us" (smiling). BOSWELL. "And Garrick is a very good man, a charitable man." JOHNSON. "Sir, a liberal man. He has given away more money than any man in England. There may be a little vanity mixed: but he has shown that money is not his first object."² BOSWELL. "Yet Foote used to say of him, that he walked out with an intention to do a generous action; but, turning the corner of a street, he met with the ghost of a halfpenny, which frightened him." JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, that is very true too; for I never knew a man of whom it could be said with less certainty to-day, what he will do to-morrow, than Garrick; it depends so much on his humour at the time." SCOTT. "I am glad to hear of his liberality. He has been represented as very saving." JOHNSON. "With his domestic saving we have nothing to do. I remember drinking tea with him long ago, when Peg Woffington made it, and he grumbled at her for making it too strong.³ He had then begun to feel money in his purse, and did not know when he should have enough of it."⁴

On the subject of wealth, the proper use of it, and the effects of that art which is called economy, he observed, "It is wonderful to think how men of very large estates not only spend their yearly incomes, but are often actually in want of money. It is clear they have not value for what they spend. Lord Shelburne⁵ told me, that a man of high rank, who looks into his own affairs, may have all that he ought to have, all that can be of any use, or appear with any advantage, for five thousand pound a year. Therefore, a great proportion must go in waste; and, indeed, this is the case with most

¹ This *styness* was not quite fair; and in justice to Johnson it should be observed, that though on this occasion no harm was done, Boswell often betrayed him by these arts into personal censures, which he would probably never otherwise have uttered, and which we know he sometimes regretted. — CROKER, 1835.

² Miss Hawkins says, "At Hampton, and in its neighbourhood, Mr. and Mrs. Garrick took the rank of the *noblesse* [she means, 'appeared as if they had been of that rank'] — every thing was in good taste, and his establishment distinguished — he drove four horses when going to town." She adds the following lively description of his personal appearance: "I see him now, in a dark blue coat, the button-holes bound with gold, a small cocked hat laced with gold, his waistcoat very open, and his countenance never at rest, and, indeed, seldom his person: for, in the relaxation of the country, he gave way to all his natural volatility, and with my father was perfectly at ease, sometimes sitting on a table, and then, if he saw my brothers at a distance on the lawn, shooting off like an arrow out of a bow in a spirited chase of them round the garden. I remember — when my father, having me in his hand, met him on the common, riding his pretty pony — his moving my compassion by lamenting the misery of being summoned to town in hot weather (I think

August) to play before the King of Denmark. I thought him sincere, and his case pitiable, till my father assured me that he was in reality very well pleased, and that what he groaned at as labour, was an honour paid to his talent. The natural expression of his countenance was far from placidity. I confess I was afraid of him; more so than I was of Johnson, whom I knew not to be, nor could suppose I ever would be thought to be, an extraordinary man. Garrick had a frown, and spoke impetuously. Johnson was slow and kind in his way to children." — *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 21. — CROKER.

³ When Johnson told this little anecdote to Sir Joshua Reynolds, he mentioned a circumstance which he omitted to-day: — "Why," said Garrick, "it is as red as blood." BOSWELL.

⁴ The generosity of David Garrick to the late Mr. Berenger (see *post*, 12 Ap. 1781), who had fallen into distress by wit or by negligence, was as memorable. He sent him back his securities for 500*l*. with a donation of a bank note of 300 — TYERS. — CROKER.

⁵ It does not appear when or how he became acquainted with Lord Shelburne. See *post*, sub 30th March, 1783. — CROKER.

people, whatever their fortune is." BOSWELL. "I have no doubt, Sir, of this. But how is it? What is waste?" JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, breaking bottles, and a thousand other things. Waste cannot be accurately told, though we are sensible how destructive it is. Economy on the one hand, by which a certain income is made to maintain a man genteelly, and waste on the other, by which, on the same income, another man lives shabbily, cannot be defined. It is a very nice thing; as one man wears his coat out much sooner than another, we cannot tell how."

We talked of war. JOHNSON. "Every man thinks meanly of himself for not having been a soldier, or not having been at sea." BOSWELL. "Lord Mansfield does not." JOHNSON. "Sir, if Lord Mansfield were in a company of general officers and admirals who have been in service, he would shrink; he'd wish to creep under the table." BOSWELL. "No; he'd think he could try them all." JOHNSON. "Yes, if he could catch them: but they'd try him much sooner. No, Sir; were Socrates and Charles the Twelfth of Sweden both present in any company, and Socrates to say, 'Follow me, and hear a lecture in philosophy;' and Charles, laying his hand on his sword, to say, 'Follow me, and dethrone the Czar,' a man would be ashamed to follow Socrates. Sir, the impression is universal; yet it is strange. As to the sailor, when you look down from the quarter-deck to the space below, you see the utmost extremity of human misery; such crowding, such filth, such stench!" BOSWELL. "Yet sailors are happy." JOHNSON. "They are happy as brutes are happy, with a piece of fresh meat — with the grossest sensuality. But, Sir, the profession of soldiers and sailors has the dignity of danger. Mankind reverence those who have got over fear, which is so general a weakness." SCOTT. "But is not courage mechanical, and to be acquired?" JOHNSON. "Why yes, Sir, in a collective sense. Soldiers consider themselves only as part of a great machine." SCOTT. "We find people fond of being sailors." JOHNSON. "I cannot account for that, any more than I can account for other strange perversions of imagination." His abhorrence of the profession of a sailor was uniformly violent; but in conversation he always exalted the profession of a soldier. And yet I have, in my large and various collection of his writings, a letter to an eminent friend, in which he expresses himself thus:—"My godson called on me lately. He is weary, and rationally weary, of a military life. If you can place him in some other state, I think you may increase his happiness, and secure his virtue.

A soldier's time is passed in distress and danger, or in idleness and corruption." Such was his cool reflection in his study; but whenever he was warmed and animated by the presence of company, he, like other philosophers, whose minds are impregnated with poetical fancy, caught the common enthusiasm for splendid renown.

He talked of Mr. Charles Fox, of whose abilities he thought highly, but observed, that he did not talk much at our Club. I have heard Mr. Gibbon remark, "that Mr. Fox could not be afraid of Dr. Johnson; yet he certainly was very shy of saying any thing in Dr. Johnson's presence." Mr. Scott now quoted what was said of Alcibiades by a Greek poet, to which Johnson assented.¹

He told us, that he had given Mrs. Montagu a catalogue of all Daniel Defoe's works of imagination²; most, if not all of which, as well as of his other works, he now enumerated, allowing a considerable share of merit to a man, who, bred a tradesman, had written so variously and so well. Indeed, his "Robinson Crusoe" is enough of itself to establish his reputation.

He expressed great indignation at the imposture of the Cock-lane ghost, and related, with much satisfaction, how he had assisted in detecting the cheat, and had published an account of it in the newspapers. Upon this subject I incautiously offended him, by pressing him with too many questions, and he showed his displeasure. I apologised, saying, that "I asked questions in order to be instructed and entertained; I repaired eagerly to the fountain; but that the moment he gave me a hint, the moment he put a lock upon the well, I desisted." "But, Sir," said he, "that is forcing one to do a disagreeable thing;" and he continued to rate me. "Nay, Sir," said I, "when you have put a lock upon the well, so that I can no longer drink, do not make the fountain of your wit play upon me and wet me."³

He sometimes could not bear being teased with questions. I was once present when a gentleman⁴ asked so many, as, "What did you do, Sir?" "What did you say, Sir?" that he at last grew enraged, and said, "I will not be put to the question. Don't you consider, Sir, that these are not the manners of a gentleman? I will not be baited with *what* and *why*; what is this? what is that? why is a cow's tail long? why is a fox's tail bushy?" The gentleman, who was a good deal out of countenance, said, "Why, Sir, you are so good, that I venture to trouble you." JOHNSON. "Sir, my being so good is no reason why you should be so ill."

Talking of the *Justitia* hulk at Woolwich, in

¹ Dr. Michael Kearney, Archdeacon of Raphoe, [*anté*, p. 168. n. 3.] remarks, that "Mr. Boswell's memory must here have deceived him; and that Mr. Scott's observation must have been, that 'Mr. Fox, in the instance mentioned, might be considered as the reverse of Phœax;' of whom, as Plutarch relates in the Life of Alcibiades, Eupolis the tragedian said, 'It is true he can talk, and yet he is no speaker.'" MALONE. Scott probably made the very obvious comparison of Fox to Alcibiades,

whom, as an orator, Eupolis had contrasted with the talker Phœax. — CROKER, 1847.

² Probably the list which is to be found in *Gibbon's Lives*. — CROKER.

³ Johnson had little reason to be proud of his share in this foolish duperly (*anté*, p. 138.), and, therefore, was angry when Boswell pressed the subject on him. — CROKER.

⁴ This was supposed to be Boswell himself. — CROKER.

which criminals were punished, by being confined to labour, he said, "I do not see that they are punished by this: they must have worked equally, had they never been guilty of stealing. They now only work; so, after all, they have gained; what they stole is clear gain to them; the confinement is nothing. Every man who works is confined: the smith to his shop, the tailor to his garret." BOSWELL. "And Lord Mansfield to his court." JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir. You know the notion of confinement may be extended, as in the song, 'Every island is a prison.' There is in Dodsley's collection a copy of verses to the author of that song."¹

Smith's Latin verses on Pococke, the great traveller², were mentioned. He repeated some of them, and said they were Smith's best verses.

He talked with an uncommon animation of travelling into distant countries; that the mind was enlarged by it, and that an acquisition of dignity of character was derived from it. He expressed a particular enthusiasm with respect to visiting the wall of China. I caught it for the moment, and said I really believed I should go and see the wall of China had I not children, of whom it was my duty to take care. "Sir," said he, "by doing so, you would do what would be of importance in raising your children to eminence. There would be a lustre reflected upon them from your spirit and curiosity. They would be at all times regarded as the children of a man who had gone to view the wall of China. I am serious, Sir."

When we had left Mr. Scott's he said, "Will you go home with me?" "Sir," said I, "it is late; but I'll go with you for three minutes." JOHNSON. "Or four." We went to Mrs. Williams's room, where we found Mr. Allen the printer, who was the landlord of his house in Bolt-court, a worthy, obliging man, and his very old acquaintance; and what was exceedingly amusing, though he was of a very diminutive size, he used, even in Johnson's presence, to imitate the stately periods and slow and solemn utterance of the great man. I this evening boasted, that although I did not write what is called stenography, or short-hand, in appropriated characters devised for the purpose, I had a method of my own of writing half-words, and leaving out some altogether, so as yet to keep the substance and language of any discourse which I had heard so much in view,

that I could give it very completely soon after I had taken it down. He defied me, as he had once defied an actual short-hand writer; and he made the experiment by reading slowly and distinctly a part of Robertson's "History of America," while I endeavoured to write it in my way of taking notes. It was found that I had it very imperfectly; the conclusion from which was, that its excellence was principally owing to a studied arrangement of words, which could not be varied or abridged without an essential injury.³

On Sunday, April 12., I found him at home before dinner; Dr. Dodd's poem, entitled "Thoughts in Prison," was lying upon his table. This appearing to me an extraordinary effort by a man who was in Newgate for a capital crime, I was desirous to hear Johnson's opinion of it: to my surprise, he told me he had not read a line of it. I took up the book and read a passage to him. JOHNSON. "Pretty well, if you are previously disposed to like them." I read another passage, with which he was better pleased. He then took the book into his own hands, and having looked at the prayer at the end of it, he said, "What evidence is there that this was composed the night before he suffered? I do not believe it." He then read aloud where he prays for the king, &c., and observed, "Sir, do you think that a man, the night before he is to be hanged, cares for the succession of a royal family? Though, he may have composed this prayer then. A man who has been canting all his life, may cant to the last. And yet a man who has been refused a pardon after so much petitioning, would hardly be praying thus fervently for the king."⁴

He, and I, and Mrs. Williams went to dine with the Reverend Dr. Percy. Talking of Goldsmith, Johnson said, he was very envious. I defended him, by observing, that he owned it frankly upon all occasions. JOHNSON. "Sir, you are enforcing the charge. He had so much envy, that he could not conceal it. He was so full of it, that he overflowed. He talked of it, to be sure, often enough. Now, Sir, what a man avows, he is not ashamed to think; though many a man thinks what he is ashamed to avow. We are all envious naturally; but by checking envy, we get the better of it. So we are all thieves naturally; a child always tries to get at what it wants the nearest way: by

¹ I have in vain examined Dodsley's Collection for the verses here referred to. The song begins with the words, "Welcome, welcome, brother debtor." — MALONE. The song itself is to be found in Ritson's and other collections. — CROKER.

² Smith's verses are on Edward Pococke, the great Oriental linguist: he travelled, it is true; but Dr. Richard Pococke, late Bishop of Ossory, who published Travels through the East, is usually called the great traveller. — KEARNEY. Edward Pococke was Canon of Christchurch and Hebrew Professor in Oxford. The two Pockokes flourished just a century apart; the one, Edward, being born in 1604; Richard, in 1704. — HALL. — CROKER.

³ This is odd reasoning. Most readers would have come to the more obvious conclusion, that Boswell had failed in his

experiment at short-hand. This passage may account for some verbal errors and obscurities in this work: when copying his notes, after a considerable lapse of time, Mr. Boswell probably misunderstood his own abbreviations. — CROKER.

⁴ It does not seem consistent that Johnson should have thus spoken of one, in the sincerity of whose repentance he had so much confidence as to desire to have the benefit of his prayers (*aut.*, p. 544). The observation, too, on the prayer "for the king" seems inconsiderate; because, if Dodd was a sincere penitent, he would be anxious to reconcile himself with all mankind, and, as the king might have saved his life yet would not, Dodd's prayer for him was probably neither form nor flattery (for what could they avail him at that hour?), but the proof of contrition, and of the absence of all personal resentment. — CROKER.

good instruction and good habits this is cured, till a man has not even an inclination to seize what is another's; has no struggle with himself about it."

And here I shall record a scene of too much heat between Dr. Johnson and Dr. Percy, which I should have suppressed, were it not that it gave occasion to display the truly tender and benevolent heart of Johnson, who, as soon as he found a friend was at all hurt by any thing which he had "said in his wrath," was not only prompt and desirous to be reconciled, but exerted himself to make ample reparation.

Books of travels having been mentioned, Johnson praised Pennant very highly, as he did at Dunvegan, in the Isle of Skye. Dr. Percy, knowing himself to be the heir male of the ancient Percies¹, and having the warmest and most dutiful attachment to the noble house of Northumberland, could not sit quietly and hear a man praised, who had spoken disrespectfully of Alnwick Castle and the duke's pleasure-grounds, especially as he thought meanly of his travels. He therefore opposed Johnson eagerly. JOHNSON. "Pennant, in what he has said of Alnwick², has done what he intended; he has made you very angry." PERCY. "He has said the garden is trim, which is representing it like a citizen's parterre, when the truth is, there is a very large extent of fine turf and gravel walks." JOHNSON. "According to your own account, Sir, Pennant is right. It *is* trim. Here is grass cut close, and gravel rolled smooth. Is not that trim? The extent is nothing against that; a mile may be as trim as a square yard. Your extent puts me in mind of the citizen's enlarged dinner, two pieces of roast beef and two puddings.³ There is no variety, no mind exerted in laying out the ground, no trees." PERCY. "He pretends to give the natural history of Northumberland, and yet takes no notice of the immense number of trees planted there of late." JOHNSON. "That, Sir, has nothing to do with the *natural* history; that is *civil* history. A man who gives the natural history of the oak, is not to tell how many oaks have been planted in this

place or that. A man who gives the natural history of the cow, is not to tell how many cows are milked at Islington. The animal is the same whether milked in the Park or at Islington." PERCY. "Pennant does not describe well; a carrier who goes along the side of Lochlomond would describe it better." JOHNSON. "I think he describes very well." PERCY. "I travelled after him." JOHNSON. "And I travelled after him." PERCY. "But, my good friend, you are short-sighted, and do not see so well as I do." I wonder at Dr. Percy's venturing thus. Dr. Johnson said nothing at the time; but inflammable particles were collecting for a cloud to burst. In a little while Dr. Percy said something more in disparagement of Pennant. JOHNSON (pointedly). "This is the resentment of a narrow mind, because he did not find every thing in Northumberland." PERCY (feeling the stroke). "Sir, you may be as rude as you please." JOHNSON. "Hold, Sir! Don't talk of rudeness: remember, Sir, you told me," puffing hard with passion struggling for a vent, "I was short-sighted. We have done with civility. We are to be as rude as we please." PERCY. "Upon my honour, Sir, I did not mean to be uncivil." JOHNSON. "I cannot say so, Sir; for I *did* mean to be uncivil, thinking *you* had been uncivil." Dr. Percy rose, ran up to him, and taking him by the hand, assured him affectionately that his meaning had been misunderstood; upon which a reconciliation instantly took place. JOHNSON. "My dear Sir, I am willing you shall *hang* Pennant." PERCY (resuming the former subject). "Pennant complains that the helmet is not hung out to invite to the hall of hospitality. Now I never heard that it was a custom to hang out a *helmet*." JOHNSON. "Hang him up, hang him up." BOSWELL (humouring the joke). "Hang out his skull instead of a helmet, and you may drink ale out of it in your hall of Odin, as he is your enemy; that will be truly ancient. *There* will be 'Northern Antiquities.'" JOHNSON. "He's a *whig*, Sir; a *sad dog*," smiling at his own violent expressions, merely for *political* difference

¹ See this accurately stated, and the descent of his family from the Earls of Northumberland clearly deduced, in the Rev. Dr. Nash's excellent "History of Worcestershire," vol. ii. p. 318. The doctor has subjoined a note, in which he says, "The editor hath seen, and carefully examined the proofs of all the particulars above mentioned, now in the possession of the Rev. Thomas Percy." The same proofs I have also myself carefully examined, and have seen more additional proofs which have occurred since the doctor's book was published; and both as a lawyer accustomed to the consideration of evidence, and as a genealogist versed in the study of pedigrees, I am fully satisfied. I cannot help observing, as a circumstance of no small moment, that in tracing the Bishop of Dromore's genealogy, essential aid was given by the late Elizabeth Duchess of Northumberland, heiress of that illustrious house [p. 443. n. 2]; a lady not only of high dignity of spirit, such as became her noble blood, but of excellent understanding and lively talents. With a fair pride I can boast of the honour of her grace's correspondence, specimens of which adorn my archives. — BOSWELL.

² At Alnwick no remains of chivalry are perceptible, no respectable train of attendants; the furniture and gardens inconsistent, and nothing, except the numbers of wretched poor at the castle gate, excited any one idea of its

former circumstances." — *Pennant's Tour in Scotland*. — WRIGHT.

³ It is observable that the same illustration of the same subject is to be found in the *Heroic Epistle* to Sir William Chambers: —

"For what is nature? — ring her changes round,
Her three flat notes are water, plants, and ground;
Prolong the peal, yet, spite of all your clatter,
The tedious chime is still ground, plants, and water.
So when some *John* his dull invention racks
To rival Boodle's dinners or Almack's,
Three uncouth legs of mutton shock our eyes,
Three roasted geese, three butter'd apple pies."

BOSWELL.

The *Heroic Epistle* had appeared in 1773; so that Johnson, no doubt, borrowed the idea from that spirited and pungent satire. — CROKER.

⁴ It certainly was a custom, as appears from the following passage in "Perce-forest," vol. iii. p. 108. : — "Fasoient metre au plus hault de leur hostel un *heautain*, en signe que tous les gentils hommes et gentilles femmes entrassent hardiment en leur hostel comme en leur propre." — KEARNEY.

⁵ The title of a book translated by Dr. Percy. — BOSWELL.

of opinion: "but he's the best traveller I ever read; he observes more things than any one else does."

I could not help thinking that this was too high praise of a writer who traversed a wide extent of country in such haste, that he could put together only curt frittered fragments of his own, and afterwards procured supplemental intelligence from parochial ministers, and others not the best qualified or most partial narrators, whose ungenerous prejudice against the house of Stuart glares in misrepresentation; a writer, who at best treats merely of superficial objects, and shows no philosophical investigation of character and manners, such as Johnson has exhibited in his masterly "Journey" over part of the same ground; and who, it should seem from a desire of ingratiating himself with the Scotch, has flattered the people of North Britain so inordinately and with so little discrimination, that the judicious and candid amongst them must be disgusted, while they value more the plain, just, yet kindly report of Johnson.

Having impartially censured Mr. Pennant, as a traveller in Scotland, let me allow him, from authorities much better than mine, his deserved praise as an able zoologist; and let me also, from my own understanding and feelings, acknowledge the merit of his "London," which, though said to be not quite accurate in some particulars, is one of the most pleasing topographical performances that ever appeared in any language. Mr. Pennant, like his countrymen in general, has the true spirit of a gentleman. As a proof of it, I shall quote from his "London" the passage in which he speaks of my illustrious friend.

"I must by no means omit *Bolt Court*, the long residence of Dr. Samuel Johnson, a man of the strongest natural abilities, great learning, a most retentive memory, of the deepest and most unaffected piety and morality, mingled with those numerous weaknesses and prejudices, which his friends have kindly taken care to draw from their dread abode.¹ I brought on myself his transient anger, by observing that in his tour in Scotland, he once had long and woful experience of oats being the food of men in Scotland, as they were of horses in England. It was a national reflection unworthy of him, and I shot my bolt. In turn he gave me a tender hug.² *Con amore* he also said of me, 'The dog is a Whig.'³ I admired the virtues of Lord Russell, and pitied his fall. I should have been a Whig at the Revolution. There have been periods since in which I should have been, what I now am, a moderate Tory, a supporter, as far as my little influence extends, of a well-poised balance between the crown and the people; but should the scale preponderate against the *salus populi*, that moment may it be said, 'The dog's a Whig!'"

¹ This is the common cant against faithful biography. Does the worthy gentleman mean that I, who was taught discrimination of character by Johnson, should have omitted his frailties, and, in short, have *bedaubed* him, as the worthy gentleman has bedaubed Scotland? — BOSWELL.

We had a calm after the storm, staid till evening and supped, and were pleasant an gay. But Dr. Percy told me he was very uneasy at what had passed, for there was gentleman there who was acquainted with the Northumberland family, to whom he hoped to have appeared more respectable, by showing how intimate he was with Dr. Johnson, and who might now, on the contrary, go away with an opinion to his disadvantage. He begged would mention this to Dr. Johnson, which afterwards did. His observation upon it was "This comes of *stratagem*; had he told me that he wished to appear to advantage before that gentleman, he should have been at the top of the house all the time." He spoke of Dr. Percy in the handsomest manner. "Then Sir," said I, "may I be allowed to suggest a mode by which you may effectually counteract any unfavourable report of what passed? I will write a letter to you upon the subject of the unlucky contest of that day, and you will be kind enough to put in writing, as an answer to that letter, what you have now said, and Lord Percy is to dine with us at General Paoli's soon, I will take an opportunity to read the correspondence in his lordship's presence. This friendly scheme was accordingly carried into execution without Dr. Percy's knowledge. Johnson's letter placed Dr. Percy's unquestionable merit in the fairest point of view, and I contrived that Lord Percy should have the correspondence, by introducing it at General Paoli's as an instance of Dr. Johnson's kind disposition towards one in whom his lordship was interested. Thus every unfavourable impression was obviated that could possibly have been made on those by whom he was most to be regarded. I breakfasted the day after with him, and informed him of my scheme and its happy completion, for which he thanked me in the warmest terms, and was highly delighted with Dr. Johnson's letter in his praise of which I gave him a copy. He said, "I would rather have this than degrees from all the universities in Europe. It will be for me and my children, and grandchildren." Dr. Johnson having afterwards asked me if I had given him a copy of it, and being told I had, was offended, and insisted that I should get back, which I did. As, however, he did not desire me to destroy either the original or the copy, or forbid me to let it be seen, I thought myself at liberty to apply to his own general declaration to me concerning his own letter "That he did not choose they should be published in his life-time; but had no objection to their appearing after his death." I shall therefore insert this kindly correspondence, having faithfully narrated the circumstances accompanying it.

² See Dr. Johnson's "Journey to the Western Island," p. 296; see his Dictionary, article *Oats*; and my "Voyage to the Hebrides," first edition. — PENNANT.

³ See Mr. Boswell's Journal [*ante*, p. 314.]. — PENNANT.

BOSWELL TO JOHNSON.

"MY DEAR SIR, — I beg leave to address you in behalf of our friend Dr. Percy, who was much hurt by what you said to him that day we dined at his house (Sunday, April 12.); when, in the course of the dispute as to Pennant's merit as a traveller, you told Percy that 'he had the resentment of a narrow mind against Pennant, because he did not find every thing in Northumberland.' Percy is sensible that you did not mean to injure him; but he is vexed to think that your behaviour to him on that occasion may be interpreted as a proof that he is despised by you, which I know is not the case. I have told him, that the charge of being narrow-minded was only as to the particular point in question; and that he had the merit of being a martyr to his noble family.

"Earl Percy is to dine with General Paoli next Friday; and I should be sincerely glad to have it in my power to satisfy his lordship how well you think of Dr. Percy, who, I find, apprehends that your good opinion of him may be of very essential consequence; and who assures me that he has the highest respect and the warmest affection for you.

"I have only to add, that my suggesting this occasion for the exercise of your candour and generosity is altogether unknown to Dr. Percy, and proceeds from my good-will towards him, and my persuasion that you will be happy to do him an essential kindness. I am, more and more, my dear Sir, your most faithful and affectionate humble servant,
JAMES BOSWELL."

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"April 23. 1778.

"SIR, — The debate between Dr. Percy and me is one of those foolish controversies which begin upon a question of which neither party cares how it is decided, and which is, nevertheless, continued to acrimony, by the vanity with which every man resists confutation. Dr. Percy's warmth proceeded from a cause which, perhaps, does him more honour than he could have derived from juster criticism. His abhorrence of Pennant proceeded from his opinion that Pennant had wantonly and indecently censured his patron. His anger made him resolve, that, for having been once wrong, he never should be right. Pennant has much in his notions that I do not like; but still I think him a very intelligent traveller. If Percy is really offended, I am sorry; for he is a man whom I never knew to offend any one. He is a man very willing to learn, and very able to teach; a man, out of whose company I never go without having learned something. It is sure that he vexes me sometimes, but I am afraid it is by making me feel my own ignorance. So much extension of mind, and so much minute accuracy of inquiry, if you survey your whole circle of acquaintance, you will find so scarce, if you find it at all, that you will value Percy by com-

parison. Lord Hailes is somewhat like him; but Lord Hailes does not, perhaps, go beyond him in research; and I do not know that he equals him in elegance. Percy's attention to poetry has given grace and splendour to his studies of antiquity. A mere antiquarian is a rugged being.

"Upon the whole, you see that what I might say in sport or petulance to him, is very consistent with full conviction of his merit. I am, dear Sir, your most, &c.,
SAM. JOHNSON."

BOSWELL TO DR. PERCY.

"South Audley Street, April 25.

DEAR SIR, — I wrote to Dr. Johnson on the subject of the *Pennantian* controversy; and have received from him an answer which will delight you. I read it yesterday to Dr. Robertson, at the Exhibition; and at dinner to Lord Percy, General Oglethorpe, &c., who dined with us at General Paoli's; who was also a witness to the high testimony to your honour.

"General Paoli desires the favour of your company next Tuesday to dinner, to meet Dr. Johnson. If I can, I will call on you to-day. I am, with sincere regard, your most obedient humble servant,
"JAMES BOSWELL."¹

CHAPTER LXIV.

1778.

"Chapter concerning Snakes." — *Styles in Painting and Writing.* — George Steevens. — *Luxury.* — *Different Governments.* — *Maccaronic Verses.* — *Cookery Books.* — *Inequality of the Sexes.* — *Degrees of Happiness.* — Soame Jenyns's "*Internal Evidence.*" — *Courage.* — *Friendship.* — *Free Will.* — *Mandeville.* — "*Private Vices, public Benefits.*" — Hannah More. — *Mason's Prosecution of Mr. Murray the Bookseller.* — *Fear of Death.* — *Annihilation.* — *Future State of Existence.* — *Wesley's Ghost Story.* — *Jane Harry.* — *Change of Religion.* — *Mrs. Knowles.*

On Monday, April 13., I dined with Johnson at Mr. Langton's, where were Dr. Porteus, then Bishop of Chester, afterwards of London, and Dr. Stinton.² He was at first in a very silent mood. Before dinner he said nothing but "Pretty baby," to one of the children. Langton said very well to me afterwards, that he could repeat Dr. Johnson's conversation before dinner, as Johnson had said that he could repeat a complete chapter of "The Natural History of Iceland," from the Danish

¹ Though the Bishop of Dromore kindly answered the letters which I wrote to him, relative to Dr. Johnson's early history; yet, in justice to him, I think it proper to add, that the account of the foregoing conversation, and the subsequent transaction, as well as of some other conversations in which he is mentioned, has been given to the public without previous communication with his lordship. — BOSWELL.

Boswell manages with more art than candour to give his reserve towards Percy the turn of a compliment: he knew very well that the Bishop would have naturally and justly

objected to the revival and promulgation of this disagreeable affair, and therefore Boswell never consulted him. Several anecdotes, related by Mr. Cradock, show that the amicable relations which had subsisted between Johnson and Percy were more seriously changed than Boswell is willing to confess. — *Cradock's Memoirs*, p. 241. — CROKER.

² Dr. Stinton had been Dr. Porteus's fellow chaplain to Archbishop Secker, and was his colleague in the publication of their patron's works. — CROKER.

of *Horrebow*, the whole of which was exactly thus :—

“ Chap. LXII. — *Concerning Snakes.*

“ There are no snakes to be met with throughout the whole island.”

At dinner we talked of another mode in the newspapers of giving modern characters in sentences from the classics, and of the passage—

“ *Parcus deorum cultor et infrequens,
Insanientis dum sapientie
Consultus erro, nunc retrorsum
Vela dare, atque iterare cursus
Cogor relictos,*”¹

being well applied to Soame Jenyns; who, after having wandered in the wilds of infidelity, had returned to the Christian faith. Mr. Langton asked Johnson as to the propriety of *sapientie consultus*. JOHNSON. “ Though *consultus* was primarily an adjective, like *amicus* it came to be used as a substantive. So we have *juris consultus*, a consult in law.”

We talked of the styles of different painters, and how certainly a connoisseur could distinguish them. I asked if there was as clear a difference of styles in language as in painting, or even as in handwriting, so that the composition of every individual may be distinguished? JOHNSON. “ Yes. Those who have a style of eminent excellence, such as Dryden and Milton, can always be distinguished.” I had no doubt of this; but what I wanted to know was, whether there was really a peculiar style to every man whatever, as there is certainly a peculiar handwriting, a peculiar countenance, not widely different in many, yet always enough to be distinctive :—

“ ——— facies non omnibus una,
Nec diversa tamen.”²

The bishop thought not; and said, he supposed that many pieces in Dodsley's collection of poems, though all very pretty, had nothing appropriated in their style, and in that particular could not be at all distinguished. JOHNSON. “ Why, Sir, I think every man whatever has a peculiar style, which may be discovered by nice examination and comparison

with others: but a man must write a great deal to make his style obviously discernible. As logicians say, this appropriation of style is infinite in *potestate*, limited in *actu*.”

Mr. Topham Beauclerk came in the evening, and he and Dr. Johnson and I staid to supper. It was mentioned that Dr. Dodd³ had once wished to be a member of the LITERARY CLUB. JOHNSON. “ I should be sorry if any of our Club were hanged. I will not say but some of them deserve it.” BEAUCLEBK (supposing this to be aimed at persons⁴ for whom he had at that time a wonderful fancy, which, however, did not last long) was irritated, and eagerly said, “ You, Sir, have a friend⁵ (naming him) who deserves to be hanged; for he speaks behind their backs against those with whom he lives on the best terms, and attacks them in the newspapers. He certainly ought to be kicked.” JOHNSON. “ Sir, we all do this in some degree: ‘ *Veniam petimusque damusque vicissim*.’ To be sure it may be done so much, that a man may deserve to be kicked.” BEAUCLEBK. “ He is very malignant.” JOHNSON. “ No, Sir, he is not malignant. He is mischievous, if you will. He would do no man an essential injury; he may, indeed, love to make sport of people by vexing their vanity. I, however, once knew an old gentleman who was absolutely malignant. He really wished evil to others, and rejoiced at it.” BOSWELL. “ The gentleman, Mr. Beauclerk, against whom you are so violent, is, I know, a man of good principles.” BEAUCLEBK. “ Then he does not wear them out in practice.”

Dr. Johnson, who, as I have observed before, delighted in discrimination of character, and having a masterly knowledge of human nature, was willing to take men as they are, imperfect, and with a mixture of good and bad qualities, I suppose thought he had said enough in defence of his friend, of whose merits, notwithstanding his exceptionable points, he had a just value: and added no more on the subject.

On Tuesday, April 14., I dined with him at General Oglethorpe's, with General Paoli and Mr. Langton. General Oglethorpe declaimed against luxury. JOHNSON. “ Depend upon it, Sir, every state of society is as luxurious as it

violent convulsion in his head, and his eyes are distorted. He speaks roughly and loud, listens to no man's opinions, thoroughly pertinacious of his own. Good sense flows from him in all he utters, and he seems possessed of a prodigious fund of knowledge, which he is not at all reserved in communicating; but in a manner so obstinate, ungentle, and boorish, as renders it disagreeable and dissatisfactory. In short, it is impossible for words to describe him. He seems often inattentive to what passes in company, and then looks like a person possessed by some superior spirit. I have been reflecting on him ever since I saw him. He is a man of most universal and surprising genius, but in himself particular beyond expression.” — CROKER.

“ 4 Mr. Fox, Lord Spencer, Mr. Burke, and some other Whigs, the violence of whose opposition at this time seemed to Johnson little short of abetting rebellion, for which they “ deserved to be hanged.” — CROKER.

“ 5 No doubt George Steevens (now Johnson's colleague in editing Shakespeare), to whom such practices were imputed, and particularly as against Garrick and Murphy. — *Miss Hawk. Mem.* i. 39. — CROKER.

¹ “ A fugitive from heaven and prayer,
I mock'd at all religious fear,
Deep scienc'd in the maze lore
Of mad philosophy; but now
Hoist sail, and back my voyage plow
To that blest harbour which I left before.”
Horace, Od. i. 39. — *Francis*. — C.

² ——— Not the same countenance in all,
Yet not unlike. — Ovid, Met. ii. 13.—C.

³ Miss Reynolds and Sir J. Hawkins doubted whether Johnson had ever been in Dodd's company; but Johnson told Boswell (*ante*, p. 541.) that “ he had once been.” I have now before me a letter, dated in 1750, from Dr. Dodd to his friend the Rev. Mr. Parkhurst, the lexicographer, mentioning this meeting; and his account, at that day, of the man with whom he was afterward to have so painful a correspondence, is interesting and curious :—

“ I spent yesterday afternoon with Johnson, the celebrated author of *The Rambler*, who is of all others the oddest and most peculiar fellow I ever saw. He is six feet high, has a

can be. Men always take the best they can get." OGLETHORPE. "But the best depends much upon ourselves; and if we can be as well satisfied with plain things, we are in the wrong to accustom our palates to what is high seasoned and expensive. What says Addison in his 'Cato,' speaking of the Numidian?

'Coarse are his meals, the fortune of the chase;
Amid the running stream he slakes his thirst,
Toils all the day, and at the approach of night,
On the first friendly bank he throws him down,
Or rests his head upon a rock till morn;
And if the following day he chance to find
A new repast, or an untasted spring,
Blesses his stars, and thinks it luxury.'

Let us have that kind of luxury, Sir, if you will." JOHNSON. "But hold, Sir; to be merely satisfied is not enough. It is in refinement and elegance that the civilised man differs from the savage. A great part of our industry, and all our ingenuity, is exercised in procuring pleasure; and, Sir, a hungry man has not the same pleasure in eating a plain dinner, that a hungry man has in eating a luxurious dinner. You see I put the case fairly. A hungry man may have as much, nay, more pleasure in eating a plain dinner, than a man grown fastidious has in eating a luxurious dinner. But I suppose the man who decides between the two dinners to be equally a hungry man."

Talking of the different governments, — JOHNSON. "The more contracted power is, the more easily it is destroyed. A country governed by a despot is an inverted cone. Government there cannot be so firm as when it rests upon a broad basis gradually contracted, as the government of Great Britain, which is founded on the parliament, then is in the privy council, then in the king." BOSWELL. "Power, when contracted into the person of a despot, may be easily destroyed, as the prince may be cut off. So Caligula wished that the people of Rome had but one neck, that he might cut them off at a blow." OGLETHORPE. "It was of the senate he wished that." The senate by its usurpation controlled both the emperor and the people. And don't you think that we see too much of that in our own parliament?"

Dr. Johnson endeavoured to trace the etymology of Maccaronic verses, which he thought were of Italian invention, from Maccaroni; but on being informed that this would infer that they were the most common and easy verses, maccaroni being the most ordinary and simple food, he was at a loss; for he said, "He

rather should have supposed it to import in its primitive signification, a composition of several things²; for Maccaronic verses are verses made out of a mixture of different languages, that is, of one language with the termination of another." I suppose we scarcely know of a language in any country, where there is any learning, in which that motley ludicrous species of composition may not be found. It is particularly droll in Low Dutch. The "*Polemomidinia*" of Drummond of Hawthornden, in which there is a jumble of many languages moulded, as if it were all in Latin, is well known. Mr. Langton made us laugh heartily at one in the Grecian mould, by Joshua Barnes, in which are to be found such comical *Anglo-hellenisms* as *καλλεβοισιν εθανχθεν*: they were banded with clubs.

On Wednesday, April 15., I dined with Dr. Johnson at Mr. Dilly's, and was high in spirits, for I had been a good part of the morning with Mr. Orme, the able and eloquent historian of Hindostan, who expressed a great admiration of Johnson. "I do not care," said he, "on what subject Johnson talks; but I love better to hear him talk than any body. He either gives you new thoughts, or a new colouring. It is a shame to the nation that he has not been more liberally rewarded. Had I been George the Third, and thought as he did about America, I would have given Johnson three hundred a year for his 'Taxation no Tyranny,' alone." I repeated this, and Johnson was much pleased with such praise from such a man as Orme.

At Mr. Dilly's to-day were Mrs. Knowles, the ingenious quaker lady, Miss Seward, the poetess of Lichfield, the Reverend Dr. Mayo, and the Rev. Mr. Beresford, tutor to the Duke of Bedford. Before dinner Dr. Johnson seized upon Mr. Charles Sheridan's⁴ "Account of the late Revolution in Sweden," and seemed to read it ravenously, as if he devoured it, which was to all appearance his method of studying. "He knows how to read better than any one," says Mrs. Knowles; "he gets at the substance of a book directly; he tears out the heart of it." He kept it wrapt up in the tablecloth in his lap during the time of dinner, from an avidity to have one entertainment in readiness, when he should have finished another; resembling (if I may use so coarse a simile) a dog who holds a bone in his paws in reserve, while he eats something else which has been thrown to him.

The subject of cookery having been very naturally introduced at a table where Johnson, who boasted of the niceness of his palate,

¹ Boswell was right, and Oglethorpe wrong; the exclamation in Suetonius is, "Utinam populus Romanus unum cervicem haberet." *Calig.* xxx. — CROKER.

² Dr. Johnson was right in supposing that this kind of poetry derived its name from *maccaroni*. "Ars ista poetica," says Merlin Coccaie, whose true name was Theophilus Folengo) nuncupatur ars macaronica, a *maccaronibus* derivata; qui *maccarones* sunt quoddam pulmentum, farina, caseo,

butyro compaginatum, grossum, rude, et rusticum. Ideo macaronica nil nisi grossedinem, ruditatem, et vocabulazzos debet in se continere." *Warton's Hist. of Eng. Poet.* ii. 357. Folengo's assumed name was taken up in consequence of his having been instructed in his youth by Virago Coccaio. He died in 1541. — MALONE.

⁴ The elder brother of Mr. Richard Brinsley Sheridan. He died in 1806. — MALONE.

owned that "he always found a good dinner," he said, "I could write a better book of cookery than has ever yet been written; it should be a book upon philosophical principles. Pharmacy is now made much more simple. Cookery may be made so too. A prescription which is now compounded of five ingredients, had formerly fifty in it. So in cookery, if the nature of the ingredients be well known, much fewer will do. Then, as you cannot make bad meat good, I would tell what is the best butcher's meat, the best beef, the best pieces; how to choose young fowls; the proper seasons of different vegetables; and then how to roast and boil and compound. DILLY. "Mrs. Glasse's 'Cookery,' which is the best, was written by Dr. Hill. Half the *trade*¹ know this." JOHNSON. "Well, Sir, this shows how much better the subject of cookery may be treated by a philosopher. I doubt if the book be written by Dr. Hill; for, in Mrs. Glasse's 'Cookery,' which I have looked into, saltpetre and sal-prunella are spoken of as different substances, whereas sal-prunella is only saltpetre burnt on charcoal; and Hill could not be ignorant of this. However, as the greatest part of such a book is made by transcription, this mistake may have been carelessly adopted. But you shall see what a book of cookery I shall make: I shall agree with Mr. Dilly for the copyright." MISS SEWARD. "That would be Hercules with the distaff indeed." JOHNSON. "No, Madam. Women can spin very well; but they cannot make a good book of cookery."

JOHNSON. "O! Mr. Dilly—you must know that an English Benedictine monk² at Paris has translated 'The Duke of Berwick's Memoirs,' from the original French, and has sent them to me to sell. I offered them to Strahan, who sent them back with this answer;—'That the first book he had published was the Duke of Berwick's Life, by which he had lost: and he hated the name.' Now I honestly tell you that Strahan has refused them; but I also honestly tell you that he did it upon no principle, for he never looked into them." DILLY. "Are they well translated, Sir?" JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, very well; in a style very current and clear. I have written to the Benedictine to give me an answer upon two points. What evidence is there that the letters are authentic? (for if they are not authentic, they are nothing.) And how long will it be before the original French is published? For if the French edition is not to appear for a considerable time, the translation will be almost as valuable as an original book. They will make two volumes in octavo; and I have undertaken to correct every sheet as it comes from the

press." Mr. Dilly desired to see them, and said he would send for them. He asked Dr. Johnson if he would write a preface to them. JOHNSON. "No, Sir. The Benedictines were very kind to me, and I'll do what I undertook to do; but I will not mingle my name with them. I am to gain nothing by them. I'll turn them loose upon the world, and let them take their chance." DR. MAYO. "Pray, Sir, are Ganganelli's letters authentic?" JOHNSON. "No, Sir. Voltaire put the same question to the editor of them that I did to Macpherson—Where are the originals?"³

Mrs. Knowles affected to complain that men had much more liberty allowed them than women. JOHNSON. "Why, Madam, women have all the liberty they should wish to have. We have all the labour and the danger, and the women all the advantage. We go to sea, we build houses, we do every thing, in short, to pay our court to the women." Mrs. KNOWLES. "The Doctor reasons very wittily, but not very convincingly. Now, take the instance of building: the mason's wife, if she is ever seen in liquor, is ruined: the mason may get himself drunk as often as he pleases, with little loss of character; nay, may let his wife and children starve." JOHNSON. "Madam, you must consider, if the mason does get himself drunk, and let his wife and children starve, the parish will oblige him to find security for their maintenance. We have different modes of restraining evil. Stocks for the men, a ducking-stool for women, and a pound for beasts. If we require more perfection from women than from ourselves, it is doing them honour. And women have not the same temptations that we have; they may always live in virtuous company; men must mix in the world indiscriminately. If a woman has no inclination to do what is wrong, being secured from it is no restraint to her. I am at liberty to walk into the Thames; but if I were to try it, my friends would restrain me in Bedlam, and I should be obliged to them." Mrs. KNOWLES. "Still, Doctor, I cannot help thinking it a hardship that more indulgence is allowed to men than to women. It gives a superiority to men, to which I do not see how they are entitled." JOHNSON. "It is plain, Madam, one or other must have the superiority. As Shakspeare says, 'If two men ride on a horse, one must ride behind.'" DILLY. "I suppose, Sir, Mrs. Knowles would have them ride in panniers, one on each side." JOHNSON. "Then, Sir, the horse would throw them both." Mrs. KNOWLES. "Well, I hope that in another world the sexes will be equal." BOSWELL. "That is being too ambitious,

¹ As physicians are called the *faculty*, and counsellors at law the *profession*, the booksellers of London are denominated the *trade*. Johnson disapproved of these denominations. — BOSWELL.

² The Abbé Hook. They were published, in 1779, by Cadeil. — Mackintosh. The "*Memoires du Maréchal de Berwick*" (written in the third person) had been published by the Abbé de Margon, in 1737: those mentioned in the

text are written in the *first* person, as by Berwick himself, but were revised by the Abbé Hook, and published in Paris by Berwick's grandson, the Duc de Fitzjames, 1778-80. — CROKER, 1831-47.

³ These pretended letters of Pope Clement XIV., Ganganelli, were written and published by the Marquis Caracoli, first in French, in 1775, and afterwards in Italian, in 1777. — CROKER, 1847.

Madam. We might as well desire to be equal with the angels. We shall all, I hope, be happy in a future state, but we must not expect to be all happy in the same degree. It is enough, if we be happy according to our several capacities. A worthy carman will get to heaven as well as Sir Isaac Newton. Yet, though equally good, they will not have the same degrees of happiness." JOHNSON. "Probably not."

Upon this subject I had once before sounded him by mentioning the late Reverend Mr. Brown of Utrecht's image; that a great and small glass, though equally full, did not hold an equal quantity; which he threw out to refute David Hume's saying, that a little miss, going to lance at a ball, in a fine new dress, was as happy as a great orator, after having made an eloquent and applauded speech. After some thought, Johnson said, "I come over to the parson." As an instance of coincidence of thinking, Mr. Dilly told me, that Dr. King, a late dissenting minister in London, said to him, upon the happiness in a future state of good men of different capacities, "A pail does not hold so much as a tub; but, if it be equally full, it has no reason to complain. Every saint in heaven will have as much happiness as he can hold." Mr. Dilly thought this a clear, though a familiar, illustration of the phrase, "One star differeth from another in brightness." (1 Cor. xv. 41.)

Dr. Mayo having asked Johnson's opinion of some Jenyns's "View of the Internal Evidence of the Christian Religion;"—JOHNSON. "I think it a pretty book; not very theological, indeed; and there seems to be an affectation of ease and carelessness, as if it were not suitable to his character to be very serious about the matter." BOSWELL. "He may have intended this to introduce his book the better among genteel people, who might be unwilling to read so grave a treatise. There is a general levity in the age. We have physicians now with baggys; may we not have airy divines, at least somewhat less solemn in their appearance than they used to be?" JOHNSON. "Jenyns might mean as you say." BOSWELL. "You should like this book, Mrs. Knowles, as it maintains, as you friends do, that courage is not a Christian virtue." MRS. KNOWLES. "Yes, indeed, I like him there; but I cannot agree with him that friendship is not a Christian virtue." JOHNSON. "Why, Madam, strictly speaking, he is

right. All friendship is preferring the interest of a friend to the neglect, or, perhaps, against the interest, of others; so that an old Greek said, 'He that has friends has no friend.'¹ Now, Christianity recommends universal benevolence; to consider all men as our brethren; which is contrary to the virtue of friendship, as described by the ancient philosophers. Surely, Madam, your sect must approve of this; for you call all men friends." MRS. KNOWLES. "We are commanded to do good to all men, but especially to them who are of the household of faith." JOHNSON. "Well, Madam; the household of faith is wide enough." MRS. KNOWLES. "But, Doctor, our Saviour had twelve apostles, yet there was one whom he loved. John was called 'the disciple whom Jesus loved.'" JOHNSON (with eyes sparkling benignantly). "Very well indeed, Madam. You have said very well." BOSWELL. "A fine application. Pray, Sir, had you ever thought of it?" JOHNSON. "I had not, Sir."

From this pleasing subject, he, I know not how or why, made a sudden transition to one upon which he was a violent aggressor; for he said, "I am willing to love all mankind, *except an American*;" and his inflammable corruption bursting into horrid fire, he "breathed out threatenings and slaughter," calling them "rascals, robbers, pirates," and exclaiming, he'd "burn and destroy them." Miss Seward, looking to him with mild but steady astonishment, said, "Sir, this is an instance that we are always most violent against those whom we have injured." He was irritated still more by this delicate and keen reproach; and roared out another tremendous volley, which one might fancy could be heard across the Atlantic. During this tempest I sat in great uneasiness, lamenting his heat of temper, till, by degrees, I diverted his attention to other topics.

DR. MAYO (to Dr. Johnson). "Pray, Sir, have you read Edwards, of New England, on Grace?"² JOHNSON. "No, Sir." BOSWELL. "It puzzled me so much as to the freedom of the human will, by stating, with wonderful acute ingenuity, our being actuated by a series of motives which we cannot resist, that the only relief I had was to forget it." MAYO. "But he makes the proper distinction between moral and physical necessity." BOSWELL. "Alas! Sir, they come both to the same thing. You may be bound as hard by chains when covered

¹ The sentiment is Aristotle's: οὐδὲν φίλος ἢ πολλοὶ φίλοι — "has no friend who has many friends" (End. Eth. vii. 12.), which Diogenes Laertius condensed into ὁ (ὁ ἢ) φίλος, οὐδὲν φίλος, and Johnson (*anté*, p. 64.) into οἱ φίλοι, οὐ φίλος. I doubt whether the *οἱ* attributed to Johnson is not an error of transcription occasioned by his having added, as Casaubon had already done, the *totâ subscriptum* to the *ω* in the common texts of Diogenes. — CROKER.

² Dr. Mayo, no doubt, meant "A Careful and Strict Enquiry into the Modern prevailing Notion that Freedom of Will is essential to Moral Agency," by the Rev. Jonathan Edwards, President of the College of New Jersey. Of this work, Sir James Mackintosh (who so kindly assisted me in my first edition of this work, and whose loss the literary and

political world now lamen*) observes, in his autobiography: "Robert Hall's society and conversation had a great influence on my mind. He led me to the perusal of Jonathan Edwards's work on Free Will, which Dr. Priestley had pointed out before. I am sorry that I never yet read the other works of that extraordinary man, who, in a metaphysical age or country, would certainly have been deemed as much the boast of America as his great countryman Franklin." — *Memoirs of Mackintosh*, vol. i. p. 14. — C., 1835. Boswell, it must be recollected, in spite of his toryism, took the American side; but this phrase "inflammable corruption bursting out in horrid fire," is extravagant, if not unintelligible. — CROKER, 1847.

by leather, as when the iron appears. The argument for the moral necessity of human actions is always, I observe, fortified by supposing universal prescience to be one of the attributes of the Deity." JOHNSON. "You are surer that you are free, than you are of prescience; you are surer that you can lift up your finger or not as you please, than you are of any conclusion from a deduction of reasoning. But let us consider a little the objection from prescience. It is certain I am either to go home to-night or not: that does not prevent my freedom." BOSWELL. "That it is certain you are *either* to go home or not, does not prevent your freedom: because the liberty of choice between the two is compatible with that certainty. But if *one* of these events be certain *now*, you have no *future* power of volition. If it be certain you are to go home to-night, you *must* go home." JOHNSON. "If I am well acquainted with a man, I can judge with great probability how he will act in any case, without his being restrained by my judging. God may have this probability increased to certainty.¹ BOSWELL. "When it is increased to *certainly*, freedom ceases, because that cannot be certainly foreknown which is not certain at the time; but if it be certain at the time, it is a contradiction in terms to maintain that there can be afterwards any *contingency* dependent upon the exercise of will or any thing else." JOHNSON. "All theory is against the freedom of the will; all experience for it." I did not push the subject any farther. I was glad to find him so mild in discussing a question of the most abstract nature, involved with theological tenets which he generally would not suffer to be in any degree opposed.²

He, as usual, defended luxury: "You cannot spend money in luxury without doing good to the poor. Nay, you do more good to them by spending it in luxury; you make them exert industry, whereas by giving it you keep them idle. I own, indeed, there may be more virtue in giving it immediately in charity, than in spending it in luxury; though there may be pride in that too." Miss Seward asked, if this was not Mandeville's doctrine of "private vices, public benefits." JOHNSON. "The fallacy of that book is, that Mandeville defines neither vices nor benefits. He reckons among vices every thing that gives pleasure. He takes the narrowest system of morality, monastic morality, which holds pleasure itself to be a vice, such as eating salt with our fish,

because it makes it eat better; and he reckons wealth as a public benefit, which is by no means always true. Pleasure of itself is not a vice. Having a garden, which we all know to be perfectly innocent, is a great pleasure. At the same time, in this state of being there are many pleasures vices, which, however, are so immediately agreeable that we can hardly abstain from them. The happiness of heaven will be, that pleasure and virtue will be perfectly consistent. Mandeville puts the case of a man who gets drunk at an alehouse; and says it is a public benefit, because so much money is got by it to the public. But it must be considered, that all the good gained by this, through the gradation of alehouse-keeper, brewer, maltster, and farmer, is overbalanced by the evil caused to the man and his family by his getting drunk. This is the way to try what is vicious, by ascertaining whether more evil than good is produced by it upon the whole, which is the case in all vice. It may happen that good is produced by vice, but not as vice; for instance, a robber may take money from its owner, and give it to one who will make a better use of it. Here is good produced; but not by the robbery as robbery, but as translation of property. I read Mandeville forty or, I believe, fifty years ago.³ He did not puzzle me; he opened my views into real life very much. No, it is clear that the happiness of society depends on virtue. In Sparta, theft was allowed by general consent; theft, therefore, was *there* not a crime; but then there was no security; and what a life must they have had, when there was no security! Without truth there must be a dissolution of society. As it is, there is so little truth, that we are almost afraid to trust to our ears: but how should we be, if falsehood were multiplied ten times! Society is held together by communication and information; and I remember this remark of Sir Thomas Brown's, 'Do the devils lie? No; for then hell could not subsist.'

Talking of Miss [Hannah More], a literary lady, he said, "I was obliged to speak to Miss Reynolds, to let her know that I desired she would not flatter me so much." Somebody now observed, "She flatters Garrick." JOHNSON. "She is in the right to flatter Garrick. She is in the right for two reasons; first, because she has the world with her, who have been praising Garrick these thirty years; and, secondly, because she is rewarded for it by Garrick.⁴ Why should she flatter *me*? I can do nothing for

¹ This seems a very loose report. Dr. Johnson never could have talked of "God's having *probability* increased to *certainly*." To the Eternal and Infinite Creator there can be neither *probability* nor *futurity*—all is *certainly* and *present*. The action which is *future* to mortals is only a point of eternity in the eye of the Almighty, and it and all the motives that led to it are and were from all eternity *present* to Him. Our bounded intellects cannot comprehend the *prescience* of the Deity; but if that attribute be conceded, there seems no difficulty in reconciling it with our own *free agency*; for God has already *seen* what man *will* choose to do. —CROKER.

² If any of my readers are disturbed by this thorny ques-

tion, I beg leave to recommend to them Letter 69. of Montesquieu's *Lettres Persannes*, and the late Mr. John Palmer of Islington's Answer to Dr. Priestley's mechanical arguments for what he absurdly calls "philosophical necessity." —BOSWELL. I think any reader who turns to the 69th Persian Letter for any thing satisfactory or even plausible in this matter will be disappointed. —CROKER, 1847.

³ See Piozzi's *Anecdotes*, p. 136.

⁴ Johnson probably meant either that Garrick repaid her in her own coin, or helped her in bringing out her play; or, finally, by introducing her into general society. It is not to be wondered at that an inexperienced young lady, suddenly transported from obscure provincial life into the elegance

her. Let her carry her praise to a better market." Then, turning to Mrs. Knowles, "You, Madam, have been flattering me all the evening; I wish you would give Boswell a little now. If you knew his merit as well as I do, you would say a great deal: he is the best travelling companion in the world."

Somebody mentioned the Reverend Mr. Mason's prosecution of Mr. Murray, the bookseller¹, for having inserted in a collection of "Gray's Poems" only fifty lines, of which Mr. Mason had still the exclusive property, under the statute of Queen Anne; and that Mr. Mason had persevered, notwithstanding, in being requested to name his own terms of compensation.² Johnson signified his displeasure at Mr. Mason's conduct very strongly; but added, by way of showing that he was not surprised at it, "Mason's a Whig." MRS. KNOWLES (not hearing distinctly). "What! a rig, Sir?" JOHNSON. "Worse, Madam; a Whig! But he is both!"

I expressed a horror at the thought of death. MRS. KNOWLES. "Nay, thou shouldst not have horror for what is the gate of life." JOHNSON standing upon the hearth, rolling about, with serious, solemn, and somewhat gloomy air). No rational man can die without uneasy apprehension." MRS. KNOWLES. "The Scriptures tell us, 'The righteous shall have hope in his death.'" JOHNSON. "Yes, Madam, that is, he shall not have despair. But, consider, his hope of salvation must be founded on the terms in which it is promised that the mediation of our Saviour shall be applied to us,—namely, obedience; and where obedience has failed, penance, as suppletory to it, repentance. But what man can say that his obedience has been such as he would approve of in another, or even in himself, upon close examination, or at his repentance has not been such as to require being repented of? No man can be sure that his obedience and repentance will obtain salvation." MRS. KNOWLES. "But divine intimation of acceptance may be made to the soul." JOHNSON. "Madam, it may; but I could not think the better of a man who could tell me on his death-bed, he was sure of salvation. A man cannot be sure himself that he has divine intimation of acceptance: much less can he make others sure that he has." BOSWELL. "Then, Sir, we must be contented to acknowledge that death is a terrible thing." JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir. I have made it approach to a state which can look on it as not terrible." MRS. KNOWLES (seeming to

enjoy a pleasing serenity in the persuasion of benignant divine light). "Does not St. Paul say, 'I have fought the good fight of faith, I have finished my course; henceforth is laid up for me a crown of life?'" JOHNSON. "Yes, Madam; but here was a man inspired, a man who had been converted by supernatural interposition." BOSWELL. "In prospect death is dreadful; but in fact we find that people die easy." JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, most people have not *thought* much of the matter, so cannot *say* much, and it is supposed they die easy. Few believe it certain they are then to die; and those who do set themselves to behave with resolution³, as a man does who is going to be hanged;—he is not the less unwilling to be hanged." MISS SEWARD. "There is one mode of the fear of death, which is certainly absurd; and that is the dread of annihilation, which is only a pleasing sleep without a dream." JOHNSON. "It is neither pleasing nor sleep; it is nothing. Now, mere existence is so much better than nothing, that one would rather exist even in pain, than not exist." BOSWELL. "If annihilation be nothing, then existing in pain is not a comparative state, but is a positive evil, which I cannot think we should choose. I must be allowed to differ here, and it would lessen the hope of a future state founded on the argument, that the Supreme Being, who is good as he is great, will hereafter compensate for our present sufferings in this life. For if existence, such as we have it here, be comparatively a good, we have no reason to complain, though no more of it should be given to us. But if our only state of existence were in this world, then we might with some reason complain that we are so dissatisfied with our enjoyments compared with our desires." JOHNSON. "The lady confounds annihilation, which is nothing, with the apprehension of it, which is dreadful. It is in the apprehension of it that the horror of annihilation consists."

Of John Wesley he said, "He can talk well on any subject." BOSWELL. "Pray, Sir, what has he made of his story of a ghost?" JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, he believes it; but not on sufficient authority. He did not take time enough to examine the girl. It was at Newcastle where the ghost was said to have appeared to a young woman several times, mentioning something about the right to an old house; advising application to be made to an attorney, which was done; and at the same time, saying the attorney would do nothing, which proved to be

¹ The splendour of the best literary circles of London, should be at first indulged in some extravagant admiration both of Johnson and Garrick; but it appears from her letters, that her admiration was at least sincere, and that for Johnson she entertained and expressed it before she ever saw him, and when she could not expect him to hear of it again. — CROKER, 1835.

² Mr. Murray was a spirited and intelligent bookseller, the friend of my worthy friend the publisher of my former editions of this work, 1831, and grandfather of the publisher of the present, 1847. — CROKER.

³ See "A Letter to W. Mason, A.M., from J. Murray, Bookseller in London," second edition, p. 20. — BOSWELL.

⁴ See *anté*, p. 546., where Paoli assumes that they are thinking of something else,—a very unsatisfactory explanation. The spirit may be so subdued and so familiarised with horror, as to deprive death of its terrors. Of the thousands who suffered on the revolutionary scaffolds of Paris, two only are reported to have shown any strong fear of death.—Madame du Barri and General Custine, and I suspect the death of the latter was reported to have been cowardly only because it was devout. — CROKER, 1847.

the fact. 'This,' says John, 'is a proof that a ghost knows our thoughts.' Now" (laughing), "it is not necessary to know our thoughts, to tell that an attorney will sometimes do nothing. Charles Wesley, who is a more stationary man, does not believe the story. I am sorry that John did not take more pains to inquire into the evidence for it." Miss SEWARD (with an incredulous smile). "What, Sir! about a ghost!" JOHNSON (with solemn vehemence). "Yes, Madam; this is a question which, after five thousand years, is yet undecided¹; a question, whether in theology or philosophy, one of the most important that can come before the human understanding."

Mrs. Knowles mentioned, as a proselyte to Quakerism, Miss [Jane Harry]², a young lady, well known to Dr. Johnson, for whom he had shown much affection; while she ever had, and still retained, a great respect for him. Mrs. Knowles at the same time took an opportunity of letting him know "that the amiable young creature was sorry at finding that he was offended at her leaving the Church of England, and embracing a simpler faith;" and, in the gentlest and most persuasive manner, solicited his kind indulgence for what was sincerely a matter of conscience. JOHNSON (frowning very angrily). "Madam, she is an odious wench. She could not have any proper conviction that it was her duty to change her religion, which is the most important of all subjects, and should be studied with all care, and with all the helps we can get. She knew no more of the church which she left, and that which she embraced, than she did of the difference between the

Copernican and Ptolemaic systems." Mrs. KNOWLES. "She had the New Testament before her." JOHNSON. "Madam, she could not understand the New Testament, the most difficult book in the world, for which the study of a life is required." Mrs. KNOWLES. "It is clear as to essentials." JOHNSON. "But not as to controversial points. The heathens were easily converted, because they had nothing to give up; but we ought not, without very strong conviction indeed, to desert the religion in which we have been educated. That is the religion given you, the religion in which it may be said Providence has placed you. If you live conscientiously in that religion, you may be safe. But error is dangerous indeed, if you err when you choose a religion for yourself." Mrs. KNOWLES. "Must we, then, go by implicit faith?" JOHNSON. "Why, Madam, the greatest part of our knowledge is implicit faith; and as to religion, have we heard all that a disciple of Confucius, all that a Mahometan, can say for himself?" He then rose again into passion, and attacked the young proselyte in the severest terms of reproach, so that both the ladies seemed to be much shocked.

We remained together till it was pretty late. Notwithstanding occasional explosions of violence, we were all delighted upon the whole with Johnson. I compared him at this time to a warm West Indian climate, where you have a bright sun, quick vegetation, luxuriant foliage, luscious fruits; but where the same heat sometimes produces thunder, lightning, and earthquakes in a terrible degree.³

¹ This is an argument just the other way; a negative cannot be proved, but five thousand years have passed without one well authenticated affirmative,—except of course the special miracles recorded in scripture.—CROKER, 1847.

² She was the illegitimate daughter, by a mulatto woman, of what Miss Seward calls (*Lett.* i. 97.) a planter in the East Indies, but, in truth, of a West Indian, who sent her over to England for her education. At the friend's house where she resided, Mrs. Knowles was a frequent visitor; and by degrees she converted this inexperienced, and probably not very wise, young creature to Quakerism. Miss Seward, with more than her usual inaccuracy, has made a romantic history of this girl, and, amongst other fables, states that she sacrificed a fortune of 100,000*l.* by her conscientious conversion. Mr. Markland has been so kind as to put into my hands evidence from a highly respectable member of the father's family, which proves that Jane Harry's fortune was but 1000*l.*; and so little was her father displeased at her conversion, that he afterwards gave her 1000*l.* more. So vanishes another of Miss Seward's romances.—CROKER.

³ Mrs. Knowles, not satisfied with the fame of her needlework, the "subtle pictures" mentioned by Johnson, in which she has indeed displayed much dexterity, nay, with the fame of reasoning better than women generally do, as I have fairly shown her to have done, communicated to me a dialogue of considerable length, which, after many years had elapsed, she wrote down as having passed between Dr. Johnson and her at this interview. As I had not the least recollection of it, and did not find the smallest trace of it in my "record" taken at the time, I could not, in consistency with my firm regard to authenticity, insert it in my work. It has, however, been published in "The Gentleman's Magazine" for June, 1791. [*vol.* lxi. p. 500.] It chiefly relates to the principles of the sect called Quakers; and no doubt the lady appears to have greatly the advantage of Dr. Johnson in argument, as well as expression. From what I have now stated, and from the internal evidence of the paper itself, any one who may have the curiosity to peruse it will judge whether it was wrong in me to reject it, however willing to gratify Mrs. Knowles.—BOSWELL.

Mrs. Knowles, to her own account of this conversation was desirous of adding Miss Seward's testimony; and Miss Seward, who had become exceedingly hostile to Johnson's memory, and a great admirer of Mrs. Knowles, was not unwilling to gratify her. She accordingly communicated to Mrs. Knowles her notes of the conversation (*Lett.* v. i. 97.), which, it may be fairly presumed, were not too partial to Johnson. But they, nevertheless, did not satisfy the Quaker lady, who, as Miss Seward complains (*Lett.* ii. 179.), was "curiously dissatisfied with them, because they did not contain all that passed, and as exhibiting her in a poor eclipse-light;" and it is amusing to observe, that—except on the words "odious wench" at the outset, in which all three accounts agree, and the words "I never desire to meet fool anywhere," with which the ladies agree that the conversation ended—there is little accordance between them. Has they been content to say that the violence of Johnson was a disagreeable contrast to the quiet reasoning of Mrs. Knowles, they would probably have said no more than the truth; but when they affect to give the precise dialogue in the words of the speakers, and yet do not agree in almost any expression or sentiment,—when neither preserve a word of what Mr. Boswell reports,—and when both (but particularly Mrs. Knowles) attribute to Johnson the poorest and feeblest trash—we may be forgiven for rejecting both as fabulous—and the rather because Mr. Boswell's note was written on the instant ("his custom always of the afternoon"); while those of the ladies were made up many years after the event. It may, however, be suspected that Boswell was himself a little ashamed of Johnson's violence, for he evociently stirs over the latter part of the conversation. But in the Doctor's behalf it should be recollected, that he has taken a great and affectionate interest in this young creature who had, as he feared, not only endangered her spiritual welfare, but offended her friends, and forfeited her fortune; and that he was forced into the discussion by the very persons by whose unauthorised and underhand interference so much mischief (as he considered it) had been done.—Long this note is, I must add, that it appears in another part of Miss Seward's correspondence (*vol.* ii. p. 383.) that a young Quaker lady married a member of the church

CHAPTER LXV.

1778.

Good Friday. — *Bad Housewifery.* — *Books of Travels.* — *Fleet Street.* — *Meeting with Mr. Oliver Edwards.* — *Lawyers.* — *Tom Tyers.* — *Choice of a Profession.* — *Dignity of Literature.* — *Lord Camden.* — *George Psalmanazar.* — *Daines Barrington.* — *Punishment of the Pillory.* — *Insolence of Wealth.* — *Extravagance.* — “*Demosthenes Taylor.*” — *Pamphlets.* — *Goldsmith's Comedies.* — “*The Beggar's Opera.*” — *Johnson's "Historia Studiorum."* — *Gentleman's Magazine.* — *Avarice.* — *Bon Mots.* — *Burke's Classical Pun.* — *Egotism.*

APRIL 17., being Good Friday, I waited on Johnson, as usual. I observed at breakfast, that although it was a part of his abstemious discipline, on this most solemn fast, to take no milk in his tea, yet when Mrs. Desmoulins inadvertently poured it in, he did not reject it. I talked of the strange indecision of mind, and obtuseness of the common occurrences of life, which we may observe in some people. JOHNSON. “Why, Sir, I am in the habit of getting others to do things for me.” BOSWELL. “What, Sir! have you that weakness?” JOHNSON. “Yes, Sir. But I always think afterwards I should have done better for myself.”

I told him that at a gentleman's house¹ where there was thought to be such extravagance and bad management that he was living much beyond his income, his lady had objected to the eating of a pickled mango, and that I had taken an opportunity to ask the price of it, and found it was only two shillings; so here was a very poor saving. JOHNSON. “Sir, that is the underlying economy of a narrow understanding. It is stopping one hole in a sieve.”

I expressed some inclination to publish an account of my travels upon the continent of Europe, for which I had a variety of materials collected. JOHNSON. “I do not say, Sir, you may not publish your travels; but I give you my opinion, that you would lessen yourself by

What can you tell of countries so well known as those upon the continent of Europe, which you have visited?” BOSWELL. “But I can give an entertaining narrative, with many incidents, anecdotes, *jeux d'esprit*, and remarks, as to make very pleasant reading.” JOHNSON. “Why, Sir, most modern travellers in Europe who have published their travels have

been laughed at: I would not have you added to the number.² The world is now not contented to be merely entertained by a traveller's narrative; they want to learn something. Now some of my friends asked me, why I did not give some account of my travels in France. The reason is plain; intelligent readers had seen more of France than I had. You might have liked my travels in France, and THE CLUB might have liked them; but, upon the whole, there would have been more ridicule than good produced by them.” BOSWELL. “I cannot agree with you, Sir. People would like to read what you say of any thing. Suppose a face has been painted by fifty painters before; still we love to see it done by Sir Joshua.” JOHNSON. “True, Sir; but Sir Joshua cannot paint a face when he has not time to look on it.” BOSWELL. “Sir, a sketch of any sort by him is valuable. And, Sir, to talk to you in your own style (raising my voice and shaking my head), you *should* have given us your travels in France. I am sure I am right, and *there's an end on't.*”

I said to him that it was certainly true, as my friend Dempster had observed in his letter to me upon the subject, that a great part of what was in his “Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland” had been in his mind before he left London. JOHNSON. “Why, yes, Sir, the topics were; and books of travels will be good in proportion to what a man has previously in his mind; his knowing what to observe; his power of contrasting one mode of life with another. As the Spanish proverb says, ‘He who would bring home the wealth of the Indies must carry the wealth of the Indies with him.’ So it is in travelling; a man must carry knowledge with him, if he would bring home knowledge.” BOSWELL. “The proverb, I suppose, Sir, means, he must carry a large stock with him to trade with.” JOHNSON. “Yes, Sir.”

It was a delightful day: as we walked to St. Clement's church, I again remarked that Fleet-street was the most cheerful scene in the world. “Fleet-street,” said I, “is in my mind more delightful than Tempé.” JOHNSON. “Ay, Sir, but let it be compared with Mull!”

There was a very numerous congregation to-day at St. Clement's church, which Dr. Johnson said he observed with pleasure.

And now I am to give a pretty full account of one of the most curious incidents in Johnson's life, of which he himself has made the following minute on this day:

“In my return from church, I was accosted by Edwards³, an old fellow-collegian, who had not

¹ England, Mrs. Knowles did not hesitate to designate *her* as an APOSTATE, although she had not quitted her sect, but only carried one who did not belong to it. — CROKER.

² Mr. Langton and Lady Rothes; who, however, protested Miss Hawkins (*Mem.* ii. 282.) that there was no other colour of truth in the story, but that there was a mango on the table. I have already remarked Boswell's strange proneness to tell disagreeable things of his “worthy friend.” — CROKER.

³ I believe, however, I shall follow my own opinion; for the world has shown a very flattering partiality to my writings, on many occasions. — BOSWELL. Boswell made several such promises, but did not fulfil them. — CHALMERS.

⁴ Oliver Edwards, as Dr. Hall informed me, entered at Pembroke College only in June, 1729, so that, as Johnson went off at Christmas, they could not have been long acquainted. — CROKER.

seen me since 1729.¹ He knew me, and asked if I remembered one Edwards; I did not at first recollect the name, but gradually, as we walked along, recovered it, and told him a conversation that had passed at an alehouse between us. My purpose is to continue our acquaintance." (*Pr. and Med.*, p. 164.)

It was in Butcher-row that this meeting happened. Mr. Edwards, who was a decent-looking, elderly man, in gray clothes, and a wig of many curls, accosted Johnson with familiar confidence, knowing who he was, while Johnson returned his salutation with a courteous formality, as to a stranger. But as soon as Edwards had brought to his recollection their having been at Pembroke College together nine-and-forty years ago, he seemed much pleased, asked where he lived, and said he should be glad to see him in Bolt-court. EDWARDS. "Ah, Sir! we are old men now." JOHNSON (who never liked to think of being old). "Don't let us discourage one another." EDWARDS. "Why, doctor, you look stout and hearty. I am happy to see you so; for the newspapers told us you were very ill." JOHNSON. "Ay, Sir, they are always telling lies of us old fellows."

Wishing to be present at more of so singular a conversation as that between two fellow-collegians, who had lived forty years in London without ever having chanced to meet, I whispered to Mr. Edwards that Dr. Johnson was going home, and that he had better accompany him now. So Edwards walked along with us, I eagerly assisting to keep up the conversation. Mr. Edwards informed Dr. Johnson that he had practised long as a solicitor in Chancery, but that he now lived in the country upon a little farm, about sixty acres, just by Stevenage, in Hertfordshire, and that he came to London (to Barnard's Inn, No. 6.) generally twice a week. Johnson appearing to be in a reverie, Mr. Edwards addressed himself to me, and expatiated on the pleasure of living in the country. BOSWELL. "I have no notion of this, Sir. What you have to entertain you is, I think, exhausted in half an hour." EDWARDS. "What! don't you love to have hope realised? I see my grass, and my corn, and my trees growing. Now, for instance, I am curious to

see if this frost has not nipped my fruit trees." JOHNSON (who we did not imagine was attending). "You find, Sir, you have fears as well as hopes." So well did he see the whole, when another saw but the half of a subject.²

When we got to Dr. Johnson's house, and were seated in his library, the dialogue went on admirably. EDWARDS. "Sir, I remember you would not let us say *prodigious* at college. For even then, Sir (turning to me), he was delicate in language, and we all feared him." JOHNSON (to Edwards). "From your having practised the law long, Sir, I presume you must be rich." EDWARDS. "No, Sir; I got a good deal of money; but I had a number of poor relations, to whom I gave a great part of it." JOHNSON. "Sir, you have been rich in the most valuable sense of the word." EDWARDS. "But I shall not die rich." JOHNSON. "Nay, sure, Sir, it is better to *live* rich, than to *die* rich." EDWARDS. "I wish I had continued at college." JOHNSON. "Why do you wish that, Sir?" EDWARDS. "Because I think I should have had a much easier life than mine has been. I should have been a parson, and had a good living, like Bloxam⁴ and several others, and lived comfortably." JOHNSON. "Sir, the life of a parson, of a conscientious clergyman, is not easy. I have always considered a clergyman as the father of a larger family than he is able to maintain. I would rather have Chancery suits upon my hands than the cure of souls. No, Sir, I do not envy a clergyman's life as an easy life, nor do I envy the clergyman who makes it an easy life." Here taking himself up all of a sudden, he exclaimed, "O Mr. Edwards, I'll convince you that I recollect you. Do you remember our drinking together at an alehouse near Pembroke-gate? At that time, you told me of the Eton boy, who, when verses on our Saviour's turning water into wine were prescribed as an exercise, brought up a single line, which was highly admired:

'Vidit et erubuit lympha pudica Deum';

and I told you of another fine line in 'Camden's Remains'; an eulogy upon one of our kings, who was succeeded by his son, a prince of equal merit:

'Mira cano, Sol occubuit, nox nulla secuta est.'

the point of the epigram turns being reserved to the close of the line:

"Unde rubor vestris et non sua purpura lymphis?
Quæ rosa mirantes tam nova mutat aquas?
Nomen, convive, presens agnosce nomen,
Nympha pudica DEUM vidit, et erubuit."—MALONE.

Thus paraphrased by Aaron Hill:

"When Christ at Cana's feast, by power divine,
Inspired cold water with the warmth of wine;
See, cried they, while in redd'ning tide it gush'd,
The bashful stream has seen its Lord—and blush'd."

But I do not agree in Mr. Malone's preference of the quatrain to the epigrammatic force of the single line.—CROKER, 1847.

⁶ The line (ascribed to Giraldu Cambrensis) was on the death of Henry II., and the accession of Richard. In our edition it has not the final *est*.—CROKER.

¹ This deliberate assertion of Johnson, that he had not seen Edwards since 1729, is a confirmation of the opinion derived by Dr. Hall, from the dates in the college books, that Johnson did not return to Pembroke College after Christmas, 1729—an important fact in his early history. See *ante*, p. 13, n. 2.—CROKER.

² Nay, not so. The question raised was the want of interest in a country life; and the fear was, therefore, as good as the hope.—CROKER.

³ Johnson said to me afterwards, "Sir, they respected me for my literature; and yet it was not great but by comparison. Sir, it is amazing how little literature there is in the world."—BOSWELL.

⁴ Matthew Bloxam entered at Pembroke College, March 25, 1729; M. A., July, 1735.—Hall.—CROKER.

⁵ This line has frequently been attributed to Dryden, when at Westminster. But neither Eton nor Westminster have in truth any claim to it, the line being borrowed from an epigram by Crashaw. The original is much more elegant than the copy, the water being personified, and the word on which

EDWARDS. "You are a philosopher, Dr. Johnson. I have tried too in my time to be a philosopher; but, I don't know how, cheerfulness was always breaking in." Mr. Burke, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Mr. Courtenay, Mr. Malone, and, indeed, all the eminent men to whom I have mentioned this, have thought it an exquisite trait of character. The truth is, that philosophy, like religion, is too generally supposed to be hard and severe, at least so grave as to exclude all gaiety.¹

EDWARDS. "I have been twice married, doctor. You, I suppose, have never known what it was to have a wife." JOHNSON. "Sir, I have known what it was to have a wife, and (in a solemn, tender, faltering tone) I have known what it was to *lose a wife*. It had almost broke my heart."

EDWARDS. "How do you live, Sir? For my part, I must have my regular meals, and a glass of good wine. I find I require it." JOHNSON. "I now drink no wine, Sir. Early in life I drank wine; for many years I drank none. I then for some years drank a great deal."

EDWARDS. "Some hogsheds, I warrant you." JOHNSON. "I then had a severe illness, and left it off, and I have never begun it again.² I never felt any difference upon myself from eating one thing rather than another, nor from one kind of weather rather than another. There are people, I believe, who feel a difference; but I am not one of them. And as to regular meals, I have fasted from the Sunday's dinner to the Tuesday's dinner without any inconvenience. I believe it is best to eat just as one is hungry: but a man who is in business, or a man who has a family, must have stated meals. I am a straggler. I may leave this town and go to Grand Cairo, without being missed here, or observed there." EDWARDS. "Don't you eat supper, Sir?" JOHNSON. "No, Sir." EDWARDS. "For my part, now, I consider supper as a turnpike through which one must pass in order to go to bed."³

JOHNSON. "You are a lawyer, Mr. Edwards. Lawyers know life practically. A bookish man should always have them to converse with. They have what he wants." EDWARDS. "I am grown old: I am sixty-five." JOHNSON. "I shall be sixty-eight next birth-day. Come, Sir, drink water, and put in for a hundred."

Mr. Edwards mentioned a gentleman⁴ who had left his whole fortune to Pembroke College. JOHNSON. "Whether to leave one's whole fortune to a college be right, must depend upon

circumstances. I would leave the interest of the fortune I bequeathed to a college to my relations or my friends, for their lives. It is the same thing to a college, which is a permanent society, whether it gets the money now or twenty years hence; and I would wish to make my relations or friends feel the benefit of it."

This interview confirmed my opinion of Johnson's most humane and benevolent heart. His cordial and placid behaviour to an old fellow collegian, a man so different from himself; and his telling him that he would go down to his farm and visit him, showed a kindness of disposition very rare at an advanced age. He observed, "how wonderful it was that they had both been in London forty years, without having ever once met, and both walkers in the street too!" Mr. Edwards, when going away, again recurring to his consciousness of senility, and, looking full in Johnson's face, said to him, "You'll find in Dr. Young,

'O my coevals; remnants of yourselves.'

Johnson did not relish this at all; but shook his head with impatience. Edwards walked off seemingly highly pleased with the honour of having been thus noticed by Dr. Johnson. When he was gone, I said to Johnson, I thought him but a weak man. JOHNSON. "Why yes, Sir. Here is a man who has passed through life without experience: yet I would rather have him with me than a more sensible man who will not talk readily. This man is always willing to say what he has to say." Yet Dr. Johnson had himself by no means that willingness which he praised so much, and I think so justly: for who has not felt the painful effect of the dreary void, when there is a total silence in a company, for any length of time; or, which is as bad, or perhaps worse, when the conversation is with difficulty kept up by a perpetual effort?

Johnson once observed to me, "Tom Tyers described me the best: 'Sir,' said he, 'you are like a ghost: you never speak till you are spoken to.'"

The gentleman whom he thus familiarly mentioned, was Mr. Thomas Tyers⁵, son of Mr. Jonathan Tyers, the founder of that excellent place of public amusement, Vauxhall Gardens, which must ever be an estate to its proprietor, as it is peculiarly adapted to the taste of the English nation; there being a mixture of curious show,—gay exhibition,—music, vocal and

¹ "How charming is divine philosophy!
Not harsh and crabbed, as dull fools suppose,
But musical as is Apollo's lute,
And a perpetual feast of nectar'd sweets." *Comus*.
—CROKER.

² It seems that he abstained from wine at his coming to London, or perhaps still earlier, — from his first great illness in 1730, — and continued to do so "for many years." He had resumed it prior to 1752, when he visited Oxford, and probably drank "a great deal." ³ "University College witnessed three bottles." (April 7, 1778.) In 1763 he would sometimes drink a bottle of port (June 25.), but about 1764, after another severe hypochondriacal attack, he again left off wine, and per-

sisted in that practice till about 1781 (See March 20, 1781), from which time, I presume, he drank it occasionally and medicinally. — CROKER, 1847.

³ I am not absolutely sure but this was my own suggestion, though it is truly in the character of Edwards. — BOSWELL.

⁴ This must have been the Rev. James Phipps, who had been a scholar of Pembroke, and who, in 1773, left his estates to the college to purchase livings for a particular foundation, and for other purposes. — *Hall*. — CROKER.

⁵ He is pleasantly, but too contemptuously, described in "*The Idler*," No. 48., under the name of Tom Restless; a circumstance pointed out to Mr. Nichols by Dr. Johnson himself. — CROKER.

instrumental, not too refined for the general ear; for all which only a shilling is paid¹; and, though last, not least, good eating and drinking for those who choose to purchase that regale. Mr. Thomas Tyers was bred to the law; but having a handsome fortune, vivacity of temper, and eccentricity of mind, he could not confine himself to the regularity of practice. He therefore ran about the world with a pleasant carelessness, amusing every body by his desultory conversation. He abounded in anecdote, but was not sufficiently attentive to accuracy. I therefore cannot venture to avail myself much of a biographical sketch of Johnson which he published, being one among the various persons ambitious of appending their names to that of my illustrious friend. That sketch is, however, an entertaining little collection of fragments. Those which he published of Pope and Addison are of higher merit; but his fame must rest chiefly upon his "Political Conferences," in which he introduces several eminent persons delivering their sentiments in the way of dialogue, and discovers a considerable share of learning, various knowledge, and discernment of character. This much may I be allowed to say of a man who was exceedingly obliging to me, and who lived with Dr. Johnson in as easy a manner as almost any of his very numerous acquaintance.

Mr. Edwards had said to me aside, that Dr. Johnson should have been of a profession. I repeated the remark to Johnson, that I might have his own thoughts on the subject. JOHNSON. "Sir, it *would* have been better that I had been of a profession.² I ought to have been a lawyer." BOSWELL. "I do not think, Sir, it would have been better, for we should not have had the English Dictionary." JOHNSON. "But you would have had reports." BOSWELL. "Ay; but there would not have been another who could have written the Dictionary. There have been many very good judges. Suppose you had been lord chancellor; you would have delivered opinions with more extent of mind, and in a more ornamented manner, than per-

haps any chancellor ever did, or ever will do. But, I believe, causes have been as judiciously decided as you could have done." JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir. Property has been as well settled."

Johnson, however, had a noble ambition floating in his mind, and had, undoubtedly, often speculated on the possibility of his super-eminent powers being rewarded in this great and liberal country by the highest honours of the state. Sir William Scott informs me, that upon the death of the late Lord Lichfield, who was chancellor of the University of Oxford, he said to Johnson, "What a pity it is, Sir, that you did not follow the profession of the law! You might have been lord chancellor of Great Britain, and attained to the dignity of the peerage; and now that the title of Lichfield, your native city, is extinct, you might have had it."³ Johnson, upon this, seemed much agitated; and, in an angry tone, exclaimed, "Why will you vex me by suggesting this, when it is too late?"

But he did not repine at the prosperity of others. The late Dr. Thomas Leland told Mr. Courtenay, that when Mr. Edmund Burke showed Johnson his fine house and lands near Beaconsfield, Johnson coolly said, "*Non equidem invidio; miror magis.*"⁴

Yet no man had a higher notion of the dignity of literature than Johnson, or was more determined in maintaining the respect which he justly considered as due to it. Of this, besides the general tenor of his conduct in society, some characteristic instances may be mentioned.

He told Sir Joshua Reynolds, that once when he dined in a numerous company of booksellers, where the room, being small, the head of the table, at which he sat, was almost close to the fire, he persevered in suffering a great deal of inconvenience from the heat, rather than quit his place, and let one of them sit above him.

Goldsmith, in his diverting simplicity, complained one day, in a mixed company, of Lord Camden. "I met him," said he, "at Lord

¹ In summer, 1792, additional and more expensive decorations having been introduced, the price of admission was raised to two shillings. I cannot approve of this. The company may be more select, but a number of the honest commonalty are, I fear, excluded from sharing in elegant and innocent entertainments. An attempt to abolish the one-shilling gallery at the playhouse has been very properly counteracted. — BOSWELL. The admission was subsequently raised to four shillings, without improving either the class of company, or the profits of the proprietors. — C. 1830, 1831. It has been long closed, and is only occasionally used for letting off a balloon or some such exhibition. — CROKER, 1847.

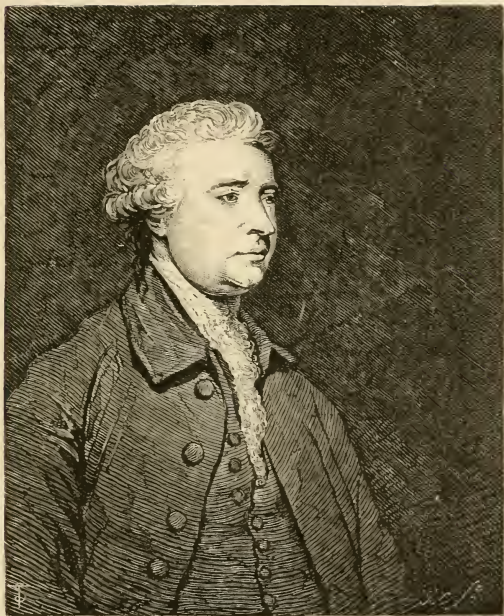
² "That accurate judge of human life, Dr. Johnson, has often been heard by me to observe, that it was the greatest misfortune which could befall a man to have been bred to no profession, and pathetically to regret that this misfortune was his own." — *More's Practical Piety*, p. 313. — MARKLAND.

³ This Lord Lichfield died in 1772, but was succeeded by his uncle, and the title was not extinct till 1776. — CROKER, 1847.

⁴ I am not entirely without suspicion that Johnson may have felt a little momentary envy; for no man loved the good things of this life better than he did; and he could not but be conscious that he deserved a much larger share of them than he ever had. I attempted in a newspaper to comment

on the above passage in the manner of Warburton, who must be allowed to have shown uncommon ingenuity, in giving to any author's text whatever meaning he chose it should carry. As this imitation may amuse my readers, I shall here introduce it:

"No saying of Dr. JOHNSON's has been more misunderstood than his applying to Mr. BURKE, when he first sat him at his fine place at Beaconsfield, *Non equidem invidio miror magis*. These two celebrated men had been friends for many years before Mr. Burke entered on his parliamentary career. They were both writers, both members of THE LITERARY CLUB; when, therefore, Dr. Johnson saw Mr. Burke in a situation so much more splendid than that which he himself had attained, he did not mean to express that he thought it a disproportionate prosperity; but while he, as a philosopher, asserted an exemption from envy, *non equidem invidio*, he went on in the words of the poet, *miror magis*; thereby signifying, either that he was occupied admiring what he was glad to see, or, perhaps, that, considering the general lot of men of superior abilities, he wondered that Fortune, who is represented as blind, should in this instance, have been so just." — BOSWELL. All this very foolish; the quotation, if really made, was in terms, at no doubt in meaning, the very reverse of *invidious*. But to Johnson's envy, see *anté*, p. 133. n. 4. — CROKER.



EDMUND BURKE

(From the Painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds)

London : John Murray, Albemarle Street

Clare's house¹ in the country, and he took no more notice of me than if I had been an ordinary man." The company having laughed heartily, Johnson stood forth in defence of his friend. "Nay, gentlemen," said he, "Dr. Goldsmith is in the right. A nobleman ought to have made up to such a man as Goldsmith; and I think it is much against Lord Camden that he neglected him."

Nor could he patiently endure to hear, that such respect as he thought due only to higher intellectual qualities should be bestowed on men of slighter, though perhaps more amusing, talents. I told him, that one morning, when I went to breakfast with Garrick, who was very vain of his intimacy with Lord Camden, he accosted me thus: "Pray now, did you — did you meet a little lawyer turning the corner, eh?" "No, Sir," said I; "pray what do you mean by the question?" "Why," replied Garrick, with an affected indifference, yet as if standing on tip-toe, "Lord Camden has this moment left me. We have had a long walk together." JOHNSON. "Well, Sir, Garrick talked very properly. Lord Camden was a *little lawyer* to be associating so familiarly with a player."

Sir Joshua Reynolds observed, with great truth, that Johnson considered Garrick to be as it were his *property*. He would allow no man either to blame or to praise Garrick in his presence, without contradicting him.²

Having fallen into a very serious frame of mind, in which mutual expressions of kindness passed between us, such as would be thought too vain in me to repeat, I talked with regret of the sad inevitable certainty that one of us must survive the other. JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir, that is an affecting consideration. I remember Swift, in one of his letters to Pope, says, 'I intend to come over, that we may meet once more; and when we must part, it is what happens to all human beings.'" BOSWELL. "The hope that we shall see our departed friends again must support the mind." JOHNSON. "Why, yes, Sir."³ BOSWELL. "There is a strange unwillingness to part with life, independent of serious fears as to futurity. A reverend friend of ours [Dr. Percy] tells me, that he feels an uneasiness at the thoughts of leaving his house, his study, his books." JOHNSON. "This is foolish in [Percy]. A man need not be uneasy on these grounds; for, as he will retain his consciousness, he may

say with the philosopher*, *Omnia mea mecum porto.*" BOSWELL. "True, Sir: we may carry our books in our heads; but still there is something painful in the thought of leaving for ever what has given us pleasure. I remember, many years ago, when my imagination was warm, and I happened to be in a melancholy mood, it distressed me to think of going into a state of being in which Shakspeare's poetry did not exist. A lady, whom I then much admired, a very amiable woman, humoured my fancy, and relieved me by saying, 'The first thing you will meet with in the other world will be an elegant copy of Shakspeare's works presented to you.'" Dr. Johnson smiled⁵ benignantly at this, and did not appear to disapprove of the notion.

We went to St. Clement's church again in the afternoon, and then returned and drank tea and coffee in Mrs. Williams's room; Mrs. Desmoulins doing the honours of the tea-table. I observed that he would not even look at a proof-sheet of his "Life of Waller" on Good-Friday.

Mr. Allen, the printer, brought a book on agriculture, which was printed, and was soon to be published.⁶ It was a very strange performance, the author having mixed in it his own thoughts upon various topics, along with his remarks on ploughing, sowing, and other farming operations. He seemed to be an absurd profane fellow, and had introduced in his books many sneers at religion, with equal ignorance and conceit. Dr. Johnson permitted me to read some passages aloud. One was that he resolved to work on Sunday, and did work, but he owned he felt *some* weak compunction; and he had this very curious reflection: "I was born in the wilds of Christianity, and the briars and thorns still hang about me." Dr. Johnson could not help laughing at this ridiculous image, yet was very angry at the fellow's impiety. "However," said he, "the reviewers will make him hang himself." He however observed, "that formerly there might have been a dispensation obtained for working on Sunday in the time of harvest."⁷ Indeed, in ritual observances, were all the ministers of religion what they should be, and what many of them are, such a power might be wisely and safely lodged with the church.

On Saturday, 18th April, I drank tea with him. He praised the late Mr. Duncombe⁸, of Canterbury, as a pleasing man. "He used to

¹ See *anté*, p. 222. n. 5. — C.

² Sir Joshua Reynolds wrote, or, perhaps, I should rather say compiled, two Dialogues, in illustration of this position, in the first of which Johnson attacks Garrick in opposition to Sir Joshua, and in the other defends him against Gibbon. They are so tame an imitation that Mr. Chalmers did not believe them to have been Sir Joshua's — but Sir George Beaumont assured me that he had received a copy of them from Sir Joshua himself, and that they were composed of recollected scraps of Johnson's conversation. The Dialogues are printed in Miss Hawkins's Memoirs and in my former editions, but are hardly worth the space they would occupy in this volume. — CROKER.

³ See on the same subject, p. 233. — MALONE.

⁴ "I carry my all with me." — C.

⁵ Dr. Johnson might well smile at such a *distress* of mind, and at the argument by which it was *relieved*. — CROKER.

⁶ This was Marshall's *Minutes of Agriculture*. The author lived to publish many more important and less offensive works on this subject. — CHALMERS.

⁷ In the *Injunctions* of Queen Elizabeth [following those of Edward VI.] for the observance of Sunday, there was one exception — viz. for labour in time of harvest, after divine service: but which was not provided for in the act 29 Car. 2. c. 7. — MARKLAND.

⁸ William Duncombe, Esq. He married the sister of John Hughes, the poet; was the author of two tragedies, and other ingenious productions; and died 26th Feb. 1769, aged 79. — MALONE.

come to me; I did not seek much after him. Indeed, I never sought much after any body." BOSWELL. "Lord Orrery, I suppose." JOHNSON. "No, Sir; I never went to him but when he sent for me." BOSWELL. "Richardson?" JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir: but I sought after George Psalmanazar the most. I used to go and sit with him at an alehouse in the city."¹

I am happy to mention another instance which I discovered of his *seeking after* a man of merit. Soon after the Honourable Daines Barrington had published his excellent "Observations on the Statutes,"² Johnson waited on that worthy and learned gentleman; and, having told him his name, courteously said, "I have read your book, Sir, with great pleasure, and wish to be better known to you." Thus began an acquaintance, which was continued with mutual regard as long as Johnson lived.

Talking of a recent seditious delinquent³, he said, "They should set him in the pillory, that he may be punished in a way that would disgrace him." I observed, that the pillory does not always disgrace. And I mentioned an instance of a gentleman⁴, who I thought was not dishonoured by it. JOHNSON. "Ay, but he was, Sir. He could not mouth and strut about as he used to do, after having been there. People are not willing to ask a man to their tables, who has stood in the pillory."

The gentleman who had dined with us at Dr. Percy's came in. Johnson attacked the Americans with intemperate vehemence of abuse. I said something in their favour; and added, that I was always sorry when he talked on that subject. This, it seems, exasperated him; though he said nothing at the time. The cloud was charged with sulphurous vapour, which was afterwards to burst in thunder. We talked of a gentleman [Mr. Langton], who was running out his fortune in London; and I said, "We must get him out of it. All his friends must quarrel with him, and that will soon drive him away." JOHNSON. "Nay, Sir, we'll send you to him. If your company does not drive a man out of his house, nothing will." This was a horrible

shock, for which there was no visible cause. I afterwards asked him, why he had said so harsh a thing. JOHNSON. "Because, Sir, you made me angry about the Americans." BOSWELL. "But why did you not take your revenge directly?" JOHNSON (smiling). "Because, Sir, I had nothing ready. A man cannot strike till he has his weapons." This was a candid and pleasant confession.

He showed me to-night his drawing-room, very genteelly fitted up, and said, "Mrs. Thrale sneered, when I talked of my having asked you and your lady to live at my house. I was obliged to tell her, that you would be in as respectable a situation in my house as in hers. Sir, the insolence of wealth will creep out." BOSWELL. "She has a little both of the insolence of wealth and the conceit of parts." JOHNSON. "The insolence of wealth is a wretched thing; but the conceit of parts has some foundation. To be sure, it should not be. But who is without it?" BOSWELL. "Yourself, Sir." JOHNSON. "Why, I play no tricks: I lay no traps." BOSWELL. "No, Sir. You are six feet high, and you only do not stoop."

We talked of the numbers of people that sometimes have composed the household of great families. I mentioned that there were a hundred in the family of the present Earl of Eglingtonne's father. Dr. Johnson seeming to doubt it, I began to enumerate; "Let us see, my lord and my lady, two." JOHNSON. "Nay, Sir, if you are to count by twos, you may be long enough." BOSWELL. "Well, but now I add two sons and seven daughters, and a servant for each; that will make twenty; so we have the fifth part already." JOHNSON. "Very true. You get at twenty pretty readily; but you will not so easily get further on. We grow to five feet pretty readily; but it is not so easy to grow to seven."

[Yesterday (18th of April) I rose late, having not slept ill. Having promised a dedication, I thought it necessary to write⁵, but for some time neither wrote nor read. Langton came in and talked. After dinner I wrote. At tea Boswell came in. He stayed till near twelve."—*Pr. and Med.*, p. 163.]

¹ "This extraordinary person," says Mrs. Piozzi, "lived and died at a house in Old Street, where Dr. Johnson was witness to his talents and virtues, and to his final preference of the Church of England, after having studied, disgraced, and adorned so many modes of worship. The name he went by was not supposed by his friend to be that of his family, but all inquiries were vain: his reasons for concealing his original were penitentiary; he deserved no other name than that of the impostor, he said. His pious and patient endurance of a tedious illness, ending in an exemplary death (1763), confirmed the strong impression his merit had made upon the mind of Dr. Johnson."—CROKER. The Memoir of Psalmanazar, written by himself, and published in 1764, though now a neglected piece of biography, will well repay the reader, as it affords much curious information. [See also Smollett's account of him in *Humphrey Clinker*.]—MARK-LAND.

² Quarto, 1766. The worthy author died March 13. 1800, aged about 74.—MALONE.

³ Mr. Horne Tooke, who had been in July 1777 (*Gent. Mag.*) convicted of a seditious libel. The sentence—pronounced 23d November,—was a year's imprisonment, and 200l.

fine. It seems strange that Johnson should, in April, 1778, have spoken *conjecturally* and *prospectively* of a sentence passed six months before; but this, perhaps, may be accounted for by Tooke's having obtained a writ of error, which suspended the execution of the sentence.—CROKER.

⁴ Probably Dr. Shebbeare. It was Shebbeare's exposure on the pillory which suggested the witty allusion of the *Heroic Epistle*.

"Does envy doubt? Witness, ye chosen train,
Who breathe the sweets of his Saturnian reign;
Witness, ye Hills, ye Johnsons, Scots, Shebbeares,
Hark to my call, for some of you have ears!"

But his ears were not endangered; indeed he was so favourably treated, being allowed to stand on, and not *in* the pillory, and to have certain other indulgences, that the sheriff was afterwards prosecuted for partiality towards him.—CROKER.

⁵ He means, that if it had not been in performance of a promise, he would not have done any worldly business on Easter eve. What the dedication was does not appear.—CROKER.

On Sunday, 19th April, being Easter-day, after the solemnities of the festival in St. Paul's church, I visited him, but could not stay to dinner. I expressed a wish to have the arguments for Christianity always in readiness, that my religious faith might be as firm and clear as any proposition whatever; so that I need not be under the least uneasiness when it should be attacked. JOHNSON. "Sir, you cannot answer all objections. You have demonstration for a first cause: you see he must be good as well as powerful, because there is nothing to make him otherwise, and goodness of itself is preferable. Yet you have against this, what is very certain, the unhappiness of human life. This, however, gives us reason to hope for a future state of compensation, that there may be a perfect system. But of that we were not sure, till we had a positive revelation." I told him, that his "Rasselas" had often made me unhappy; for it represented the misery of human life so well, and so convincingly to a thinking mind, that if at any time the impression wore off, and I felt myself easy, I began to suspect some delusion.

"[In reviewing my time from Easter, 1777, I found a very melancholy and shameful blank. So little has been done, that days and months are without any trace. My health has, indeed, been very much interrupted. My nights have been commonly, not only restless, but painful and fatiguing. My respiration was once so difficult, that an asthma was suspected. I could not walk, but with great difficulty, from Stowhill to Greenhill. Some relaxation of my breast has been procured, I think, by opium, which, though it never gives me sleep, frees my breast from spasms. I have written a little of the Lives of the Poets. I think with all my usual vigour. I have made sermons, perhaps as readily as formerly.¹ My memory is less faithful in retaining names, and, I am afraid, in retaining occurrences. Of this vacillation and vagrancy of mind, I impute a great part to a fortuitous and unsettled life, and therefore purpose to spend my time with more method."—*Pr. and Med.*, p. 167.]

On Monday, 20th April, I found him at home in the morning. We talked of a gentleman [Mr. Langton] who we apprehended was gradually involving his circumstances by bad management. JOHNSON. "Wasting a fortune is evaporation by a thousand imperceptible means. If it were a stream, they'd stop it. You must speak to him. It is really miserable. Were he a gamester, it could be said he had hopes of winning. Were he a bankrupt in trade, he might have grown rich; but he has neither spirit to spend, nor resolution to

spare. He does not spend fast enough to have pleasure from it. He has the crime of prodigality, and the wretchedness of parsimony. If a man is killed in a duel, he is killed as many as one has been killed; but it is a sad thing for a man to lie down and die; to bleed to death, because he has not fortitude enough to sear the wound, or even to stitch it up." I cannot but pause a moment to admire the fecundity of fancy, and choice of language, which in this instance, and, indeed, on almost all occasions, he displayed. It was well observed by Dr. Percy (afterwards Bishop of Dromore), "The conversation of Johnson is strong and clear, and may be compared to an antique statue, where every vein and muscle is distinct and bold. Ordinary conversation resembles an inferior cast."

"On Saturday, 25th April, I dined with him at Sir Joshua Reynolds's, with the learned Dr. Musgrave²; Counsellor Leland of Ireland, son to the historian; Mrs. Cholmondeley, [p. 349.] and some more ladies. "The Project,"³ a new poem, was read to the company by Dr. Musgrave. JOHNSON. "Sir, it has no power. Were it not for the well-known names with which it is filled, it would be nothing: the names carry the poet, not the poet the names." MUSGRAVE. "A temporary poem always entertains us." JOHNSON. "So does an account of the criminals hanged yesterday entertain us."

He proceeded;—"Demosthenes Taylor, as he was called (that is, the editor of Demosthenes), was the most silent man, the merest statue of a man, that I have ever seen. I once dined in company with him, and all he said during the whole time was no more than *Richard*. How a man should say only *Richard*, it is not easy to imagine. But it was thus: Dr. Douglas was talking of Dr. Zachary Grey, and ascribing to him something that was written by Dr. Richard Grey. So, to correct him, Taylor said, '*Richard*.'"

Mrs. Cholmondeley, in a high flow of spirits, exhibited some lively sallies of hyperbolical compliment to Johnson, with whom she had been long acquainted, and was very easy. He was quick in catching the *manner* of the moment, and answered her somewhat in the style of the hero of a romance, "Madam, you crown me with unfading laurels."

I happened, I know not how, to say that a pamphlet meant a prose piece. JOHNSON. "No, Sir. A few sheets of poetry unbound are a pamphlet⁴, as much as a few sheets of prose." MUSGRAVE. "A pamphlet may be understood to mean a poetical piece in West-

¹ The sermons were probably those which were left for publication by Dr. Taylor,—some written, perhaps, at Ashbourne in the preceding summer.—*Hall*. See *anté*, p. 555, and n. 3.—CROKER.

² Samuel Musgrave, M.D., editor of the Euripides, and author of "Dissertations on the Grecian Mythology," &c., published in 1782, after his death, by the learned Mr. Tyrwhitt.—MALONE.

³ "The Project," a poem (published anonymously in

1778), by Richard Tickell, author of "Anticipation."—CROKER.

⁴ Dr. Johnson is here perfectly correct, and is supported by the usage of preceding writers. So in *Musarum Deliciae*, a collection of poems, 8vo., 1656 (the writer is speaking of Suckling's play entitled *Aglaure*, printed in folio):

"This great voluminous pamphlet may be said
To be like one, that hath more hair than head."—MALONE.

minster-hall, that is, in formal language; but in common language it is understood to mean prose." JOHNSON. (And here was one of the many instances of his knowing clearly and telling exactly how a thing is.) "A pamphlet is understood in common language to mean prose, only from this, that there is so much more prose written than poetry; as when we say a *book*, prose is understood for the same reason, though a book may as well be in poetry as in prose. We understand what is most general, and we name what is less frequent."

We talked of a lady's verses on Ireland.¹ MISS REYNOLDS. "Have you seen them, Sir?" JOHNSON. "No, Madam; I have seen a translation from Horace, by one of her daughters. She showed it me." MISS REYNOLDS. "And how was it, Sir?" JOHNSON. "Why, very well, for a young miss's verses; that is to say, compared with excellence, nothing; but very well, for the person who wrote them. I am vexed at being shown verses in that manner." MISS REYNOLDS. "But if they should be good, why not give them hearty praise?" JOHNSON. "Why, Madam, because I have not then got the better of my bad humour from having been shown them. You must consider, Madam, beforehand, they may be bad as well as good. Nobody has a right to put another under such a difficulty, that he must either hurt the person by telling the truth, or hurt himself by telling what is not true." BOSWELL. "A man often shows his writings to people of eminence, to obtain from them, either from their good-nature, or from their not being able to tell the truth firmly, a commendation, of which he may afterwards avail himself." JOHNSON. "Very true, Sir. Therefore, the man who is asked by an author, what he thinks of his work, is put to the *torture*, and is not obliged to speak the truth; so that what he says is not considered as his opinion; yet he has said it, and cannot retract it; and this author, when mankind are hunting him with a canister at his tail, can say, 'I would not have published, had not Johnson, or Reynolds, or Musgrave, or some other good judge, commended the work.' Yet I consider it as a very difficult question in conscience, whether one should advise a man not to publish a work, if profit be his object; for a man may say, 'Had it not been for you, I should have had the money.' Now you cannot be sure; for you have only your own opinion, and the public may think very differently." SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS. "You must upon such an occasion have two judgments; one as to the real value of the work, the other as to what may please the general taste at the time." JOHNSON. "But you can be *sure* of neither; and therefore I should scruple much to give a suppressive

vote. Both Goldsmith's comedies were once refused; his first by Garrick, his second by Colman, who was prevailed on at last by much solicitation, nay, a kind of force, to bring it on. His '*Vicar of Wakefield*' I myself did not think would have had much success. It was written and sold to a bookseller before his '*Traveller*,' but published after; so little expectation had the bookseller from it. Had it been sold after '*The Traveller*,' he might have had twice as much money for it, though sixty guineas was no mean price. The bookseller had the advantage of Goldsmith's reputation from '*The Traveller*' in the sale, though Goldsmith had it not in selling the copy." SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS. "The *Beggars Opera* affords a proof how strangely people will differ in opinion about a literary performance. Burke thinks it has no merit. JOHNSON. "It was refused by one of the houses; but I should have thought it would succeed, not from any great excellence in the writing, but from the novelty, and the general spirit and gaiety of the piece, which keeps the audience always attentive, and dismisses them in good humour."

We went to the drawing-room, where was a considerable increase of company. Several of us got round Dr. Johnson, and complained that he would not give us an exact catalogue of his works, that there might be a complete edition. He smiled, and evaded our entreaties. That he intended to do it, I have no doubt, because I have heard him say so; and I have in my possession an imperfect list, fairly written out, which he entitles *Historia Studiorum*. I once got from one of his friends a list, which there was pretty good reason to suppose was accurate; for it was written down in his presence by this friend, who enumerated each article aloud, and had some of them mentioned to him by Mr. Levett, in concert with whom it was made out; and Johnson, who heard all this, did not contradict it. But when I showed a copy of this list to him, and mentioned the evidence for its exactness, he laughed, and said, "I was willing to let them go on as they pleased, and never interfered." Upon which I read it to him, article by article, and got him positively to own or refuse; and then, having obtained certainty so far, I got some other articles confirmed by him directly, and, afterwards, from time to time, made additions under his sanction.

His friend, Edward Cave, having been mentioned, he told us, "Cave used to sell ten thousand of '*The Gentleman's Magazine*;' yet such was then his minute attention and anxiety that the sale should not suffer the smallest decrease, that he would name a particular person who he heard had talked of leaving off the *Magazine*, and would say, '*Let us have something good next month.*'"²

¹ They are mentioned in Watts's, but without a name, which I cannot supply; — *querere* Lady Knight? — CROKER, 1847.

² This seems to confirm the conjecture made, *ante*, p. 49. n. 1., that Johnson acted for a time as the editor of the *Magazine*. — CROKER.

It was observed, that avarice was inherent in some dispositions. JOHNSON. "No man was born a miser, because no man was born to possession. Every man is born *cupidus* — desirous of getting; but not *avarus* — desirous of keeping." BOSWELL. "I have heard old Mr. Sheridan maintain, with much ingenuity, that a complete miser is a happy man: a miser who gives himself wholly to the one passion of saving." JOHNSON. "That is flying in the face of all the world, who have called an avaricious man a *miser*, because he is miserable.¹ No, Sir; a man who both spends and saves money is the happiest man, because he has both enjoyments."

The conversation having turned on *bon-mots*, he quoted, from one of the *Ana*, an exquisite instance of flattery in a maid of honour in France, who being asked by the queen what o'clock it was, answered, "What your majesty pleases."² He admitted that Mr. Burke's classical pun [p. 273.] upon Mr. Wilkes's being carried on the shoulders of the mob,

"———— numerisque fertur

Leges solutis,"

was admirable; and though he was strangely unwilling to allow to that extraordinary man the talent of wit³, he also laughed with approbation at another of his playful conceits; which was, that "Horace has in one line given a description of a good desirable manor:—

'Est modus in rebus, sunt certi denique fines;'

that is to say, a *modus* as to the tithes and certain *fines*."⁴

He observed, "a man cannot with propriety speak of himself, except he relates simple facts: as, 'I was at Richmond:' or what depends on mensuration; as, 'I am six feet high.' He is sure he has been at Richmond; he is sure he is six feet high; but he cannot be sure he is wise, or that he has any other excellence. Then, all censure of a man's self is oblique praise. It is in order to show how much he can spare. It has all the invidiousness of self-praise, and all the reproach of falsehood." BOSWELL. "Sometimes it may proceed from

¹ This is a sophism — people call him miserable, because he seems so to them; but he himself may be, and no doubt generally is, happy in his avarice.

"Populus me sibilat; at mihi plando
Ipsæ domi, simul ac nummos contempler in arca."

"I'm hissed in public: but, in secret blest,
I count my money and enjoy my chest."
Hor. l. Sat. i. 70. — Francis. — CROKER, 1847.

² The anecdote is told in "*Menagiana*," vol. iii. p. 104., but not of a "maid of honour," nor as an instance of "exquisite flattery." "M. d'Uzès était chevalier d'honneur de la reine. Cette princesse lui demanda un jour quelle heure il était; il répondit, 'Madame, l'heure qu'il plaira à votre majesté.'" Menage tells it as a *pleasantry* of M. d'Uzès; but M. de la Monnoye says, that this duke was remarkable for *naïvetés* and blunders, and was a kind of *butt*, to whom the wits of the court used to attribute all manner of absurdities. — CROKER.

³ See this question fully investigated in the notes upon the "Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides," *anté*, p. 273. n. i. *et seq.* And here, as a lawyer mindful of the maxim *Sum cuique tribuito*, I cannot forbear to mention, that the ad-

d man's strong consciousness of his faults being observed. He knows that others would throw him down, and therefore he had better lie down softly of his own accord."

CHAPTER LXVI.

1778.

Buying Buckles. — "The first Whig." — Wine. — Tasso. — Homer. — Adam Smith. — Pope. — Voltaire. — Henry's History. — Modern Writers. — Greece. — Rome. — Old Age. — Dr. Robertson. — Addison. — Chinese Language. — Interest of Money. — Imagination. — Existence. — Virtue and Vice. — The But. — Lord Marchmont. — "Transpire." — House of Peers. — Pope's "Universal Prayer." — Divorces. — Parson Ford's Ghost. — Lord Clive.

On Tuesday, April 28., he was engaged to dine at General Paoli's, where, as I have already observed, I was still entertained in elegant hospitality, and with all the ease and comfort of a home. I called on him, and accompanied him in a hackney-coach. We stopped first at the bottom of Hedge Lane, into which he went to leave a letter, "with good news for a poor man in distress," as he told me.⁵ I did not question him particularly as to this. He himself often resembled Lady Bolingbroke's lively description of Pope: that "he was un *politique aux choux et aux raves*." He would say, "I dine to-day in Grosvenor-square;" this might be with a duke; or, perhaps, "I dine to-day at the other end of the town;" or, "A gentleman of great eminence called on me yesterday." He loved thus to keep things floating in conjecture: *Omne ignotum pro magnifico est*. I believe I ventured to dissipate the cloud, to unveil the mystery, more freely and frequently than any of his friends. We stopped again at Wirgman's, the well-known *toy-shop* in St. James's Street, at

ditional note, beginning with "I find since the former edition," is not mine, but was obligingly furnished by Mr. Malone, who was so kind as to superintend the press while I was in Scotland, and the first part of the second edition was printing. He would not allow me to ascribe it to its proper author; but, as it is exquisitely acute and elegant, I take this opportunity, without his knowledge, to do him justice. — BOSWELL.

⁴ This, as both Mr. Bindley and Dr. Kearney have observed to me, is the motto to "An Inquiry into Customary Estates and Tenants' Rights, &c.;" with some Considerations for restraining excessive *Fines*," by Everard Fleetwood, Esq. 8vo. 1731. But it is, probably, a mere coincidence. Mr. Burke, perhaps, never saw that pamphlet. — MALONE.
⁵ Mr. P. Cunningham has, I think, enabled us to clear up Boswell's mystery, by finding in the Garrick correspondence (ii. 305.), May, 1778, that Johnson's poor friend, Mauritius Lowe, the painter, lived at No. 3, Hedge Lane, in a state of extreme distress; and I have little doubt that the good news was that a picture of his was (as I find in the catalogue of that year) admitted to the Exhibition of the Royal Academy, then on the point of opening. Johnson's good offices were similarly exerted on Lowe's behalf at the Exhibition of 1783. See *post*, sub 12th April. — CROKER, 1847.

the corner of St. James's Place, to which he had been directed, but not clearly, for he searched about some time, and could not find it at first; and said, "To direct one only to a corner shop is *toying* with one." I supposed he meant this as a play upon the word *toy*: it was the first time that I knew him stoop to such sport. After he had been some time in the shop, he sent for me to come out of the coach, and help him to choose a pair of silver buckles, as those he had were too small. Probably this alteration in dress had been suggested by Mrs. Thrale, by associating with whom, his external appearance was much improved. He got better clothes; and the dark colour, from which he never deviated, was enlivened by metal buttons. His wigs, too, were much better; and, during their travels in France, he was furnished with a Paris-made wig, of handsome construction.¹

This choosing of silver buckles was a negotiation: "Sir," said he, "I will not have the ridiculous large ones now in fashion; and I will give no more than a guinea for a pair." Such were the *principles* of the business; and, after some examination, he was fitted. As we drove along, I found him in a talking humour, of which I availed myself. BOSWELL. "I was this morning in Ridley's shop, Sir; and was told, that the collection called '*Johnsoniana*' [p. 479.] had sold very much." JOHNSON. "Yet the '*Journey to the Hebrides*' has not had a great sale."² BOSWELL. "That is strange." JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir; for in that book I have told the world a great deal that they did not know before."

BOSWELL. "I drank chocolate, Sir, this morning with Mr. Eld; and, to my no small surprise, found him to be a *Staffordshire Whig*, a being which I did not believe had existed." JOHNSON. "Sir, there are rascals in all countries." BOSWELL. "Eld said, a *Tory* was a creature generated between a nonjuring parson and one's grandmother." JOHNSON. "And I have always said, the first *Whig* was the Devil." BOSWELL. "He certainly was, Sir. The Devil was impatient of subordination; he was the first who resisted power:—

'Better to reign in hell, than serve in heaven.'

At General Paoli's were Sir Joshua Rey-

nolds, Mr. Langton, Marchese Gherardi of Lombardy, and Mr. John Spottiswoode the younger, of Spottiswoode³, the solicitor. At this time fears of an invasion were circulated; to obviate which Mr. Spottiswoode observed, that Mr. Fraser, the engineer, who had lately come from Dunkirk, said, that the French had the same fears of us. JOHNSON. "It is thus that mutual cowardice keeps us in peace. Were one half of mankind brave, and one half cowards, the brave would be always beating the cowards. Were all brave, they would lead a very uneasy life; all would be continually fighting: but being all cowards, we go on very well."

We talked of drinking wine. JOHNSON. "I require wine only when I am alone. I have then often wished for it, and often taken it." SPOTTISWOODE. "What, by way of a companion, Sir?" JOHNSON. "To get rid of myself, to send myself away. Wine gives great pleasure; and every pleasure is of itself a good. It is a good, unless counterbalanced by evil. A man may have a strong reason not to drink wine; and that may be greater than the pleasure. Wine makes a man better pleased with himself. I do not say that it makes him more pleasing to others. Sometimes it does. But the danger is, that while a man grows better pleased with himself, he may be growing less pleasing to others."⁴ Wine gives a man nothing. It neither gives him knowledge nor wit; it only animates a man, and enables him to bring out what a dread of the company has repressed. It only puts in motion what has been locked up in frost. But this may be good, or it may be bad." SPOTTISWOODE. "So, Sir, wine is a key which opens a box; but this box may be either full or empty?" JOHNSON. "Nay, Sir, conversation is the key: wine is a picklock, which forces open the box, and injures it. A man should cultivate his mind so as to have that confidence and readiness without wine, which wine gives." BOSWELL. "The great difficulty of resisting wine is from benevolence. For instance, a good worthy man asks you to taste his wine, which he has had twenty years in his cellar." JOHNSON. "Sir, all this notion about benevolence arises from a man's imagining himself to be of more importance to others than he really is. They don't care a farthing whether he drinks wine or not."

¹ In general his wigs were very shabby, and their fore parts were burned away by the near approach of the candle, which his short-sightedness rendered necessary in reading. At Streatham, Mr. Thrale's butler always kept a better wig in his own hands, with which he met Johnson at the parlour-door, when the bell had called him down to dinner; and this ludicrous ceremony was performed every day. — CROKER.

² Here he either was mistaken, or had a different notion of an extensive sale from what is generally entertained: for the fact is, that four thousand copies of that excellent work were sold very quickly. A new edition has been printed since his death, besides that in the collection of his works. — BOSWELL. Another edition has been printed since Mr. Boswell wrote the above, besides repeated editions in the general collection of his works during the last twenty years. — MALONE, 1804. Hannah More says, that "Cadell the publisher told her, that he had sold 4000 the first week." — *Life*, vol. i. p. 39. This enormous sale at first, made Johnson think perhaps the subsequent sale scanty. — CROKER, 1835.

³ In the phraseology of Scotland, I should have said, "Mr. John Spottiswoode, the younger, of *that ilk*." Johnson knew that sense of the word very well, and has thus explained it in his "Dictionary" — *voce, Ilk*. "It also signifies the same; as, *Mackintosh of that ilk*, denotes a gentleman whose surname and the title of his estate are the same." — BOSWELL. Johnson derives it from the Saxon; but is it not rather an abbreviation of the Latin — *illuc, that place*? Mr. Spottiswoode married the daughter of Mr. William Strahan, and was the father of the present Spottiswoode of *that ilk*, and of the printer of this work. *Ante*, p. 438, n. 3. — CROKER, 1847.

⁴ It is observed in "Waller's Life," in the "Biographia Britannica," that he drank only water; and that while he sat in a company who were drinking wine, "he had the dexterity to accommodate his discourse to the pitch of theirs as it *sunk*." If excess in drinking be meant, the remark is acutely just. But surely a moderate use of wine gives a gaiety of spirits which water-drinkers know not. — BOSWELL.

SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS. "Yes, they do for the time." JOHNSON. "For the time! If they care this minute, they forget it the next. And as for the good worthy man, how do you know he is good and worthy? No good and worthy man will insist upon another man's drinking wine. As to the wine twenty years in the cellar,—of ten men, three say this, merely because they must say something; three are telling a lie, when they say they have had the wine twenty years; three would rather save the wine; one, perhaps, cares. I allow it is something to please one's company; and people are always pleased with those who partake pleasure with them. But after a man has brought himself to relinquish the great personal pleasure which arises from drinking wine, any other consideration is a trifle. To please others by drinking wine, is something only, if there be nothing against it. I should, however, be sorry to offend worthy men:—

'Curst be the verse, how well soe'er it flow,
That tends to make one worthy man my foe.'

BOSWELL. "Curst be the *spring*, the *water*." JOHNSON. "But let us consider what a sad thing it would be, if we were obliged to drink or do any thing else that may happen to be agreeable to the company where we are."

LANGTON. "By the same rule, you must join with a gang of cut-purses." JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir; but yet we must do justice to wine: we must allow it the power it possesses. To make a man pleased with himself, let me tell you, is doing a very great thing;—

'Si patriæ volumnus, si nobis vivere cari.'

I was at this time myself a water-drinker, upon trial, by Johnson's recommendation. JOHNSON. "Boswell is a bolder combatant than Sir Joshua: he argues for wine without the help of wine; but Sir Joshua with it." SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS. "But to please one's company is a strong motive." JOHNSON (who, from drinking only water, supposed every body who drank wine to be elevated). "I won't argue any more with you, Sir. You are too far gone." SIR JOSHUA. "I should have thought so indeed, Sir, had I made such a speech as you have now done." JOHNSON (drawing himself in, and, I really thought, blushing). "Nay, don't be angry. I did not mean to offend you." SIR JOSHUA. "At first the taste of wine was disagreeable to me; but I brought myself to drink it, that I might be like other people. The pleasure of drinking wine is so connected with pleasing your company, that altogether there is something of social goodness in it." JOHNSON. "Sir, this is only saying the same thing over again." SIR JOSHUA. "No, this is new." JOHNSON. "You put it in new words,

but it is an old thought. This is one of the disadvantages of wine, it makes a man mistake words for thoughts." BOSWELL. "I think it is a new thought; at least, it is in a new *attitude*." JOHNSON. "Nay, Sir, it is only in a new coat; or an old coat with a new facing." Then, laughing heartily: "It is the old dog in the new doublet. An extraordinary instance, however, may occur, where a man's patron will do nothing for him, unless he will drink: *there* may be a good reason for drinking."

I mentioned a nobleman, who I believed was really uneasy if his company would not drink hard. JOHNSON. "That is from having had people about him whom he has been accustomed to command." BOSWELL. "Supposing I should be *tête-à-tête* with him at table?" JOHNSON. "Sir, there is no more reason for your drinking with *him*, than his being sober with *you*."

BOSWELL. "Why, that is true; for it would do him less hurt to be sober, than it would do me to get drunk." JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir; and from what I have heard of him, one would not wish to sacrifice himself to such a man. If he must always have somebody to drink with him, he should buy a slave, and then he would be sure to have it. They who submit to drink as another pleases, make themselves his slaves."

BOSWELL. "But, Sir, you will surely make allowance for the duty of hospitality. A gentleman who loves drinking, comes to visit me."

JOHNSON. "Sir, a man knows whom he visits; he comes to the table of a sober man."

BOSWELL. "But, Sir, you and I should not have been so well received in the Highlands and Hebrides, if I had not drunk with our worthy friends. Had I drunk water only as you did, they would not have been so cordial. JOHNSON. "Sir William Temple mentions, that in his travels through the Netherlands he had two or three gentlemen with him; and when a bumper was necessary, he put it on *them*. Were I to travel again through the islands, I would have Sir Joshua with me to take the bumpers." BOSWELL. "But, Sir, let me put a case. Suppose Sir Joshua should take a jaunt into Scotland; he does me the honour to pay me a visit at my house in the country; I am overjoyed at seeing him; we are quite by ourselves: shall I unsociably and churlishly let him sit drinking by himself? No, no, my dear Sir Joshua, you shall not be treated so; I will take a bottle with you."

The celebrated Mrs. Rudd² being mentioned: JOHNSON. "Fifteen years ago, I should have gone to see her." SPOTTISWOODE. "Because she was fifteen years younger?" JOHNSON. "No, Sir; but now they have a trick of putting every thing into the newspapers."

He begged of General Paoli to repeat one of the introductory stanzas of the first book of

¹ "If we would live within our proper sphere,
Dear to ourselves, and to our country dear."
—Francis.—C.

² See *anté*, p. 518. n. 2.—C.

Tasso's "Jerusalem," which he did; and then Johnson found fault with the simile of sweetening the edges of a cup for a child¹, being transferred from Lucretius into an epic poem. The General said he did not imagine Homer's poetry was so ancient as is supposed, because he ascribes to a Greek colony circumstances of refinement not found in Greece itself at a later period, when Thucydides wrote.² JOHNSON. "I recollect but one passage quoted by Thucydides from Homer, which is not to be found in our copies of Homer's works; I am for the antiquity of Homer, and think that a Grecian colony, by being nearer Persia, might be more refined than the mother country."

On Wednesday, April 29., I dined with him at Mr. Allan Ramsay's, where were Lord Binning, Dr. Robertson the historian, Sir Joshua Reynolds, and the Honourable Mrs. Boscawen³, widow of the Admiral, and mother of the present Viscount Falmouth; of whom, if it be not presumptuous in me to praise her, I would say, that her manners are the most agreeable, and her conversation the best, of any lady with whom I ever had the happiness to be acquainted. Before Johnson came, we talked a good deal of him. Ramsay said, he had always found him a very polite man, and that he treated him with great respect, which he did very sincerely. I said, I worshipped him. ROBERTSON. "But some of you spoil him: you should not worship him; you should worship no man." BOSWELL. "I cannot help worshipping him, he is so much superior to other men." ROBERTSON. "In criticism, and in wit and conversation, he is, no doubt, very excellent; but in other respects he is not above other men: he will believe any thing, and will strenuously defend the most minute circumstance connected with the church of England." BOSWELL. "Believe me, Doctor, you are much mistaken as to this; for when you talk with him calmly in private, he is very liberal in his way of thinking." ROBERTSON. "He and I have been always very gracious: the first time I met him was one evening at Strahan's, when he had just had an unlucky altercation with Adam Smith⁴, to whom he had been so rough, that Strahan, after Smith was gone, had remonstrated with him, and told him that I was coming soon, and that he was uneasy to think that he might behave in the same manner to me. 'No, no, Sir (said Johnson), I warrant you, Robertson and I shall do very well.' Accordingly he was gentle and good-humoured

and courteous with me, the whole evening and he has been so upon every occasion that we have met since. I have often said (laughing), that I have been in a great measure indebted to Smith for my good reception. BOSWELL. "His power of reasoning is very strong, and he has a peculiar art of drawing characters, which is as rare as good portraiture painting." SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS. "He is undoubtedly admirable in this; but, in order to mark the characters which he draws, he overcharges them, and gives people more than they really have, whether of good or bad."

No sooner did he, of whom we had been thus talking so easily, arrive, than we were all as quiet as a school upon the entrance of the head master; and we very soon sat down to a table covered with such a variety of good things, and contributed not a little to dispose him to be pleased.

RAMSAY. "I am old enough⁵ to have been a contemporary of Pope. His poetry was highly admired in his life-time, more a great deal than after his death." JOHNSON. "Since it has not been less admired since his death, no authors ever had so much fame in their own life-time as Pope and Voltaire; and Pope's poetry has been as much admired since his death as during his life: it has only not been as much talked of; but that is owing to its being now more distant, and people having other writings to talk of. Virgil is less talked of than Pope, and Homer is less talked of than Virgil; but they are not less admired. We must read what the world reads at the moment. It has been maintained that this superfluity, this teeming of the press in modern times, is prejudicial to good literature, because it obliges us to read so much of what is of inferior value, in order to be in the fashion so that better works are neglected for want of time, because a man will have more gratification of his vanity in conversation, from having read modern books, than from having read the best works of antiquity. But it must be considered, that we have now more knowledge generally diffused: all our ladies read now, which is a great extension. Modern writers are the moons of literature; they shine with reflected light, with light borrowed from the ancients. Greece appears to me to be the fountain of knowledge; Rome of elegance. RAMSAY. "I suppose Homer's 'Iliad' to be a collection of pieces which had been written before his time. I should like to see a trans-

¹ The passages are in the *Jerusalem*, canto i. st. 3., and in Lucretius, i. 935., and again, iv. 12. — CROKER.

² The quotations in the third book of Thucydides are not from the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*, but from the *Hymn to Apollo*, attributed to Homer. It is, as Lord Aberdeen observes to me, remarkable that the most judicious of the Greek historians should have quoted this hymn, not only without expressing any doubt of its authenticity, but as historical proof, — more especially as in the first book of his History there is great evidence of a real spirit of inquiry, and of something like the philosophical criticism of modern times." — CROKER, 1847.

³ Frances, daughter of William Evelyn Glanville, Esq., married, in 1742, to Admiral Boscawen. She died in 1781. This excellent and highly-gifted lady makes a considerable figure in the correspondence of Mrs. Montagu, Mrs. Carter, and Hannah More. — CROKER.

⁴ This, probably, was the scene, the exaggeration or representation of which may have given rise to Professor Miller's scandalous anecdote. See *anté*, p. 293. n. 1. — CROKER.

⁵ Mr. Ramsay was at least 81 (*anté*, p. 579. n. 3.) at Pope's death. — CROKER.

lation of it in poetical prose, like the book of Ruth or Job." ROBERTSON. "Would you, Dr. Johnson, who are a master of the English language, but try your hand upon a part of it?" JOHNSON. "Sir, you would not read it without the pleasure of verse."¹

We talked of antiquarian researches. JOHNSON. "All that is really *known* of the ancient state of Britain is contained in a few pages. We can know no more than what the old writers have told us; yet what large books have we upon it, the whole of which, excepting such parts as are taken from those old writers, is all a dream, such as Whitaker's 'Manchester.' I have heard Henry's 'History of Britain' well spoken of; I am told it is carried on in separate divisions, as the civil, the military, the religious history. I wish much to have one branch well done, and that is the history of manners, of common life." ROBERTSON. "Henry should have applied his attention to that alone, which is enough for any man; and he might have found a great deal scattered in various books, had he read solely with that view. Henry erred in not selling his first volume at a moderate price to the booksellers, that they might have pushed him on till he had got reputation. I sold my 'History of Scotland' at a moderate price, as a work by which the booksellers might either gain or not; and Cadell has told me, that Millar and he have got six thousand pounds by it. I afterwards received a much higher price for my writings. An author should sell his first work for what the booksellers will give, till it shall appear whether he is an author of merit, or, which is the same thing as to purchase-money, an author who pleases the public."

Dr. Robertson expatiated on the character of a certain nobleman [Lord Clive]; that he was one of the strongest-minded men that ever lived; that he would sit in company quite sluggish, while there was nothing to call forth his intellectual vigour; but the moment that any important subject was started, for instance, how this country is to be defended against a French invasion, he would rouse himself, and show his extraordinary talents, with the most powerful ability and animation. JOHNSON. "Yet this man cut his own throat. The true strong and sound mind is the mind that can embrace equally great things and small. Now, I am told the King of Prussia will say to a servant, 'Bring me a bottle of such a wine, which came in such a year; it

lies in such a corner of the cellars.' I would have a man great in great things, and elegant in little things." He said to me afterwards, when we were by ourselves, "Robertson was in a mighty romantic humour; he talked of one whom he did not know; but I *downed* him with the King of Prussia." "Yes, Sir," said I, "you threw a *bottle* at his head."

An ingenious gentleman was mentioned, concerning whom both Robertson and Ramsay agreed that he had a constant firmness of mind; for, after a laborious day, and amidst a multiplicity of cares and anxieties, he would sit down with his sisters, and be quite cheerful and good-humoured. Such a disposition, it was observed, was the happy gift of nature. JOHNSON. "I do not think so: a man has from nature a certain portion of mind; the use he makes of it depends upon his own free will. That a man has always the same firmness of mind, I do not say: because every man feels his mind less firm at one time than another; but I think, a man's being in a good or bad humour depends upon his will."² I, however, could not help thinking that a man's humour is often uncontrollable by his will.

Johnson harangued against drinking wine. "A man," said he, "may choose whether he will have abstemiousness and knowledge, or claret and ignorance." Dr. Robertson (who is very companionable) was beginning to dissent as to the proscription of claret. JOHNSON (with a placid smile). "Nay, Sir, you shall not differ with me; as I have said that the man is most perfect who takes in the most things, I am for knowledge and claret." ROBERTSON (holding a glass of generous claret in his hand). "Sir, I can only drink your health." JOHNSON. "Sir, I should be sorry if *you* should be ever in such a state as to be able to do nothing more." ROBERTSON. "Dr. Johnson, allow me to say, that in one respect I have the advantage of you: when you were in Scotland you would not come to hear any of our preachers; whereas, when I am here, I attend your public worship without scruple, and, indeed, with great satisfaction." JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, that is not so extraordinary: the King of Siam sent ambassadors to Louis the Fourteenth, but Louis the Fourteenth sent none to the King of Siam."³

Here my friend for once discovered a want of knowledge or forgetfulness; for Louis the Fourteenth did send an embassy to the King of Siam⁴, and the Abbé Choisi, who was em-

¹ This experiment, which Madame Dacler made in vain, has since been tried in our own language, by the editor of "Osian;" and we must either think very meanly of his abilities, or allow that Dr. Johnson was in the right. And Mr. Cowper, a man of real genius, has miserably failed in his blank verse translation.—BOSWELL. It is the fashion to call Cowper's a miserable failure, and by the side of Pope's sweetness and brilliancy it undoubtedly seems deficient in both euphony and splendour. Like an engraving, or sepia sketch of a fine picture, the outline is exact, but the charm of the colouring is absent. It is, however, the nearest portrait we have of Homer, and the more one reads it, the better it seems.—CROKER, 1835.

² I know not that there is on record a more striking instance of the contrary of this proposition than Johnson himself—much of whose "bad humour" was undoubtedly constitutional.—CROKER, 1847.

³ Mrs. Piozzi confidently mentions this as having passed in Scotland.—*Anecdotes*, p. 62.—BOSWELL. Johnson himself told her the story, but whether it had happened in London or in Edinburgh, he probably did not state; nor does it in the least degree signify.—CROKER, 1847.

⁴ The Abbé de Choisi was sent by Louis XIV. on an embassy to the King of Siam in 1683, with a view, it has been said, to convert the king of the country to Christianity.—MALONE. The Chevalier de Chaumont was the ambassador:

ployed in it, published an account of it in two volumes.

Next day, Thursday, April 30.¹, I found him at home by himself. JOHNSON. "Well, Sir, Ramsay gave us a splendid dinner. I love Ramsay. You will not find a man in whose conversation there is more instruction, more information, and more elegance, than in Ramsay's. BOSWELL. "What I admire in Ramsay, is his continuing to be so young." JOHNSON. "Why, yes, Sir, it is to be admired. I value myself upon this, that there is nothing of the old man in my conversation. I am now sixty-eight, and I have no more of it than at twenty-eight." BOSWELL. "But, Sir, would not you wish to know old age? He who is never an old man, does not know the whole of human life; for old age is one of the divisions of it." JOHNSON. "Nay, Sir, what talk is this?" BOSWELL. "I mean, Sir, the Sphinx's description of it:—morning, noon, and night. I would know night, as well as morning and noon." JOHNSON. "What, Sir, would you know what it is to feel the evils of old age? Would you have the gout? Would you have decrepitude?" Seeing him heated, I would not argue any farther; but I was confident that I was in the right. I would, in due time, be a Nestor, an elder of the people; and there *should* be some difference between the conversation of twenty-eight and sixty-eight.² A grave picture should not be gay. There is a serene, solemn, placid old age. JOHNSON. "Mrs. Thrale's mother said of me what flattered me much. A clergyman was complaining of want of society in the country where he lived; and said, 'They talk of *runts* (that is, young cows).'³ 'Sir (said Mrs. Salusbury), Mr. Johnson would learn to talk of runts;' meaning that I was a man who would make the most of my situation, whatever I was." He added, "I think myself a very polite man."

On Saturday, May 2., I dined with him at Sir Joshua Reynolds's, where there was a very large company, and a great deal of conversation; but, owing to some circumstance which I cannot now recollect, I have no record of any

part of it, except that there were several people there by no means of the Johnsonian school; so that less attention was paid to him than usual, which put him out of humour: and upon some imaginary offence⁴ from me, he attacked me with such rudeness, that I was vexed and angry, because it gave those persons an opportunity of enlarging upon his supposed ferocity, and ill treatment of his best friends. I was so much hurt, and had my pride so much roused, that I kept away from him for a week; and, perhaps, might have kept away much longer, nay, gone to Scotland without seeing him again, had not we fortunately met and been reconciled. To such unhappy chances are human friendships liable.

On Friday, May 8., I dined with him at Mr. Langton's. I was reserved and silent, which I suppose he perceived, and might recollect the cause. After dinner, when Mr. Langton was called out of the room, and we were by ourselves, he drew his chair near to mine, and said, in a tone of conciliating courtesy, "Well, how have you done?" BOSWELL. "Sir, you have made me very uneasy by your behaviour to me when we were last at Sir Joshua Reynolds's. You know, my dear Sir, no man has a greater respect and affection for you, or would sooner go to the end of the world to serve you. Now, to treat me so—." He insisted that I had interrupted, which I assured him was not the case; and proceeded—"But why treat me so before people who neither love you nor me?" JOHNSON. "Well, I am sorry for it. I'll make it up to you twenty different ways, as you please." BOSWELL. "I said today to Sir Joshua, when he observed that you *tossed* me sometimes, I don't care how often or how high he tosses me, when only friends are present, for then I fall upon soft ground; but I do not like falling on stones, which is the case when enemies are present. I think this a pretty good image, Sir." JOHNSON. "Sir, it is one of the happiest I have ever heard."⁵

The truth is, there was no venom in the wounds which he inflicted at any time, unless they were irritated by some malignant infusor

the Abbé de Choisi was, as Boswell correctly states, only "employed in it," and it was in return of this mission that the King of Siam sent his embassy to Louis. — CROKER.

¹ Dr. Johnson's own account of his dinner engagements this week shows a more extensive *dining out* than Boswell mentions, or perhaps was fully aware of.

"April 30. 1778. Since I was fetched away from Streatham, the Journal [of engagements] stands thus: *Saturday* [2d of May], Sir Joshua; *Sunday*, Mr. Hoole; *Monday*, Lord Lucan; *Tuesday*, Gen. Paoli; *Wednesday*, Mr. Ramsay; *Thursday*, Old Bailey; *Friday*, Club; *Saturday*, Sir Joshua; *Sunday*, Lady Lucan. *Monday*, pray let it be Streatham, and very early; do, now, let it be very early; for I may be carried away—just like Ganymede of Troy. Do, now, let me know whether you will send for me—early—on Monday. But take some care, or your letter will not come till Tuesday."

² *Letters*. The dinner at the Old Bailey is one given during the Sessions to the judges, counsel, and a few guests. The venerable Mr. Clarke, Chamberlain of London, who died in 1831, in his ninety-third year, told me that he remembered having taken Johnson to this dinner, he being then sheriff. The judges were Blackstone and Eyre. Mr. Justice Blackstone conversed with Johnson on the subject of their absent friend, Sir Robert Chambers. — CROKER.

³ Johnson clearly meant (what the author has often else-

where mentioned), that he had none of the listlessness of old age; that he had the same *activity and energy of mind*, as formerly; not that a man of sixty-eight might since in a public assembly with as much propriety as he could at twenty eight. His conversation being the product of much various knowledge, great acuteness, and extraordinary wit, was equally well suited to every period of life; and as in his youth it probably did not exhibit any unbecoming levity, so certainly in his later years it was totally free from the garrulity and querulousness of old age. — MALONE.

⁴ Such is the signification of this word in Scotland, and it should seem, in Wales. (See Skinner in v.) But the heifer of Scotland and Wales, when brought to England, being always smaller than those of this country, the word *runt* has acquired a secondary sense, and generally signifies a heifer diminutive in size, small beyond the ordinary growth of the animal; and in this sense alone the word is acknowledged by Dr. Johnson in his Dictionary. — MALONE.

⁵ Lord Wellesley had heard that this quarrel was about the "place in the Dunciad"—see *antiq.* p. 203.; but that was several years earlier; this affair was something more serious. — CROKER.

⁶ The simplicity with which Boswell repeats this flattery without seeing that it was only a *peace-offering*, and a flattery too, is very characteristic and amusing. — CROKER.

by other hands. We were instantly as cordial again as ever, and joined in hearty laugh at some ludicrous but innocent peculiarities of one of our friends. BOSWELL. "Do you think, Sir, it is always culpable to laugh at a man to his face?" JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, that depends upon the man and the thing. If it is a slight man, and a slight thing, you may; for you take nothing valuable from him."

He said, "I read yesterday Dr. Blair's sermon on devotion, from the text, 'Cornelius, a devout man.' His doctrine is the best limited, the best expressed: there is the most warmth without fanaticism, the most rational transport. There is one part of it which I disapprove, and I'd have him correct it; which is, that 'he who does not feel joy in religion is far from the kingdom of heaven!' There are many good men whose fear of God predominates over their love. It may discourage. It was rashly said.¹ A noble sermon it is indeed. I wish Blair would come over to the church of England."

When Mr. Langton returned to us, the "flow of talk went on." An eminent author² being mentioned: JOHNSON. "He is not a pleasant man. His conversation is neither instructive nor brilliant. He does not talk as if impelled by any fulness of knowledge or vivacity of imagination. His conversation is like that of any other sensible man. He talks with no wish either to inform or to hear, but only because he thinks it does not become [Dr. Robertson] to sit in a company and say nothing."

Mr. Langton having repeated the anecdote of Addison³ having distinguished between his powers in conversation and in writing, by saying, "I have only ninepence in my pocket; but I can draw for a thousand pounds;"—JOHNSON. "He had not that retort ready, Sir; he had prepared it beforehand." LANGTON (turning to me). "A fine surmise. Set a thief to catch a thief."

Johnson called the East Indians barbarians. BOSWELL. "You will excite the Chinese, Sir?" JOHNSON. "No, Sir." BOSWELL. "Have they not arts?" JOHNSON. "They have pottery." BOSWELL. "What do you say

to the written characters of their language?" JOHNSON. "Sir, they have not an alphabet. They have not been able to form what all other nations have formed." BOSWELL. "There is more learning in their language than in any other, from the immense number of their characters." JOHNSON. "It is only more difficult from its rudeness; as there is more labour in hewing down a tree with a stone than with an axe."

He said, "I have been reading Lord Kames's 'Sketches of the History of Man.' In treating of severity of punishment, he mentions that of Madame Lapouchin, in Russia, but he does not give it fairly; for I have looked at Chappe D'Auteroche⁴, from whom he has taken it. He stops where it is said that the spectators thought her innocent, and leaves out what follows,—that she nevertheless was guilty. Now this is being as culpable as one can conceive, to misrepresent fact in a book; and for what motive?⁵ It is like one of those lies which people tell, one cannot see why. The woman's life was spared; and no punishment was too great for the favourite of an empress, who had conspired to dethrone her mistress." BOSWELL. "He was only giving a picture of the lady in her sufferings." JOHNSON. "Nay, don't endeavour to palliate this. Guilt is a principal feature in the picture. Kames is puzzled with a question that puzzled me when I was a very young man. Why is it that the interest of money is lower, when money is plentiful; for five pounds has the same proportion of value to a hundred pounds when money is plentiful, as when it is scarce? A lady explained it to me. It is (said she) because when money is plentiful there are so many more who have money to lend, that they bid down one another. Many have then a hundred pounds; and one says—Take mine rather than another's, and you shall have it at four per cent." BOSWELL. "Does Lord Kames decide the question?" JOHNSON. "I think he leaves it as he found it."⁶ BOSWELL. "This must have been an extraordinary lady who instructed you, Sir. May I ask who she was?" JOHNSON. "Molly Aston⁷, Sir, the sister of

¹ The passage referred to is, "Of what nature must that man's religion be, who professes to worship God and to believe in Christ, and yet raises his thoughts towards God and his Saviour without any warmth of gratitude or love? This is not the man whom you would choose for your bosom friend, or whose heart you would expect to answer with reciprocal warmth to yours; such a person must as yet be far from the kingdom of heaven."—*Blair's Sermons*, vol. i. p. 261. Dr. Johnson's remark is certainly just; and it may be, moreover, observed that, from Blair's expressions, and his reverence to human friendships and affections, he might be understood to mean, that unless we feel the same kind of warmth and affection towards God that we do towards the objects of human love, we are far from the kingdom of heaven—a doctrine which would countenance fanaticism, and which every sober-minded Christian feels to be a mere play on words; for the love of God and the love of one's wife or friend are certainly not the same passion.—CROKER.

² No doubt, Dr. Robertson.—CROKER.

³ Which Johnson repeated, with a slight variation, in his *Life of Addison*.—CROKER.

⁴ "Journey into Siberia, made by order of the King of France; published in 1768."—CROKER.

⁵ The passage is to be found in b. i. sk. 5. The suppression was very blameable, but not quite to the degree that Johnson represents it, for Lord Kames did not profess to discuss the guilt or innocence of the party, but instanced the punishment as one of unjustifiable barbarity, even if she were guilty.—CROKER.

⁶ Here I think the censure is quite unjust; Lord Kames gives in the clearest terms the same explanation: "Many borrowers and few lenders produce high interest; many lenders and few borrowers produce a low interest." b. i. s. 3.—CROKER.

⁷ Johnson had an extraordinary admiration of this lady, notwithstanding she was a violent whig. In answer to her high-flown speeches for liberty, he addressed to her the following epigram, of which I presume to offer a translation.

"Liber ut esse velim, suasisti pulchra Maria,
Ut maneam liber—pulchra Maria, vale!"

Adieu, Maria! since you'd have me free:
For, who beholds thy charms, a slave must be.

A correspondent of *The Gentleman's Magazine*, who subscribes himself SCIOLUS, to whom I am indebted for

those ladies with whom you dined at Lichfield. —I shall be at home to-morrow." BOSWELL. "Then let us dine by ourselves at the Mitre, to keep up the old custom — 'custom of the manor,' custom of the Mitre." JOHNSON. "Sir, so it shall be."

On Saturday, May 9th, we fulfilled our purpose of dining by ourselves at the Mitre, according to the old custom. There was, on these occasions, a little circumstance of kind attention to Mrs. Williams, which must not be omitted. Before coming out, and leaving her to dine alone, he gave her her choice of a chicken, a sweetbread, or any other little nice thing, which was carefully sent to her from the tavern ready drest.

Our conversation to-day, I know not how, turned, I think, for the only time at any length, during our long acquaintance, upon the sensual intercourse between the sexes, the delight of which he ascribed chiefly to imagination. "Were it not for imagination, Sir," said he, "a man would be as happy in the arms of a chambermaid as of a duchess. But such is the adventitious charm of fancy, that we find men who have violated the best principles of society, and ruined their fame and their fortune, that they might possess a woman of rank." It would not be proper to record the particulars of such a conversation in moments of unreserved frankness, when nobody was present on whom it could have any hurtful effect. That subject, when philosophically treated, may surely employ the mind in a curious discussion, and as innocently as anatomy; provided that those who do treat it keep clear of inflammatory incentives.

"From grave to gay, from lively to severe," — we were soon engaged in very different speculation; humbly and reverently considering and wondering at the universal mystery of all things, as our imperfect faculties can now judge of them. "There are," said he, "innumerable questions to which the inquisitive mind can in this state receive no answer: Why do you and I exist? Why was this world created? Since it was to be created, why was it not created sooner?"

On Sunday, May 10th, I supped with him at

Mr. Hoole's, with Sir Joshua Reynolds. I have neglected the memorial of this evening, so as to remember no more of it than two particulars: one, that he strenuously opposed an argument by Sir Joshua, that virtue was preferable to vice, considering this life only; and that a man would be virtuous were it only to preserve his character: and that he expressed much wonder at the curious formation of the bat, a mouse with wings; saying, that it was almost as strange a thing in physiology, as if the fabulous dragon could be seen.

On Tuesday, May 12th, I waited on the Earl of Marchmont, to know if his lordship would favour Dr. Johnson with information concerning Pope, whose Life he was about to write. Johnson had not flattered himself with the hopes of receiving any civility from this nobleman; for he said to me, when I mentioned Lord Marchmont as one who could tell him a great deal about Pope, — "Sir, he will tell me nothing." I had the honour of being known to his lordship, and applied to him of myself, without being commissioned by Johnson. His lordship behaved in the most polite and obliging manner, promised to tell all he recollected about Pope, and was so very courteous as to say, "Tell Dr. Johnson I have a great respect for him, and am ready to show it in any way I can. I am to be in the city to-morrow, and will call at his house as I return." His lordship however asked, "Will he write the 'Lives of the Poets' impartially? He was the first that brought Whig and Tory into a dictionary. And what do you think of the definition of Excise?" Do you know the history of his aversion to the word *transpire*?" Then taking down the folio Dictionary, he showed it with this censure on its secondary sense. 'To escape from secrecy to notice; a sense lately innovated from France, without necessity.'² "The truth was, Lord Bolingbroke, who left the Jacobites, first used it; therefore it was to be condemned. He should have shown what word would do for it, if it was unnecessary." I afterwards put the question to Johnson: "Why, Sir," said he, "*get abroad*." BOSWELL. "That, Sir, is using two words." JOHNSON. "Sir, there is no end to

several excellent remarks, observes, "The turn of Dr. Johnson's lines to Miss Aston, whose wile principles he had been combating, appears to me to be taken from an ingenious epigram in the '*Menagiana*,' vol. iii. p. 376. edit. 1716, on a young lady who appeared at a masquerade, *habillée en Jesuite*, during the fierce contentions of the followers of the Molinos and Jansenius concerning free-will:

"On s'étonne ici que Caliste
Ait pris l'habit de Moliniste.
Puisque cette jeune beauté
Ote a chacun sa liberté
N'est-ce pas une Janseniste?" — BOSWELL.

See *anté*, p. 40, where I have ventured to anticipate Boswell by a more literal translation of the epigram.

"Molly," said Dr. Johnson to Mrs. Thrale, "was a beauty and a scholar, and a wit and a whig; and she talked all in praise of liberty: and so I made that epigram upon her. She was the loveliest creature I ever saw!"

"His wife," he added, "was a little jealous of this attachment, and happening one day, when walking in the country,

to meet a fortune-telling gipsy, Mrs. Johnson made the wench look at his hand, but soon repented her curiosity: for says the gipsy, "your heart is divided, Sir, between a Betty and a Molly: Betty loves you best, but you take most delight in Molly's company: when I turned about to laugh, I saw my wife was crying. Pretty charmer! she had no reason!" *Anecdotes*. — CROKER.

¹ Johnson was under an engagement to dine with Sir Joshua on this day, but was no doubt induced to break it off to please Boswell after their quarrel, which perhaps had prevented Boswell being invited to Sir Joshua's. — CROKER, 1847.

² The figurative use of *transpire* seems indicated in the *World of Words*, a dictionary published by Phillips, Milton, nephew, 100 years before. Johnson's awkward substitute, "*get abroad*," does not seem to express exactly the same meaning: a secret may *get abroad* by design, by accident, by breach of confidence; but it is said to *transpire* when becomes known by small indirect circumstances — by symptoms — by whispers. *Transpire* has now got into vulgar all improper use, for *happening* or *occurring*. — CROKER.

this. You may as well insist to have a word for old age." BOSWELL. "Well, Sir, *senectus*." JOHNSON. "Nay, Sir, to insist always that there should be one word to express a thing in English, because there is one in another language¹, is to change the language."

I availed myself of this opportunity to hear from his lordship many particulars both of Pope and Lord Bolingbroke, which I have in writing.

I proposed to Lord Marchmont, that he should revise Johnson's Life of Pope: "So," said his lordship, "you would put me in a dangerous situation. You know he knocked down Osborne, the bookseller."²

Elated with the success of my spontaneous exertion to procure material and respectable aid to Johnson for his very favourite work, "the Lives of the Poets," I hastened down to Mr. Thrale's, at Streatham, where he now was, that I might insure his being at home next day; and after dinner, when I thought he would receive the good news in the best humour, I announced it eagerly: "I have been at work for you to-day, Sir. I have been with Lord Marchmont. He bade me tell you he has a great respect for you, and will call on you to-morrow at one o'clock, and communicate all he knows about Pope." Here I paused, in full expectation that he would be pleased with this intelligence, would praise my active merit, and would be alert to embrace such an offer from a nobleman. But whether I had shown an over exultation, which provoked his spleen; or whether he was seized with a suspicion that I had obtruded him on Lord Marchmont, and humbled him too much, or whether there was any thing more than an unlucky fit of ill humour, I know not; but to my surprise the result was, — JOHNSON. "I shall not be in town to-morrow. I don't care to know about Pope." MRS. THRALE (surprised, as I was, and a little angry). "I suppose, Sir, Mr. Boswell thought, that as you are to write Pope's Life, you would wish to know about him." JOHNSON. "Wish! why yes. If it rained knowledge, I'd hold out my hand; but I would not give myself the trouble to go in quest of it." There was no arguing with him at the moment. Some time afterwards he said, "Lord Marchmont will call on me, and then I shall call on Lord Marchmont." Mrs. Thrale was uneasy at this unaccountable³ caprice; and told me, that if I did not take care to bring about a meeting between Lord Marchmont and him, it would never take place, which would be a great pity. I sent a card to his lordship, to be left at Johnson's

house, acquainting him, that Dr. Johnson could not be in town next day, but would do himself the honour of waiting on him at another time. I give this account fairly, as a specimen of that unhappy temper with which this great and good man had occasionally to struggle, from something morbid in his constitution. Let the most censorious of my readers suppose himself to have a violent fit of the toothache, or to have received a severe stroke on the shin-bone, and when in such a state to be asked a question; and if he has any candour, he will not be surprised at the answers which Johnson sometimes gave in moments of irritation, which, let me assure them, is exquisitely painful. But it must not be erroneously supposed that he was, in the smallest degree, careless concerning any work which he undertook, or that he was generally thus peevish. It will be seen that in the following year he had a very agreeable interview with Lord Marchmont at his lordship's house; and this very afternoon he soon forgot any fretfulness, and fell into conversation as usual.

I mentioned a reflection having been thrown out against four peers for having presumed to rise in opposition to the opinion of the twelve judges, in a cause in the House of Lords⁴, as if that were indecent. JOHNSON. "Sir, there is no ground for censure. The peers are judges themselves: and supposing them really to be of a different opinion, they might from duty be in opposition to the judges who were there only to be consulted."

In this observation I fully concurred with him; for, unquestionably, all the peers are vested with the highest judicial powers; and when they are confident that they understand a cause, are not obliged, nay, ought not to acquiesce in the opinion of the ordinary law judges, or even in that of those who from their studies and experience are called the law lords. I consider the peers in general as I do a jury, who ought to listen with respectful attention to the sages of the law; but if, after hearing them, they have a firm opinion of their own, are bound, as honest men, to decide accordingly. Nor is it so difficult for them to understand even law questions as is generally thought, provided they will bestow sufficient attention upon them. This observation was made by my honoured relation the late Lord Cathcart, who had spent his life in camps and courts; yet assured me, that he could form a clear opinion upon most of the causes that came before the House of Lords, "as they were so well enucleated in the Cases."

¹ This is not just. Lord Marchmont and Boswell argued for having one word for one idea, and when the idea is a simple one, common to all mankind, like *old age*, the language — and I know no other than the English — which has no single expression for it, is, so far, imperfect. — CROKER, 1847.

² See ante, p. 46. — C.

³ Not quite so unaccountable as Mr. Boswell seems to think. His intervention in this affair, *unsolicited and unauthorised*, exhibits the bustling vanity of his own character, and John-

son was unwilling to be dragged before Lord Marchmont by so headlong a master of the ceremonies. — CROKER.

⁴ The occasion was Mr. Horne's writ of error. See ante, p. 602. n. 3. The four peers were the Duke of Richmond, and the Earls of Effingham, Abingdon, and Harcourt. — C., 1835. There has been a more recent and important case, that of the *Queen v. O'Connell*, &c., Sept. 1844, in which the lay peers, as they are called, declined (I think wrongly) to vote, even though the judges were divided. — CROKER, 1847.

Mrs. Thrale told us, that a curious clergyman of our acquaintance had discovered a licentious stanza, which Pope had originally in his "Universal Prayer," before the stanza, —

"What conscience dictates to be done,
Or warns us not to do," &c.

It was this : —

"Can sins of moment claim the rod
Of everlasting fires?
And that offend great Nature's God
Which Nature's self inspires?"

and that Dr. Johnson observed, it had been borrowed from *Guarini*. "There are, indeed, in *Pastor Fido*, many such flimsy superficial reasonings as that in the last two lines of this stanza.

BOSWELL. "In that stanza of Pope's, '*rod of fires*' is certainly a bad metaphor." MRS. THRALE. "And '*sins of moment*' is a faulty expression; for its true import is *momentous*, which cannot be intended." JOHNSON. "It must have been written '*of moments*.' Of *moment*, is *momentous*; of *moments*, *momentary*. I warrant you, however, Pope wrote this stanza, and some friend struck it out. Boileau wrote some such thing, and Arnaud struck it out, saying, '*Vous gagnerez deux ou trois impies, et perdrez je ne sais combien d'honnêtes gens.*' These fellows want to say a daring thing, and don't know how to go about it. Mere poets know no more of fundamental principles than —." Here he was interrupted somehow. MRS. THRALE mentioned Dryden. JOHNSON. "He puzzled himself about predestination. How foolish was it in Pope to give all his friendship to lords, who thought they honoured him by being with him; and to choose such lords as Burlington, and Cobham, and Bolingbroke! Bathurst was negative, a pleasing man; and I have heard no ill of Marchmont. And then always saying, '*I do not value you for being a lord*;' which was a sure proof that he did. I never say I do not value Boswell more for being born to an estate, because I do not care."¹ BOSWELL. "Nor for being a Scotchman?" "Nay, Sir, I do value you more for being a Scotchman. You are a Scotchman without the faults of Scotchmen. You would not have been so valuable as you are had you not been a Scotchman."

Talking of divorces, I asked if Othello's doctrine was not plausible: —

"He that is robb'd, not wanting what is stolen,
Let him not know 't, and he's not robb'd at all."

Dr. Johnson and Mrs. Thrale joined against this. JOHNSON. "Ask any man if he'd wish not to know of such an injury." BOSWELL. "Would you tell your friend to make him un-

happy?" JOHNSON. "Perhaps, Sir, I should not; but that would be from prudence on my own account. A man would tell his father."

BOSWELL. "Yes; because he would not have spurious children to get any share of the family inheritance." MRS. THRALE. "Or he would tell his brother." BOSWELL. "Certainly his *elder* brother." JOHNSON. "You would tell your friend of a woman's infamy, to prevent his marrying a prostitute: there is the same reason to tell him of his wife's infidelity when he is married, to prevent the consequences of imposition. It is a breach of confidence not to tell a friend." BOSWELL. "Would you tell Mr. —?" (naming a gentleman² who assuredly was not in the least danger of such a miserable disgrace, though married to a fine woman.) JOHNSON. "No, Sir; because it would do no good: he is so sluggish, he'd never go to parliament and get through a divorce."

He said of one of our friends, "He [Mr. Langton] is ruining himself without pleasure. A man who loses at play, or who runs out his fortune at court, makes his estate less, in hopes of making it bigger (I am sure of this word, which was often used by him): but it is a sad thing to pass through the quagmire of parsimony to the gulf of ruin. To pass over the flowery path of extravagance is very well."

Amongst the numerous prints pasted on the walls of the dining-room at Streatham was Hogarth's "Modern Midnight Conversation." I asked him what he knew of Parson Ford, who made a conspicuous figure in the riotous group.³ JOHNSON. "Sir, he was my acquaintance and relation, my mother's nephew. He had purchased a living in the country, but not simoniacally. I never saw him but in the country. I have been told he was a man of great parts; very profligate, but I never heard he was impious." BOSWELL. "Was there not a story of his ghost having appeared?" JOHNSON. "Sir, it was believed. A waiter at the Hummums, in which house Ford died, had been absent for some time, and returned, not knowing that Ford was dead. Going down to the cellar, according to the story, he met him; going down again, he met him a second time. When he came up, he asked some of the people of the house what Ford could be doing there. They told him Ford was dead. The waiter took a fever, in which he lay for some time. When he recovered, he said he had a message to deliver to some women from Ford; but he was not to tell what, or to whom. He walked out; he was followed; but somewhere about St. Paul's they lost him. He came back, and said he had delivered the message, and the women exclaimed, 'Then we are all undone!' Dr

¹ I, on the contrary, believe that Boswell's station in life had a greater influence with Johnson than he supposed. — CROKER, 1847.

² I fear it will be but too evident at whose expense Mr. Boswell chose to make so offensive an hypothesis. — CROKER.

³ The acquiescence of Johnson, on this occasion, seems to authenticate the fact, that Ford was Hogarth's riotous parson. See *ante*, p. 9. n. 6. — CROKER. Cornelius Ford was eldest son of Johnson's eldest uncle, Joseph Ford. He had an uncle also named Cornelius. — J. M.

Pellet, who was not a credulous man, inquired into the truth of this story, and he said the evidence was irresistible. My wife went to the Hummums; (it is a place where people get themselves cupped).¹ I believe she went with intention to hear about this story of Ford. At first they were unwilling to tell her; but, after they had talked to her, she came away satisfied that it was true. To be sure, the man had a fever; and this vision may have been the beginning of it. But if the message to the women, and their behaviour upon it, were true as related, there was something supernatural. That rests upon his word²; and there it remains."

After Mrs. Thrale was gone to bed, Johnson and I sat up late. We resumed Sir Joshua Reynolds's argument on the preceding Sunday, that a man would be virtuous, though he had no other motive than to preserve his character.

JOHNSON. "Sir, it is not true; for, as to this world, vice does not hurt a man's character."

BOSWELL. "Yes, Sir, debauching a friend's wife will." JOHNSON. "No, Sir. Who thinks the worse of [Beauclerk, p. 260.] for it?"

BOSWELL. "Lord [Bolingbroke] was not his friend." JOHNSON. "That is only a circumstance, Sir; a slight distinction. He could not get into the house but by Lord [Bolingbroke.] A man is chosen knight of the shire not the less for having debauched ladies."

BOSWELL. "What, Sir, if he debauched the ladies of gentlemen in the county, will not there be a general resentment against him?"

JOHNSON. "No, Sir. He will lose those particular gentlemen; but the rest will not trouble their heads about it" (warnly). BOSWELL.

"Well, Sir, I cannot think so." JOHNSON.

"Nay, Sir, there is no talking with a man who will dispute what every body knows (angrily). Don't you know this?" BOSWELL. "No, Sir;

and I wish to think better of your country than you represent it. I knew in Scotland a gentleman obliged to leave it for debauching a lady; and in one of our counties an earl's brother lost his election because he had debauched the lady of another earl in that county, and destroyed the peace of a noble family."

Still he would not yield. He proceeded: "Will you not allow, Sir, that vice does not hurt a man's character so as to obstruct his prosperity in life, when you know that [Lord Clive, p. 609.] was loaded with wealth and honours? a man who had acquired his fortune by such crimes, that his consciousness of them impelled him to cut his own throat." BOSWELL.

"You will recollect, Sir, that Dr. Robertson said he cut his throat because he was weary of still life; little things not being suf-

ficient to move his great mind." JOHNSON (very angry). "Nay, Sir, what stuff is this! You had no more this opinion after Robertson said it than before. I know nothing more offensive than repeating what one knows to be foolish things, by way of continuing a dispute, to see what a man will answer,—to make him your butt!" (angrier still.) BOSWELL. "My dear Sir, I had no such intention as you seem to suspect; I had not indeed. Might not this nobleman have felt every thing 'weary, stale, flat, and unprofitable,' as Hamlet says?" JOHNSON. "Nay, if you are to bring in *gabble*, I'll talk no more. I will not, upon my honour." My readers will decide upon this dispute.

CHAPTER LXVII.

1778—1779.

Lord Kames. — *Sir George Villiers's Ghost.* — *Innate Virtue.* — *Native Modesty.* — *Foreign Travel.* — *Lord Charlemont.* — *Country Life.* — *Manners of the Great.* — *Horne's "Letter to Dunning."* — *Dr. Mead.* — *Rasselas and Candide.* — *Francis's Horace.* — *Modern Books of Travels.* — *Lord Chatham.* — *Vows.* — *Education.* — *Milton's "Tractate."* — *Locke.* — *Visit to Warley Camp.* — *Dr. Burney.* — *Sir Joshua Reynolds's "Discourses."* — *Publication of the "Lives of the Poets."* — *Death of Garrick.* — *Correspondence.*

NEXT morning [13th May,] I stated to Mrs. Thrale at breakfast, before he came down, the dispute of last night as to the influence of character upon success in life. She said he was certainly wrong; and told me that a baronet lost an election in Wales because he had debauched the sister of a gentleman in the county, whom he made one of his daughters invite as her companion at his seat in the country, when his lady and his other children were in London. But she would not encounter Johnson upon the subject.

I staid all this day with him at Streatham. He talked a great deal in very good humour.

Looking at Messrs. Dilly's splendid edition of Lord Chesterfield's miscellaneous works, he laughed, and said, "Here are now two speeches ascribed to him, both of which were written by me: and the best of it is, they have found out that one is like Demosthenes, and the other like Cicero." [p. 45. n. 2.]

¹ Baths are called Hummums in the East, and thence these hotels in Covent Garden where there were hot water and vapour baths, were called by that name. — CROKER, 1847.

² Why should it? The women might have been examined. And who were *they* who satisfied Mrs. Johnson; and of *what*

was she satisfied? And be it observed, Ford died in 1731, and Mrs. Johnson did not come to London for more than seven years later,—so that whatever she heard could not be very fresh in the recollection of the parties. It seems altogether a foolish story. — CROKER, 1847.

He censured Lord Kames's "Sketches of the History of Man," for misrepresenting Clarendon's account of the appearance of Sir George Villiers's ghost, as if Clarendon were weakly credulous; when the truth is, that Clarendon only says, that the story was upon a better foundation of credit than usually such discourses are founded upon; nay, speaks thus of the person who was reported to have seen the vision, "the poor man, *if he had been at all waking*;" which Lord Kames has omitted.¹ He added, "In this book it is maintained that virtue is natural to man, and that if we would but consult our own hearts we should be virtuous. Now, after consulting our own hearts all we can, and with all the helps we have, we find how few of us are virtuous. This is saying a thing which all mankind know not to be true." BOSWELL. "Is not modesty natural?"

JOHNSON. "I cannot say, Sir, as we find no people quite in a state of nature; but, I think, the more they are taught, the more modest they are. The French are a gross, ill-bred, untaught people; a lady there will spit on the floor and rub it with her foot. What I gained by being in France was, learning to be better satisfied with my own country. Time may be employed to more advantage from nineteen to twenty-four, almost in any way than in travelling. When you set travelling against mere negation, against doing nothing, it is better to be sure; but how much more would a young man improve were he to study during those years! Indeed, if a young man is wild, and must run after women and bad company, it is better this should be done abroad, as, on his return, he can break off such connections, and begin at home a new man, with a character to form, and acquaintance to make. How little does travelling supply to the conversation of any man who has travelled! how little to Beauclerk!" BOSWELL. "What say you to Lord [Charlemont]?" JOHNSON. "I never but once heard him talk of what he had seen, and that was of a large serpent in one of the pyramids of Egypt." BOSWELL. "Well, I happened to hear him tell the same thing, which made me mention him."²

I talked of a country life. JOHNSON. "Were I to live in the country, I would not devote myself to the acquisition of popularity; I would live in a much better way, much more happily; I would have my time at my own command." BOSWELL. "But, Sir, is it not a sad thing to be at a distance from all our literary friends?" JOHNSON. "Sir, you will by-and-by have

enough of this conversation, which now delights you so much."

As he was a zealous friend of subordination, he was at all times watchful to repress the vulgar cant against the manners of the great. "High people, Sir," said he, "are the best: take a hundred ladies of quality, you'll find them better wives, better mothers, more willing to sacrifice their own pleasure to their children, than a hundred other women. Tradeswomen (I mean the wives of tradesmen) in the city, who are worth from ten to fifteen thousand pounds, are the worst creatures upon the earth, grossly ignorant, and thinking viciousness fashionable. Farmers, I think, are often worthless fellows. Few lords will cheat; and, if they do, they'll be ashamed of it: farmers cheat, and are not ashamed of it: they have all the sensual vices too of the nobility, with cheating into the bargain. There is as much fornication and adultery amongst farmers as amongst noblemen." BOSWELL. "The notion of the world, Sir, however, is, that the morals of women of quality are worse than those in lower stations." JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir; the licentiousness of one woman of quality makes more noise than that of a number of women in lower stations: then, Sir, you are to consider the malignity of women in the city against women of quality, which will make them believe any thing of them, such as that they call their coachmen to bed. No, Sir; so far as I have observed, the higher in rank, the richer ladies are, they are the better instructed, and the more virtuous."

This year the Reverend Mr. Horne published his "Letter to Mr. Dunning on the English Participle." Johnson read it; and though not treated in it with sufficient respect, he had candour enough to say to Mr. Seward, "Were I to make a new edition of my Dictionary, I would adopt several³ of Mr. Horne's etymologies. I hope they did not put the dog in the pillory for his libel; he has too much literature for that."⁴

On Saturday, May 16., I dined with him at Mr. Beauclerk's with Mr. Langton, Mr. Stevens, Dr. Higgins, and some others. I regret very feelingly every instance of my remissness in recording his *memorabilia*; I am afraid it is the condition of humanity (as Mr. Windham, of Norfolk, once observed to me, after having made an admirable speech in the House of Commons, which was highly applauded, but which he afterwards perceived might have been better), "that we are more

¹ This suppression is particularly blameable, because the question was as to the extent of Clarendon's credulity; and Lord Kames gives his own summary of the story with marks of quotation, as if he were copying Clarendon exactly. — CROKER.

² James, first earl. His lordship was, to the last, in the habit of telling this story rather too often. — CROKER.

³ In Mr. Horne Tooke's enlargement of that "Letter," which he has since published with the title of "*Etia trigeria, or, The Diversions of Purley*," he mentions this compliment,

as if Dr. Johnson, instead of *several* of his etymologies, had said *all*. His recollection having thus magnified it, shows how ambitious he was of the approbation of so great a man. — BOSWELL. The occasion of Horne's Jetter was his disputing the construction put by the judges of the Court of King's Bench on some words in his indictment. — CROKER, 1847.

⁴ This is another instance of Johnson's contradictory opinions — *anté*, p. 602. — for which I can more easily account, than for his continued ignorance of Horne Tooke's sentence. — CROKER.

uneasy from thinking of our wants, than happy in thinking of our acquisitions."¹ This is an unreasonable mode of disturbing our tranquillity, and should be corrected: let me then comfort myself with the large treasure of Johnson's conversation which I have preserved for my own enjoyment and that of the world; and let me exhibit what I have upon each occasion, whether more or less, whether a bulse, or only a few sparks of a diamond.

He said, "Dr. Mead lived more in the broad sunshine of life than almost any man."²

The disaster of General Burgoyne's army³ was then the common topic of conversation. It was asked why piling their arms was insisted upon as a matter of such consequence, when it seemed to be a circumstance so inconsiderable in itself. JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, a French author says, '*Il y a beaucoup de puérilités dans la guerre.*' All distinctions are trifles, because great things can seldom occur, and those distinctions are settled by custom. A savage would as willingly have his meat sent to him in the kitchen, as eat it at the table here: as men become civilised, various modes of denoting honourable preference are invented."

He this day made the observations upon the similarity between "Rasselas" and "Candide;" which I have inserted in its proper place [p. 115.], when considering his admirable philosophical romance. He said, "Candide," he thought, had more power in it than any thing that Voltaire had written.

He said, "The lyrical part of Horace never can be perfectly translated; so much of the excellence is in the numbers and expression. Francis has done it the best. I'll take his, five out of six, against them all."

On Sunday, May 17, I presented to him Mr. Fullarton, of Fullarton, who has since distinguished himself so much in India⁴, to whom he naturally talked of travels, as Mr. Brydone accompanied him in his tour to Sicily and Malta. He said, "The information which we have from modern travellers is much more authentic than what we had from ancient travellers; ancient travellers guessed, modern travellers measure. The Swiss admit that there is but one error in Stanyan.⁵ If Brydone were more attentive to his Bible, he would be a good traveller." [p. 491.]

He said, "Lord Chatham was a Dictator;

he possessed the power of putting the state in motion: now there is no power, all order is relaxed." BOSWELL. "Is there no hope of a change to the better?" JOHNSON. "Why, yes, Sir, when we are weary of this relaxation. So the city of London will appoint its mayors again by seniority." BOSWELL. "But is not that taking a mere chance for having a good or a bad mayor?" JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir; but the evil of competition is greater than that of the worst mayor that can come; besides, there is no more reason to suppose that the choice of a rabble will be right, than that chance will be right."

On Tuesday, May 19, I was to set out for Scotland in the evening. He was engaged to dine with me at Mr. Dilly's. I waited upon him to remind him of his appointment and attend him thither; he gave me some salutary counsel, and recommended vigorous resolution against any deviation from moral duty. BOSWELL. "But you would not have me to bind myself by a solemn obligation?" JOHNSON (much agitated). "What! a vow!—O, no, Sir; a vow is a horrible thing! it is a snare for sin. The man who cannot go to heaven without a vow, may go —" Here, standing erect in the middle of his library, and rolling grand, his pause was truly a curious compound of the solemn and the ludicrous; he half-whistled in his usual way when pleasant, and he paused as if checked by religious awe. Methought he would have added, *to hell*, but was restrained. I humoured the dilemma. "What, Sir!" said I, "*In cælum jussuris ibit?*" alluding to his imitation of it,—

"And bid him go to hell, to hell he goes."

I had mentioned to him a slight fault in his noble "Imitation of the Tenth Satire of Juvenal," a too near recurrence of the verb *spread* in his description of the young enthusiast at college:—

"Through all his veins the fever of renown

Spreads from the strong contagion of the gown;

O'er Bodley's dome his future labours *spread*,

And Bacon's mansion trembles o'er his head."

He had desired me to change *spreads* to *burns*; but for perfect authenticity, I now had it done with his own hand."⁶ I thought this alteration not only cured the fault, but was

¹ Mr. Windham's MS. Journal, which I have seen, exhibits instances of a morbid, self-tormenting *hypochondriacism*, of which those who knew him only in society could have no idea.—CROKER, 1847. Its publication (1865) has confirmed Mr. Croker's opinion.—J. M.

² Dr. Richard Mead was born in 1673, and died in 1754. His collection of books, pictures, and coins (which sold for upwards of 16,000*l.*), was, during his life, most liberally open to public curiosity. He was much visited by the literati and foreigners, and did certainly live in the "sunshine of life."—CROKER.

³ Its surrender at Saratoga, October, 1777.—CROKER.

⁴ In 1787, Mr. Fullarton published a "View of the English Interests in India."—WRIGHT.

⁵ Temple Stanyan, Esq., at one time minister to the Porte, author of an "Account of Switzerland," 1714, and of a better known "History of Greece." He died 1752.—CROKER, 1835.

⁶ The slip of paper on which he made the correction is

deposited by me in the noble library to which it relates, and to which I have presented other pieces of his handwriting.—BOSWELL.

The passage in the first, and in some other editions, stands as follows:—

"When first the college rolls receive his name,
The young enthusiast quits his ease for fame:
Resistless *burns* the fever of renown,
Caught from the strong contagion of the gown;
O'er Bodley's dome his future labours *spread*,
And Bacon's mansion trembles o'er his head."

Johnson, no doubt, in amending the second awkward couplet, inadvertently inserted *spreads* instead of *burns*. The true reading ought to be introduced in any new edition of the poem, which it has not been in any that I have ever seen. Even the Oxford edition (1825) notices the error and the correction, but, strange to say, does not amend the text.—CROKER.

more poetical, as it might carry an allusion to the shirt by which Hercules was inflamed.

We had a quiet, comfortable meeting at Mr. Dilly's; nobody there but ourselves. Mr. Dilly mentioned somebody having wished that Milton's "Tractate on Education" should be printed along with his Poems in the edition of the English Poets then going on. JOHNSON. "It would be breaking in upon the plan; but would be of no great consequence. So far as it would be any thing, it would be wrong. Education in England has been in danger of being hurt by two of its greatest men, Milton and Locke. Milton's plan is impracticable, and I suppose has never been tried. Locke's, I fancy, has been tried often enough, but is very imperfect; it gives too much to one side, and too little to the other; it gives too little to literature.—I shall do what I can for Dr. Watts; but my materials are very scanty. His poems are by no means his best works; I cannot praise his poetry itself highly, but I can praise its design."

My illustrious friend and I parted with assurances of affectionate regard.

I wrote to him on the 25th of May, from Thorpe, in Yorkshire, one of the seats of Mr. Bosville, [p. 523.] and gave him an account of my having passed a day at Lincoln, unexpectedly, and therefore without having any letters of introduction; but that I had been honoured with civilities from the Reverend Mr. Simpson, an acquaintance of his, and Captain Broadley, of the Lincolnshire militia; but more particularly from the Reverend Dr. Gordon, the chancellor, who first received me with great politeness as a stranger, and, when I informed him who I was, entertained me at his house with the most flattering attention. I also expressed the pleasure with which I had found that our worthy friend, Langton, was highly esteemed in his own county town.

BOSWELL TO JOHNSON.

"Edinburgh, June 18. 1778.

"MY DEAR SIR, — * * * Since my return to Scotland, I have been again at Lanark, and have had more conversation with Thomson's sister. It is strange that Murdoch, who was his intimate friend, should have mistaken his mother's maiden name, which he says was Hume, whereas Hume was the name of his grandmother by the mother's side. His mother's name was Beatrix Trotter¹, a daughter of Mr. Trotter of Fogo, a small proprietor of land. Thomson had one brother, whom he had with him in England as his amanuensis; but he was seized with a consumption, and having returned to Scotland, to try what his native air would do for him, died young. He had three sisters: one married to Mr. Bell, minister of the parish of Strathaven; one to Mr. Craig, father of the ingenious architect, who gave the plan of the New Town of Edinburgh; and one to Mr. Thom-

son, master of the grammar-school at Lanark. He was of a humane and benevolent disposition; not only sent valuable presents to his sisters, but a yearly allowance in money, and was always wishing to have it in his power to do them more good. Lord Lyttelton's observation, that 'he loathed much to write,' was very true. His letters to his sister, Mrs. Thomson, were not frequent; and in one of them he says, 'All my friends who know me, know how backward I am to write letters; and never impute the negligence of my hand to the coldness of my heart.' I send you a copy of the last letter which she had from him; she never heard that he had any intention of going into holy orders. From this late interview with his sister, I think much more favourably of him, as I hope you will. I am eager to see more of your Prefaces to the Poets: I solace myself with the few proof-sheets which I have.

"I send another parcel of Lord Hailes's 'Annals,' which you will please to return to me as soon as you conveniently can. He says, 'he wishes you would cut a little deeper;' but he may be proud that there is so little occasion to use the critical knife. I ever am, my dear Sir, &c.,

"JAMES BOSWELL."

Mr. Langton has been pleased, at my request, to favour me with some particulars of Dr. Johnson's visit to Warley Camp, where this gentleman was at the time stationed as a captain in the Lincolnshire militia. I shall give them in his own words in a letter to me.

"It was in the summer of the year 1778, that he complied with my invitation to come down to the camp at Warley, and he staid with me about a week; the scene appeared, notwithstanding a great degree of ill health that he seemed to labour under, to interest and amuse him, as agreeing with the disposition that I believe you know he constantly manifested towards inquiring into subjects of the military kind. He sate, with a patient degree of attention, to observe the proceedings of a regimental court-martial, that happened to be called in the time of his stay with us; and one night, as late as at eleven o'clock, he accompanied the major of the regiment in going what are styled the *rounds*, where he might observe the forms of visiting the guards, for the seeing that they and their sentries are ready in their duty on their several posts. He took occasion to converse at times on military topics, once in particular, that I see the mention of, in your 'Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides,' which lies open before me, (p. 303.), as to gunpowder; which he spoke of to the same effect, in part, that you relate.

"On one occasion, when the regiment were going through their exercise, he went quite close to the men at one of the extremities of it, and watched all their practices attentively; and, when he came away, his remark was, 'The men indeed do load their muskets and fire with wonderful celerity.' He was likewise particular in requiring to know what was the weight of the musket balls in use, and within what distance they might be expected to take effect when fired off.

"In walking among the tents, and observing the difference between those of the officers and private men, he said, that the superiority of accommodation of the better conditions of life, to that of the inferior

¹ Dr. Johnson was by no means attentive to minute accuracy in his "Lives of the Poets;" for, notwithstanding my having detected this mistake, he continued it. — BOSWELL.

ones, was never exhibited to him in so distinct a view. The civilities paid to him in the camp were, from the gentlemen of the Lincolnshire regiment, one of the officers of which accommodated him with a tent in which he slept; and from General Hall, who very courteously invited him to dine with him, where he appeared to be very well pleased with his entertainment and the civilities he received on the part of the General¹; the attention likewise of the General's aide-de-camp, Captain Smith, seemed to be very welcome to him, as appeared by their engaging in a great deal of discourse together. The gentlemen of the East-York regiment likewise, on being informed of his coming, solicited his company at dinner; but by that time he had fixed his departure, so that he could not comply with the invitation."

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"London, July 3. 1778.

"SIR, — I have received two letters from you, of which the second complains of the neglect shown to the first. You must not tie your friends to such punctual correspondence. You have all possible assurances of my affection and esteem; and there ought to be no need of reiterated professions. When it may happen that I can give you either counsel or comfort, I hope it will never happen to me that I should neglect you; but you must not think me criminal or cold, if I say nothing when I have nothing to say.

"You are now happy enough. Mrs. Boswell is recovered; and I congratulate you upon the probability of her long life. If general approbation will add any thing to your enjoyment, I can tell you that I have heard you mentioned as a *man whom every body likes*. I think life has little more to give.

"[Langton] has gone to his regiment. He has laid down his coach, and talks of making more contractions of his expense; how he will succeed, I know not. It is difficult to reform a household gradually; it may be done better by a system totally new. I am afraid he has always something to hide. When we pressed him to go to [Langton], he objected the necessity of attending his navigation²; yet he could talk of going to Aberdeen³, a place not much nearer his navigation. I believe he cannot bear the thought of living at [Langton] in a state of diminution, and of appearing among the gentlemen of the neighbourhood *shorn of his beams*. This is natural, but it is cowardly. What I told him of the increasing expense of a growing family, seems to have struck him. He certainly had gone on with very confused views, and we have, I think, shown him that he is wrong; though, with the common deficiency of advisers, we have not shown him how to do right.

"I wish you would a little correct or restrain your imagination, and imagine that happiness, such as life admits, may be had at other places as well as London. Without affecting Stoicism, it may be said, that it is our business to exempt ourselves as much as we can from the power of external things.

There is but one solid basis of happiness; and that is, the reasonable hope of a happy futurity. This may be had everywhere.

"I do not blame your preference to London to other places, for it is really to be preferred, if the choice is free; but few have the choice of their place, or their manner of life; and mere pleasure ought not to be the prime motive of action.

"Mrs. Thrale, poor thing, has a daughter. Mr. Thrale dislikes the times, like the rest of us. Mrs. Williams is sick; Mrs. Desmoulins is poor. I have miserable nights. Nobody is well but Mr. Levett. I am, dear Sir, your most, &c.,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

In the course of this year there was a difference between him and his friend Mr. Strahan; the particulars of which it is unnecessary to relate. Their reconciliation was communicated to me in a letter from Mr. Strahan in the following words: —

"The notes I showed you that past between him and me were dated in March last. The matter lay dormant till 27th July, when he wrote to me as follows: —

JOHNSON TO STRAHAN.

"SIR, — It would be very foolish for us to continue strangers any longer. You can never by persistency make wrong right. If I resented too acrimoniously, I resented only to yourself. Nobody ever saw or heard what I wrote. You saw that my anger was over; for in a day or two I came to your house. I have given you a longer time; and I hope you have made so good use of it, as to be no longer on evil terms with, Sir, yours, &c.,

SAM. JOHNSON.

"On this I called upon him: and he has since dined with me."

After this time, the same friendship as formerly continued between Dr. Johnson and Mr. Strahan. My friend mentioned to me a little circumstance of his attention, which, though we may smile at it, must be allowed to have its foundations in a nice and true knowledge of human life. "When I write to Scotland," said he, "I employ Strahan to frank my letters, that he may have the consequence of appearing a parliament-man among his countrymen."

JOHNSON TO MRS. THRALE.

(Extracts.)

"Oct. 15. 1778. — As to Dr. Collier's⁴ epitaph, Nollekens has had it so long, that I have forgotten how long. You never had it. There is a print of Mrs. Montague, and I shall think myself very ill rewarded for my love and admiration, if she does not give me one; she will give it nobody in whom it will excite more respectful sentiments. But I never could get any thing from her but by

¹ When I one day at court expressed to General Hall my sense of the honour he had done my friend, he politely answered, "Sir, I did *myself* honour." — BOSWELL.

² The Wey canal, from Guildford to Weybridge, in which he had a considerable share, which his family still possess. — CROKER.

³ His lady and family, it appears, were in Scotland at this period. — CROKER.

⁴ Dr. Collier of the Commons, an early friend of Mrs. Thrale's, who died 23d May, 1777. — CROKER.

pushing a face ; and so, if you please, you may tell her.

"When I called the other day at Burney's, I found only the young ones at home ; at last came the doctor and madam, from a dinner in the country, to tell how they had been robbed as they returned. The doctor saved his purse, but gave them three guineas and some silver, of which they returned him three-and-sixpence, unasked, to pay the turnpike.

"I have sat twice to Sir Joshua, and he seems to like his own performance. He has projected another, in which I am to be busy ; but we can think on it at leisure."¹

"Mrs. Williams is come home better, and the habitation is all concord and harmony ; only Mr. Levett harbours discontent. With Dr. Lawrence's consent, I have for the two last nights taken musk ; the first night was a worse night than common, the second, a better ; but not so much better as that I dare ascribe any virtue to the medicine. I took a scruple each time."

"Oct. 31. 1778. — Sir Joshua has finished my picture, and it seems to please every body ; but I shall wait to see how it pleases you. To-day Mrs. Williams and Mrs. Desmoulins had a scold, and Williams was going away : but I bid her *not turn tail*, and she came back, and rather got the upper hand."

We surely cannot but admire the benevolent exertions of this great and good man, especially when we consider how grievously he was afflicted with bad health, and how uncomfortable his home was made by the perpetual jarring of those whom he charitably accommodated under his roof. He has sometimes suffered me to talk jocularly of his group of females, and call them his *Seraglio*. He thus mentions them, together with honest Levett, in one of his letters to Mrs. Thrale : "Williams hates every body ; Levett hates Desmoulins, and does not love Williams ; Desmoulins hates them both ; Poll² loves none of them."

¹ I suppose the first is the *Thrale* picture — now Sir Robert Peel's ; the second was probably either that in which he is reading, or the other in which he holds a pen — neither of them at all comparable to the former — perhaps Sir Joshua's very finest head. — CROKER, 1847.

² Miss Carmichael. — BOSWELL. I have not learned how this lady was connected with Dr. Johnson. It would seem from Madam D'Arbly's account that she was invited to enliven the gloom of Bolt Court, but did not in that respect answer Johnson's expectations. It was no doubt his domestic experience which prompted his complimentary exclamation to Hannah More and her four sisters, "*What! five women live happily together!*" — *More's Life*, v. i. p. 67. Hawkins draws, as is his wont, a very gloomy picture of this society. — "His inmates were enemies to his peace, and occasioned him great disquiet: the jealousy that subsisted among them rendered his dwelling irksome to him, and he seldom approached it, after an evening's conversation abroad, but with the dread of finding it a scene of discord, and of having his ears filled with the complaints of Mrs. Williams, of Frank's neglect of his duty, and inattention to the interests of his master, and of Frank against Mrs. Williams, for the authority she assumed over him, and exercised with an unwarrantable severity. Even those intruders who had taken shelter under his roof, and who, in his absence from home, brought thither their children, found cause to murmur ; "their provision of food was scanty, or their dinners ill dressed ;" all which he chose to endure, rather than put an end to their clamours by riding his home of such thankless and troublesome guests. Nay, so insensible was he of the ingratitude of those whom he suffered thus to hang upon him, and among whom he may be said to have

JOHNSON TO CAPTAIN LANGTON³,

Warley Camp.

"Oct. 31. 1778.

"DEAR SIR, — When I recollect how long ago I was received with so much kindness at Warley Common, I am ashamed that I have not made some inquiries after my friends.

"Pray how many sheep-stealers did you convict ? and how did you punish them ? When are you to be cantoned in better habitations ? The air grows cold, and the ground damp. Longer stay in the camp cannot be without much danger to the health of the common men, if even the officers can escape.

"You see that Dr. Percy is now dean of Carlisle ; above five hundred a year, with a power of presenting himself to some good living. He is provided for. The session of the Club is to commence with that of the parliament. Mr. Banks⁴ desires to be admitted ; he will be a very honourable accession.

"Did the king please you ?⁵ The Coxheath men, I think, have some reason to complain.⁶ Reynolds says your camp is better than theirs. I hope you find yourself able to encounter this weather. Take care of your own health ; and, as you can, of your men. Be pleased to make my compliments to all the gentlemen whose notice I have had, and whose kindness I have experienced. I am, dear Sir, &c., SAM. JOHNSON."

I wrote to him on the 18th of August, the 18th of September, and the 6th of November ; informing him of my having had another son born, whom I had called James⁷ ; that I had passed some time at Auchinleck ; that the Countess of Loudoun, now in her ninety-ninth year, was as fresh as when he saw her, and remembered him with respect ; and that his mother by adoption, the Countess of Eglington, had said to me, "Tell Mr. Johnson, I love him exceedingly ;" that I had again suffered much from bad spirits ; and that as it

divided an income which was little more than sufficient for his own support, that he would submit to reproach and personal affront from some of them ; even Levett would sometimes insult him, and Mrs. Williams, in her paroxysms of rage, has been known to drive him from her presence." — Johnson himself writes to Mrs. Thrale, Oct. 16. 1779 : "Mrs. Williams is not yet returned ; but discord and discontent reign in my humble habitation as in the palaces of monarchs. Mr. Levett and Mrs. Desmoulins have vowed eternal hate. Levett is the more insidious, and wants me to turn her out." — CROKER, 1831—47.

³ Dr. Johnson here addresses his worthy friend, Bennet Langton, Esq., by his title as Captain of Lincolnshire Militia, in which he has since been most deservedly raised to the rank of Major. — BOSWELL.

⁴ Afterwards the right honourable Sir Joseph Banks, K.B., so long president of the Royal Society. — CROKER.

⁵ His Majesty and the Queen visited Warley Camp on the 20th October. — CROKER.

⁶ Of the king's not visiting that camp as well as Warley ; which, however, he did, on the 3d November. — CROKER.

⁷ This was the gentleman who contributed a few notes to this work. He was of Brazenose College, and a Vinerian Fellow, and died in February 1822, at his chambers, in the Temple. — *Hall*. I knew him, and tried once to persuade him to edit this work, but he died soon after, having just completed a new edition of Malone's Shakespeare. He was very convivial ; and in other respects like his father — though altogether on a smaller scale. There is an account of him in the *Edin. Ann. Reg.* for 1822, written by our common friend, Mr. Markland. — CROKER, 1831—47.

was very long since I heard from him, I was not a little uneasy.

The continuance of his regard for his friend, Dr. Burney, appears from the following letters:—

JOHNSON TO DR. WHEELER¹,

Oxford.

"London, Nov. 2. 1778.

"DEAR SIR,—Dr. Burney, who brings this paper, is engaged in a History of Music; and having been told by Dr. Markham of some MSS. relating to his subject, which are in the library of your college, is desirous to examine them. He is my friend; and therefore I take the liberty of entreating your favour and assistance in his inquiry; and can assure you, with great confidence, that if you knew him, he would not want any intervention solicitation to obtain the kindness of one who loves learning and virtue as you love them.

"I have been flattering myself all the summer with the hope of paying my annual visit to my friends; but something has obstructed me: I still hope not to be long without seeing you. I should be glad of a little literary talk; and glad to show you, by the frequency of my visits, how eagerly I love it, when you talk it. I am, dear Sir, &c.,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO DR. EDWARDS²,

Oxford.

"London, Nov. 2. 1778.

"SIR,—The bearer, Dr. Burney, has had some account of a Welsh manuscript in the Bodleian library, from which he hopes to gain some materials for his History of Music; but, being ignorant of the language, is at a loss where to find assistance. I make no doubt but you, Sir, can help him through his difficulties, and therefore take the liberty of recommending him to your favour, as I am sure you will find him a man worthy of every civility that can be shown, and every benefit that can be conferred.

"But we must not let Welsh drive us from Greek. What comes of Xenophon?³ If you do not like the trouble of publishing the book, do not let your commentaries be lost; contrive that they may be published somewhere. I am, Sir, &c.,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

These letters procured Dr. Burney great kindness and friendly offices from both of these gentlemen, not only on that occasion, but in future visits to the university. The same year Dr. Johnson not only wrote to Joseph Warton in favour of Dr. Burney's youngest son, who was to be placed in the college of Winchester, but accompanied him when he went thither.

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"Nov. 21. 1778.

"DEAR SIR,—It is indeed a long time since I wrote, and I think you have some reason to complain; however, you must not let small things disturb you, when you have such a fine addition to your happiness as a new boy, and I hope your lady's health restored by bringing him. It seems very probable that a little care will now restore her, if any remains of her complaints are left.

"You seem, if I understand your letter, to be gaining ground at Auchinleck; an incident that would give me great delight.

"When any fit of anxiety, or gloominess, or perversion of mind lays hold upon you, make it a rule not to publish it by complaints, but exert your whole care to hide it; by endeavouring to hide it, you will drive it away. Be always busy.

"The Club is to meet with the parliament; we talk of electing Banks, the traveller; he will be a reputable member. Langton has been encamped with his company of militia on Warley Common; I spent five days amongst them; he signalled himself as a diligent officer, and has very high respect in the regiment. He presided when I was there at a court-martial; he is now quartered in Hertfordshire; his lady and little ones are in Scotland. Paoli came to the camp, and commended the soldiers.

"Of myself I have no great matters to say: my health is not restored; my nights are restless and tedious. The best night that I have had these twenty years was at Fort Augustus.

"I hope soon to send you a few Lives to read. I am, dear Sir, your most affectionate,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

About this time the Reverend Mr. John Hussey, who had been some time in trade, and was then a clergyman of the church of England, being about to undertake a journey to Aleppo, and other parts of the East, which he accomplished, Dr. Johnson (who had long been in habits of intimacy with him) honoured him with the following letter:—

JOHNSON TO HUSSEY.

"Dec. 29. 1778.

"DEAR SIR,—I have sent you the 'Grammar,' and have left you two books more, by which I hope to be remembered: write my name in them; we may, perhaps, see each other no more: you part with my good wishes, nor do I despair of seeing you return. Let no opportunities of vice corrupt you; let no bad example seduce you; let the blindness of Mahometans confirm you in Christianity. God bless you. I am, dear Sir, your affectionate humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON."

Johnson this year expressed great satisfaction at the publication of the first volume of "Discourses to the Royal Academy," by Sir

¹ Benjamin Wheeler was entered at Trinity College, November 12. 1751. In 1776 he was appointed Regius Professor of Divinity and Canon of Christ-Church.—*Hall*.—*CROKER*.

² Edward Edwards entered at Jesus College, 1743, æt. 17; M.A. 1749; B.D. 1756; and D.D. 1760.—*Hall*.—*CROKER*.

³ Dr. Edwards was preparing an edition of Xenophon's Memorabilia, which, however, he did not live to complete.—*CROKER*. It was published in 1783, with a preface by Dr. Owen.—*WRIGHT*.

Joshua Reynolds, whom he always considered as one of his literary school. Much praise indeed is due to those excellent Discourses, which are so universally admired, and for which the author received from the Empress of Russia a gold snuff-box, adorned with her profile in *bas relief*, set in diamonds; and containing, what is infinitely more valuable, a slip of paper, on which are written, with her imperial majesty's own hand, the following words:—*"Pour le Chevalier Reynolds, en témoignage du contentement que j'ai ressentie à la lecture de ses excellens Discours sur la Peinture."*

This year, Johnson gave the world a luminous proof that the vigour of his mind in all its faculties, whether memory, judgment, or imagination, was not in the least abated; for this year came out the first four volumes of his "Prefaces, biographical and critical, to the most eminent of the English Poets*," published by the booksellers of London. The remaining volumes came out in the year 1780. The poets were selected by the several booksellers who had the honorary copyright, which is still preserved among them by mutual compact, notwithstanding the decision of the House of Lords against the perpetuity of literary property. We have his own authority¹, that by his recommendation the poems of Blackmore, Watts, Pomfret, and Yalden, were added to the collection. Of this work I shall speak more particularly hereafter.

[JOHNSON TO MRS. ASTON.]

"Bolt Court, Fleet Street, Jan. 2. 1779.

"DEAR MADAM, — Now the new year is come, of which I wish you and dear Mrs. Gastrell many and many returns, it is fit that I give you some account of the year past. In the beginning of it I had a difficulty of breathing, and other illness, from which, however, I by degrees recovered, and from which I am now tolerably free. In the spring and summer I flattered myself that I should come to Lichfield, and forebore to write till I could tell of my intentions with some certainty, and one thing or other making the journey always improper, as I did not come, I omitted to write, till at last I grew afraid of hearing ill news. But the other day Mr. Prujean² called and left word, that you, dear Madam, are grown better; and I know not when I heard any thing that pleased me so much. I shall now long more and more to see Lichfield, and partake the happiness of your recovery.

"Now you begin to mend, you have great encouragement to take care of yourself. Do not omit any thing that can conduce to your health, and when I come, I shall hope to enjoy with you, and dearest Mrs. Gastrell, many pleasing hours. Do not be angry at my long omission to write, but let me hear how you both do, for you will write to nobody, to whom your welfare will give more plea-

sure, than to, dearest Madam, your most humble servant,
SAM. JOHNSON."

— *Pembroke MS.*

JOHNSON TO MRS. PORTER.

"Bolt Court, Fleet Street, Jan. 2. 1779.

"DEAREST LOVE, — Though I have so long omitted to write, I will omit it no longer. I hope the new year finds you not worse than you have formerly been; and I wish that many years may pass over you without bringing either pain or discontent. For my part, I think my health, though not good, yet rather better than when I left you.

"My purpose was to have paid you my annual visit in the summer, but it happened otherwise, not by any journey another way, for I have never been many miles from London, but by such hindrances as it is hard to bring to any account.

"Do not follow my bad example, but write to me soon again, and let me know of you what you have to tell; I hope it is all good.

"Please to make my compliments to Mrs. Cobb, Mrs. Adey, and Miss Adey, and all the ladies and gentlemen that frequent your mansion.

"If you want any books, or any thing else that I can send you, let me know. I am, dear Madam, your most humble servant,
SAM. JOHNSON."]

— *Pearson MSS.*

On the 22d of January, I wrote to him on several topics, and mentioned, that as he had been so good as to permit me to have the proof sheets of his "Lives of the Poets," I had written to his servant, Francis, to take care of them for me.

[BOSWELL TO JOHNSON.]

"Edinburgh, Feb. 2. 1779.

"MY DEAR SIR, — Garrick's death is a striking event; not that we should be surprised with the death of any man who has lived sixty-two years³; but because there was a *vivacity* in our late celebrated friend, which drove away the thoughts of death from any association with him. I am sure you will be tenderly affected with his departure; and I would wish to hear from you upon the subject. I was obliged to him in my days of effervescence in London, when poor Derrick was my governor; and since that time I received many civilities from him. Do you remember how pleasing it was, when I received a letter from him at Inverary, upon our first return to civilised living after our Hebridean journey? I shall always remember him with affection as well as admiration.

"On Saturday last, being the 30th of January, I drank coffee and old port, and had solemn conversation with the Reverend Mr. Falconer, a nonjuring bishop, a very learned and worthy man. He gave two toasts, which you will believe I drank with cordiality, — Dr. Samuel Johnson and Flora Macdonald. I sat about four hours with him, and it was really as if I had been living in the last cen-

¹ Life of Watts. — BOSWELL.

² He married the youngest of the Misses Aston. — CROKER.

³ On Mr. Garrick's monument in Lichfield Cathedral, he is said to have died, "aged 64 years." But it is a mistake, and Mr. Boswell is perfectly correct. Garrick was baptized

at Hereford, February 28. 1716-17, and died at his house in London, January 20. 1779. The inaccuracy of lapidary inscriptions is well known. — MALONE. The inscription as it now exists in Lichfield Cathedral has 63 years. — CROKER.

tury. The episcopal church of Scotland, though faithful to the royal house of Stuart, has never accepted of any *congé d'élire* since the revolution; it is the only true episcopal church in Scotland, as it has its own succession of bishops. For as to the episcopal clergy, who take the oaths to the present government, they indeed follow the rites of the church of England, but, as Bishop Falconer observed, 'they are not *episcopals*; for they are under no bishop, as a bishop cannot have authority beyond his diocese.' This venerable gentleman did me the honour to dine with me yesterday, and he laid his hands upon the heads of my little ones. We had a good deal of curious literary conversation, particularly about Mr. Thomas Ruddiman, with whom he lived in great friendship.

"Any fresh instance of the uncertainty of life makes one embrace more closely a valuable friend. My dear and much respected Sir, may God preserve you long in this world while I am in it. I am ever, your much obliged, and affectionate humble servant,
JAMES BOSWELL."

JOHNSON TO MISS REYNOLDS.

"Feb. 15. 1779.

"DEAREST MADAM, — I have never deserved to be treated as you treat me. When you employed me before, I undertook your affair¹ and succeeded, but then I succeeded by choosing a proper time, and a proper time I will try to choose again.

"I have about a week's work to do, and then I shall come to live in town, and will first wait on you in Dover-street. You are not to think that I neglect you, for your nieces will tell you how rarely they have seen me. I will wait on you as soon as I can, and yet you must resolve to talk things over without anger, and you must leave me to catch opportunities; and be assured, dearest dear, that I should have very little enjoyment of that day in which I had neglected any opportunity of doing good to you. I am, dearest Madam, your humble servant,
SAM. JOHNSON."]

— *Reyn. MSS.*

[JOHNSON TO MRS. PORTER.

"Bolt Court, Fleet Street, March 4. 1779.

"MY DEAR LOVE, — Since I heard from you, I sent you a little print, and two barrels of oysters, and I shall have some little books to send you soon. I have seen Mr. Pearson, and am pleased to find that he has got a living. I was hurried when he was with me, but had time to hear that my friends were all well.

"Poor Mrs. Adey was, I think, a good woman, and therefore her death is less to be lamented; but it is not pleasant to think how uncertain it is, that, when friends part, they will ever meet again. My old complaint of flatulence, and tight and short breath, oppress me heavily. My nights are very restless. I think of consulting the doctor tomorrow.

"This has been a mild winter, for which I hope you have been the better. Take what care you can

of yourself, and do not forget to drink. I was somehow or other hindered from coming into the country last summer, but I think of coming this year. I am, dear love, your most humble servant,
— *Pearson MSS.* "SAM. JOHNSON."]

[JOHNSON TO MRS. ASTON.

"Bolt Court, Fleet Street, March 4. 1779.

"DEAR MADAM, — Mrs. Gastrell and you are very often in my thoughts, though I do not write so often as might be expected from so much love and so much respect. I please myself with thinking that I shall see you again, and shall find you better. But futurity is uncertain: poor David [Garriek] had doubtless many futurities in his head, which death has intercepted — a death, I believe, totally unexpected: he did not in his last hour seem to think his life in danger.

"My old complaints hang heavy on me, and my nights are very uncomfortable and unquiet; and sleepless nights make heavy days. I think to go to my physician, and try what can be done. For why should not I grow better as well as you?

"Now you are better, pray, dearest Madam, take care of yourself. I hope to come this summer and watch you. It will be a very pleasant journey if I can find you and dear Mrs. Gastrell well. I sent you two barrels of oysters; if you would wish for more, please to send your commands to, Madam, your most humble servant,
— *Pembroke MSS.* "SAM. JOHNSON."]

JOHNSON TO MRS. THRALE.

March 10. 1779.

"I got my Lives, not yet quite printed, put neatly together, and sent them to the king: what he says of them I know not. If the king is a Whig, he will not like them: but is any king a Whig?"²

CHAPTER LXVIII.

1779.

Tasker's "Ode." — *Man of the World.* — "Vicar of Wakefield." — *Junius's Letters.* — *Parental Authority.* — London. — "Government of the Tongue." — Good Friday. — Easter Day. — Eel-skinning. — Claret, Port, Brandy. — *Shakspeare's Witches.* — *Lochlomond.* — *Liberty.* — *Hackman.* — *Johnson and Topham Beauclerk.* — *Mallet.* — *Friendship.* — *Eulogy on Garrick.* — "Art of getting drunk." — *Empirics.* — *Parental Affection.* — *Lord Marchmont.* — *Pope.* — *Parnell's "Hermit."* — *Correspondence.*

On the 23d of February I had written to him again, complaining of his silence, as I had heard

¹ This seems to allude to some favour (probably a pecuniary one) which Johnson was to solicit from Sir Joshua for Miss Reynolds. — CROKER.

² King George IV. told me of his having once made a somewhat similar observation to Mr. Fox, who in their

earlier days happened to propose something that would be "worthy of a *Whig Prince*." "Yes," replied the Prince, who did not like the proposition, "but do you think that there will ever be a *Whig King*?" — CROKER, 1847.

he was ill, and had written to Mr. Thrale for information concerning him: and I announced my intention of soon being again in London.

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"March 13. 1779.

"DEAR SIR,—Why should you take such delight to make a bustle, to write to Mr. Thrale that I am negligent, and to Francis to do what is so very unnecessary? Thrale, you may be sure, cared not about it; and I shall spare Francis the trouble, by ordering a set both of the *Lives* and *Poets* to dear Mrs. Boswell¹, in acknowledgment of her marmalade. Persuade her to accept them, and accept them kindly. If I thought she would receive them scornfully, I would send them to Miss Boswell, who, I hope, has yet none of her mamma's ill-will to me.

"I would send sets of *Lives*, four volumes, to some other friends, to Lord Hailes first. His second volume lies by my bed-side; a book surely of great labour, and to every just thinker of great delight. Write me word to whom I shall send besides. Would it please Lord Auchinleck? Mrs. Thrale waits in the coach. I am, dear Sir, &c.,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

This letter crossed me on the road to London, where I arrived on Monday, March 15., and next morning, at a late hour, found Dr. Johnson sitting over his tea, attended by Mrs. Desmoulins, Mr. Levett, and a clergyman, who had come to submit some poetical pieces to his revision. It is wonderful what a number and variety of writers, some of them even unknown to him, prevailed on his good-nature to look over their works, and suggest corrections and improvements. My arrival interrupted, for a little while, the important business of this true representative of Bayes; upon its being resumed, I found that the subject under immediate consideration was a translation, yet in manuscript, of the "*Carmen Seculare*" of Horace, which had this year been set to music, and performed as a public entertainment in London, for the joint benefit of Monsieur Philidor² and Signor Baretti. When Johnson had done reading, the author asked him bluntly, "If upon the whole it was a good translation?" Johnson, whose regard for truth was uncommonly strict, seemed to be puzzled for a moment what answer to make, as he certainly could not honestly commend the performance: with exquisite address he evaded the question thus: "Sir, I do not say that it may not be

made a very good translation." Here nothing whatever in favour of the performance was affirmed, and yet the writer was not shocked. A printed "*Ode to the Warlike Genius of Britain*" came next in review. The bard³ was a lank bony figure, with short black hair; he was writhing himself in agitation, while Johnson read, and, showing his teeth in a grin of earnestness, exclaimed in broken sentences, and in a keen sharp tone, "Is that poetry, Sir? — Is it Pindar?" JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, there is here a great deal of what is called poetry." Then, turning to me, the poet cried, "My muse has not been long upon the town, and (pointing to the *Ode*) it trembles under the hand of the great critic." Johnson, in a tone of displeasure, asked him, "Why do you praise Anson?" I did not trouble him by asking his reason for this question.⁴ He proceeded: — "Here is an error, Sir: you have made *Genius* feminine." "Palpable, Sir (cried the enthusiast); I know it. But (in a lower tone) it was to pay a compliment to the Duchess of Devonshire, with which her grace was pleased. She is walking across Coxheath in the military uniform, and I suppose her to be the *Genius* of Britain." JOHNSON. "Sir, you are giving a reason for it; but that will not make it right. You may have a reason why two and two should make five; but they will still make but four."

Although I was several times with him in the course of the following days, such it seems were my occupations, or such my negligence, that I have preserved no memorial of his conversation till Friday, March 26., when I visited him. He said he expected to be attacked on account of his "*Lives of the Poets*." "However," said he, "I would rather be attacked than unnoticed. For the worst thing you can do to an author is to be silent as to his works. An assault upon a town is a bad thing; but starving it is still worse; an assault may be unsuccessful, you may have more men killed than you kill; but if you starve the town, you are sure of victory."

Talking of a friend⁵ of ours associating with persons of very discordant principles and characters; I said he was a very universal man, quite a man of the world. JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir; but one may be so much a man of the world, as to be nothing in the world. I remember a passage in Goldsmith's '*Vicar of Wakefield*,' which he was afterwards fool

¹ He sent a set elegantly bound and gilt, which was received as a very handsome present. — BOSWELL.

² Andrew Philidor, a musician and chess player of eminence. In 1777, he published "*Analyse du Jeu des Echecs*."

³ This was a Mr. Tasker. Mr. D'Israeli informed me that this portrait is so accurately drawn, that being, some years after the publication of this work, at a watering-place on the coast of Devon, he was visited by Mr. Tasker, whose name, however, he did not then know, but was so struck with his resemblance to Boswell's picture, that he asked him whether he had not had an interview with Dr. Johnson, and it appeared that he was indeed the author of "*The Warlike Genius of Britain*." — CROKER.

⁴ He disliked Lord Anson, first as a whig, and also perhaps from local politics, as the Ansons have had a strong

party interest in Lichfield. "On one occasion," says Mrs. Piozzi, "he visited Lord Anson's seat, and although, as he confessed, 'well received and kindly treated, he, with the true gratitude of a wit, ridiculed the master of the house before he had left it an hour.'" In the grounds there is a Temple of the Winds, on which he made the following epigram:

"Gratum animus laudo; Qui debuit omnia ventis,
Quam bene ventorum surgere templa jubet!"

I praise the grateful mind which thus bestows
A temple on the winds by which he rose. — CROKER.

⁵ Probably Sir Joshua Reynolds. See *anté*, pp. 243. and 550. u. 4. — CROKER.

enough to expunge. 'I do not love a man who is zealous for nothing.' BOSWELL. "That was a fine passage." JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir: there was another fine passage too, which he struck out: 'When I was a young man, being anxious to distinguish myself, I was perpetually starting new propositions. But I soon gave this over; for I found that generally what was new was false.'"¹ I said I did not like to sit with people of whom I had not a good opinion. JOHNSON. "But you must not indulge your delicacy too much, or you will be a *tête-à-tête* man all your life."

JOHNSON TO MRS. THRALE.

"March 18. 1779.

"On Monday I came late to Mrs. Vesey. Mrs. Montagu was there; I called for the print², and got good words. The evening was not brilliant, but I had thanks for my company. The night was troublesome. On Tuesday I fasted, and went to the doctor: he ordered bleeding. On Wednesday I had the tea-pot, fasted, and was blooded. Wednesday night was better. To-day I have dined at Mr. Strahan's, at Islington, with his new wife. To-night there will be opium; to-morrow the tea-pot; then heigh for Saturday. I wish the doctor would bleed me again. Yet every body that I meet says that I look better than when I was last met."

During my stay in London this spring, I find I was unaccountably negligent in preserving Johnson's sayings, more so than at any time when I was happy enough to have an opportunity of hearing his wisdom and wit. There is no help for it now. I must content myself with presenting such scraps as I have. But I am nevertheless ashamed and vexed to think how much has been lost. It is not that there was a bad crop this year, but that I was not sufficiently careful in gathering it in. I therefore, in some instances, can only exhibit a few detached fragments.

Talking of the wonderful concealment of the author of the celebrated letters signed *Junius*, he said, "I should have believed Burke to be *Junius*, because I know no man but Burke who is capable of writing these letters; but Burke spontaneously denied it to me. The case would have been different, had I asked him if he was the author; a man so questioned,

as to an anonymous publication, may think he has a right to deny it."

He observed that his old friend, Mr. Sheridan, had been honoured with extraordinary attention in his own country, by having had an exception made in his favour in an Irish act of parliament concerning insolvent debtors.³ "Thus to be singled out," said he, "by a legislature, as an object of public consideration and kindness, is a proof of no common merit."

At Streatham, on Monday, March 29., at breakfast, he maintained that a father had no right to control the inclinations of his daughter in marriage.

On Wednesday, March 31., when I visited him, and confessed an excess of which I had very seldom been guilty, — that I had spent a whole night in playing at cards, and that I could not look back on it with satisfaction, — instead of a harsh animadversion, he mildly said, "Alas, Sir, on how few things can we look back with satisfaction!"

On Thursday, April 1., he commended one of the Dukes of Devonshire for a dogged veracity" [p. 557.] He said, too, "London is nothing to some people; but to a man whose pleasure is intellectual, London is the place. And there is no place where economy can be so well practised as in London: more can be had here for the money, even by ladies, than any where else. You cannot play tricks with your fortune in a small place; you must make an uniform appearance. Here a lady may have well-furnished apartments, and elegant dress, without any meat in her kitchen."

I was amused by considering with how much ease and coolness he could write or talk to a friend, exhorting him not to suppose that happiness was not to be found as well in other places as in London; when he himself was at all times sensible of its being, comparatively speaking, a heaven upon earth. The truth is, that by those who from sagacity, attention, and experience, have learnt the full advantage of London, its pre-eminence over every other place, not only for variety of enjoyment, but for comfort, will be felt with a philosophical exultation. The freedom from remark and petty censure, with which life may be passed there, is a circumstance which a man who knows the teasing restraint of a narrow circle

¹ Dr. Burney, in a note introduced in a former page, (150. n.) has mentioned this circumstance concerning Goldsmith, as communicated to him by Dr. Johnson, not recollecting that it occurred here. His remark, however, is not wholly superfluous, as it ascertains that the words which Goldsmith had put into the mouth of a fictitious character in the "Vicar of Wakefield," and which, as we learn from Dr. Johnson, he afterwards expunged, related, like many other passages in his novel, to himself. — MALONE. But, in truth, it was not truck out — at least the same sentiment is to be found in the oval, c. 20. — CROKER.

² Mrs. Montagu's portrait. Mrs. Vesey was an Irish lady, wife of the Right Honourable Agmondisham Vesey (*ante*, p. 298.), whose ambition was to unite the fashionable and literary world at her evening assemblies, in Bolton Row and Marges Street. She was the beloved friend of Mrs. Montagu and Mrs. Carter, in whose correspondence she is called the

Sylph. She seems always to have been eccentric, and was some years before her death in a melancholy state. — CROKER, 1847.

³ Johnson had been misinformed. Mr. Whyte (p. 131. n. 4.) tells us in his *Miscellanea Nova*, of the personal civility with which some members of a committee of the Irish House of Commons on a bill for the relief of insolvent debtors treated Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Whyte, who appeared on his behalf, but there is no exception in the act. Sheridan's name is one of some hundreds, and has no distinction whatsoever. The favour he sought was, to be resident in France; this he obtained, but not specially, for one hundred and twenty other persons in similar circumstances are also included. See *Schedule to Irish Statute*, 5 G. 3. c. 23. — CROKER.

must relish highly. Mr. Burke, whose orderly and amiable domestic habits might make the eye of observation less irksome to him than to most men, said once very pleasantly, in my hearing, "Though I have the honour to represent Bristol, I should not like to live there; I should be obliged to be so much upon my good behaviour." In London, a man may live in splendid society at one time, and in frugal retirement at another, without animadversion. There, and there alone, a man's own house is truly his *castle*, in which he can be in perfect safety from intrusion whenever he pleases. I never shall forget how well this was expressed to me one day by Mr. Meynell: "The chief advantage of London," said he, "is, that a man is always so near his burrow."

He said of one of his old acquaintances¹, "He is very fit for a travelling governor. He knows French very well. He is a man of good principles; and there would be no danger that a young gentleman should catch his manner; for it is so very bad, that it must be avoided. In that respect he would be like the drunken Helot."

A gentleman has informed me, that Johnson said of the same person, "Sir, he has the most inverted understanding of any man whom I have ever known."

On Friday, April 2., being Good Friday, I visited him in the morning as usual; and finding that we insensibly fell into a train of ridicule upon the foibles of one of our friends, a very worthy man, I, by way of a check, quoted some good admonition from "The Government of the Tongue," that very pious book. It happened also remarkably enough, that the subject of the sermon preached to us to-day by Dr. Burrows, the rector of St. Clement Danes, was the certainty that at the last day we must give an account of the deeds done in the body;² and amongst various acts of culpability he mentioned evil-speaking. As we were moving slowly along in the crowd from church, Johnson jogged my elbow, and said, "Did you attend to the sermon?" "Yes, Sir," said I; "it was very applicable to us." He, however, stood upon the defensive. "Why, Sir, the sense of ridicule is given us, and may be lawfully used.³ The author of 'The Government of the Tongue' would have us treat all men alike."

In the interval between morning and evening service, he endeavoured to employ himself earnestly in devotional exercise; and, as he

has mentioned in his "Prayers and Meditations," gave me "*Les Pensées de Pascal*," that I might not interrupt him. I preserve the book with reverence. His presenting it to me is marked upon it with his own hand, and I have found in it a truly divine unction. We went to church again in the afternoon.

On Saturday, April 3., I visited him at night, and found him sitting in Mrs. Williams's room, with her, and one who he afterwards told me was a natural son⁴ of the second Lord Southwell. The table had a singular appearance, being covered with a heterogeneous assemblage of oysters and porter for his company, and tea for himself. I mentioned my having heard an eminent physician, who was himself a Christian, argue in favour of universal toleration, and maintain, that no man could be hurt by another man's differing from him in opinion. JOHNSON. "Sir, you are to a certain degree hurt by knowing that even one man does not believe."

"[April 2. — Good Friday. — I am now to review⁵ the last year, and find little but dismal vacuity, neither business nor pleasure; much intended, and little done. My health is much broken; my nights afford me little rest. I have tried opium, but its help is counterbalanced with great disturbance; it prevents the spasms, but it hinders sleep. O God, have mercy on me!]

"Last week I published (the first part of) the *Lives of the Poets*, written, I hope, in such a manner as may tend to the promotion of piety.

"In this last year I have made little acquisition; I have scarcely read any thing. I maintain Mrs. Desmoulins and her daughter. Other good of myself I know not where to find, except a little charity. But I am now in my seventieth year; what can be done ought not to be delayed.

"April 3. 1779, 11 P.M. — Easter-eve. — This is the time of my annual review, and annual resolution. The review is comfortless; little done. Part of the *Life of Dryden* and the *Life of Milton* have been written; but my mind has neither been improved nor enlarged. I have read little, almost nothing. And I am not conscious that I have gained any good, or quitted any evil habits.

"April 4. 1779, Easter-day. — I rose about half an hour after nine, transcribed the prayer written last night; and by neglecting to count time sat too long at breakfast, so that I came to church at the first lesson. I attended the Litany pretty well; but in the pew could not hear the communion service, and missed the prayer for the church militant. Before I went to the altar, I prayed the occasional prayer. At the altar I commended my $\Theta \Phi^3$, and again prayed the prayer; I then prayed the col-

¹ Probably Mr. Elphinstone, the schoolmaster at Kensington, and translator of *Martial*, pp. 65. n. 1. & 237. — CROKER.

² This would be exceedingly dangerous as a general position; but it surely is not sound even as to ridicule. — CROKER, 1847.

³ Mauritius Lowe, the painter. See *anté*, p. 605. n. 5, and post, 9th Sept., 1780, and 12th April, 1783. — CROKER.

⁴ Dr. Johnson's annual review of his conduct appears to have been this year more detailed and severe than usual, and as it contains some particulars of his life at this period, I retain it in the text. — CROKER.

⁵ These letters (which Dr. Strahan seems not to have understood, p. 192.) probably mean *Θνητοι Φιλοι*, 'departed friends.' — C., 1831.

Mr. Macaulay objected — in a style of equal courtesy and scholarship — to my conjecture of *Θνητοι* in the sense of *mortui*, *dead*. I may be allowed to say that I knew as well as he that its general sense was *mortalis*, *mortal*, and had so translated it, *anté*, p. 91. n. 1, but I found the other sense in an almost identical passage of Euripides, *τεσσαρι θυγατραι*, "four children." — *Supplices*, v. 275. This sad blunder Mr. Macaulay, in republishing his Essay, endeavoured to repair by alleging that this passage was "notoriously corrupt;" to which I rejoice, that though two or three *modern* editors have attempted amendments, the old reading was that of Johnson's own edition, and indeed of every edition that has ever been published up to his time, as it still is of most

lects, and again my own prayer by memory. I left out a clause. I then received, I hope with earnestness; and while others received, sat down; but thinking that posture, though usual, improper, I rose and stood. I prayed again, in the pew, but with what prayer I have forgotten. When I used the occasional prayer at the altar, I added a general purpose, — To avoid idleness. I gave two shillings to the plate.

"Before I went I used, I think, my prayer, and endeavoured to calm my mind. After my return I used it again, and the collect for the day. Lord have mercy upon me! I have for some nights called Francis to prayers, and last night discoursed with him on the sacrament." *Pr. and Med.*, p. 171—175.]

On Easter-day, after solemn service at St. Paul's, I dined with him. Mr. Allen, the printer, was also his guest. He was uncommonly silent; and I have not written down any thing, except a single curious fact, which, having the sanction of his inflexible veracity, may be received as a striking instance of human insensibility and inconsideration. As he was passing by a fishmonger who was skinning an eel alive, he heard him "curse it, because it would not lie still."

On Wednesday, April 7., I dined with him at Sir Joshua Reynolds's. I have not marked what company was there. Johnson harangued upon the qualities of different liquors; and poke with great contempt of claret, as so weak, that "a man would be drowned by it before it made him drunk." He was persuaded to drink one glass of it, that he might judge, not from recollection, which might be dim, but from immediate sensation. He shook his head, and said, "Poor stuff! No, Sir, claret is the quor for boys; port for men; but he who spires to be a hero (smiling) must drink brandy. In the first place, the flavour of brandy is most grateful to the palate; and then brandy will do soonest for a man what drinking *um* do for him. There are, indeed, few who are able to drink brandy. That is a power rather to be wished for than attained. And yet," proceeded he, "as in all pleasure hope is a considerable part, I know not but fruition comes so quick by brandy. Florence wine I think is the worst; it is wine only to the eye; it is fine neither while you are drinking it, nor after you have drunk it; it neither pleases the taste, nor exhilarates the spirits." I reminded him how heartily he and I used to drink wine

together, when we were first acquainted; and how I used to have a head-ache after sitting up with him. He did not like to have this recalled; or, perhaps, thinking that I boasted improperly, resolved to have a witty stroke at me: "Nay, Sir, it was not the wine that made your head ache, but the sense that I put into it." BOSWELL. "What, Sir! will sense make the head ache?" JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir (with a smile), when it is not used to it." No man who has a true relish of pleasantry could be offended at this; especially if Johnson in a long intimacy had given him repeated proofs of his regard and good estimation. I used to say that as he had given me a thousand pounds in praise, he had a good right now and then to take a guinea from me.

On Thursday, April 8., I dined with him at Mr. Allan Ramsay's, with Lord Graham¹ and some other company. We talked of Shakspeare's witches. JOHNSON. "They are beings of his own creation²; they are a compound of malignity and meanness, without any abilities; and are quite different from the Italian magicians. King James says in his 'Dæmonology,' 'Magicians command the devils; witches are their servants.' The Italian magicians are elegant beings." RAMSAY. "Opera witches, not Drury Lane witches." Johnson observed, that abilities might be employed in a narrow sphere, as in getting money, which he said he believed no man could do without vigorous parts, though concentrated to a point. RAMSAY. "Yes, like a strong horse in a mill; he pulls better."

Lord Graham, while he praised the beauty of Lochlomond, on the banks of which is his family seat, complained of the climate, and said he could not bear it. JOHNSON. "Nay, my lord, don't talk so: you may bear it well enough. Your ancestors have borne it more years than I can tell." This was a handsome compliment to the antiquity of the house of Montrose. His Lordship told me afterwards that he had only affected to complain of the climate, lest, if he had spoken as favourably of his country as he really thought, Dr. Johnson might have attacked it. Johnson was very courteous to Lady Margaret Macdonald. "Madam," said he, "when I was in the Isle of Skye [*antè*, p. 354.] I heard of the people running to take the stones off the road, lest Lady Margaret's horse should stumble."

modern editions, even those of Oxford. 1811, and Glasgow. 1811; and those that question the reading are not themselves equal as to what should be substituted. But what can Mr. Creech say to another passage in the *Hercules Furens*, where there is no doubt of either text or meaning: —

Εἴ τις φθόρον εὐκαλόισται
Θνητῶν παρ' Ἀΐδου. v. 491.

If one should hear a voice of the dead in Hades.

her instances might be cited, but I am not disputing the general meaning; it is enough for the justification of my contention to have shown parallel passages in the Greek tragedians, with whom Johnson was most familiar, and which I have little doubt he was in his recollection. — CROKER, 1847.

¹ The third Duke of Montrose, born in 1755. He succeeded to the dukedom in 1790, and died Dec. 30. 1836. — CROKER.

² I think there must have been some mistake in Boswell's note. Shakspeare adopted the vulgar idea of witches that prevailed in his day, and so Johnson himself states the matter, in his own notes on Macbeth. It is worth remarking that Buchanan gives the Weird Sisters, who appeared to Macbeth, an air of dignity that would have suited a Greek tragedy. "Macbethus quâdam nocte visus est sibi tres feminas formâ augustiore quam humanâ vidisse, quarum una *Angustia* thanum — altera *Moravia* — tertia *Regem* cum salutasset." "Macbeth, one night, fancied he saw three women of a form more august than human, one of whom hailed him, Tbane of Angus, the second of Moray, and the third King!" — *Hist. Scot.* l. 7. — CROKER, 1847.

Lord Graham commended Dr. Drummond at Naples [*antè*, p. 523. n. 1] as a man of extraordinary talents; and added, that he had a great love of liberty. JOHNSON. "He is *young*, my lord (looking to his lordship with an arch smile); all *boys* love liberty, till experience convinces them they are not so fit to govern themselves as they imagined.¹ We are all agreed as to our own liberty; we would have as much of it as we can get; but we are not agreed as to the liberty of others: for in proportion as we take, others must lose. I believe we hardly wish that the mob should have liberty to govern us. When that was the case sometime ago, no man was at liberty not to have candles in his windows." RAMSAY. "The result is, that order is better than confusion." JOHNSON. "The result is, that order cannot be had but by subordination."

On Friday, April 16., I had been present at the trial of the unfortunate Mr. Hackman, who, in a fit of frantic jealous love, had shot Miss Ray, the favourite of a nobleman.² Johnson, in whose company I dined to-day with some other friends, was much interested by my account of what passed, and particularly with his prayer for the mercy of Heaven. He said, in a solemn fervid tone, "I hope he *shall* find mercy."

This day³ a violent altercation arose between Johnson and Beauclerk, which having made much noise at the time, I think it proper, in order to prevent any future misrepresentation, to give a minute account of it.

In talking of Hackman, Johnson argued, as Judge Blackstone had done, that his being furnished with two pistols was a proof that he meant to shoot two persons. Mr. Beauclerk said, "No; for that every wise man who intended to shoot himself took two pistols, that he might be sure of doing it at once. Lord ———'s cook shot himself with one pistol, and lived ten days in great agony. Mr. ———⁴, who loved buttered muffins, but durst not eat them because they disagreed with his stomach, resolved to shoot himself; and then he eat three buttered muffins for breakfast, before shooting himself, knowing that he should not be troubled with indigestion; he had two charged pistols; one was found lying charged upon the table by him, after he had shot himself with the other." — "Well," said Johnson, with an air of triumph, "you see here one pistol was sufficient." Beauclerk replied smartly, "Because it happened to kill him." And either then or a very little afterwards, being piqued at Johnson's triumphant remark, added, "This is what you don't know, and I do." There was then

a cessation of the dispute; and some minutes intervened, during which, dinner and the glass went on cheerfully; when Johnson suddenly and abruptly exclaimed, "Mr. Beauclerk, how came you to talk so petulantly to me, as 'This is what you don't know, but what I know?' One thing I know which *you* don't seem to know, that you are very uncivil." BEAUCLEBK. "Because *you* began by being uncivil (which you always are)." The words in parentheses were, I believe, not heard by Dr. Johnson. Here again there was a cessation of arms. Johnson told me, that the reason why he waited at first some time without taking any notice of what Mr. Beauclerk said, was because he was thinking whether he should resent it. But when he considered that there were present a young lord and an eminent traveller, two men of the world, with whom he had never dined before, he was apprehensive that they might think they had a right to take such liberties with him as Beauclerk did, and therefore resolved he would not let it pass; adding, "that he would not appear a coward." A little while after this, the conversation turned on the violence of Hackman's temper. Johnson then said, "It was his business to *command* his temper, as my friend, Mr. Beauclerk, should have done some time ago." BEAUCLEBK. "I should learn of *you*, Sir." JOHNSON. "Sir, you have given *me* opportunities enough of learning, when I have been in *your* company. No man loves to be treated with contempt." BEAUCLEBK (with a polite inclination towards Johnson). "Sir, you have known me twenty years, and however I may have treated others, you may be sure I could never treat you with contempt." JOHNSON. "Sir, you have said more than was necessary." Thus it ended; and Beauclerk's coach not having come for him till very late, Dr. Johnson and another gentleman sat with him a long time after the rest of the company were gone; and he and I dined at Beauclerk's on the Saturday se'nnight following.

After this tempest had subsided, I recollect the following particulars of his conversation:

"I am always for getting a boy forward in his learning; for that is a sure good. I would let him at first read *any* English book which happens to engage his attention; because you have done a great deal, when you have brought him to have entertainment from a book. He'll get better books afterwards."

"Mallet, I believe, never wrote a single line of his projected life of the Duke of Marlborough. He groped for materials, and thought of it, till he had exhausted his mind. Thus

¹ His lordship was twenty-four. Lord Graham soon after allied himself with Mr. Pitt, and was a steady Tory to his death. — CROKER.

² John, sixth Earl of Sandwich, at this time first Lord of the Admiralty. — CROKER.

³ At the Club. — CROKER.

⁴ It was thought that Mr. Damer (whose suicide is recorded in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1776, p. 383.) was here

meant; but I have since ascertained that it was Johnson's old friend, Mr. Fitzherbert, who terminated his own life January 2. 1772 (see *ante*, p. 255. n. 4.). This correction so far important, that perhaps Mr. Beauclerk's levity mentioning an event which was probably very painful to Johnson, may have disposed him to the subsequent, and, in such case, excusable asperity. — CROKER, 1835.

sometimes happens that men entangle themselves in their own schemes."

"To be contradicted in order to force you to talk is mighty displeasing. You *shine*, indeed; but it is by being *ground*."

Of a gentleman who made some figure among the literati of his time [Mr. Fitzherbert], he said, "What eminence he had was by a felicity of manner: he had no more earning than what he could not help."

On Saturday, April 24, I dined with him at Mr. Beauclerk's, with Sir Joshua Reynolds, Mr. Jones (afterwards Sir William), Mr. Langton, Mr. Steevens, Mr. Paradise, and Dr. Higgs. I mentioned that Mr. Wilkes had attacked Garrick to me, as a man who had no friend. JOHNSON. "I believe he is right, Sir. Οἱ φίλοι, οὐ φίλος — He had friends, but no friend.¹ Garrick was so diffused, he had no man to whom he wished to unbosom himself. He found people always ready to applaud him, and that always for the same thing: so he saw life with great uniformity." I took upon me, for once, to fight with Goliath's weapons, and play the sophist. — "Garrick did not need a friend, as he got from every body all he wanted. What is a friend? One who supports you, and comforts you, while others do not. Friendship, you know, Sir, is the cordial drop, 'to make the nauseous draught of life go down:' but if the draught is not nauseous, if it be all sweet, there is no occasion for that drop." JOHNSON. "Many men would not be content to live so. I hope I should not. They would wish to have an intimate friend, with whom they might converse in minds, and cherish private virtues." One of the company mentioned Lord Chesterfield, a man who had no friend. JOHNSON. "There were more materials to make friendship in Garrick, had he not been so diffused."

BOSWELL. "Garrick was pure gold, but beat it to thin leaf. Lord Chesterfield was basel."² JOHNSON. "Garrick was a very good man, the cheerfulest man of his age; a decent liver in a profession which is supposed to give indulgence to licentiousness; and a man who gave away freely money acquired by himself. He began the world with a great hunger for money; the son of a half-pay officer, bred in a family whose study was to make four-pence do as much as others made six-pence-halfpenny do. But when he had got money, he was very liberal." I presumed

to animadvert on his eulogy on Garrick, in his "Lives of the Poets." "You say, Sir, his death eclipsed the gaiety of nations." JOHNSON. "I could not have said more or less. It is the truth; *eclipsed*, not *extinguished*; and his death *did* eclipse; it was like a storm." BOSWELL. "But why nations? Did his gaiety extend further than his own nation?" JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, some exaggeration must be allowed. Besides, nations may be said, if we allow the Scotch to be a nation, and to have gaiety—which they have not. *You* are an exception, though. Come, gentlemen, let us candidly admit that there is one Scotchman who is cheerful." BEAUCLERK. "But he is a very unnatural Scotchman." I, however, continued to think the compliment to Garrick hyperbolically untrue. His acting had ceased some time before his death; at any rate, he had acted in Ireland but a short time, at an early period of his life, and never in Scotland. I objected, also, to what appears an anti-climax of praise, when contrasted with the preceding panegyric — "and diminished the public stock of harmless pleasure!" "Is not *harmless pleasure* very tame?" JOHNSON. "Nay, Sir, harmless pleasure is the highest praise. Pleasure is a word of dubious import; pleasure is in general dangerous, and pernicious to virtue; to be able, therefore, to furnish pleasure that is harmless, pleasure pure and unalloyed, is as great a power as man can possess." This was, perhaps, as ingenious a defence as could be made; still, however, I was not satisfied.³

A celebrated wit⁴ being mentioned, he said, "One may say of him, as was said of a French wit, *Il n'a de l'esprit que contre Dieu*. I have been several times in company with him, but never perceived any strong power of wit. He produces a general effect by various means; he has a cheerful countenance and a gay voice. Besides, his trade is wit. It would be as wild in him to come into company without merriment, as for a highwayman to take the road without his pistols."

Talking of the effects of drinking, he said, "Drinking may be practised with great prudence; a man who exposes himself when he is intoxicated has not the art of getting drunk; a sober man who happens occasionally to get drunk, readily enough goes into a new company, which a man who has been drinking should never do. Such a man will undertake any thing; he is without skill in inebriation.

¹ See *anté*, p. 64. and 593. n. 1. — C.

² Boswell did not here mean (as it has been sometimes understood) to call Lord Chesterfield's talents and achievements *tinsel*; the allusion was to the pretence — the self-protection — of *friendship*, with which Johnson reproached Lord Chesterfield, and which Boswell, to please the doctor, thus repeats. — CRUKER, 1847.

³ Most readers will agree with Boswell, that this eulogium is not very happily expressed; yet Mrs. Garrick had inscribed on the cenotaph erected to Garrick's memory (Lichfield Cathedral — no doubt out of respect to Johnson, and as giving an opportunity of recording the *friendship* between them. — CRUKER, 1847.

⁴ Horace Walpole and George Selwyn have been both sug-

gested to me as here meant; but I find no trace of Selwyn in Johnson's circle, and I doubt as to Walpole — because I think he was too well bred to offend a mixed company by anything like habitual impiety; and certainly it cannot be said that he had no wit but in that line. I take this opportunity of observing on Mrs. Piozzi's story of "a *dead wit*," *anté*, p. 272. n. 5., that Mr. Malone, who asserted that Mr. Gibbon (who survived Johnson) was meant, believed that Mrs. Piozzi had represented the person as *dead*, either by the habitual inaccuracy of which he unjustly accused her, or as a *blind*; but I confess that on a fuller consideration I believe Mrs. Piozzi's statement, and am further satisfied that neither Hume nor Gibbon could be meant by her description of "a celebrated wit." — CRUKER, 1847.

I used to slink home when I had drunk too much. A man accustomed to self-examination will be conscious when he is drunk, though an habitual drunkard will not be conscious of it. I knew a physician¹, who for twenty years was not sober; yet in a pamphlet, which he wrote upon fevers, he appealed to Garrick and me for his vindication from a charge of drunkenness. A bookseller² (naming him), who got a large fortune by trade, was so habitually and equally drunk, that his most intimate friends never perceived that he was more sober at one time than another."

Talking of celebrated and successful irregular practisers in physic, he said, "Taylor³ was the most ignorant man I ever knew, but sprightly; Ward⁴, the dullest. Taylor challenged me once to talk Latin with him," laughing. "I quoted some of Horace, which he took to be a part of my own speech. He said a few words well enough." BEAUCLERK. "I remember, Sir, you said, that Taylor was an instance how far impudence could carry ignorance." Mr. Beauclerk was very entertaining this day, and told us a number of short stories in a lively elegant manner, and with that air of *the world* which has I know not what impressive effect, as if there were something more than is expressed, or than perhaps we could perfectly understand. As Johnson and I accompanied Sir Joshua Reynolds in his coach, Johnson said, "There is in Beauclerk a predominance over his company, that one does not like. But he is a man who has lived so much in the world, that he has a short story on every occasion: he is always ready to talk, and is never exhausted."

Johnson and I passed the evening at Miss Reynolds's, Sir Joshua's sister. I mentioned that an eminent friend⁵ of ours, talking of the common remark, that affection descends, said, that "this was wisely⁶ contrived for the preservation of mankind; for which it was not so necessary that there should be affection from children to parents, as from parents to children; nay, there would be no harm in that view, though children should at a certain age eat their parents." JOHNSON. "But, Sir, if this were known generally to be the case, parents would not have affection for children." BOSWELL. "True, Sir; for it is in expectation of a return that parents are so attentive to their children; and I know a very pretty instance of a little girl of whom her father⁷ was very fond, who once, when he was in a melancholy fit, and had gone to bed, persuaded him

to rise in good humour by saying, 'My dear papa, please to get up, and let me help you on with your clothes, that I may learn to do it when you are an old man.'"

Soon after this time a little incident occurred, which I will not suppress, because I am desirous that my work should be, as much as is consistent with the strictest truth, an antidote to the false and injurious notions of his character, which have been given by others, and therefore I infuse every drop of genuine sweetness into my biographical cup.

BOSWELL TO JOHNSON.

"South Audley Street⁸, Monday, April 26.

"MY DEAR SIR, — I am in great pain with an inflamed foot, and obliged to keep my bed, so am prevented from having the pleasure to dine at Mr. Ramsay's to-day, which is very hard; and my spirits are sadly sunk. Will you be so friendly as to come and sit an hour with me in the evening? I am ever yours, &c., JAMES BOSWELL."

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"Harley Street.⁹

"MR. JOHNSON laments the absence of Mr. Boswell, and will come to him."

He came to me in the evening, and brought Sir Joshua Reynolds. I need scarcely say, that their conversation, while they sat by my bedside, was the most pleasing opiate to pain that could have been administered.

Johnson being now better disposed to obtain information concerning Pope than he was last year [p. 613.], sent by me to my Lord Marchmont a present of those volumes of his "Lives of the Poets" which were at this time published, with a request to have permission to wait on him; and his lordship, who had called on him twice, obligingly appointed Saturday, the 1st of May, for receiving us.

On that morning Johnson came to me from Streatham, and after drinking chocolate at General Paoli's in South Audley Street, we proceeded to Lord Marchmont's in Curzon Street. His lordship met us at the door of his library, and with great politeness said to Johnson, "I am not going to make an er conium upon *myself*, by telling you the high respect I have for *you*, Sir." Johnson was exceedingly courteous; and the interview, which lasted about two hours, during which the ear communicated his anecdotes of Pope, was agreeable as I could have wished.¹⁰ When we came out, I said to Johnson, "that, considerin

¹ Dr. James, the inventor of the celebrated fever powders. — WRIGHT.

² This was Andrew Millar, of whom, when talking one day of the patronage the great sometimes affect to give to literature and literary men, Johnson said, "Andrew Millar is the *Maccenas* of the age." — *Hawk. Apoph.* p. 200. — CROKER.

³ The Chevalier Taylor, the celebrated oculist. — MALONE.

⁴ Dr. Joshua Ward, the celebrated quack, first began to practise physic about the year 1733, and combated, for some time, the united efforts of wit, learning, argument, and ridicule. He died in 1761. — WRIGHT.

⁵ Probably Mr. Burke. — CROKER.

⁶ Wisely and mercifully: *wisely*, to ensure the preservation and education of children; and *mercifully*, to render afflictive the loss of parents, which, in the course of nature children must suffer. — CROKER.

⁷ Mr. Boswell himself. — CROKER.

⁸ The residence of General Paoli. — CROKER.

⁹ Allan Ramsay's residence, No. 67, Harley Street, where his son, Colonel John Ramsay, occupied in 1800. — P. C. NIGHAM.

¹⁰ His first question, as he told Sir J. Hawkins, was, "W

his lordship's civility, I should have been vexed if he had again failed to come." "Sir," said he, "I would rather have given twenty pounds than not have come." I accompanied him to Streatham, where we dined, and returned to town in the evening.

On Monday, May 3., I dined with him at Mr. Dilly's. I pressed him this day for his opinion on the passage in Parnell, concerning which I had in vain questioned him in several letters, and at length obtained it *in due form of law*.

"CASE FOR DR. JOHNSON'S OPINION;

"May 3. 1779.

"Parnell, in his 'Hermit,' has the following passage:—

'To clear this doubt, to know the world by sight,
To find if *books* and *swains* report it right
(For yet by *swains alone* the world he knew,
Whose feet came wand'ring o'er the nightly dew).'

"Is there not a contradiction in its being first supposed that the Hermit knew *both* what books and swains reported of the world; yet afterwards said, that he knew it by *swains alone*?"

"I think it an inaccuracy. He mentions two instructors in the first line, and says he had only one in the next."¹

This evening I set out for Scotland.

[JOHNSON TO MRS. ASTON.

"May 4. 1779.

"DEAR MADAM,—When I sent you the little books, I was not sure that you were well enough to take the trouble of reading them, but have lately heard from Mr. Greeves that you are much recovered. I hope you will gain more and more strength, and live many and many years, and I shall come again to Stowhill, and live as I used to do, with you and dear Mrs. Gastrell.

"I am not well; my nights are very troublesome, and my breath is short; but I know not that it grows much worse. I wish to see you. Mrs. Harvey has just sent to me to dine with her, and I have promised to wait on her to-morrow.

"Mr. Green comes home loaded with curiosities², and will be able to give his friends new entertainment. When I come, it will be great en-

kind of a man was Mr. Pope in his conversation?" His lordship answered, "That if the conversation did not take something of a lively or epigrammatic turn, he fell asleep, or, perhaps, pretended to be so."—CROKER.

"I do not," says Mr. Malone, "see any difficulty in this passage, and wonder that Dr. Johnson should have acknowledged it to be *inaccurate*. The Hermit, it should be observed, had no actual experience of the world whatsoever: all his knowledge concerning it had been obtained in two ways; from *books*, and from the *relations* of those country swains who had seen a little of it. The plain meaning, therefore, is, 'To clear his doubts concerning Providence, and to obtain some knowledge of the world by actual experience; to see whether the accounts furnished by books, or by the oral communications of swains, were just representations of it; [I say *swains*,] for his oral or *viva voce* information had been obtained from that part of mankind *alone*, &c. The word *alone* here does not relate to the whole of the preceding line, as has been supposed, but, by a common licence, to

tainment to me if I can find you and Mrs. Gastrell well, and willing to receive me. I am, dearest Madam, &c., SAM. JOHNSON."]
—Pemb. MSS.

[JOHNSON TO MRS. PORTER.

"May 4. 1779.

"DEAR MADAM,—Mr. Green has informed me that you are much better; I hope I need not tell you that I am glad of it. I cannot boast of being much better; my old nocturnal complaint still pursues me, and my respiration is difficult, though much easier than when I left you the summer before last. Mr. and Mrs. Thrane are well; Miss has been a little indisposed, but she is got well again. They have, since the loss of their boy, had two daughters; but they seem likely to want a son.

"I hope you had some books which I sent you. I was sorry for poor Mrs. Adey's death, and am afraid you will be sometimes solitary; but endeavour, whether alone or in company, to keep yourself cheerful. My friends likewise die very fast; but such is the state of man. I am, dear Love, your, &c., SAM. JOHNSON."]
—Pemb. MSS.

He had, before I left London, resumed the conversation concerning the appearance of a ghost at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, which Mr. John Wesley believed, but to which Johnson did not give credit. I was, however, desirous to examine the question closely, and at the same time wished to be made acquainted with Mr. John Wesley; for though I differed from him in some points, I admired his various talents, and loved his pious zeal. At my request, therefore, Dr. Johnson gave me a letter of introduction to him.

JOHNSON TO JOHN WESLEY.

"May 5. 1779.

"Sir,—Mr. Boswell, a gentleman who has been long known to me, is desirous of being known to you, and has asked this recommendation, which I give him with great willingness, because I think it very much to be wished that worthy and religious men should be acquainted with each other. I am, Sir, &c., SAM. JOHNSON."

Mr. Wesley being in the course of his ministry at Edinburgh, I presented this letter to

the words, of all mankind, which are understood, and of which it is restrictive." Mr. Malone, it must be owned, has shown much critical ingenuity in his explanation of this passage. His interpretation, however, seems to me much too reconcilable. The meaning of the passage may be certain enough; but surely the expression is confused, and one part of it contradictory to the other.—BOSWELL.

It is odd enough that these critics did not think it worth their while to consult the original for the exact words on which they were exercising their ingenuity. Parnell's words are not, "*if books and swains*," but, "*if books or swains*," which might mean, not that books and swains agreed, but that they differed, and that the Hermit's doubt was excited by the difference between his instructors. There is, no doubt, a clumsy ambiguity in the expression, but the meaning obviously is that, of men, he knew swains only.—CROKER.

² Mr. Green, it will be recollected, had a museum at Lichfield.—CROKER.

him, and was very politely received. I begged to have it returned to me, which was accordingly done. His state of the evidence as to the ghost did not satisfy me.¹

[JOHNSON TO MRS. THRALE.

(Extracts.)

Lichfield, May 29. 1779. — "I have now been here a week, and will try to give you my journal, or such parts of it as are fit, in my mind, for communication.

"On Friday, We set out about twelve, and lay at Daventry.

"On Saturday, We dined with Rann at Coventry. He intercepted us at the town's end. I saw Tom Johnson, who had hardly life to know that I was with him. I hear he is since dead. In the evening I came to Lucy, and walked to Stowhill. Mrs. Aston was gone, or going to bed. I did not see her.

"Sunday. — After dinner I went to Stowhill, and was very kindly received. At night I saw my old friend Brodhurst — you know him — the play-fellow of my infancy, and gave him a guinea.

"Monday. — Dr. Taylor came, and we went with Mrs. Cobb to Greenhill Bower. I had not seen it, perhaps, for fifty years. It is much degenerated. Every thing grows old.

"Tuesday. — I dined, I think, with Lucy both Monday and Tuesday.

"Wednesday, Thursday. — I had a few visits, from Peter Garrick among the rest, and dined at Stowhill. My breath very short.

"Friday. — I dined at Stowhill.

"Saturday. — Mrs. Aston took me out in her chaise, and was very kind. I dined with Mrs. Cobb, and came to Lucy, with whom I found, as I had done the first day, Lady Smith and Miss Vyse."

Ashbourne, June 14. 1779. — "Your account of Mr. Thrale's illness² is very terrible; but when I remember that he seems to have it peculiar to his constitution — that whatever distemper he has, he always has his head affected — I am less frightened. The seizure was, I think, not apoplectical, but hysterical, and therefore not dangerous to life. I would have you, however, consult such physicians as you think you can best trust. Bromfield seems to have done well, and, by his practice, seems not to suspect an apoplexy. That is a solid and fundamental comfort. I remember Dr. Marsigli, an Italian physician, whose seizure was more violent than Mr. Thrale's, for he fell down helpless; but his case was not considered as of much danger, and he went safe home, and is now a professor at Padua. His fit was considered as only hysterical."

Ashbourne, June 17. 1779. — "It is certain that your first letter did not alarm me in proportion to the danger, for indeed it did not describe the

danger as it was. I am glad that you have Heberden; and hope his restoratives and his preservatives will both be effectual. In the preservatives, dear Mr. Thrale must concur; yet what can he reform? or what can he add to his regularity and temperance? He can only sleep less. We will do, however, all we can. I go to Lichfield to-morrow, with intent to hasten to Streatham.

"Both Mrs. Aston and Dr. Taylor have had strokes of the palsy. The lady was sixty-eight, and at that age has gained ground upon it; the doctor is, you know, not young, and he is quite well, only suspicious of every sensation in the pectant arm. I hope my dear master's case is yet slighter, and that, as his age is less, his recovery will be more perfect. Let him keep his thoughts diverted, and his mind easy."³

—*Letters.*

JOHNSON TO THRALE.

"Lichfield, June 23. 1779.

"DEAR SIR, — To show you how well I think of your health, I have sent you an hundred pounds to keep for me. It will come within one day of quarter-day, and that day you must give me. I came by it in a very uncommon manner⁴, and would not confound it with the rest.

"My wicked mistress talks as if she thought it possible for me to be indifferent or negligent about your health or hers. If I could have done any good, I had not delayed an hour to come to you, and I will come very soon to try if my advice can be of any use, or my company of any entertainment.⁵

"What can be done, you must do for yourself. Do not let any uneasy thought settle in your mind. Cheerfulness and exercise are your great remedies. Nothing is for the present worth your anxiety. *Vivere leti* is one of the great rules of health. I believe it will be good to ride often, but never to weariness; for weariness is itself a temporary resolution of the nerves, and is therefore to be avoided. Labour is exercise continued to fatigue; exercise is labour used only while it produces pleasure.

"Above all, keep your mind quiet. Do not think with earnestness even of your health, but think on such things as may please without too much agitation; among which, I hope, is, dear Sir, your, &c., SAM. JOHNSON."

—*Letters.*

JOHNSON TO MISS REYNOLDS.

"London, June 27. 1779.

"DEAR MADAM, — I have sent what I can for your German friend. At this time it is very difficult to get any money, and I cannot give much.⁶ I am, Madam, your most affectionate and most humble servant, SAM. JOHNSON."

—*Reyn. MSS.]*

¹ Dr. Johnson made this year his annual excursion into the midland counties, of which he, as usual, gave Mrs. Thrale an account in several letters; but his visit was shortened by the alarming illness of Mr. Thrale. — CROKER.

² A serious apoplectic attack, which was the precursor of another of the same nature, which terminated his existence in the course of the ensuing year. — CROKER.

³ To assist in keeping the patient's mind easy, he consideredately wrote him the next letter. — CROKER, 1847.

⁴ Was it from the Minister for his recent pamphlet? — CROKER, 1847.

⁵ He came to town soon after this letter, as appears by his next letter. — CROKER.

⁶ It is due to the memory of Dr. Johnson's inexhaustible charity to insert this otherwise insignificant note. When he says that he cannot give much, let it be recollected, that his only fixed income was his pension of 300*l.* a year, and that he had four or five cleemosynary inmates in his house. — CROKER.

CHAPTER LXIX.

1779.

Experiments on the Constancy of Friends. — Colonel James Stuart. — *Choice of Guardians.* — *Adventurers to the East Indies.* — *Poor of London.* — Pope's "*Essay on Man.*" — Lord Bolingbroke. *Johnson's Residences in London.* — *Conjugal Infidelity.* — *Roman Catholics.* — *Helps to the Study of Greek.* — *Middlesex Election.* — *House of Commons.* — *Right of Expulsion.* — George Whitfield. — Philip Astley. — *Keeping Company with Infidels.* — *Irish Union.* — *Vulgar Prosperity.* — "*The Ambassador says well.*" — *Correspondence.*

I DID not write to Johnson, as usual, upon my return to my family; but tried how he would be affected by my silence. Mr. Dilly sent me a copy of a note which he received from him on the 13th of July, in these words; —

JOHNSON TO DILLY.

"SIR, — Since Mr. Boswell's departure, I have never heard from him. Please to send word what you know of him, and whether you have sent my books to his lady. I am, &c.,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

My readers will not doubt that his solicitude about me was very flattering.

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"July 13. 1779.

"DEAR SIR, — What can possibly have happened, that keeps us two such strangers to each other? I expected to have heard from you when you came home; I expected afterwards. I went into the country and returned; and yet there is no letter from Mr. Boswell. No ill, I hope, has happened; and if ill should happen, why should it be concealed from him who loves you? Is it a fit of humour, that has disposed you to try who can hold out longest without writing? If it be, you have the victory. But I am afraid of something bad; set me free from my suspicions.

"My thoughts are at present employed in guessing the reason of your silence: you must not expect that I should tell you any thing, if I had any thing to tell. Write, pray write to me, and let me know what is or what has been the cause of this long interruption. I am, dear Sir, your most affectionate humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON."

BOSWELL TO JOHNSON.

"Edinburgh, July 17. 1779.

"MY DEAR SIR, — What may be justly denominated a supine indolence of mind has been my state of existence since I last returned to Scotland. In a livelier state I had often suffered severely from long intervals of silence on your part; and I had even been chid by you for expressing my uneasiness. I was willing to take advantage of my insensibility, and while I could bear the experiment, to try whether your affection for me would, after all unusual silence on my part, make you write first. This afternoon I have had a very high satis-

faction by receiving your kind letter of inquiry, for which I most gratefully thank you. I am doubtful if it was right to make the experiment; though I have gained by it. I was beginning to grow tender, and to upbraid myself, especially after having dreamt two nights ago that I was with you. I, and my wife, and my four children, are all well. I would not delay one post to answer your letter; but as it is late, I have not time to do more. You shall soon hear from me, upon many and various particulars; and I shall never again put you to any test. I am, with veneration, my dear Sir, your, &c.,

JAMES BOSWELL."

On the 22d of July, I wrote to him again; and gave him an account of my last interview with my worthy friend, Mr. Edward Dilly, at his brother's house at Southill in Bedfordshire, where he died soon after I parted from him, leaving me a very kind remembrance of his regard.

I informed him that Lord Hailes, who had promised to furnish him with some anecdotes for his "*Lives of the Poets,*" had sent me three instances of Prior's borrowing from *Gombauld*, in *Recueil des Poètes*, tome 3. Epigram "To John I owed great obligation," p. 25. "To the Duke of Noailles," p. 32. "Sauntering Jack and idle Joan," p. 35.

My letter was a pretty long one, and contained a variety of particulars; but he, it should seem, had not attended to it; for his next to me was as follows: —

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"Streatham, Sept. 9. 1779.

"MY DEAR SIR, — Are you playing the same trick again, and trying who can keep silence longest? Remember that all tricks are either knavish or childish; and that it is as foolish to make experiments upon the constancy of a friend, as upon the chastity of a wife.

"What can be the cause of this second fit of silence, I cannot conjecture; but after one trick, I will not be cheated by another, nor will harass my thoughts with conjectures about the motives of a man who, probably, acts only by caprice. I therefore suppose you are well, and that Mrs. Boswell is well too, and that the fine summer has restored Lord Auchinleck. I am much better than you left me; I think I am better than when I was in Scotland.

"I forgot whether I informed you that poor Thrale has been in great danger. Mrs. Thrale likewise has miscarried, and been much indisposed. Every body else is well. Langton is in camp. I intend to put Lord Hailes's description of Dryden¹ into another edition, and, as I know his accuracy, wish he would consider the dates, which I could not always settle to my own mind.

"Mr. Thrale goes to Brightelmstone, about Michaelmas, to be jolly and ride a-hunting. I shall go to town, or perhaps to Oxford. Exercise and

¹ Which I communicated to him from his Lordship, but it has not yet been published. I have a copy of it. — BOSWELL. The few notices concerning Dryden, which Lord Hailes had collected, Mr. Boswell afterwards gave me. — MALONE.

gaiety, or rather carelessness, will, I hope, dissipate all remains of his malady; and I likewise hope, by the change of place¹, to find some opportunities of growing yet better myself. I am, dear Sir, your, &c.,
SAM. JOHNSON."

["September, 1779.

"On the 17th, Mr. Chamier took me away with him from Streatham. I left the servants a guinea for my health, and was content enough to escape into a house where my birth-day, not being known, could not be mentioned. I sat up till midnight was past, and the day of a new year—a very awful day—began. I prayed to God, who had safely brought me to the beginning of another year, but could not perfectly recollect the prayer, and supplied it. Such desertions of memory I have always had. When I arose on the 18th, I think I prayed again, then walked with my friend into his grounds. When I came back, after some time passed in the library, finding myself oppressed by sleepiness, I retired to my chamber, where by lying down, and a short imperfect slumber, I was refreshed, and prayed as the night before. I then dined and trifled in the parlour and library, and was freed from a scruple about Horace. At last I went to bed, having first composed a prayer.

19th, Sunday. — I went to church and attended the service. I found at church a time to use my prayer, 'O Lord, have mercy, &c.'"² — *Prayers and Med.*, p. 222.]

My readers will not be displeased at being told every slight circumstance of the manner in which Dr. Johnson contrived to amuse his solitary hours. He sometimes employed himself in chemistry, sometimes in watering and pruning a vine, sometimes in small experiments, at which those who may smile should recollect that there are moments which admit of being soothed only by trifles.³

On the 20th of September I defended myself against his suspicion of me, which I did not deserve; and added, "Pray let us write frequently. A whim strikes me, that we should send off a sheet once a week, like a stage-coach, whether it be full or not; nay, though it should be empty. The very sight of your handwriting would comfort me; and were a sheet to be thus sent regularly, we should much oftener convey something, were it only a few kind words.

My friend, Colonel James Stuart⁴, second son of the Earl of Bute, who had distinguished himself as a good officer of the Bedfordshire militia, had taken a public-spirited resolution to serve his country in its difficulties, by raising a regular regiment, and taking the command of it himself. This, in the heir of the immense property of Wortley, was highly honourable. Having been in Scotland recruiting, he obligingly asked me to accompany him to Leeds, then the head-quarters of his corps; from thence to London for a short time, and afterwards to other places to which the regiment might be ordered. Such an offer, at a time of the year when I had full leisure, was very pleasing; especially as I was to accompany a man of sterling good sense, information, discernment, and conviviality, and was to have a second crop, in one year, of London and Johnson. Of this I informed my illustrious friend in characteristical warm terms in a letter dated the 30th of September, from Leeds.

On Monday, October 4., I called at his house before he was up. He sent for me to his bedside, and expressed his satisfaction at this incidental meeting, with as much vivacity as if he had been in the gaiety of youth. He called briskly, "Frank, go and get coffee, and let us breakfast in splendour."

During this visit to London, I had several interviews with him, which it is unnecessary to distinguish particularly. I consulted him as to the appointment of guardians to my children in case of my death. "Sir," said he, "do not appoint a number of guardians. When there are many, they trust one to another, and the business is neglected. I would advise you to choose only one: let him be a man of respectable character, who, for his own credit, will do what is right; let him be a rich man, so that he may be under no temptation to take advantage; and let him be a man of business, who is used to conduct affairs with ability and expertness, to whom, therefore, the execution of the trust will not be burthensome."

[JOHNSON TO MRS. THRALE.

"Oct. 8. 1779. — On Sunday the gout left my ankles, and I went very commodiously to church.

at Streatham one summer, and diverted ourselves with drawing essences and colouring liquors. But the danger in which Mr. Thrale found his friend one day, when I had driven to London, and he had got the children and servants assembled round him to see some experiments performed, put an end to all our entertainment; as Mr. Thrale was persuaded that his short sight would have occasioned his destruction in a moment by bringing him close to a fierce and violent flame. Indeed, it was a perpetual miracle that he did not set himself on fire reading abed, as was his constant custom, when quite unable even to keep clear of mischief with our best help; and accordingly the foretops of all his wigs were burned by the candle down to the very network. Future experiments in chemistry, however, were too dangerous, and Mr. Thrale insisted that we should do no more towards finding the philosopher's stone." — *Piozzi*. — CROKER.

⁴ Colonel Stuart assumed successively the names of Wortley and Mackenzie, but was best known as Mr. Stuart Wortley. He was the father of the first Lord Wharncliffe, and died in 1814. We cannot but smile at Boswell's hyperbolic applause of his friend's heroism. — CROKER.

¹ It appears by the extract from his *Prayers and Meditations*, that he went for a few days with his friend Antony Chamier, (*anté*, 521. n. 3.) to his villa, near Epsom: glad "to escape to a house where his birthday (18th Sept.) could not be mentioned." — CROKER, 1847.

² I do not find any prayer in the printed collection beginning with these precise words. — CROKER, 1847.

³ In one of his manuscript Diaries, there is the following entry, which marks his curious minute attention: — "July 26. 1768. — I shaved my nail by accident in wetting the knife, about an eighth of an inch from the bottom, and about a fourth from the top. This I measure that I may know the growth of nails; the whole is about five eighths of an inch." Another of the same kind appears August 7. 1779: "*Partem brachii dextri carpo proximam et cutem pectoris circa manillam dextram rasi, ut notum fieret quanto temporis pili renovarentur.*" And, "August 15. 1783. — I cut from the vine forty-one leaves, which weighed five ounces and a half, and eight scruples: I lay them upon my bookcase, to see what weight they will lose by drying." — BOSWELL. "Dr. Johnson was always exceeding fond of chemistry; and we made up a sort of laboratory

On Monday night I felt my feet uneasy. On Tuesday I was quite lame: that night I took an opiate, having first taken physic and fasted. Towards morning on Wednesday the pain remitted. Bozzy came to me, and much talk we had. I fasted another day; and on Wednesday night could walk tolerably. On Thursday, finding myself mending, I ventured on my dinner, which I think has a little interrupted my convalescence. To-day I have again taken physic, and eaten only some stewed apples. I hope to starve it away. It is now no worse than it was at Brightelmstone.]
—*Letters.*

On Sunday, October 10., we dined together at Mr. Strahan's. The conversation having turned on the prevailing practice of going to the East Indies in quest of wealth;—*JOHNSON*. "A man had better have ten thousand pounds at the end of ten years passed in England, than twenty thousand pounds at the end of ten years passed in India, because you must compute what you *give* for money; and the man who has lived ten years in India has given up ten years of social comfort, and all those advantages which arise from living in England. The ingenious Mr. Brown, distinguished by the name of *Capability Brown*,¹ told me, that he was once at the seat of Lord Clive, who had returned from India with great wealth; and that he showed him at the door of his bed-chamber a large chest, which he said he had once had full of gold; upon which Brown observed, 'I am glad you can bear it so near your bed-chamber.'²

We talked of the state of the poor in London. *JOHNSON*. "Saunders Welch, the justice, who was once high-constable of Holborn, and had the best opportunities of knowing the state of the poor, told me, that I underrated the number, when I computed that twenty a week, that is, above a thousand a year, died of hunger; not absolutely of immediate hunger, but of the wasting and other diseases which are the consequences of hunger. This happens only in so large a place as London, where people are not known. What we are told about the great sums got by begging is not true: the trade is overstocked. And, you may depend upon it, there are many who cannot get work. A particular kind of manufacture fails: those who have been used to work at it can, for some time, work at nothing else. You meet a man begging; you charge him with idleness: he says, 'I am willing to labour. Will you give me work?'—'I cannot.'—'Why, then, you have no right to charge me with idleness.'"

We left Mr. Strahan's at seven, as Johnson had said he intended to go to evening prayers. As we walked alone, he complained of a little gout in his toe, and said, "I sha'n't go to prayers to-night: I shall go to-morrow: whenever I miss church on a Sunday, I resolve to go another day. But I do not *always* do it."³ This was a fair exhibition of that vibration between pious resolutions and indolence, which many of us have too often experienced.

I went home with him, and we had a long quiet conversation.

I read him a letter from Dr. Hugh Blair concerning Pope (in writing whose life he was now employed), which I shall insert as a literary curiosity.³

DR. BLAIR TO BOSWELL.

"Broughton Park, Sept. 21. 1779.

"DEAR SIR, — In the year 1763, being at London, I was carried by Dr. John Blair, Prebendary of Westminster, to dine at old Lord Bathurst's, where we found the late Mr. Mallet, Sir James Porter, who had been ambassador at Constantinople, the late Dr. Macaulay, and two or three more. The conversation turning on Mr. Pope, Lord Bathurst told us, that the 'Essay on Man' was originally composed by Lord Bolingbroke in prose, and that Mr. Pope did no more than put it into verse: that he had read Lord Bolingbroke's manuscript in his own handwriting; and remembered well, that he was at a loss whether most to admire the elegance of Lord Bolingbroke's prose, or the beauty of Mr. Pope's verse. When Lord Bathurst told this, Mr. Mallet bade me attend, and remember this remarkable piece of information; as, by the course of nature, I might survive his lordship, and be a witness of his having said so. The conversation was indeed too remarkable to be forgotten. A few days after, meeting with you, who were then also at London, you will remember that I mentioned to you what had passed on this subject, as I was much struck with this anecdote. But what ascertains my recollection of it, beyond doubt, is, that being accustomed to keep a journal of what passed when I was at London, which I wrote out every evening, I find the particulars of the above information, just as I have now given them, distinctly marked; and am thence enabled to fix this conversation to have passed on Friday, the 22d of April, 1763.

"I remember also distinctly (though I have not for this the authority of my journal), that, the conversation going on concerning Mr. Pope, I took notice of a report which had been sometimes propagated that he did not understand Greek. Lord Bathurst said to me that he knew that to be false; for that part of the *Iliad* was translated by Mr.

¹ Lancelot Brown, Esq., the celebrated landscape gardener, who acquired his cognomen from his habit of saying that the place he came to advise upon had "*capabilities*."—*CROKER*, 1847.

² See *ante*, pp. 609—615., the circumstances that gave point to Brown's remark.—*CROKER*.

³ The Rev. Dr. Law, Bishop of Carlisle, in the preface to his valuable edition of Archbishop King's "Essay on the Origin of Evil," mentions that the principles maintained in it had been adopted by Pope in his "Essay on Man;" and adds, "The fact, notwithstanding such denial (Bishop Warburton's), might have been strictly verified by an unexceptionable testi-

mony, viz. that of the late Lord Bathurst, who saw the very same system of the *τε βελτιον* (taken from the Archbishop) in Lord Bolingbroke's own hand, lying before Mr. Pope, while he was composing his Essay." This is respectable evidence: but that of Dr. Blair is more direct from the fountain-head, as well as more full. Let me add to it that of Dr. Joseph Warton: "The late Lord Bathurst repeatedly assured me that he had read the whole scheme of the 'Essay on Man,' in the handwriting of Bolingbroke, and drawn up in a series of propositions, which Pope was to versify and illustrate." *Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope*, vol. ii. p. 62.—*BOSWELL*.

Pope in his house in the country; and that in the morning when they assembled at breakfast, Mr. Pope used frequently to repeat, with great rapture, the Greek lines which he had been translating, and then to give them his version of them, and to compare them together.

"If these circumstances can be of any use to Dr. Johnson, you have my full liberty to give them to him. I beg you will, at the same time, present to him my most respectful compliments, with best wishes for his success and fame in all his literary undertakings. I am, with great respect, my dearest Sir your most affectionate and obliged humble servant,

HUGH BLAIR"

JOHNSON. "Depend upon it, Sir, this is too strongly stated. Pope may have had from Bolingbroke the philosophic *stamina* of his Essay; and admitting this to be true, Lord Bathurst did not intentionally falsify.¹ But the thing is not true in the latitude that Blair seems to imagine; we are sure that the poetical imagery, which makes a great part of the poem, was Pope's own. It is amazing, Sir, what deviations there are from precise truth, in the account which is given of almost every thing. I told Mrs. Thrale, 'You have so little anxiety about truth, that you never tax your memory with the exact thing.' Now what is the use of the memory to truth, if one is careless of exactness? Lord Hailes's 'Annals of Scotland' are very exact; but they contain mere dry particulars. They are to be considered as a Dictionary. You know such things are there, and may be looked at when you please. Robertson paints; but the misfortune is, you are sure he does not know the people whom he paints; so you cannot suppose a likeness. Characters should never be given by an historian, unless he knew the people whom he describes, or copies from those who knew them."

BOSWELL. "Why, Sir, do people play this trick which I observe now, when I look at your grate, putting the shovel against it to make the fire burn?" JOHNSON. "They play the trick, but it does not make the fire burn.² There is a better (setting the poker perpendicularly up at right angles with the grate). In days of superstition they thought, as it made a cross with the bars, it would drive away the witch."

BOSWELL. "By associating with you, Sir, I am always getting an accession of wisdom. But perhaps a man, after knowing his own character—the limited strength of his own mind—should not be desirous of having too

much wisdom, considering, *quid valeant humeri*, how little he can carry." JOHNSON. "Sir, be as wise as you can; let a man be *aliis latus*, *sapiens sibi*:"

'Though pleased to see the dolphins play,
I mind my compass and my way.'³

You may be wise in your study in the morning, and gay in company at a tavern in the evening. Every man is to take care of his own wisdom and his own virtue, without minding too much what others think."

He said, "Dodsley first mentioned to me the scheme of an English Dictionary; but I had long thought of it." BOSWELL. "You did not know what you were undertaking." JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir, I knew very well what I was undertaking, and very well how to do it, and have done it very well." BOSWELL. "An excellent climax! and it *has* availed you. In your preface you say, 'What would it avail me in this gloom of solitude?' You have been agreeably mistaken."

In his life of Milton, he observes, "I cannot but remark a kind of respect, perhaps unconsciously, paid to this great man by his biographers: every house in which he resided is historically mentioned, as if it were an injury to neglect naming any place that he honoured by his presence." I had, before I read this observation, been desirous of showing that respect to Johnson, by various inquiries. Finding him this evening in a very good humour, I prevailed on him to give me an exact list of his places of residence, since he entered the metropolis as an author, which I subjoin in a note.⁴

I mentioned to him a dispute between a friend of mine and his lady, concerning conjugal infidelity, which my friend had maintained was by no means so bad in the husband as in the wife. JOHNSON. "Your friend was in the right, Sir. Between a man and his Maker it is a different question: but between a man and his wife, a husband's infidelity is nothing. They are connected by children, by fortune, by serious considerations of community. Wise married women don't trouble themselves about infidelity in their husbands." BOSWELL. "To be sure there is a great difference between the offence of infidelity in a man and that of his wife." JOHNSON. "The difference is boundless. The man imposes no bastards upon his wife."⁵

¹ Perhaps what Lord Bathurst saw was a series of *Metaphysical MSS.*, mentioned by Bolingbroke in his postscript to Pope's letter to Swift, 15th Sept. 1734; but these were at that date still incomplete, and the first part of the "*Essay on Man*" had been published early in 1733, and the last part in January, 1734.—CROKER, 1847.

² It certainly does make the fire burn: by repelling the air, it throws a blast on the fire, and so performs the part in some degree of a blower or bellows.—KEARNEY. Dr. Kearney's observation applies only to the shovel, and even so, very imperfectly; but by those who have faith in the experiment, the poker is supposed to be equally efficacious. After all, it is possible that there may be some magnetic or electrical influence which, in the progress of science, may be explained;

and what has been thought a vulgar trick, may be proved to be a philosophical expedient.—CROKER.

³ "The Spleen," a poem [by Matthew Green].—BOSWELL.

⁴ Which the reader has already seen transferred to p. 30.—CROKER.

⁵ See also *anté*, p. 192. This however seems too narrow an illustration of a "*boundless difference*." The introduction of a bastard into a family, though a great injustice and a great crime, is only one consequence (and that an occasional and accidental one) of a greater crime and a more afflicting injustice. The precaution of Julia, alluded to *anté*, p. 192, did not render her innocent. In a moral and in a religious view, the guilt is no doubt equal in man or woman; but have not both Dr. Johnson and Mr. Boswell overlooked, on this occasion,

Here it may be questioned, whether Johnson was entirely in the right. I suppose it will not be controverted, that the difference in the degree of criminality is very great, on account of consequences: but still it may be maintained, that, independent of moral obligation, infidelity is by no means a light offence in a husband; because it must hurt a delicate attachment, in which a mutual constancy is implied, with such refined sentiments as Massinger has exhibited in his play of "The Picture." Johnson probably at another time would have admitted this opinion. And let it be kept in remembrance, that he was very careful not to give any encouragement to irregular conduct. A gentleman, not adverting to the distinction made by him upon this subject, supposed a case of singular perverseness in a wife, and heedlessly said, "That then he thought a husband might do as he pleased with a safe conscience." JOHNSON. "Nay, Sir, this is wild indeed (smiling); you must consider that fornication is a crime in a single man, and you cannot have more liberty by being married."

He this evening expressed himself strongly against the Roman Catholics, observing, "In every thing in which they differ from us, they are wrong." He was even against the invocation of saints; in short, he was in the humour of opposition.

Having regretted to him that I had learnt little Greek, as is too generally the case in Scotland; that I had for a long time hardly applied at all to the study of that noble language, and that I was desirous of being told by him what method to follow; he recommended as easy helps, Sylvanus's "First Book of the Iliad;" Dawson's "Lexicon to the Greek New Testament;" and "Hesiod," with "Pasorle's Lexicon" at the end of it.

JOHNSON TO MRS. THRALE.

"London, Oct. 11. 1779.

"I do not see why you should trouble yourself with physicians while Mr. Thrale grows better. Company and bustle will, I hope, complete his cure. Let him gallop over the Downs in the morning, call his friends about him to dinner, and frisk in the rooms at night, and outrun time and outface misfortune. Notwithstanding all authorities against bleeding, Mr. Thrale bled himself well ten days ago.

"You will lead a jolly life, and perhaps think

little of me; but I have been invited twice to Mrs. Vesey's conversation, but have not gone. The gout that was in my ankles, when Queeny criticised my gait, passed into my toe, but I have hunted it, and starved it, and it makes no figure. It has drawn some attention, for Lord and Lady Lucan sent to inquire after me. This is all the news that I have to tell you. Yesterday I dined with Mr. Strahan, and Boswell was there. We shall be both to-morrow at Mr. Ramsay's."

On Tuesday, October 12., I dined with him at Mr. Ramsay's, with Lord Newhaven¹, and some other company, none of whom I recollect, but a beautiful Miss Graham², a relation [niece] of his Lordship's, who asked Dr. Johnson to hob or nob with her. He was flattered by such pleasing attention, and politely told her, he never drank wine; but if she would drink a glass of water, he was much at her service. She accepted. "Oho, Sir!" said Lord Newhaven, "you are caught." JOHNSON. "Nay, I do not see how I am caught; but if I am caught, I don't want to get free again. If I am caught, I hope to be kept." Then, when the two glasses of water were brought, smiling placidly to the young lady, he said, "Madam, let us *reciprocate*."

Lord Newhaven and Johnson carried on an argument for some time concerning the Mid-dlesex election. Johnson said, "Parliament may be considered as bound by law, as a man is bound where there is nobody to tie the knot. As it is clear that the House of Commons may expel, and expel again and again, why not allow of the power to incapacitate for that parliament, rather than have a perpetual contest kept up between parliament and the people?" Lord Newhaven took the opposite side; but respectfully said, "I speak with great deference to you, Dr. Johnson; I speak to be instructed." This had its full effect on my friend. He bowed his head almost as low as the table to a complimenting nobleman, and called out, "My lord, my lord, I do not desire all this ceremony; let us tell our minds to one another quietly." After the debate was over, he said, "I have got lights on the subject to-day, which I had not before." This was a great deal from him, especially as he had written a pamphlet upon it.

He observed, "The House of Commons was originally not a privilege of the people, but a check, for the crown, on the House of Lords.

sion, a social view of this subject, and which is, perhaps, the true reason of the greater indulgence which is generally afforded to the infidelity of the man — I mean the effect on the personal character of the different sexes. The crime does not seem to alter or debase the qualities of the man, in any essential degree; but when the superior purity and delicacy of the woman is once contaminated, it is destroyed — *facilis descensus Averni* — she generally falls into utter degradation; and thence, probably, it is that society makes a distinction conformable to its own interests — it connives at the offence of men, because men are not much deteriorated as members of general society by the offence, and it is severe against the offence of women, because women, as members of society, are utterly ruined by it. This view of the subject will be illustrated by a converse proposition — for instance: The world thinks not the worse, nay rather the better, of a woman

for wanting courage; but such a defect in a man is wholly unpardonable, because, as Johnson wisely and wittily said, "he who has not the virtue of courage has no security for any other virtue." Society, therefore, requires chastity from women as it does courage from men. See Montesquieu, *Esprit des Loix*, b. vii. ch. 8., where he proceeds on the principle, that chastity is, in the female character, the foundation and guardian of every other virtue, and the very basis of society. — CROKER.

¹ William Mayne, Esq. was created a Baronet in 1763; a privy counsellor in Ireland in 1766; and in 1776 advanced to the Irish peerage by the title of Baron Newhaven. He took a busy part in the intrigues, jobs, and squabbles which constituted the Irish politics of his day. — CROKER.

² Now the lady of Sir Henry Dashwood, Bart. — BOSWELL. To whom she was married in July 1780. — CROKER.

I remember, Henry VIII. wanted them to do something; they hesitated in the morning, but did it in the afternoon. He told them, 'It is well you did; or half your heads should have been upon Temple Bar.'¹ But the House of Commons is now no longer under the power of the crown, and therefore must be bribed." He added, "I have no delight in talking of public affairs."

Of his fellow collegian², the celebrated Mr. George Whitefield, he said, "Whitefield never drew as much attention as a mountebank does: he did not draw attention by doing better than others, but by doing what was strange. Were Astley³ to preach a sermon standing upon his head on a horse's back, he would collect a multitude to hear him; but no wise man would say he had made a better sermon for that. I never treated Whitefield's ministry with contempt; I believe he did good. He had devoted himself to the lower classes of mankind, and among them he was of use. But when familiarity and noise claim the praise due to knowledge, art, and elegance, we must beat down such pretensions."⁴

What I have preserved of his conversation during the remainder of my stay in London at this time is only what follows:—I told him that when I objected to keeping company with a notorious infidel, a celebrated friend⁵ of ours said to me, "I do not think that men who live laxly in the world, as you and I do, can with propriety assume such an authority: Dr. Johnson may, who is uniformly exemplary in his conduct. But it is not very consistent to shun an infidel to-day, and get drunk to-morrow." JOHNSON. "Nay, Sir, this is sad reasoning. Because a man cannot be right in all things, is he to be right in nothing? Because a man sometimes gets drunk, is he therefore to steal? This doctrine would very soon bring a man to the gallows."

After all, however, it is a difficult question how far sincere Christians should associate with the avowed enemies of religion; for, in the first place, almost every man's mind may be more or less "corrupted by evil communications;" secondly, the world may very naturally suppose that they are not really in earnest in religion, who can easily bear its opponents; and thirdly, if the profane find themselves

quite well received by the pious, one of the checks upon an open declaration of their infidelity, and one of the probable chances of obliging them seriously to reflect, which their being shunned would do, is removed.

He, I know not why, showed upon all occasions an aversion to go to Ireland, where I proposed to him that we should make a tour. JOHNSON. "It is the last place that I should wish to travel." BOSWELL. "Should you not like to see Dublin, Sir?" JOHNSON. "No, Sir; Dublin is only a worse capital." BOSWELL. "Is not the Giant's Causeway worth seeing?" JOHNSON. "Worth seeing? yes; but not worth going to see."

Yet he had a kindness for the Irish nation; and thus generously expressed himself to a gentleman from that country, on the subject of an union which artful politicians have often had in view: "Do not make an union with us, Sir. We should unite with you only to rob you. We should have robbed the Scotch, if they had had any thing of which we could have robbed them."

Of an acquaintance of ours, whose manners and every thing about him, though expensive, were coarse, he said, "Sir, you see in him vulgar prosperity."

A foreign minister of no very high talents, who had been in his company for a considerable time quite overlooked, happened luckily to mention that he had read some of his "*Rambler*" in Italian, and admired it much. This pleased him greatly; he observed that the title had been translated *Il Genio errante*, though I have been told it was rendered more ludicrously *Il Vagabondo*; and finding that this minister gave such a proof of his taste, he was all attention to him, and on the first remark which he made, however simple, exclaimed, "The ambassador says well; his Excellency observes —;" and then he expanded and enriched the little that had been said in so strong a manner, that it appeared something of consequence. This was exceedingly entertaining to the company who were present, and many a time afterwards it furnished a pleasant topic of merriment. "*The ambassador says well*" became a laughable term of applause when no mighty matter had been expressed.

¹ Johnson's memory was here guilty of an anachronism. Heads were, as Mr. P. Cunningham informs me, first placed on Temple Bar in William III.'s time. The anecdote told by Collins in his *Peagee*, tit. *Manchester*, on the doubtful authority of family papers, says only, that Henry threatened to take off the head of the Speaker, Sir Edward Montagu, if the money bill, then objected to (1523), did not pass. — CROKER, 1847.

² George Whitefield, or Whitefield, did not enter at Pembroke College before November 1732, more than twelve months after Johnson's name was off the books, and nearly three years after he had ceased to be resident at Oxford; so that, strictly speaking, they were not fellow collegians, though they were both of the same college. — Hall. — CROKER.

³ Philip Astley, a celebrated horse-rider, who first exhibited equestrian pantomimes, in which his son (who survived his father but a short time) rode with great grace and agility. Astley had at once theatres in Paris, London, and

Dublin, and migrated with his actors, biped and quadruped, from one to the other. Both father and son were remarkably handsome, the elder of large proportions, but perfect symmetry. — CROKER. The remains of both father and son are deposited in the cemetery of *Père la Chaise*, near Paris. — WAGNER.

⁴ "On Tuesday I dined with Ramsay, and on Thursday (14th) with Paoli. *Buzzy* says he never saw me so well." — Letters, Oct. 16. 1779. — CROKER.

⁵ The "celebrated friend" was no doubt Mr. Burke, and his advice, so far from being "sad reasoning," seems very sensible and just. Before you take upon yourself to be a *censor morum*, you should, at least, reform your own flagrant irregularities. And we know, when Boswell consulted Johnson about refusing to do law business of a Sunday, he advised him to comply with the practice of the world, till he should become so considerable as to be authorised to set an example. — CROKER, 1835.

[JOHNSON TO MISS REYNOLDS.

"Oct. 19. 1779.

"DEAREST MADAM, — You are extremely kind in taking so much trouble. My foot is almost well; and one of my first visits will certainly be to Dover Street.¹ You will do me a great favour if you will buy for me the prints of Mr. Burke, Mr. Dyer, and Dr. Goldsmith, as you know good impressions. If any of your own pictures are engraved, buy them for me. I am fitting up a little room with prints. I am your, &c.,
— Reyn. MSS. "SAM. JOHNSON."]

I left London on Monday, October 18., and accompanied Colonel Stuart to Chester, where his regiment was to lie for some time.

BOSWELL TO JOHNSON.

"Chester, Oct. 20. 1779.

"MY DEAR SIR, — It was not till one o'clock on Monday morning that Colonel Stuart and I left London; for we chose to bid a cordial adieu to Lord Mountstuart, who was to set out on that day on his embassy to Turin. We drove on excellently, and reached Lichfield in good time enough that night. The colonel had heard so preferable a character of the George, that he would not put up at the Three Crowns, so that I did not see our host, Wilkins. We found at the George as good accommodation as we could wish to have, and I fully enjoyed the comfortable thought that *I was in Lichfield again*. Next morning it rained very hard; and as I had much to do in a little time, I ordered a post-chaise, and between eight and nine sallied forth to make a round of visits. I first went to Mr. Green, hoping to have had him to accompany me to all my other friends; but he was engaged to attend the Bishop of Sodor and Man, who was then lying at Lichfield very ill of the gout. Having taken a hasty glance at the additions to Green's museum, from which it was not easy to break away, I next went to the Friary, where I at first occasioned some tumult in the ladies, who were not prepared to receive *company* so early; but my *name*, which has by wonderful felicity come to be closely associated with yours, soon made all easy; and Mrs. Cobb² and Miss Adey re-assumed their seats at the breakfast-table, which they had quitted with some precipitation. They received me with the kindness of an old acquaintance; and, after we had joined in a cordial chorus to *your* praise, Mrs. Cobb gave me the high satisfaction of hearing that you said, 'Boswell is a man who I believe never left a house without leaving a wish for his return.' And she afterwards added, that she bid you tell me, that if ever I came to Lichfield, she hoped I would take a bed at the Friary. From thence I drove to Peter Garrick's, where I also found a very flattering welcome. He appeared to me to enjoy his usual cheerfulness; and he very kindly asked me to come when I could, and pass a week with him. From Mr. Garrick's I went to the Palace to wait on Mr. Seward. I

was first entertained by his lady and daughter, he himself being in bed with a cold, according to his valetudinary custom. But he desired to see me; and I found him dressed in his black gown, with a white flannel night-gown above it; so that he looked like a Dominican friar. He was good-humoured and polite; and under his roof too my reception was very pleasing. I then proceeded to Stowhill, and first paid my respects to Mrs. Gastrell, whose conversation I was not willing to quit. But my sand-glass was now beginning to run low, as I could not trespass too long on the Colonel's kindness, who obligingly waited for me; so I hastened to Mrs. Aston's, whom I found much better than I feared I should; and there I met [Mr. Prujean, p. 237.] a brother-in-law of these ladies, who talked much of you, and very well too, as it appeared to me. It then only remained to visit Mrs. Lucy Porter, which I did, I really believe, with sincere satisfaction on both sides. I am sure I was glad to see her again; and as I take her to be very honest, I trust she was glad to see me again, for she expressed herself so that I could not doubt of her being in earnest. What a great keystone of kindness, my dear Sir, were you that morning! for we were all held together by our common attachment to you. I cannot say that I ever passed two hours with more self-complacency than I did those two at Lichfield. Let me not entertain any suspicion that this is idle vanity. Will not you confirm me in my persuasion, that he who finds himself so regarded has just reason to be happy?

"We got to Chester about midnight on Tuesday; and here again I am in a state of much enjoyment. Colonel Stuart and his officers treat me with all the civility I could wish; and I play my part admirably. *Latus alii, sapiens sibi*, the classical sentence which you, I imagine, invented the other day, is exemplified in my present existence. The Bishop³, to whom I had the honour to be known several years ago, shows me much attention; and I am edified by his conversation. I must not omit to tell you, that his Lordship admires, very highly, your prefaces to the Poets. I am daily obtaining an extension of agreeable acquaintance, so that I am kept in animated variety; and the study of the place itself, by the assistance of books and of the Bishop, is sufficient occupation. Chester pleases my fancy more than any town I ever saw. But I will not enter upon it at all in this letter.

"How long I shall stay here I cannot yet say. I told a very pleasing young lady⁴, niece to one of the prebendaries at whose house I saw her, 'I have come to Chester, Madam, I cannot tell how; and far less can I tell how I am to get away from it.' Do not think me too juvenile. I beg it of you, my dear Sir, to favour me with a letter while I am here, and add to the happiness of a happy friend, who is ever, with affectionate veneration, most sincerely yours,

JAMES BOSWELL.

"If you do not write directly, so as to catch me here, I shall be disappointed. Two lines from you will keep my lamp burning bright."

¹ Where Miss Reynolds lived. — CROKER.

² Mrs. Cobb was the daughter of Mr. Hammond, an apothecary and the widow of a mercer, who had retired from business, and resided at the Friary. Miss Adey was her niece, daughter of the town-clerk of Lichfield: she married William Sneyd, Esq., of Belmont House, near Chendale, and

died 1829, æt. 87. — *Harwood*. (See *anté*, p. 5. and 6. — where this note might have been better placed.) — CROKER.

³ Doctor Porteus, afterwards Bishop of London; in which see he died, May 14. 1809, in his seventy-eighth year. — CROKER.

⁴ Miss Letitia Barnston. — BOSWELL.

[JOHNSON TO MRS. ASTON.]

"Bolt Court, Oct. 25. 1779.

"DEAREST MADAM,—Mrs. Gastrell is so kind as to write to me, and yet I always write to you; but I consider what is written to either as written to both. Public affairs do not seem to promise much amendment, and the nation is now full of distress. What will be the event of things none can tell. We may still hope for better times.

"My health, which I began to recover when I was in the country, continues still in a good state: it costs me, indeed, some physic, and something of abstinence, but it pays the cost. I wish, dear Madam, I could hear a little of your improvements.

"Here is no news. The talk of the invasion seems to be over. But a very turbulent session of parliament is expected; though turbulence is not likely to do any good. Those are happiest who are out of the noise and tumult. There will be no great violence of faction at Stowhill; and that it may be free from that and all other inconvenience and disturbance is the sincere wish of all your friends. I am, dear Madam, your, &c.,

—Pemb. MSS.

"SAM. JOHNSON."]

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"London, Oct. 27. 1779.

"DEAR SIR,—Why should you importune me so earnestly to write? Of what importance can it be to hear of distant friends, to a man who finds himself welcome wherever he goes, and makes new friends faster than he can want them? If to the delight of such universal kindness of reception any thing can be added by knowing that you retain my good-will, you may indulge yourself in the full enjoyment of that small addition.

"I am glad that you made the round of Lichfield with so much success. The oftener you are seen, the more you will be liked. It was pleasing to me to read that Mrs. Aston was so well, and that Lucy Porter was so glad to see you.

"In the place where you now are, there is much to be observed; and you will easily procure yourself skilful directors. But what will you do to keep away the *black dog*¹ that worries you at home? If you would, in compliance with your father's advice, inquire into the old tenures and old charters of Scotland, you would certainly open to yourself many striking scenes of the manners of the middle ages. The feudal system, in a country half-barbarous, is naturally productive of great anomalies in civil life. The knowledge of past times is naturally growing less in all cases not of public record; and the past time of Scotland is so unlike the present, that it is already difficult for a Scotchman to image the economy of his grandfather. Do not be tardy nor negligent; but gather up eagerly what can yet be found.²

"We have, I think, once talked of another project, a history of the late insurrection in Scotland, with all its incidents. Many falsehoods are passing into uncontradicted history. Voltaire, who

loved a striking story, has told what he could not find to be true.

"You may make collections for either of these projects, or for both, as opportunities occur, and digest your materials at leisure. The great direction which Burton has left to men disordered like you is this, *Be not solitary, be not idle*: which I would thus modify:—If you are idle, be not solitary; if you are solitary, be not idle.

"There is a letter for you from your humble servant,
SAM. JOHNSON."

[JOHNSON TO MRS. ASTON.]

"Bolt Court, Nov. 5. 1779.

"DEAREST MADAM,—Having had the pleasure of hearing from Mr. Boswell that he found you better than he expected, I will not forbear to tell you how much I was delighted with the news. May your health increase and increase till you are as well as you can wish yourself, or I can wish you!

"My friends tell me that my health improves too. It is certain that I use both physic and abstinence; and my endeavours have been blessed with more success than at my age I could reasonably hope. I please myself with the thoughts of visiting you next year in so robust a state, that I shall not be afraid of the hill between Mrs. Gastrell's house and yours, nor think it necessary to rest myself between Stowhill and Lucy Porter's.

"Of public affairs I can give you no very comfortable account. The invasion has vanished for the present, as I expected. I never believed that any invasion was intended.

"But whatever we have escaped, we have done nothing, nor are likely to do better another year. We, however, who have no part of the nation's welfare intrusted to our management, have nothing to do but to serve God, and leave the world submissively in his hands.

"All trade is dead, and pleasure is scarce alive. Nothing almost is purchased but such things as the buyer cannot do without; so that a general sluggishness and general discontent are spread over the town. All the trades of luxury and elegance are nearly at a stand. What the parliament, when it meets, will do, and indeed what it ought to do, is very difficult to say.

"Pray set Mrs. Gastrell, who is a dear good lady, to write to me from time to time; for I have great delight in hearing from you, especially when I hear any good news of your health. I am, dear Madam, your most humble servant,

—Pemb. MSS.

"SAM. JOHNSON."]

BOSWELL TO JOHNSON.

"Carlisle, Nov. 7. 1779.

"MY DEAR SIR,—That I should importune you to write to me at Chester is not wonderful, when you consider what an avidity I have for delight; and that the *amor* of pleasure, like the *amor nummi*, increases in proportion with the quantity which we possess of it. Your letter, so

¹ This was a familiar phrase at Streatham to express hypochondriacal anxieties of mind. It is frequently used in the correspondence between Johnson and Mrs. Thrale.—CROKER.

² I have a valuable collection made by my father, which, with some additions and illustrations of my own, I intend to

publish. I have some hereditary claim to be an antiquary: not only from my father, but as being descended, by the mother's side, from the able and learned Sir John Skene, whose merit bids defiance to all the attempts which have been made to lessen his fame.—BOSWELL.

full of polite kindness and masterly counsel, came like a large treasure upon me, while already glittering with riches. I was quite enchanted at Chester, so that I could with difficulty quit it. But the enchantment was the reverse of that of Circé; for so far was there from being any thing ensual in it, that I was all *mind*. I do not mean all reason only; for my fancy was kept finely in play. And why not? If you please, I will send you a copy or an abridgment of my Chester journal, which is truly a log-book of felicity.

"The Bishop [Porteus] treated me with a kindness which was very flattering. I told him that you regretted you had seen so little of Chester. His Lordship bade me tell you, that he should be glad to show you more of it. I am proud to find the friendship with which you honour me is known in so many places.

"I arrived here late last night. Our friend the Dean [Percy] has been gone from hence some months; but I am told at my inn, that he is very *populus* (popular). However, I found Mr. Law, the Archdeacon, son to the Bishop¹, and with him have breakfasted and dined very agreeably. I got acquainted with him at the assizes here, about a year and a half ago. He is a man of great variety of knowledge, uncommon genius, and, I believe, sincere religion. I received the holy sacrament in the cathedral in the morning, this being the first Sunday in the month; and was at prayers there in the evening. It is divinely cheering to me to think that there is a cathedral so near Auchinleck; and I now leave Old England in such a state of mind as I am thankful to God for granting me.

"The *black dog* that worries me at home I cannot but dread; yet, as I have been for some time past in a military train, I trust I shall *repulse* him. To hear from you will animate me like the sound of a trumpet; I therefore hope, that soon after my return to the northern field, I shall receive a few lines from you.

"Colonel Stuart did me the honour to escort me in his carriage to show me Liverpool, and from hence back again to Warrington, where we parted.² In justice to my valuable wife, I must inform you he wrote to me, that as I was so happy, she would not be so selfish as to wish me to return sooner than business absolutely required my presence. She made my clerk write to me a post or two after to the same purpose, by commission from her; and this day a kind letter from her met me at the post-office here, acquainting me that she and the little ones were well, and expressing all their wishes for my return home. I am, more and more, my dear Sir, your affectionate and obliged humble servant,

"JAMES BOSWELL."

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"London, Nov. 13. 1779.

"DEAR SIR, — Your last letter was not only kind, but fond. But I wish you to get rid of all intellectual excesses, and neither to exalt your pleasures, nor aggravate your vexations, beyond their real and natural state. Why should you not be as happy at Edinburgh as at Chester? *In culpa est animus, qui se non effugit usquam*.³ Please yourself with your wife and children, and studies, and practice.

"I have sent a petition⁴ from Lucy Porter, with which I leave it to your discretion whether it is proper to comply. Return me her letter, which I have sent, that you may know the whole case, and not be seduced to any thing that you may afterwards repent. Miss Doxy perhaps you know to be Mr. Garrick's niece.

"If Dean Percy can be popular at Carlisle, he may be very happy. He has in his disposal two livings, each equal or almost equal in value to the deanery; he may take one himself, and give the other to his son.

"How near is the cathedral to Auchinleck, that you are so much delighted with it? It is, I suppose, at least an hundred and fifty miles off. However, if you are pleased, it is so far well. Let me know what reception you have from your father, and the state of his health. Please him as much as you can, and add no pain to his last years.

"Of our friends here I can recollect nothing to tell you. I have neither seen nor heard of Langton. Beauclerk is just returned from Bright-helmstone, I am told, much better. Mr. Thrale and his family are still there; and his health is said to be visibly improved. He has not bathed, but hunted. At Bolt Court there is much malignity, but of late little open hostility. I have had a cold, but it is gone. Make my compliments to Mrs. Boswell, &c. I am, &c., SAM. JOHNSON."

On November 22. and December 21. I wrote to him from Edinburgh, giving a very favourable report of the family of Miss Doxy's lover; — that after a good deal of inquiry I had discovered the sister of Mr. Francis Stewart, one of his amanuenses when writing his Dictionary; — that I had, as desired by him, paid her a guinea for an old pocket-book of her brother's, which he had retained; — and that the good woman, who was in very moderate circumstances, but contented and placid, wondered at his scrupulous and liberal honesty, and received the guinea as if sent her by Providence⁵; — that I had repeatedly begged of him to keep his promise to send me his letter to Lord Ches-

¹ Dr. Edmond Law, master of St. Peter's College, Cambridge, Bishop of Carlisle, in which see he died in 1787. He was the father, and the archdeacon (afterwards Bishop of Ely) the brother of the first Lord Ellenborough. — CROKER.

² His regiment was afterwards ordered to Jamaica, where he accompanied it, and almost lost his life by the climate. This impartial order I should think a sufficient refutation of the idle rumour that "there was still something behind the throne greater than the throne itself." — BOSWELL. As if Lord Bute's influence could have prevented his son's regiment going to Jamaica! — but Lord Bute's influence with the King was a bugbear of faction, which lasted near twenty years, after — not merely his *power*, but — even his *name*, had ceased to exist. — CROKER, 1847.

³

— The mind
Is faulty that ne'er leaves itself behind.
Hor. Ep. i. 14. 13. — CROKER.

⁴ Requesting me to inquire concerning the family of a gentleman who was then paying his addresses to Miss Doxy. — BOSWELL.

⁵ This affair of Francis Stewart and the pocket-book, which Boswell quite mistook, was, I believe, mysteriously connected with some important detail of Johnson's former history. See Johnson's letter of the 27th Feb. 1784; and the General Appendix, where I have collected all the information I can find on the subject. — CROKER, 1847.

terfield; and that this *memento*, like *Delenda est Carthago*, must be in every letter that I should write to him, till I had obtained my object.

[JOHNSON TO MRS. THRALE.

(Extract.)

"London, Oct. 25. 1779.

"On Saturday I walked to Dover Street [Miss Reynolds's] and back. Yesterday I dined with Sir Joshua. There was Mr. Eliot¹ of Cornwall, who inquired after my master. At night I was bespoken by Lady Lucan; but she was taken ill, and the assembly was put off. I am to dine with Renny tomorrow. Some old gentlewomen at the next door are in very great distress. Their little annuity comes from Jamaica, and is therefore uncertain; and one of them has had a fall, and both are very helpless; and the poor have you to help them. Persuade my master to let me give them something for him. It will be bestowed upon real want."]

— *Letters*.

CHAPTER LXX.

1780.

"*Lives of the Poets*" creep on. — Dr. Lawrence. — *Loss of a Wife*. — *Death of Beauclerk*. — *Letter-writing*. — Mr. Melmoth. — Fitzosborne's *Letters*. — *Somerset-House Exhibition*. — *Riots in London*. — Lord George Gordon. — Mr. Akerman. — *Correspondence*. — Dr. Beattie. — *Davies's "Life of Garrick"*. — *Advice to a Young Clergyman*. — *Composition of Sermons*. — *Borough Election*. — Lady Southwell. — Mr. Alexander Macbean. — Lord Thurlow. — Langton's *Collectanea*. — Dr. Franklin's "*Demonax*."

IN 1780, the world was kept in impatience for the completion of his "*Lives of the Poets*," upon which he was employed so far as his indolence allowed him to labour.

I wrote to him on January 1. and March 13., sending him my notes of Lord Marchmont's information concerning Pope; — complaining that I had not heard from him for almost four months, though he was two letters in my debt; that I had suffered again from melancholy; — hoping that he had been in so much better company (the Poets), that he had not time to think of his distant friends; for if that were the case, I should have some recompence for my uneasiness; — that the state of my affairs did not admit of my coming to London this year; and begging he would return me Goldsmith's two poems, with his lines marked.

His friend Dr. Lawrence having now suffered the greatest affliction to which a man is liable, and which Johnson himself had felt in

the most severe manner, Johnson wrote to him in an admirable strain of sympathy and pious consolation.

JOHNSON TO LAWRENCE.

"Jan. 20. 1780.

"DEAR SIR, — At a time when all your friends ought to show their kindness, and with a character which ought to make all that know you your friends, you may wonder that you have yet heard nothing from me. I have been hindered by a vexatious and incessant cough, for which within these ten days I have been bled once, fasted four or five times, taken physic five times, and opiates, I think, six. This day it seems to remit.

"The loss, dear Sir, which you have lately suffered, I felt many years ago, and know therefore how much has been taken from you, and how little help can be had from consolation. He that outlives a wife whom he has long loved, sees himself disjoined from the only mind that has the same hopes, and fears, and interest; from the only companion with whom he has shared much good or evil; and with whom he could set his mind at liberty, to retrace the past or anticipate the future. The continuity of being is lacerated; the settled course of sentiment and action is stopped; and life stands suspended and motionless, till it is driven by external causes into a new channel. But the time of suspense is dreadful.

"Our first recourse in this distressed solitude is, perhaps for want of habitual piety, to a gloomy acquiescence in necessity. Of two mortal beings, one must lose the other. But surely there is a higher and better comfort to be drawn from the consideration of that Providence which watches over all, and a belief that the living and the dead are equally in the hands of God, who will reunite those whom he has separated, or who sees that it is best not to reunite. I am, dear Sir, &c.,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"April 8. 1780.

"DEAR SIR, — Well, I had resolved to send you the Chesterfield letter², but I will write once again without it. Never impose tasks upon mortals. To require two things is the way to have them both undone.

"For the difficulties which you mention in your affairs, I am sorry; but difficulty is now very general; it is not therefore less grievous, for there is less hope of help. I pretend not to give you advice, not knowing the state of your affairs; and general counsels about prudence and frugality would do you little good. You are, however, in the right not to increase your own perplexity by a journey hither; and I hope that by staying at home you will please your father.

"Poor dear Beauclerk — *neq, ut soles, dabis joca*. His wit and his folly, his acuteness and maliciousness, his merriment and reasoning, are now over. Such another will not often be found among mankind.³ He directed himself to be buried by the

¹ First Lord Elliot. See *post*, sub 30th March, 1781. — CROKER.

² See it *anté*, p. 85. — C.

³ In the spring of this year (11th March) Dr. Johnson society lost one of its brightest ornaments by the death of Mr. Beauclerk. The charms of conversation, like those

side of his mother; an instance of tenderness which I hardly expected. He has left his children to the care of Lady Di, and if she dies, of Mr. Langton, and of Mr. Leicester his relation, and a man of good character. His library has been offered to sale to the Russian ambassador.¹

"Dr. Percy, notwithstanding all the noise of the newspapers, has had no literary loss.² Clothes and moveables were burnt to the value of about one hundred pounds; but his papers, and I think his books, were all preserved.

"Poor Mr. Thrale has been in extreme danger from an apoplectic disorder, and recovered, beyond the expectation of his physicians: he is now at Bath, that his mind may be quiet, and Mrs. Thrale and Miss are with him.

"Having told you what has happened to your friends, let me say something to you of yourself. You are always complaining of melancholy, and I conclude from those complaints that you are fond of it. No man talks of that which he is desirous to conceal, and every man desires to conceal that of which he is ashamed. Do not pretend to deny it; *manifestum habemus furem*. Make it an invariable and obligatory law to yourself, never to mention your own mental diseases. If you are never to speak of them, you will think on them but little; and if you think little of them, they will molest you rarely. When you talk of them, it is plain that you want either praise or pity: for praise there is no room, and pity will do you no good; therefore, from this hour speak no more, think no more, about them.

"Your transaction with Mrs. Stewart³ gave me great satisfaction. I am much obliged to you for your attention. Do not lose sight of her. Your countenance may be of great credit, and of consequence of great advantage to her. The memory of her brother is yet fresh in my mind; he was an ingenious and worthy man. Please to make my compliments to your lady and to the young ladies. I should like to see them, pretty loves! I am, dear Sir, yours affectionately, SAM. JOHNSON."

acting, are transient; and of the social talents of Beauclerk, as of the dramatic powers of Garrick, little can remain but the general testimony of contemporaries to their excellence. Mr. Hardy, in his *Life of Lord Charlemont*, says of Beauclerk: "His conversation could scarcely be equalled. He possessed an exquisite taste, various accomplishments, and the most perfect good breeding. He was eccentric—often querulous—entertaining a contempt for the generality of the world, which the politeness of his manners could not always conceal; but to those whom he liked, most generous and friendly. Devoted at one moment to pleasure, and at another to literature, sometimes absorbed in play, and sometimes in books, he was, altogether, one of the most accomplished, and, when in good humour, and surrounded by those who suited his fancy, one of the most agreeable men that could possibly exist." *Life*, vol. i. p. 344. Mr. Hardy has also preserved several of Beauclerk's letters, from one of which I extract some passages that touch on Johnson and his society.

"Adelphi, 20th Nov. 1773.

"Goldsmith the other day put a paragraph into the newspapers in praise of Lord Mayor Townshend. The same night he happened to sit next to Lord Shelburne, at Drury-lane; mentioned the circumstance of the paragraph to him, and he said to Goldsmith that he hoped he had mentioned nothing about Malagrida in it. 'Do you know,' answered Goldsmith, 'that I never could conceive the reason why they all you Malagrida, for Malagrida was a very good sort of man.' You see plainly what he meant to say, but that airy turn of expression is peculiar to himself. Mr. Walpole says that this story is a picture of Goldsmith's whole life. (*Post*, 23 March, 1783.)

"Johnson has been confined for some weeks in the Isle of Ky; we hear that he was obliged to swim over to the main

[JOHNSON TO MRS. THRALE.

(Extract.)

"London, April 6. 1780.

"I have not quite neglected my *Lives*. Addison is a long one, but it is done. Prior is not short, and that is done too. I am upon Rowe, which cannot fill much paper. Seward (Mr. William) called on me one day and read Spence.⁴ I dined yesterday at Mr. Jodrell's in a great deal of company. On Sunday I dine with Dr. Lawrence, and at night go to Mrs. Vesey. I have had a little cold, or two, or three; but I did not much mind them, for they were not very bad."

— Letters.

JOHNSON TO MRS. PORTER.

"London, April 8. 1780.

"DEAR MADAM,— I am indeed but a sluggish correspondent, and know not whether I shall much mend: however, I will try. I am glad that your oysters proved good, for I would have every thing good that belongs to you; and would have your health good, that you may enjoy the rest. My health is better than it has been for some years past; and, if I see Lichfield again, I hope to walk about it.

"Your brother's request I have not forgotten. I have bought as many volumes as contain about an hundred and fifty sermons, which I will put in a box, and get Mr. Mathias to send him. I shall add a letter.

"We have been lately much alarmed at Mr. Thrale's. He has had a stroke, like that of an apoplexy; but he has at last got so well as to be at Bath, out of the way of trouble and business, and is likely to be in a short time quite well. I hope all the Lichfield ladies are quite well, and that every thing is prosperous among them.

"A few weeks ago I sent you a little stuff gown, such as is all the fashion at this time. Yours is the same with Mrs. Thrale's, and Miss bought it for us. These stuffs are very cheap, and are thought very pretty.

land, taking hold of a cow's tail. Be that as it may, Lady Di has promised to make a drawing of it.

"Our poor club is in a miserable state of decay; unless you come and relieve it, it will certainly expire. Would you imagine that Sir Joshua Reynolds is extremely anxious to be a member at Almack's? [p. 501.] You see what noble ambition will make a man attempt. That den is not yet opened. There is nothing new at present in the literary world. Mr. Jones [Sir William], of our club, is going to publish an account, in Latin, of the Eastern poetry, with extracts translated verbatim in verse. I fancy it will be a very pretty book.

Goldsmith has written a prologue for Mrs. Yates, which she spoke this evening before the Opera. It is very good. I hope you have fixed your time for returning to England. We cannot do without you. If you do not come here, I will bring all the Club over to Ireland, to live with you, and that will drive you here in your own defence. Johnson shall spoil your books, Goldsmith pull your flowers, and Boswell talk to you: stay, then, if you can. Adieu, my dear Lord, &c.

T. BEAUCLEERK."

Lady Di's pencil was much celebrated, and Horace Walpole built a room for the reception of some of her drawings, which he called the Beauclerk closet; but I have never seen any of her ladyship's works which seemed to me to merit, as works of art, such high reputation.— CROKER.

¹ His library was sold by public auction in April and May, 1781, for 5,011*l.* — MALONE.

² By a fire in Northumberland House, where he had an apartment, in which I have passed many an agreeable hour. — BOSWELL.

³ See *anté*, p. 641. n. 5., and the Appendix. — C.

⁴ Spence's very amusing Anecdotes, which had been lent Johnson in manuscript: they were not printed *in extenso*, till 1820. — CROKER.

"Pray give my compliments to Mr. Pearson, and to every body, if any such body there be, that cares about me.

"I am now engaged about the rest of the *Lives*, which I am afraid will take some time, though I purpose to use despatch; but something or other always hinders. I have a great number to do, but many of them will be short.

"I have lately had colds; the first was pretty bad, with a very troublesome and frequent cough; but by bleeding and physic it was sent away. I have a cold now, but not bad enough for bleeding.

"For some time past, and indeed ever since I left Lichfield last year, I have abated much of my diet, and am, I think, the better for abstinence. I can breathe and move with less difficulty; and I am as well as people of my age commonly are. I hope we shall see one another again some time this year. I am, dear love, your humble servant,
— Pearson MSS. "SAM. JOHNSON."]

Mrs. Thrale being now at Bath with her husband, the correspondence between Johnson and her was carried on briskly.

[JOHNSON TO MRS. THRALE.

(Extracts.)

"April 11. 1780.¹

"On Sunday I dined with poor Lawrence, who is deader than ever. When he was told that Dr. Moisy visited Mr. Thrale, he inquired for what, and said that there was nothing to be done which Nature would not do for herself. On Sunday evening I was at Mr. Vesey's, and there was inquiry about my master; but I told them all good. There was Dr. Barnard of Eton, and we made a noise all the evening; and there was Pepys², and Wraxall³ till I drove him away. * * * You are at all places of high resort, and bring home hearts by dozens; while I am seeking for something to say of men about whom I know nothing but their verses, and sometimes very little of them. Now I have begun, however, I do not despair of making an end. Mr. Nichols holds that Addison is the most *taking* of all that I have done. I doubt they will not be done before you come away.

"Now you think yourself the first writer in the world for a letter about nothing. Can you write

such a letter as this? so miscellaneous, with such noble disdain of regularity, like Shakspeare's works? such graceful negligence of transition, like the ancient enthusiasts? The pure voice of nature and of friendship. Now of whom shall I proceed to speak? Of whom but Mrs. Montagu? Having mentioned Shakspeare and Nature, does not the name of Montagu force itself upon me?⁴ Such were the transitions of the ancients, which now seem abrupt, because the intermediate idea is lost to modern understandings."

"April 15. — I thought to have finished Rowe's *Life* to-day, but have had five or six visitors who hindered me; and I have not been quite well. Next week I hope to despatch four or five of them."

"April 18. — You make verses, and they are read in public, and I know nothing about them. This very crime, I think, broke the link of amity between Richardson and Miss M[ulso]⁵, after a tenderness and confidence of many years."

"April 25. — How do you think I live? On Thursday [20th] I dined with Hamilton⁶, and went thence to Mrs. Ord.⁷ On Friday, with much company, at Mrs. Reynolds's. On Saturday at Dr. Bell's. On Sunday at Dr. Burney's, with your two sweets from Kensington, who are both well: at night came Mrs. Ord, Mr. Harris, and Mr. Greville, &c. On Monday with Reynolds; at night with Lady Lucan; to-day with Mr. Langton; to-morrow with the Bishop of St. Asaph; on Thursday with Mr. Bowles; Friday —; Saturday at the Academy⁸; Sunday with Mr. Ramsay. I told Lady Lucan how long it was since she sent to me; but she said I must consider how the world rolls about her.⁹ I not only scout the town from day to day, but many visitors come to me in the morning, so that my work makes no great progress, but I will try to quicken it."

— Letters.

I shall present my readers with one of her original letters to him at this time, which will amuse them probably more than those well written but studied epistles which she has inserted in her collection¹⁰, because it exhibits the easy vivacity of their literary intercourse. It is also of value as a key to Johnson's answer, which she has printed by itself, and of which shall subjoin extracts.

¹ Dated in Mrs. Thrale's volume, by mistake, 1779. — CROKER.

² Afterwards Sir William Weller Pepys, Baronet, father of Lord Chander at Cottenham; a Master in Chancery; a great friend of Mrs. Thrale's, and, what is more to his honour, of Hannah More. There never was much cordiality between him and Johnson, but their differences became wider from Pepys's resentment of Johnson's alleged depreciation of Lord Lyttelton. That, I think, was only a pretext: Johnson was a little jealous of Pepys's favour at Streatham, and Pepys, who was much admired by a circle of his own, would not submit to Johnson's dictatorship. — CROKER, 1847.

³ Nathaniel Wraxall, who published some volumes of travels and history, and latterly *Memoirs* of his own Life, flippant, and often inaccurate, but amusing; and when duly sifted, not without value as a gossiping contribution to the history of his times. For a passage in this work, in which, reflecting on Count Woronzow, he was (somewhat over-harshly, I think) convicted of a libel, and imprisoned in Newgate. He was born in 1751, and created a Baronet in 1813. — CROKER.

⁴ Compare this with two former phrases, in which Shakspeare and Mrs. Montagu are mentioned (*ante*, p. 204, 205., and wonder at the inconsistencies to which the greatest genius and the highest spirit may be reduced! Perhaps Johnson's original disposition to depreciate Mrs. Montagu may have arisen from his having heard that she thought

Rasselas an opiate (*Carters Letters*, iii. 108.). His late praise was no doubt produced by her charity to Mr. Williams. This, though it may explain, does not excuse the inconsistencies. — CROKER, 1831-47.

⁵ Hester Mulso, afterwards Mrs. Chapone, one of Richardson's female coterie. When about three and twenty, she had been one of the few contributors to the *Rambler* (*ante*, p. 6). She was born in 1727, married Mr. Chapone in 1760, & died in 1801. She was much connected with Mrs. Cart M. Montagu, and all the *Blues*. — CROKER, 1835.

⁶ Probably the Right Hon. W. G. Hamilton. — CROKER.
⁷ This lady (celebrated, like Mrs. Montagu and Mrs. Vesey, for her *blue stocking* coterie) was Miss Anne Dillingham, the only daughter of an eminent surgeon. She was married to Mr. Ord, of Northumberland, who left her a very large property. She died in May, 1808, at the age of eighty-two. — CROKER.

⁸ The annual dinner on opening the Exhibition. — CROKER.
⁹ About this time Johnson had a second interview with the King, not noticed either by Boswell or Mrs. Thrale. Hannah More says, that one evening at Mrs. Ord's, "John told me he had been with the King that morning, & enjoined him to add Spenser to his *Lives* of the Poets." *Mem. i. 175.* — CROKER, 1847.

¹⁰ This sneer is quite unjust — Mrs. Thrale's letters were certainly not studied; nor is the specimen produced at different in style from the others. — CROKER.

MRS. THRALE TO JOHNSON.

"Bath, Friday, April 28.

"I had a very kind letter from you yesterday, dear Sir, with a most circumstantial date.¹ You took trouble with my circulating letter, Mr. Evans writes me word, and I thank you sincerely for so doing; one might do mischief else, not being on the spot.

"Yesterday's evening was passed at Mrs. Montagu's. There was Mr. Melmoth.² I do not like him *though*, nor he me. It was expected we should have pleased each other; he is, however, just Tory enough to hate the Bishop of Peterborough³ for Whiggism, and Whig enough to abhor you for Toryism.

"Mrs. Montagu flattered him finely; so he had a good afternoon on't. This evening we spent at a concert. Poor Queeny's sore eyes have just released her; she had a long confinement, and could neither read nor write, so my master treated her, very good-naturedly, with the visits of a young woman in this town, a tailor's daughter, who professes music, and teaches so as to give six lessons a day to ladies, at five and threepence a lesson. Miss Burney⁴ says she is a great performer; and I respect the wench for getting her living so prettily. She is very modest and pretty-mannered, and not seventeen years old.

"You live in a fine whirl indeed. If I did not write regularly, you would half forget me, and that would be very wrong, for I *felt* my regard for you in my *face* last night, when the criticisms were going on.

"This morning it was all connoisseurship. We went to see some pictures painted by a gentleman-artist, Mr. Taylor, of this place. My master makes one every where, and has got a good dawdling companion to ride with him now * * * He looks well enough, but I have no notion of health for a man whose mouth cannot be sewed up. Burney and I and Queeny tease him every meal he eats, and Mrs. Montagu is quite serious with him; but what *can* one do? He will eat, I think; and if he does eat, I know he will not live. It makes me very unhappy, but I must bear it. Let me always have your friendship. I am, most sincerely, dear Sir, your faithful servant,

"H. L. T."

JOHNSON TO MRS. THRALE.

(Extracts.)

"London, May 1. 1780.

"DEAREST MADAM, — Mr. Thrale never will live abstintently, till he can persuade himself to live

by rule * * *.⁵ Encourage, as you can, the musical girl.

"Nothing is more common than mutual dislike, where mutual approbation is particularly expected. There is often on both sides a vigilance not over-benevolent; and as attention is strongly excited, so that nothing drops unheeded, any difference in taste or opinion, and some difference where there is no restraint will commonly appear, immediately generates dislike.

"Never let criticisms operate on your face or your mind; it is very rarely that an author is hurt by his critics. The blaze of reputation cannot be blown out, but it often dies in the socket. A very few names may be considered as perpetual lamps that shine unconsumed. From the author of 'Fitzosborne's Letters' I cannot think myself in much danger. I met him only once about thirty years ago, and in some small dispute reduced him to whistle. Having not seen him since, that is the last impression. Poor Moore, the fabulist, was one of the company.

"Mrs. Montagu's long stay, against her own inclination, is very convenient. You would, by your own confession, want a companion; and she is *par pluribus*. Conversing with her you may find variety in one.⁶

"[At Mrs. Ord's I met one Mrs. [Buller]⁷, a travelled lady, of great spirit, and some consciousness of her own abilities. We had a contest of gallantry an hour long, so much to the diversion of the company, that, at Ramsay's, last night, in a crowded room, they would have pitted us again. There were Smelt⁸ and the Bishop of St. Asaph, who comes to every place; and Lord Monboddo, and Sir Joshua, and ladies out of tale.

"The Exhibition, — how will you do, either to see or not to see! The exhibition is eminently splendid. There is *contour*, and *keeping*, and *grace*, and *expression*, and all the varieties of artificial excellence. The apartments were truly very noble. The pictures, for the sake of a skylight, are at the top of the house; there we dined, and I sat over against the Archbishop of York."

"May 7. 1780. — I dined on Wednesday with Mr. Fitzmaurice⁹; who almost made me promise to pass part of the summer at Llewenny. Tomorrow I dine with Mrs. Southwell [p. 246.]; and on Thursday with Lord Lucan. To-night I go to Miss Monkton's.¹⁰ Then I scramble, when you do not quite shut me up: but I am miserably under petticoat government, and yet am not very weary, nor much ashamed."

"May 8. 1780. — I dine on Thursday at Lord Lucan's, and on Saturday at Lady Craven's; and I dined yesterday with Mrs. Southwell. As to my

¹ This alludes to Johnson's frequent advice to her and Miss Thrale to *date* their letters; a laudable habit, which, however, he himself did not always practise. — CROKER.

² William Melmoth, the author of Fitzosborne's Letters, and the translator of the Letters of Pliny and Cleero, and some of the minor works of the latter. He died in 1799, ætat. 89. — CROKER.

³ Dr. John Hinchliffe. — BOSWELL.

⁴ Fanny, afterwards Madam D'Arblay. — CROKER, 1847.

⁵ I have taken the liberty to leave out a few lines. — BOSWELL.

⁶ Line of a song in the *Spectator*, No. 470. — CROKER.

⁷ Mary, daughter, and, at length, co-heiress of Mr. Hipplesey Cox, of Somersetshire, and wife of James Buller, Esq., of Downes, near Exeter, of whom Mrs. D'Arblay writes, "Mrs. Buller is tall and elegant in her person, genteel

and ugly in her face, and abrupt and singular in her manners. She is very clever, sprightly, witty, and much in vogue — a Greek scholar and a celebrated traveller — having had the maternal heroism to accompany her son on the Grand Tour." — *Memoirs of Burney*, vol. ii. p. 291. — CROKER, 1835-47.

⁸ Leonard Smelt, Esq., sub-governor to the sons of George III. He was much in the *blue stocking* circle of the day; he died in 1800, at an advanced age. — CROKER.

⁹ The Hon. Thomas Fitzmaurice, only brother to Lord Shelburn, through whom, perhaps, may have come Johnson's acquaintance with his Lordship, (*ante*, p. 584, n. 5.) though I incline to believe that it was of an earlier date. Mr. Fitzmaurice had bought the Llewenny estate from Mrs. Thrale's uncle. — CROKER, 1847.

¹⁰ The Hon. Mary Monkton, daughter of the first Viscount Galway, born April 1746; married in 1786 to Edmund, seventh

looks at the Academy, I was not told of them; and as I remember, I was very well, and am well enough now."

"May 9. 1780. — My Lives creep on. I have done Addison, Prior, Rowe, Granville, Sheffield, Collins, Pitt, and almost Fenton. I design to take Congreve next into my hand. I hope to have done before you can come home; and then whither shall I go? — Did I tell you that Scott and Jones¹ both offer themselves to represent the University in the place of Sir Roger Newdigate? They are struggling hard for what others think neither of them will obtain.]

—Letters.

On the 2d of May I wrote to him, and requested that we might have another meeting somewhere in the north of England in the autumn of this year.

From Mr. Langton I received soon after this time a letter, of which I extract a passage, relative both to Mr. Beauclerk and Dr. Johnson.

LANGTON TO BOSWELL.

"The melancholy information you have received concerning Mr. Beauclerk's death is true. Had his talents been directed in any sufficient degree as they ought, I have always been strongly of opinion that they were calculated to make an illustrious figure; and that opinion, as it had been in part formed upon Dr. Johnson's judgment, receives more and more confirmation by hearing what, since his death, Dr. Johnson has said concerning them. A few evenings ago he was at Mr. Vesey's, where Lord Althorpe², who was one of a numerous company there, addressed Dr. Johnson on the subject of Mr. Beauclerk's death, saying, 'Our Club has had a great loss since we met last.' He replied, 'A loss that perhaps the whole nation could not repair!' The doctor then went on to speak of his endow-

ments, and particularly extolled the wonderful ease with which he uttered what was highly excellent. He said, 'that no man ever was so free, when he was going to say a good thing, from a look that expressed that it was coming; or, when he had said it, from a look that expressed that it had come.' At Mr. Thrale's, some days before, when we were talking on the same subject, he said, referring to the same idea of his wonderful facility, 'that Beauclerk's talents were those which he had felt himself more disposed to envy, than those of any whom he had known.'

"On the evening I have spoken of above, at Mr. Vesey's, you would have been much gratified, as it exhibited an instance of the high importance in which Dr. Johnson's character is held, I think even beyond any I ever before was witness to. The company consisted chiefly of ladies; among whom were the Duchess Dowager of Portland³, the Duchess of Beaufort, whom, I suppose, from her rank, I must name before her mother, Mrs. Boscawen⁴, and her eldest sister, Mrs. Lewson, who was likewise there; Lady Lucan⁵, Lady Clermont⁶, and others of note both for their station and understandings. Among other gentlemen were Lord Althorpe, whom I have before named, Lord Macartney, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Lord Lucan, Mr. Wrexall, whose book you have probably seen, the 'Tour to the Northern Parts of Europe,' a very agreeable, ingenious man, Dr. Warren, Mr. Pepys, the master in chancery, whom, I believe, you know, and Dr. Barnard, the provost of Eton.⁷ As soon as Dr. Johnson was come in, and had taken the chair, the company began to collect round him till they became not less than four, if not five deep; those behind standing, and listening over the heads of those that were sitting near him. The conversation for some time was chiefly between Dr. Johnson and the provost of Eton⁸, while the others contributed occasionally their remarks. Without attempting to detail the particulars of the

Earl of Cork and Orrery. Lodge's Irish Peerage dates her birth 1737, but this is a mistake for an elder sister of the same name. Now in her eighty-ninth year, Lady Corke still entertains and enjoys society with extraordinary health, spirits, and vivacity, and Boswell's description of her *fifty-four years ago*, as "the lively Miss Monkton, who used always to have the finest bit of blue at her parties" (*post*, May 8. 1780), is characteristic to this day. — CROKER, 1835.

In July, 1836, in allusion to the mistake in the Irish peerage, she wrote me the following lively note: —

"New Burlington Street, July 22. [1836.]

"I would rather I was a *hundred* — because you and many other agreeable people would come to me as a wonder. The fact is, I am only verging on *ninety*. I wish the business of the nation may not prevent your giving me the pleasure of your company to dinner on Wednesday, the 3d, at a quarter before eight. It is in vain, I suppose, to expect you at my tea-drinking on Friday, the 5th, or in the evening of the 3d, in the event of your not being able to dine with me on that day."

M. CORK AND ORRERY."

I have suppressed a word or two of compliment, which — with the forgetting that I was both out of office and parliament, and had therefore no share in "the business of the nation" — are the only marks of anility in this note written on the verge of 91; — for I found by the register of St. James's parish that she had understated her age by one year. She died on the 30th of May, 1840. — CROKER, 1847.

¹ Lord Stowell and Sir William Jones. On this occasion Sir W. Dolben was chosen, but Lord Stowell was elected for the University of Oxford in 1801, and represented it till his promotion to the peerage in 1821. — CROKER.

² John George, second Earl Spencer, who has been so kind as to answer some of my inquiries relative to the *society*, of

which he and Lord Stowell are now almost the only survivors. — CROKER. He died November 10. 1834 — the possessor of one of the choicest private libraries in the world. — CROKER, 1835.

³ Lady Margaret Cavendish Harley, only child of the second Earl of Oxford and Mortimer; married in 1734 to the second Duke of Portland. She was the heiress of three great families: herself of the Harleys; her mother (the Lady Harriet of Prior) was the heiress of John Holles, Duke of Newcastle; and her mother again, the heiress of Henry Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle. "The Duchess of Portland inherited," says the Peerage, "the spirit of her ancestors in her patronage of literature and the arts." Her birth was congratulated by Swift, and her childhood celebrated by Prior in the well-known nursery laces beginning

"My noble, lovely, little Peggy."

And she it was to whom Young addressed the ridiculous flattery of calling the Moon "*the Portland of the skies*." This excellent lady died in 1785. — CROKER.

⁴ Mrs. Boscawen and her daughters, Mrs. Leveson (pronounced *Lewson*) Gower and the Duchess of Beaufort, are celebrated in Miss Hannah More's poem entitled *Sensibility*.

"All Leveson's sweetness and all Beaufort's grace." CROKER, 1835.

⁵ Margaret Smith; married in 1760 the first Lord Lucan. — A lady of taste and talents. — CROKER.

⁶ Frances Murray; married in 1752 to the first Lord Clermont. — CROKER.

⁷ See *anté*, p. 644., Johnson's own account of this evening. The gentle and good-natured Langton does not hint at his having *dinner away* "the very agreeable and ingenious Mr. Wrexall." — CROKER.

⁸ Dr. Barnard's colloquial powers were highly celebrated. See Nichols's *Lit. Anecdotes*, viii. 549. — CROKER.

conversation, which, perhaps, if I did, I should spin my account out to a tedious length, I thought, my dear Sir, this general account of the respect with which our valued friend was attended to might be acceptable."

[JOHNSON TO THOMAS WARTON.]

"Bolt Court, Fleet Street, May 9. 1780.

"SIR, — I have your pardon to ask for an involuntary fault. In a parcel sent from Mr. Boswell I found the enclosed letter, which, without looking on the direction, I broke open; but, finding I did not understand it, soon saw it belonged to you. I am sorry for this appearance of a fault, but believe me it is only the appearance. I did not read enough of the letter to know its purport. I am, Sir, your most humble servant,
— MS. "SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO JOSEPH WARTON.

"May 23. 1780.

"DEAR SIR, — It is unnecessary to tell you how much I was obliged by your useful memorials. The shares of Fenton and Broome in the *Odyssey* I had before from Mr. Spence. Dr. Warburton did not know them. I wish to be told, as the question is of great importance in the poetical world, whence you had your intelligence; if from Spence, it shows at least his consistency; if from any other, it confers corroboration. If any thing useful to me should occur, I depend upon your friendship. Be pleased to make my compliments to the ladies of your house, and to the gentlemen that honoured me with the Greek Epigrams, when I had, what I hope sometime to have again, the pleasure of spending a little time with you at Winchester. I am, dear Sir, your most obliged and most humble servant,
— MS. SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO MRS. THRALE.

(Extracts.)

"May 23. 1780.

"But [Mrs. Montagu] and you have had, with all your adulation, nothing finer said of you than was said last Saturday night of Burke and me. We were at the Bishop of [St. Asaph's²], (a bishop little better than your bishop [Hinchliffe]), and towards twelve we fell into talk, to which the ladies listened, just as they do to you; and said, as I heard, '*There is no rising unless somebody will cry Fire!*' I was last night at Miss Monkton's; and there were Lady Craven and Lady Cranburne, and

many ladies and few men. Next Saturday I am to be at Mr. Pepys's, and in the intermediate time am to provide for myself as I can."

"May 25. — *Congreve*, whom I despatched at the Borough while I was attending the election, is one of the best of the little *Lives*; but then I had your conversation."³

— *Letters*.

JOHNSON TO DR. FARMER.

"May 25. 1780.

"SIR, — I know your disposition to second any literary attempt, and therefore venture upon the liberty of intreating you to procure from college or university registers all the dates or other informations which they can supply relating to Ambrose Philips, Broome, and Gray, who were all of Cambridge, and of whose lives I am to give such accounts as I can gather. Be pleased to forgive this trouble from, Sir, your most humble servant,
"SAM. JOHNSON."

While Johnson was thus engaged in preparing a delightful literary entertainment for the world, the tranquillity of the metropolis of Great Britain was unexpectedly disturbed by the most horrid series of outrage that ever disgraced a civilised country. A relaxation of some of the severe penal provisions against our fellow-subjects of the Catholic communion had been granted by the legislature, with an opposition so inconsiderable, that the genuine mildness of Christianity, united with liberal policy, seemed to have become general in this island. But a dark and malignant spirit of persecution soon showed itself, in an unworthy petition for the repeal of the wise and humane statute. That petition was brought forward by a mob, with the evident purpose of intimidation, and was justly rejected. But the attempt was accompanied and followed by such daring violence as is unexampled in history. Of this extraordinary tumult, Dr. Johnson has given the following concise, lively, and just account in his "*Letters to Mrs. Thrale*"⁴ : —

"June 9. 1780. — On Friday, the good protestants met in Saint George's Fields at the summons of Lord George Gordon; and marching to Westminster, insulted the lords and commons, who all bore it with great tameness. At night the outrages began by the demolition of the mass-house [in Duke Street] by Lincoln's Inn.

"An exact journal of a week's defiance of go-

¹ The formal style of this letter, compared with that of his former correspondence with Thomas Warton, plainly proves that a coolness or misunderstanding had taken place between them. In Dr. Wool's *Memoirs of Joseph Warton* we find that the coolness extended to him also: "The disagreement which took place after a long and warm friendship between Johnson and [Joseph] Warton is much to be lamented: it occurred at the house of Sir Joshua Reynolds, as I am told by one of the company, who only overheard the following conclusion of the dispute: JOHNSON. 'Sir, I am not used to be contradicted.' WARTON. 'Better for yourself and friends, Sir, if you were: your admiration could not be increased, but our love might.' The party interfered, and the conversation was stopped."

The style, however, of the next letter, written so late in Dr. Johnson's life, leads us to hope that the difference recorded by Dr. Wool was transient. — CROKER.

² Shipley, Bishop of St. Asaph's; of whose too constant appearance in general society Dr. Johnson disapproved. The other bishop was Hinchliffe of Peterborough, of whom Mrs. Thrale had told, in her letters from Bath, some amiable and innocent, but not altogether episcopal condescensions to the manners of the place, and who, if he was whig enough to displease Mr. Melmoth, (*ante*, p. 645.) would find little favour in Johnson's eyes. — CROKER, 1831-47.

³ Boswell is fond of censuring Mrs. Thrale's adulation of Johnson, but the reader will observe here, and in many other instances, that she was only paying him back his own coin. — CROKER, 1847.

⁴ Vol. II. p. 143. *et seq.* I have selected passages from several letters, without mentioning dates. — BOSWELL. I have restored the dates, and a remarkable omission. — CROKER.

vernment I cannot give you. On Monday Mr. Strahan, who had been insulted, spoke to Lord Mansfield, who had I think been insulted too, of the licentiousness of the populace; and his lordship treated it as a very slight irregularity. On Tuesday night they pulled down Fielding's house [in Bow Street] and burnt his goods in the street. They had gutted on Monday Sir George Savile's house [in Leicester Square], but the building was saved. On Tuesday evening, leaving Fielding's ruins, they went to Newgate to demand their companions, who had been seized demolishing the chapel. The keeper could not release them but by the mayor's permission, which he went to ask; at his return he found all the prisoners released, and Newgate in a blaze. They then went to Bloomsbury [Square], and fastened upon Lord Mansfield's house, which they pulled down; and as for his goods, they totally burnt them. They have since gone to Caenwood, but a guard was there before them. They plundered some papists, I think, and burnt a mass-house, in Moorfields, the same night.

"On Wednesday I walked with Dr. Scott, to look at Newgate, and found it in ruins, with the fire yet glowing. As I went by the protestants were plundering the sessions-house at the Old Bailey. There were not, I believe, a hundred; but they did their work at leisure, in full security, without sentinels, without trepidation, as men lawfully employed in full day. Such is the cowardice of a commercial place. On Wednesday they broke open the Fleet, and the King's Bench, and the Marshalsea, and Wood-street Compter, and Clerkenwell Bridewell, and released all the prisoners.

"At night they set fire to the Fleet, and to the King's Bench, and I know not how many other places; and one might see the glare of conflagration fill the sky from many parts. The sight was dreadful. Some people were threatened: Mr. Strahan advised me to take care of myself. Such a time of terror you have been happy in not seeing.

"The king said in council, 'that the magistrates had not done their duty, but that he would do his own; and a proclamation was published, directing us to keep our servants within doors, as the peace was now to be preserved by force. The soldiers were sent out to different parts, and the town is now at quiet.

"What has happened at your house you will know; the harm is only a few butts of beer; and, I think, you may be sure that the danger is over. There is a body of soldiers at St. Margaret's Hill."¹

"June 10. — The soldiers are stationed so as to be every where within call. There is no longer any body of rioters, and the individuals are hunted to their holes, and led to prison. Lord George was last night sent to the Tower. Mr. John Wilkes was this day in my neighbourhood, to seize the publisher of a seditious paper.

"Several chapels have been destroyed, and

several inoffensive papists have been plundered; but the high sport was to burn the gaols. This was a good rabble trick. The debtors and the criminals were all set at liberty; but of the criminals, as has always happened, many are already retaken; and two pirates have surrendered themselves, and it is expected that they will be pardoned.

"Government now acts again with its proper force; and we are all under the protection of the king and the law. I thought that it would be agreeable to you and my master to have my testimony to the public security; and that you would sleep more quietly when I told you that you are safe."

"June 12. — The public has escaped a very heavy calamity. The rioters attempted the Bank on Wednesday night, but in no great number; and, like other thieves, with no great resolution. Jack Wilkes headed the party that drove them away. It is agreed, that if they had seized the Bank on Tuesday, at the height of the panic, when no resistance had been prepared, they might have carried irrecoverably away whatever they had found. Jack, who was always zealous for order and decency, declares, that if he be trusted with power, he will not leave a rioter alive. There is, however, now no longer any need of heroism or bloodshed; no blue riband² is any longer worn.

"All danger here is apparently over: but a little agitation still continues. We frighten one another with 70,000 Scots³, to come hither with the Dukes of Gordon and Argyll, and eat us, and hang us, or drown us; but we are all at quiet."

"June 14. — There has, indeed, been an universal panic, from which the king was the first that recovered. Without the concurrence of his ministers, or the assistance of the civil magistrates, he put the soldiers in motion, and saved the town from calamities, such as a rabble's government must naturally produce."

Such was the end of this miserable sedition, from which London was delivered by the magnanimity of the sovereign himself. Whatever some may maintain, I am satisfied that there was no combination or plan, either domestic or foreign; but that the mischief spread by a gradual contagion of frenzy, augmented by the quantities of fermented liquors of which the deluded populace possessed themselves in the course of their depredations.

I should think myself very much to blame, did I here neglect to do justice to my esteemed friend⁴ Mr. Akerman, the keeper of Newgate, who long discharged a very important trust with an uniform intrepid firmness, and at the same time a tenderness and a liberal charity which entitled him to be recorded with distinguished honour.

Upon this occasion, from the timidity and

¹ In the Borough. — CROKER, 1847.

² Lord George Gordon and his followers, during these outrages, wore blue ribands in their hats. — MALONE.

³ Mr. Boswell seems not to have relished this allusion to a Scottish invasion, and, instead of laughing, as Johnson appears to have done, at this absurd rumour, chose to omit the passage altogether. — CROKER.

⁴ Why Mr. Boswell should call the keeper of Newgate his "esteemed friend" has puzzled many readers; but besides his natural desire to make the acquaintance of every body who was eminent or remarkable, or even notorious, his strange propensity for witnessing executions probably brought him into more immediate intercourse with the keeper of Newgate. — CROKER.

negligence of magistracy on the one hand, and the almost incredible exertions of the mob on the other, the first prison of this great country was laid open, and the prisoners set free; but that Mr. Akerman, whose house was burnt, would have prevented all this, had proper aid been sent him in due time, there can be no doubt.

Many years ago, a fire broke out in the brick part which was built as an addition to the old gaol of Newgate. The prisoners were in consternation and tumult, calling out, "We shall be burnt, we shall be burnt! Down with the gate! — down with the gate!" Mr. Akerman hastened to them, showed himself at the gate, and having, after some confused vociferation of "Hear him! Hear him!" obtained a silent attention, he then calmly told them, that the gate must not go down; that they were under his care, and that they should not be permitted to escape; but that he could assure them they need not be afraid of being burnt, for that the fire was not in the prison, properly so called, which was strongly built with stone; and that if they would engage to be quiet, he himself would come in to them, and conduct them to the further end of the building, and would not go out till they gave him leave. To this proposal they agreed; upon which Mr. Akerman, having first made them fall back from the gate, went in, and with a determined resolution ordered the outer turnkey upon no account to open the gate, even though the prisoners (though he trusted they would not) should break their word, and by force bring himself to order it. "Never mind me," said he, "should that happen." The prisoners peaceably followed him, while he conducted them through passages of which he had the keys to the extremity of the gaol, which was most distant from the fire. Having by this very judicious conduct fully satisfied them that there was no immediate risk, if any at all, he then addressed them thus: "Gentlemen, you are now convinced that I told you true. I have no doubt that the engines will soon extinguish this fire: if they should not, a sufficient guard will come, and you shall be all taken out and lodged in the compters. I assure you, upon my word and honour, that I have not a farthing insured. I have left my house that I might take care of you. I will keep my promise, and stay with you if you insist upon it; but if you will allow me to go out and look after my family and property, I shall be obliged to you." Struck with his behaviour, they called out, "Master Akerman, you have done bravely; it was very kind in you: by all means go and take care of your own concerns." He did so accordingly, while they remained, and were all preserved.

Johnson has been heard to relate the substance of this story with high praise, in which he was joined by Mr. Burke. My illustrious friend, speaking of Mr. Akerman's kindness to his prisoners, pronounced this eulogy upon his

character:—"He who has long had constantly in his view the worst of mankind, and is yet eminent for the humanity of his disposition, must have had it originally in a great degree, and continued to cultivate it very carefully."

[JOHNSON TO MRS. THRALE.

(Extracts.)

"June 15. 1780. — I was last week at *Renny's* conversation, and *Renny* got her room pretty well filled; and there were Mrs. Ord, and Mrs. Horneek, and Mrs. Bunhury, [p. 140. n. 7.] and other illustrious names, and much would poor *Renny* have given to have had Mrs. Thrale too, and Queeny, and [Fanny] Burney; but human happiness is never perfect; there is always *une vuide affreuse*, as Maintenon complained, — some craving void left aching in the breast. *Renny* is going to Rams-gate; and thus the world drops away, and I am left in the sultry town, to see the sun in the *Crab*, and perhaps in the *Lion*, while you are paddling with the *Nereids*."

"July 4. — I have not seen or done much since I had the misfortune of seeing you go away. I was one night at Burney's. There were Pepys, and Mrs. Ord, and Paradise, and Hoole, and Dr. Dunbar of Aberdeen, and I know not how many more; and Pepys and I had all the talk."

— *Letters*

JOHNSON TO MISS REYNOLDS.

"Bolt Court, June 16. 1780.

"DEAR MADAM, — I answer your letter as soon as I can, for I have just received it. I am very willing to wait on you at all times, and will sit for the picture, and, if it be necessary, will sit again, for whenever I sit I shall be always with you.

"Do not, my love, burn your papers. I have mended little but some bad rhymes.¹ I thought them very pretty, and was much moved in reading them. The red ink is only lake and gum, and with a moist sponge will be washed off.

"I have been out of order, but, by bleeding and other means, am now better. Let me know on which day I shall come to you. I am, &c.,

— *Reyn. MSS.*

"SAM. JOHNSON.

JOHNSON TO MRS. THRALE.

(Extracts.)

"London, July 10. 1780. — I stay at home to work, and yet do not work diligently; nor can tell when I shall have done, nor perhaps does any body but myself wish me to have done; for what can they hope I shall do better? Yet I wish the work was over, and I was at liberty. Would I go to Mrs. Aston and Mrs. Porter, and see the old places, and sigh to find that my old friends are gone? Would I recal plans of life which I never brought into practice, and hopes of excellence which I once presumed, and never have attained? Would I compare what I now am, with what I once expected to have been? Is it reasonable to wish for suggestions of shame, and opportunities of sorrow?"

¹ Of a poem now (by the favour of Mr. Palmer) before me. Johnson read it attentively, and made numerous corrections; but after all it is not worth much. — CROKER.

"July 27. — I dined yesterday at Sir Joshua's with Mrs. Cholmondeley, and she told me I was the best critic in the world, and I told her that nobody in the world could judge like her of the merit of a critic. On Sunday I was with Dr. Lawrence and his two sisters-in-law, to dine with Mr. G —, at Putney. The doctor cannot hear in a coach better than in a room, and it was but a dull day."

"August 1. — I sent to Lord Westcote¹ about his brother's Life; but he says he knows not whom to employ, and is sure I shall do him no injury. There is an ingenious scheme to save a day's work, or part of a day, utterly defeated. Then what avails it to be wise? The plain and the artful man must both do their own work. But I think I have got a Life of Dr. Young."²

— Letters.

JOHNSON TO LORD WESTCOTE.

"Bolt Court, Fleet Street, July 27. 1780.

MY LORD, — The course of my undertaking will now require a short life of your brother, Lord Lyttelton. My desire is to avoid offence, and to be totally out of danger. I take the liberty of proposing to your lordship, that the historical account should be written under your direction by any friend you may be willing to employ, and I will only take upon myself to examine the poetry. Four pages like those of his work, or even half so much, will be sufficient. As the press is going on, it will be fit that I should know what you shall be pleased to determine. I am, my Lord, your lordship's most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO LORD WESTCOTE.

"Bolt Court, Fleet Street, July 28. 1780.

MY LORD, — I wish it had been convenient to have had that done which I proposed. I shall certainly not wantonly nor willingly offend; but when there are such near relations living, I had rather they would please themselves. For the life of Lord Lyttelton I shall need no help — it was very public, and I have no need to be minute. But I return your lordship thanks for your readiness to help me. I have another life in hand, that of Mr. West³, about which I am quite at a loss; any information respecting him would be of great use to, my Lord, your lordship's most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON,"]

In the course of this month my brother

David⁴ waited upon Dr. Johnson, with the following letter of introduction, which I had taken care should be lying ready on his arrival in London.

BOSWELL TO JOHNSON.

"Edinburgh, April 29. 1780.

"MY DEAR SIR, — This will be delivered to you by my brother David on his return from Spain. You will be glad to see the man who vowed to 'stand by the old castle of Auchinleck with heart, purse, and sword;' that romantic family solemnity devised by me, of which you and I talked with complacency upon the spot. I trust that twelve years of absence have not lessened his feudal attachment, and that you will find him worthy of being introduced to your acquaintance. I have the honour to be, with affectionate veneration, my dear Sir, your most faithful humble servant,

"JAMES BOSWELL."

Johnson received him very politely, and has thus mentioned him in a letter to Mrs. Thrale⁵ : —

"I have had with me a-brother of Boswell's, a Spanish merchant, whom the war has driven from his residence at Valencia. He is gone to see his friends, and will find Scotland but a sorry place after twelve years' residence in a happier climate. He is a very agreeable man, and speaks no Scotch."⁶

JOHNSON TO MRS. THRALE.

(Extract.)

"Aug. 14. 1780.

"I hope you have no design of stealing away to Italy before the election, nor of leaving me behind you; though I am not only *seventy* but *seventy-one*. Could not you let me lose a year in round numbers? Sweetly, sweetly, sings Dr. Swift, —

'Some dire misfortune to portend,
No enemy can match a friend.'

But what if I am *seventy-two*? I remember Sulpitius⁷ says of Saint Martin — (now that's above your reading) — *Est animus victor annorum, et senectuti cedere nescius*. Match me that among your own folks. If you try to plague me, I shall tell you that, according to Galen, life begins to decline from *thirty-five*.⁸]

¹ Brother to the first Lord Lyttelton, by which latter title he was afterwards himself created an English peer. See *anté*, p. 224. n. 7. I have added to the text his letters to Lord Westcote. — CROKER.

² From Mr. (afterwards Sir) Herbert Croft; a very moderate production. He died at Paris, after a fifteen years' residence in that city, April 27. 1816. — CROKER.

³ Gilbert West was Lord Westcote's first cousin. — CROKER, 1847.

⁴ Now settled in London. — BOSWELL. As inspector of seamen's wills in the Navy Pay Office; from which situation he retired in 1823, and died in 1826. — CROKER.

⁵ Mrs. Piozzi has omitted the name, *she best knows why*. — BOSWELL. From delicacy, perhaps, fearing that Mr. Boswell might not like to see his name coupled with the description of Scotland, as a *sorry place*. — CROKER.

⁶ Dr. Johnson had, for the last year, felt some alleviation of a troublesome disease which had long affected him; this relief he thus gratefully and devoutly acknowledged: —

"Sunday, June 18. — In the morning of this day last year, I perceived the remission of those convulsions in my breast which had distressed me for more than twenty years. I returned thanks at church for the mercy granted me, which has now continued a year." *Pr. and Mcd.* p. 180. — CROKER.

⁷ "The soul triumphs over years, and disdains to yield to age." Sulpitius Severus, a French ecclesiastical writer, born A. D. 350. His history of his contemporary and friend, St. Martin of Tours, is a sad record of superstition and imposture, "written in a style not unworthy the Augustan age. So natural," Gibbon adds, "is the alliance between good taste and good sense, that I am always astonished by this contrast." *Hist.* v. 38. — CROKER, 1847.

⁸ Mrs. Piozzi at her last birth-day must have been forty, so that Johnson must have alluded to the sprightly verses in which he had celebrated Mrs. Thrale at *thirty-five* (see *anté*, p. 170. n. 3 and p. 471. n. 3.); but since those notes were written, I have found evidence under her own hand that my suspicion was just, and that she was born in 1740, *new style*. — CROKER.

JOHNSON TO BEATTIE,

At Aberdeen.

" Bolt Court, Fleet Street, Aug. 21. 1780.

" SIR, — More years¹ than I have any delight to reckon have past since you and I saw one another: of this, however, there is no reason for making any reprehensory complaint: — *Sic fata ferunt*. But methinks there might pass some small interchange of regard between us. If you say that I ought to have written, I now write: and I write to tell you, that I have much kindness for you and Mrs. Beattie; and that I wish your health better, and your life long. Try change of air, and come a few degrees southwards. A softer climate may do you both good. Winter is coming in; and London will be warmer, and gayer, and busier, and more fertile of amusement than Aberdeen.

" My health is better; but that will be little in the balance when I tell you that Mrs. Montagu has been very ill, and is, I doubt, now but weakly. Mr. Thrale has been very dangerously disordered; but is much better, and I hope will totally recover. He has withdrawn himself from business the whole summer. Sir Joshua and his sister are well; and Mr. Davies has got great success as an author², generated by the corruption of a bookseller.³ More news I have not to tell you, and therefore you must be contented with hearing, what I know not whether you much wish to hear⁴, that I am, Sir, &c.,

SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

" London, Aug. 21. 1780.

" DEAR SIR, — I find you have taken one of your fits of taciturnity, and have resolved not to write till you are written to: it is but a peevish humour, but you shall have your way.

" I have sat at home in Bolt Court all the summer, thinking to write the *Lives*, and a great part of the time only thinking. Several of them, however, are done, and I still think to do the rest.

" Mr. Thrale and his family have, since his illness, passed their time first at Bath, and then at Brighthelmstone; but I have been at neither place. I would have gone to Lichfield if I could have had time, and I might have had time if I had been active; but I have missed much, and done little.

¹ I had been five years absent from London. — BEATTIE.

² Meaning his entertaining "Memoirs of David Garrick, Esq.," of which Johnson (as Davies informed me) wrote the first sentence; thus giving, as it were, the key-note to the performance. It is, indeed, very characteristic of its author; beginning with a maxim, and proceeding to illustrate. "All excellence has a right to be recorded. I shall, therefore, think it superfluous to apologise for writing the life of a man, who, by an uncommon assemblage of private virtues, adorned the highest eminence in a public profession." — BOSWELL.

³ This means that Davies, from his adversity as a bookseller, had burst into new and gaudier life as an author. — CROKER. The expression alludes to the dogma of the physiologists, "Corruptio unius est generatio alterius." Dryden makes use of it ["The corruption of a poet is the generation of a critic." — *Ded. of 3d Misc.* and "The corruption of a poet is the generation of a statesman." — *Def. of Ess. on D. P.*]; and in Congreve's Remarks on Collier, I find, "The corruption of a rotten divine is the generation of a sour critic." But the allusion is to be found still earlier in the first of Quevedo's Visions. "The corruption of mankind is the generation of a catchpole." — *Fonnerceau*. — WRIGHT.

⁴ I wish he had omitted the suspicion expressed here,

"In the late disturbances, Mr. Thrale's house and stock were in great danger. The mob was pacified at their first invasion with about fifty pounds in drink and meat; and at their second, were driven away by the soldiers. Mr. Strahan got a garrison into his house, and maintained them a fortnight: he was so frightened, that he removed part of his goods. Mrs. Williams took shelter in the country.

"I know not whether I shall get a ramble this autumn. It is now about the time when we were travelling. I have, however, better health than I had then, and hope you and I may yet show ourselves on some part of Europe, Asia, or Africa.⁵ In the mean time let us play no trick, but keep each other's kindness by all means in our power.

"The bearer of this is Dr. Dunbar of Aberdeen, who has written and published a very ingenious book⁶, and who I think has a kindness for me, and will, when he knows you, have a kindness for you.

"I suppose your little ladies are grown tall; and your son has become a learned young man. I love them all, and I love your naughty lady, whom I never shall persuade to love me. When the *Lives* are done, I shall send them to complete her collection, but must send them in paper, as, for want of a pattern, I cannot bind them to fit the rest. I am, Sir, yours most affectionately, SAM. JOHNSON."

This year he wrote to a young clergyman⁷ in the country the following very excellent letter, which contains valuable advice to divines in general: —

TO A YOUNG CLERGYMAN.

" Bolt Court, Aug. 30. 1780.

"DEAR SIR, — Not many days ago Dr. Lawrence showed me a letter, in which you make mention of me: I hope, therefore, you will not be displeased that I endeavour to preserve your goodwill by some observations which your letter suggested to me.

"You are afraid of falling into some improprieties in the daily service by reading to an audience that requires no exactness. Your fear, I hope, secures you from danger. They who contract absurd habits are such as have no fear. It is im-

though I believe he meant nothing but jocularity; for, though he and I differed sometimes in opinion, he well knew how much I loved and revered him. — BEATTIE.

⁵ It will no doubt be remarked how he avoids the *rebellious* land of America. This puts me in mind of an anecdote, for which I am obliged to my worthy, social friend, Governor Richard Penn. "At one of Miss E. Hervey's assemblies, Dr. Johnson was following her up and down the room; upon which Lord Abington observed to her, 'Your great friend is very fond of you; you can go nowhere without him.' 'Ay,' said she, 'he would follow me to any part of the world.' 'Then, said the Earl, 'ask him to go with you to America.' " — BOSWELL. This lady was Miss Elizabeth Hervey, daughter of William, brother of Johnson's two friends, Thomas and Henry Hervey. She was born in 1730, and died at a very advanced age, unmarried. — CROKER.

⁶ "Essays on the History of Mankind." — BOSWELL. See some account of this professor, in the first volume of the *Memoirs* of his pupil, Sir James Mackintosh. — CROKER, 1835.

⁷ Probably the Reverend George Strahan, who unwarrantably, as I think, published his *Prayers and Meditations*. The letter itself is a most valuable one. — CROKER.

possible to do the same thing very often without some peculiarity of manner: but that manner may be good or bad, and a little care will at least preserve it from being bad: to make it good, there must, I think, be something of natural or casual felicity, which cannot be taught.

"Your present method of making your sermons seems very judicious. Few frequent-preachers can be supposed to have sermons more their own than yours will be. Take care to register, somewhere or other, the authors from whom your several discourses are borrowed; and do not imagine that you shall always remember, even what, perhaps, you now think it impossible to forget.

"My advice, however, is, that you attempt, from time to time, an original sermon; and, in the labour of composition, do not burden your mind with too much at once; do not exact from yourself at one effort of excogitation, propriety of thought and elegance of expression. Invent first, and then embellish. The production of something, where nothing was before, is an act of greater energy than the expansion or decoration of the thing produced. Set down diligently your thoughts as they rise in the first words that occur; and when you have matter you will easily give it form; nor, perhaps, will this method be always necessary; for, by habit, your thoughts and diction will flow together.

"The composition of sermons is not very difficult: the divisions not only help the memory of the hearer, but direct the judgment of the writer: they supply sources of invention, and keep every part in its proper place.

"What I like least in your letter is your account of the manners of your parish; from which I gather, that it has been long neglected by the parson. The Dean of Carlisle (Dr. Percy), who was then a little rector in Northamptonshire, told me, that it might be discerned whether or no there was a clergyman resident in a parish, by the civil or savage manner of the people. Such a congregation as yours stands in need of much reformation: and I would not have you think it impossible to reform them. A very savage parish was civilised by a decayed gentlewoman, who came among them to teach a petty school. My learned friend, Dr. Wheeler, of Oxford, when he was a young man, had the care of a neighbouring parish for fifteen pounds a year, which he was never paid; but he counted it a convenience, that it compelled him to make a sermon weekly. One woman he could not bring to the communion; and when he reproved or exhorted her, she only answered, that she was no scholar. He was advised to set some good woman or man of the parish, a little wiser than herself, to talk to her in a language level to her mind. Such honest, I may call them holy, artifices must be practised by every clergyman; for all means must be tried by which souls may be saved. Talk to your people, however, as much as you can; and you will find, that the more frequently you converse with them upon religious subjects, the more willingly they will attend, and the more submissively they will learn. A clergyman's diligence always makes him venerable. I think I have now only to say, that, in the momentous work you have

undertaken, I pray God to bless you. I am, Sir,
&c.,
SAM. JOHNSON."

My next letters to him were dated 24th August, 6th September, and 1st October, and from them I extract the following passages:—

"My brother David and I find the long-indulged fancy of our comfortable meeting again at Auchinleck so well realised, that it in some degree confirms the pleasing hope of *O! præclarum diem!* in a future state.

"I beg that you may never again harbour a suspicion of my indulging a peevish humour, or playing tricks; you will recollect that when I confessed to you that I had once been intentionally silent to try your regard, I gave you my word and honour that I would not do so again.

"I rejoice to hear of your good state of health; I pray God to continue it long. I have often said that I would willingly have ten years added to my life, to have ten taken from yours; I mean, that I would be ten years older to have you ten years younger. But let me be thankful for the years during which I have enjoyed your friendship, and please myself with the hopes of enjoying it many years to come in this state of being, trusting always that in another state we shall meet never to be separated. Of this we can form no notion; but the thought, though indistinct, is delightful, when the mind is calm and clear.

"The riots in London were certainly horrible; but you give me no account of your own situation during the barbarous anarchy. A description of it by Dr. Johnson would be a great painting¹; you might write another 'London, a Poem.'

"I am charmed with your condescending affectionate expression, 'let us keep each other's kindness by all the means in our power.' My revered friend! how elevating is it to my mind, that I am found worthy to be a companion to Dr. Samuel Johnson! All that you have said in grateful praise of Mr. Walmsley, I have long thought of you; but we are both Tories, which has a very general influence upon our sentiments. I hope that you will agree to meet me at York, about the end of this month; or if you will come to Carlisle, that would be better still, in case the dean be there. Please to consider, that to keep each other's kindness, we should every year have that free and intimate communication of mind which can be had only when we are together. We should have both our solemn and our pleasant talk.

"I write now for the third time, to tell you that my desire for our meeting this autumn is much increased. I wrote to 'Squire Godfrey Bosville', my Yorkshire chief, that I should, perhaps, pay him a visit, as I was to hold a conference with Dr. Johnson at York. I give you my word and honour that I said not a word of his inviting you; but he wrote to me as follows:—

"'I need not tell you I shall be happy to see you here the latter end of this month, as you propose; and I shall likewise be in hopes that you will persuade Dr. Johnson to finish the conference here. It will add to the favour of your own company, if you prevail upon such an associate to

¹ I had not seen his letters to Mrs. Thrale.—BOSWELL.

² See *anté*, p. 523. n. 1.—C.

assist your observations. I have often been entertained with his writings, and I once belonged to a club of which he was a member, and I never spent an evening there, but I heard something from him well worth remembering.'

"We have thus, my dear Sir, good comfortable quarters in the neighbourhood of York, where you may be assured we shall be heartily welcome. I pray you, then, resolve to set out; and let not the year 1780 be a blank in our social calendar, and in that record of wisdom and wit, which I keep with so much diligence, to your honour, and the instruction and delight of others."

Mr. Thrale had now another contest for the representation in parliament of the borough of Southwark, and Johnson kindly lent him his assistance by writing advertisements and letters for him¹. I shall insert one as a specimen. —

"TO THE WORTHY ELECTORS OF THE BOROUGH OF
SOUTHWARK.

"Southwark, Sept. 5. 1780.

"GENTLEMEN, — A new parliament being now called, I again solicit the honour of being elected for one of your representatives; and solicit it with the greater confidence, as I am not conscious of having neglected my duty, or of having acted otherwise than as becomes the independent representative of independent constituents — superior to fear, hope, and expectation, who has no private purposes to promote, and whose prosperity is involved in the prosperity of his country. As my recovery from a very severe distemper is not yet perfect, I have declined to attend the Hall, and hope an omission so necessary will not be harshly censured.

"I can only send my respectful wishes, that all your deliberations may tend to the happiness of the kingdom, and the peace of the borough. I am, Gentlemen, your most faithful and obedient servant,

"HENRY THRALE."

¹ He even took a personal part in it. Mrs. Piozzi says, "*A Borough* election once showed me his toleration of boisterous mirth, and his content in the company of people whom one would have thought at first sight little calculated for his society. A rough fellow one day on such an occasion, a hatter by trade, seeing Dr. Johnson's beaver hat in a state of decay, seized it suddenly with one hand, and clapping him on the back with the other: 'Ah, Master Johnson,' says he, 'this is no time to be thinking about hats.' 'No, no, Sir,' replies our Doctor in a cheerful tone, 'hats are of no use now, as you say, except to throw up in the air and huzza with,' accompanying his words with the true election halloo." — CROKER.

² Margaret, the second daughter, and one of the co-heiresses of Arthur Cecil Hamilton, Esq. She was married in 1741 to Thomas George, the third Baron, and first Viscount, Southwell, and lived with him in the most perfect connubial felicity, till September, 1780, when Lord Southwell died; a loss which she never ceased to lament till the hour of her own dissolution, in her eighty-first year, August 16. 1802. The "illustrious example of piety and fortitude" to which Dr. Johnson alludes, was the submitting, when past her fiftieth year, to an extremely painful surgical operation, which she endured with extraordinary firmness and composure, not allowing herself to be tied to her chair, nor uttering a single moan. This slight tribute of affection to the memory of these two most amiable and excellent persons, who were not less distinguished by their piety, beneficence, and unbounded charity, than by a suavity of manners which endeared them to all who knew them, it is hoped, will be forgiven from one who was honoured by their kindness, and friendship from his childhood. — MALONE.

³ Thomas, second Lord Southwell, who was born Jan. 7. 1698-9 and died in London, Nov. 18. 1766. Johnson was well

JOHNSON TO VISCOUNTESS
SOUTHWELL²,

Dublin.

"Bolt Court, Fleet Street, Sept. 9. 1780.

"MADAM, — Among the numerous addresses of condolence which your great loss must have occasioned, be pleased to receive this from one whose name perhaps you have never heard, and to whom your ladyship is known only by the reputation of your virtue, and to whom your lord was known only by his kindness and beneficence.

"Your ladyship is now again summoned to exert that piety of which you once gave, in a state of pain and danger, so illustrious an example; and your lord's beneficence may be still continued by those who with his fortune inherit his virtues.

"I hope to be forgiven the liberty which I shall take of informing your ladyship, that Mr. Mauritius Lowe, a son of your late lord's father³, had, by recommendation to your lord, a quarterly allowance of ten pounds, the last of which, due July 26., he has not received: he was in hourly hope of his remittance, and flattered himself that on October 26. he should have received the whole half-year's bounty, when he was struck with the dreadful news of his benefactor's death.

"May I presume to hope, that his want, his relation, and his merit, which excited his lordship's charity, will continue to have the same effect upon those whom he has left behind; and that, though he has lost one friend, he may not yet be destitute. Your ladyship's charity cannot easily be exerted where it is wanted more; and to a mind like yours, distress is a sufficient recommendation. I hope to be allowed the honour of being, Madam, &c.,

"SAM. JOHNSON."⁴

On his birthday, Johnson has this note: —

"I am now beginning the seventy-second year of my life, with more strength of body and greater vigour of mind than I think is common at that age."

acquainted with this nobleman, and said, "he was the highest bred man, without insolence, that he was ever in company with." His younger brother, Edmund Southwell, lived in intimacy with Johnson for many years. See an account of him in "*Hawkins's Life*," p. 45. He died in London, Nov. 22. 1772. In opposition to the knight's unfavourable representation of this gentleman, to him I was indebted for my first introduction to Johnson. I take this opportunity to add, that he appeared to me a pious man, and was very fond of leading the conversation to religious subjects. — MALONE. Hawkins's account is not otherwise "unfavourable" than in representing him as labouring, like his friend Johnson, under the double affliction of poverty and hypochondriasis. — CROKER.

⁴ Amongst the papers of Mr. Lowe (see *anté*, p. 626.) was found, in Dr. Johnson's handwriting, the following draft of a letter which, no doubt, Johnson had sketched for his poor friend, and which was probably addressed to the new Lord Southwell. It has been communicated to me by Mr. Markland: —

"MY LORD, — The allowance which you are pleased to make me, I received on the — by Mr. Puget. Of the joy which it brought your lordship cannot judge, because you cannot imagine my distress. It was long since I had known a morning without solicitude for noon, or laid down at night without foreseeing, with terror, the distresses of the morning. My debts were small, but many; my creditors were poor, and therefore troublesome. Of this misery your lordship's bounty has given me an intermission. May your lordship live long to do much good, and to do for many what you have done for me, my lord, your lordship's, &c.,

"M. LOWE." — CROKER.

But still he complains of sleepless nights and idle days, and forgetfulness, or neglect of resolutions. He thus pathetically expresses himself:

"Surely I shall not spend my whole life with my own total disapprobation." (*Pr. and Med.*, p. 185.)

Mr. Macbean, whom I have mentioned more than once, as one of Johnson's humble friends, a deserving but unfortunate man, being now oppressed by age and poverty, Johnson solicited the Lord Chancellor Thurlow to have him admitted into the Charter-house. I take the liberty to insert his lordship's answer, as I am eager to embrace every occasion of augmenting the respectable notion which should ever be entertained of my illustrious friend:—

LORD THURLOW TO JOHNSON.

"London, Oct. 24. 1780.

"SIR,—I have this moment received your letter dated the 19th, and returned from Bath. In the beginning of the summer I placed one in the Chartreux, without the sanction of a recommendation so distinct and so authoritative as yours of Macbean; and I am afraid that, according to the establishment of the house, the opportunity of making the charity so good amends will not soon recur. But whenever a vacancy shall happen, if you'll favour me with notice of it, I will try to recommend him to the place, even though it should not be my turn to nominate. I am, Sir, with great regard, your most faithful and obedient servant,

"THURLOW."

Mr. Macbean was, however, on Lord Thurlow's nomination, admitted into the Chartreux in April 1781; on which occasion Dr. Johnson, with that benevolence by which he was uniformly actuated, wrote the following letter, which, for the sake of connexion, may properly be introduced here:—

JOHNSON TO DR. VYSE,

At Lambeth.

"Bolt Court, April 10. 1781.

"REV. SIR,—The bearer is one of my old friends, a man of great learning, whom the chancellor has been pleased to nominate to the Chartreux. He attends his grace the archbishop, to take the oath required; and being a modest scholar, will escape embarrassment, if you are so kind as to introduce him, by which you will do a kindness to a man of great merit, and add another to those favours which have already been conferred by you on, Sir, &c.,

SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"Oct. 17. 1780.

"DEAR SIR,—I am sorry to write you a letter that will not please you, and yet it is at last what I

resolve to do. This year must pass without an interview; the summer has been foolishly lost, like many other of my summers and winters. I hardly saw a green field, but staid in town to work, without working much.

"Mr. Thrale's loss of health has lost him the election¹; he is now going to Brighthelmston, and expects me to go with him; and how long I shall stay, I cannot tell. I do not much like the place, but yet I shall go, and stay while my stay is desired. We must, therefore, content ourselves with knowing what we know as well as man can know the mind of man, that we love one another, and that we wish each other's happiness, and that the lapse of a year cannot lessen our mutual kindness.

"I was pleased to be told that I accused Mrs. Boswell unjustly, in supposing that she bears me ill-will. I love you so much, that I would be glad to love all that love you, and that you love; and I have love very ready for Mrs. Boswell, if she thinks it worthy of acceptance. I hope all the young ladies and gentlemen are well.

"I take a great liking to your brother. He tells me that his father received him kindly, but not fondly: however, you seem to have lived well enough at Auchinleck, while you staid. Make your father as happy as you can.

"You lately told me of your health: I can tell you in return, that my health has been for more than a year past better than it has been for many years before. Perhaps it may please God to give us some time together before we are parted. I am, dear Sir, yours, most affectionately,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO DR. VYSE,

At Lambeth.

"Dec. 30. 1780.

"SIR,—I hope you will forgive the liberty I take, in soliciting your interposition with his grace the archbishop: my first petition was successful, and I therefore venture on a second.

"The matron of the Chartreux is about to resign her place; and Mrs. Desmoulins, a daughter of the late Dr. Swinfen², who was well known to your father³, is desirous of succeeding her. She has been accustomed by keeping a boarding-school to the care of children, and I think is very likely to discharge her duty. She is in great distress, and therefore may probably receive the benefit of a charitable foundation. If you wish to see her, she will be willing to give an account of herself.

"If you shall be pleased, Sir, to mention her favourably to his grace, you will do a great act of kindness to, Sir, yours, &c.,

SAM. JOHNSON."

Being disappointed in my hopes of meeting Johnson this year, so that I could hear none of his admirable sayings, I shall compensate for this want by inserting a collection of them, for which I am indebted to my worthy friend

¹ "Mrs. Thrale felt this very acutely. When, after Mr. Thrale's death, a friend of Mr. Henry Thornton, then a candidate for Southwark, canvassed Mrs. Thrale for her interest, she replied, 'I wish your friend success, and think he will have it;—he may probably come in for two parliaments; but if he tries for a third, were he an angel from heaven, the

people of Southwark would cry, 'Not this man, but Barabas.'"² — *Miss Hawkins's Mem.* vol. i. p. 66. — CROKER.

² See *anté*, p. 4. n. 1. — C.

³ Archdeacon Vyse, who had been Treasurer of Lichfield Cathedral. — CROKER, 1847.

Mr. Langton, whose kind communications have been separately interwoven in many parts of this work. Very few articles of this collection were committed to writing by himself, he not having that habit; which he regrets, and which those who know the numerous opportunities he had of gathering the rich fruits of *Johnsonian* wit and wisdom, must ever regret. I however found, in conversation with him, that a good store of *JOHNSONIANA* was treasured in his mind; and I compared it to *Herculaneum*, or some old Roman field, which, when dug, fully rewards the labourer employed. The authenticity of every article is unquestionable. For the expressions, I, who wrote them down in his presence, am partly answerable.

"Theocritus is not deserving of very high respect as a writer; as to the pastoral part, Virgil is very evidently superior. He wrote, when there had been a larger influx of knowledge into the world than when Theocritus lived. Theocritus does not abound in description, though living in a beautiful country: the manners painted are coarse and gross. Virgil has much more description, more sentiment, more of nature, and more of art. Some of the most excellent parts of Theocritus are, where Castor and Pollux, with the other Argonauts, land on the Bebrycian coast, and there fall into a dispute with Amycus, the king of that country: which is as well conducted as Euripides could have done it; and the battle is well related. Afterwards they carry off a woman, whose two brothers come to recover her, and expostulate with Castor and Pollux on their injustice; but they pay no regard to the brothers, and a battle ensues, where Castor and his brother are triumphant. Theocritus seems not to have seen that the brothers have the advantage in their argument over his Argonaut heroes. 'The Sicilian Gossips' is a piece of merit.

"Callimachus is a writer of little excellence. The chief thing to be learned from him is his account of Rites and Mythology; which, though desirable to be known for the sake of understanding other parts of ancient authors, is the least pleasing or valuable part of their writings.

"Maittaire's account of the Stephani is a heavy book. He seems to have been a puzzle-headed man, with a large share of scholarship; but with little geometry or logic in his head, without method, and possessed of little genius. He wrote Latin verses from time to time, and published a set in his old age, which he called

'*Senilia*;' in which he shows so little learning or taste in writing, as to make *Carteret* a dactyl. In matters of genealogy it is necessary to give the bare names as they are; but in poetry, and in prose of any elegance in the writing, they require to have inflection¹ given to them. His book of the Dialects is a sad heap of confusion; the only way to write on them is to tabulate them with notes, added at the bottom of the page, and references.

"It may be questioned, whether there is not some mistake as to the methods of employing the poor, seemingly on a supposition that there is a certain portion of work left undone for want of persons to do it; but if that is otherwise, and all the materials we have are actually worked up, or all the manufactures we can use or dispose of are already executed, then what is given to the poor, who are to be set at work, must be taken from some who now have it: as time must be taken for learning (according to Sir William Petty's observation), a certain part of those very materials that, as it is, are properly worked up, must be spoiled by the unskillfulness of novices. We may apply to well-meaning but misjudging persons, in particulars of this nature, what Giannone said to a monk, who wanted what he called to convert him: '*Tu sei santo, ma tu non sei filosofo.*' It is an unhappy circumstance that one might give away five hundred pounds a year to those that importune in the streets, and not do any good.

"There is nothing more likely to betray a man into absurdity than *condescension*, when he seems to suppose his understanding too powerful for his company.

"Having asked Mr. Langton if his father and mother had sat for their pictures, which he thought it right for each generation of a family to do, and being told they had opposed it, he said, 'Sir, among the anfractuosities² of the human mind, I know not if it may not be one, that there is a superstitious reluctance to sit for a picture.'

"John Gilbert Cooper related, that soon after the publication of his Dictionary, Garrick being asked by Johnson what people said of it, told him, that among other animadversions, it was objected that he cited authorities which were beneath the dignity of such a work, and mentioned Richardson. 'Nay,' said Johnson, 'I have done worse than that: I have cited *thee*, David.'

"Talking of expense, he observed, with what munificence a great merchant will spend his money, both from his having it at com-

¹ The want of "learning and taste" in not giving English names classical inflections (if that be Johnson's meaning) is a strange charge against Maittaire, whose *Senilia* are more liable to the very opposite reproach. If he uses "*Carteret*" once in its vernacular form, we have a hundred such pedantries as *Rutlandus* and *Granbeius* living at *Belvoirium* — *Cibberus* (Colley) *Elyssus* (Sir Richard Elllys). We have "*Boothius*" uttering "*Shak'speriana verba sonantia*." Nay, we have *Καταγίγντο* — *Καταγίγντο* — *Καταγίγντο*; so that if such inflections be a sign of *taste* and *learning*, I really

cannot see the meaning of Johnson's complaint of Maittaire. — CROKER, 1831-47.

² This word is not in Johnson's Dictionary, but the still clumsier form of *anfractuosity* is, with the explanation of *falseness of windings or turnings*. We have already seen that Johnson did not think highly of the understandings of Mr. and Mrs. Langton, and can imagine why he conveyed his opinion of them to their son under this strange term. — CROKER.

mand, and from his enlarged views by calculation of a good effect upon the whole. 'Whereas,' said he, 'you will hardly ever find a country gentleman who is not a good deal disconcerted at an unexpected occasion for his being obliged to lay out ten pounds.'¹

"When in good humour, he would talk of his own writings with a wonderful frankness and candour, and would even criticise them with the closest severity. One day, having read over one of his Ramblers, Mr. Langton asked him, how he liked that paper; he shook his head, and answered, 'too wordy.' At another time, when one was reading his tragedy of 'Irene,' to a company at a house in the country, he left the room; and somebody having asked him the reason of this, he replied, 'Sir, I thought it had been better.'

"Talking of a point of delicate scrupulosity of moral conduct, he said to Mr. Langton, 'Men of harder minds than ours will do many things from which you and I would shrink; yet, Sir, they will, perhaps, do more good in life than we. But let us try to help one another. If there be a wrong twist, it may be set right. It is not probable that two people can be wrong the same way.'

"Of the preface to Capell's Shakspeare, he said, 'If the man would have come to me, I would have endeavoured to "endow his purposes with words;" for as it is, he doth "gabble monstrously."'²

"He related that he had once in a dream a contest of wit with some other person, and that he was very much mortified by imagining that his opponent had the better of him. 'Now,' said he, 'one may mark here the effect of sleep in weakening the power of reflection; for had not my judgment failed me, I should have seen, that the wit of this supposed antagonist, by whose superiority I felt myself depressed, was as much furnished by me, as that which I thought I had been uttering in my own character.'

"One evening in company, an ingenious and learned gentleman read to him a letter of compliment which he had received from one of the professors of a foreign university. Johnson, in an irritable fit, thinking there was too much ostentation, said, 'I never receive any of these tributes of applause from abroad. One instance

I recollect of a foreign publication, in which mention is made of *l'illustre Lockman*.³

"Of Sir Joshua Reynolds, he said, 'Sir, I know no man who has passed through life with more observation than Reynolds.'

"He repeated to Mr. Langton, with great energy, in Greek, our Saviour's gracious expression concerning the forgiveness of Mary Magdalene⁴, *ἡ πῶς σου σώσας σε πορεύει εἰς εἰρήνην*. 'Thy faith hath saved thee; go in peace.' (Luke, vii. 50.) He said, 'The manner of this dismissal is exceedingly affecting.'

"He thus defined the difference between physical and moral truth: 'Physical truth is, when you tell a thing as it actually is. Moral truth is, when you tell a thing sincerely and precisely as it appears to you. I say such a one walked across the street; if he really did so, I told a physical truth. If I thought so, though I should have been mistaken, I told a moral truth.'

"Huggins, the translator of Ariosto, and Mr. Thomas Warton, in the early part of his literary life, had a dispute concerning that poet, of whom Mr. Warton, in his 'Observations on Spenser's Fairy Queen,' gave some account which Huggins attempted to answer with violence, and said, 'I will *mitigate* no longer against his *nescience*.' Huggins was master of the subject, but wanted expression. Mr. Warton's knowledge of it was then imperfect, but his manner lively and elegant. Johnson said, 'It appears to me, that Huggins has ball without powder, and Warton powder without ball.'

"Talking of the farce of 'High Life below Stairs,' he said, 'Here is a farce which is really very diverting when you see it acted, and yet one may read it and not know that one has been reading any thing at all.'⁶

"He used at one time to go occasionally to the green-room of Drury-lane theatre, where he was much regarded by the players, and was very easy and facetious with them. He had a very high opinion of Mrs. Clive's comic powers, and conversed more with her than with any of them. He said, 'Clive, Sir, is a good thing to sit by; she always understands what you say.' And she said of him, 'I love to sit by Dr. Johnson; he always entertains me.' One

¹ What Johnson says is true in fact, but the main reason is, that the property of a great merchant is more at command, from its convertibility: he draws a check or gives a bill; but country gentlemen have no means of meeting an unexpected emergency, but a mortgage, or perhaps a fall of timber — both slow and cumbrous expedients. — CROKER.

² "When thou wouldst gabble like a thing most brutish, I endowed thy purposes with words." — *Prospero to Caliban: Tempest*, act I. sc. 2. — CROKER.

³ Secretary to the British Herring Fishery, remarkable for an extraordinary number of occasional verses, not of eminent merit. — BOSWELL. John Lockman, born in 1698, died in 1771, was also an indefatigable translator for the booksellers, "having acquired a knowledge of the languages, as Dr. Johnson told Sir J. Hawkins, by living at coffee-houses frequented by foreigners." Mr. Tyers says, "that Lockman was a very worthy man, greatly beloved by his friends, and

respected even by Pope;" and he adds, "that it is a pity that he who composed so many of the Lives in the 'General Dictionary' should himself not have one in the Biographia." *Rhapsody on Pope*, p. 104. — CROKER.

⁴ It does not appear that the woman forgiven was Mary Magdalene. — KEARNEY. It is not so stated in St. Luke's text, but it is in the authorised heading of the chapters; yet, as Dr. Hall observed to me, this seems to be contradicted in the 2nd verse of the next chapter, which gives a different account of Mary Magdalene. — CROKER.

⁵ This account of the difference between moral and physical truth is in Locke's "Essay on Human Understanding," and many other books. — KEARNEY. 'Tis in every thinking mind. — CROKER, 1847.

⁶ That, I think, might be said of all farces. — CROKER, 1847.

night, when 'The Recruiting Officer' was acted, he said to Mr. Holland, who had been expressing an apprehension that Dr. Johnson would disdain the works of Farquhar, 'No, Sir, I think Farquhar a man whose writings have considerable merit.'

"His friend Garrick was so busy in conducting the drama, that they could not have so much intercourse as Mr. Garrick used to profess an anxious wish that there should be. There might indeed be something in the contemptuous severity as to the merit of acting, which his old preceptor nourished in himself, that would mortify Garrick after the great applause which he received from the audience. For though Johnson said of him, 'Sir, a man who has a nation to admire him every night may well be expected to be somewhat elated;' yet he would treat theatrical matters with a ludicrous slight. He mentioned one evening, 'I met David coming off the stage, dressed in a woman's riding-hood, when he acted in *The Wonder*; I came full upon him, and I believe he was not pleased.'

"Once he asked Tom Davies, whom he saw dressed in a fine suit of clothes, 'And what art thou to-night?' Tom answered, 'The Thane of Ross;' which it will be recollected is a very inconsiderable character. 'O, brave!' said Johnson.

"Of Mr. Longley², at Rochester, a gentleman of considerable learning, whom Dr. Johnson met there, he said, 'My heart warms towards him. I was surprised to find in him such a nice acquaintance with the metre in the learned languages; though I was somewhat mortified that I had it not so much to myself as I should have thought.'

"Talking of the minuteness with which people will record the sayings of eminent persons, a story was told, that when Pope was on a visit to Spence at Oxford, as they looked from the window they saw a gentleman commoner, who was just come in from riding, amusing himself with whipping at a post. Pope took occasion to say, 'That young gentleman seems to have little to do.' Mr. Beauclerk observed, 'Then, to be sure, Spence turned round and wrote that down;' and went on to say to Dr. Johnson, 'Pope, Sir, would have said the same of you, if he had seen you distilling.' JOHNSON. 'Sir, if Pope had told me of my distilling, I would have told him of his grotto.'³

"He would allow no settled indulgence of

idleness upon principle, and always repelled every attempt to urge excuses for it. A friend one day suggested, that it was not wholesome to study soon after dinner. JOHNSON. 'Ah, Sir, don't give way to such a fancy. At one time of my life I had taken it into my head that it was not wholesome to study between breakfast and dinner.'

"Mr. Beauclerk one day repeated to Dr. Johnson Pope's lines,

'Let modest Foster, if he will, excel
Ten metropolitans in preaching well;'

then asked the doctor, 'Why did Pope say this?' JOHNSON. 'Sir, he hoped it would vex somebody.'⁴

"Dr. Goldsmith upon occasion of Mrs. Lennox's bringing out a play⁵, said to Dr. Johnson at the club, that a person had advised him to go and hiss it, because she had attacked Shakspeare in her book called 'Shakspeare Illustrated.' JOHNSON. 'And did not you tell him that he was a rascal?' GOLDSMITH. 'No, Sir, I did not. Perhaps he might not mean what he said.' JOHNSON. 'Nay, Sir, if he lied, it is a different thing.' Colman slyly said (but it is believed Dr. Johnson did not hear him), 'Then the proper expression should have been, — Sir, if you don't lie, you're a rascal.'

"His affection for Topham Beauclerk was so great, that when Beauclerk was labouring under that severe illness which at last occasioned his death, Johnson said (with a voice faltering with emotion), 'Sir, I would walk to the extent of the diameter of the earth to save Beauclerk.'

"One night at the club he produced a translation of an epitaph which Lord Elibank had written in English for his lady, and requested of Johnson to turn it into Latin for him. Having read *Domina de North et Gray*⁶, he said to Dyer, 'You see, Sir, what barbarisms we are compelled to make use of, when modern titles are to be specifically mentioned in Latin inscriptions.' When he had read it once aloud, and there had been a general approbation expressed by the company, he addressed himself to Mr. Dyer in particular, and said, 'Sir, I beg to have your judgment, for I know your nicety.' Dyer then very properly desired to read it over again; which having done, he pointed out an incongruity in one of the sentences. Johnson immediately assented to the observation, and said, 'Sir, this is owing to an alteration of a part of the sentence from the

¹ In a letter written by Johnson to a friend in Jan. 1742-3, he says, "I never see Garrick." — MALONE.

² A barrister — Recorder of Rochester, father of my amiable friend, the present master of Harrow (since Bishop of Ripon). Mr. Longley died in 1822. — CROKER, 1831-47.

³ This would have been a very inadequate retort, for Johnson's chemistry was a mere pastime, while Pope's grotto was, although ornamental, a useful, and even necessary work. Johnson, in his *Life of Pope*, has treated of the grotto rather too pompously. — CROKER.

⁴ Dr. James Foster was an eminent preacher among the dissenters; and Pope professes to prefer his merit in so humble a station to the more splendid ministry of the

metropolitans. Pope's object no doubt was to vex the clergy; but Mr. Beauclerk probably meant to ask — what is by no means so clear — how these two lines bear on Pope's general design and argument. — CROKER.

⁵ Probably "The Sisters," a comedy performed one night only at Covent Garden, in 1769. Dr. Goldsmith wrote an excellent epilogue to it. — MALONE.

⁶ Lord Elibank married a Dutch lady, Maria Margaret de Yonge, the widow of Lord North and Gray. Mr. Langton mistook the phrase, which is, in the epitaph, applied to the husband, *Domina North et Gray*, and not to the lady, *Domina de North et Gray*. See Douglas's *Pecrage*. — CROKER.

form in which I had first written it; and I believe, Sir, you may have remarked, that the making a partial change, without a due regard to the general structure of the sentence, is a very frequent cause of error in composition.

"Johnson was well acquainted with Mr. Dossie, author of a *Treatise on Agriculture*¹; and said of him, 'Sir, of the objects which the Society of Arts have chiefly in view, the chymical effects of bodies operating upon other bodies, he knows more than almost any man.' Johnson, in order to give Mr. Dossie his vote to be a member of this society, paid up an arrears which had run on for two years. On this occasion he mentioned a circumstance, as characteristic of the Scotch. 'One of that nation,' said he, 'who had been a candidate, against whom I had voted, came up to me with a civil salutation. Now, Sir, this is their way. An Englishman would have stomached it and been sulky, and never have taken further notice of you; but a Scotchman, Sir, though you vote nineteen times against him, will accost you with equal complaisance after each time, and the twentieth time, Sir, he will get your vote.'

"Talking on the subject of toleration, one day when some friends were with him in his study, he made his usual remark, that the state has a right to regulate the religion of the people, who are the children of the state. A clergyman having readily acquiesced in this, Johnson, who loved discussion, observed, 'But, Sir, you must go round to other states than our own. You do not know what a Bramin has to say for himself.² In short, Sir, I have got no further than this: every man has a right to utter what he thinks truth, and every other man has a right to knock him down for it. Martyrdom is the test.'

"A man, he observed, should begin to write soon; for, if he waits till his judgment is matured, his inability, through want of practice, to express his conceptions, will make the disproportion so great between what he sees, and what he can attain, that he will probably be discouraged from writing at all. As a proof of the justness of this remark, we may instance what is related of the great Lord Granville³; that after he had written his letter giving an account of the battle of Dettingen, he said, 'Here is a letter, expressed in terms not good enough for a tallow-chandler to have used.'

"Talking of a court-martial that was sitting

upon a very momentous public occasion, he expressed much doubt of an enlightened decision; and said, that perhaps there was not a member of it, who, in the whole course of his life, had ever spent an hour by himself in balancing probabilities.⁴

"Goldsmith one day brought to the club a printed ode, which he, with others, had been hearing read by its author in a public room, at the rate of five shillings each for admission. One of the company having read it aloud, Dr. Johnson said, Bolder words and more timorous meaning, I think, never were brought together.

"Talking of Gray's Odes, he said, 'They are forced plants, raised in a hotbed; and they are poor plants: they are but cucumbers after all.' A gentleman present, who had been running down ode-writing in general, as a bad species of poetry, unluckily said, 'Had they been literally cucumbers, they had been better things than odes.' 'Yes, Sir,' said Johnson, 'for a hog.'⁵

"His distinction of the different degrees of attainment of learning was thus marked upon two occasions. Of Queen Elizabeth he said, 'She had learning enough to have given dignity to a bishop;' and of Mr. Thomas Davies he said, 'Sir, Davies has learning enough to give credit to a clergyman.'

"He used to quote, with great warmth, the saying of Aristotle recorded by Diogenes Laertius; that there was the same difference between one learned and unlearned, as between the living and the dead.

"It is very remarkable, that he retained in his memory very slight and trivial, as well as important, things. As an instance of this, it seems that an inferior domestic of the Duke of Leeds had attempted to celebrate his Grace's marriage in such homely rhymes as he could make; and this curious composition having been sung to Dr. Johnson, he got it by heart, and used to repeat it in a very pleasant manner. Two of the stanzas were these:—

'When the Duke of Leeds shall married be
To a fine young lady of high quality,
How happy will that gentlewoman be
In his Grace of Leeds's good company!

'She shall have all that's fine and fair,
And the best of silk and satin shall wear;
And ride in a coach to take the air,
And have a house in St. James's-square.'⁶

¹ Dossie also published, in two vols. 8vo., what was then a very useful work, entitled "The Handmaid to the Arts," dedicated to the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, &c. —Hall.—CROKER.

² Here Lord Macartney remarks, "A Bramin, or any caste of the Hindoos, will neither admit you to be of their religion, nor be converted to yours:—a thing which struck the Portuguese with the greatest astonishment when they first discovered the East Indies." —BOSWELL.

³ John, Lord Carteret, and Earl Granville, who died January 2. 1763. —MALONE.

⁴ As Mr. Langton's anecdotes are not dated, it is not easy to determine what court-martial this was; perhaps—as Sir James Mackintosh suggested—Admiral Keppel's, in 1780. —CROKER.

⁵ At Sir Robert Cotton's, at Llewney, one day at dinner, Mrs. Thrale, meaning to please Johnson particularly with a dish of very young peas, said, while he was eating them, "Are not they charming?" "Perhaps," replied he, "they would be so—to a pig."

The Lincolnshire lady, who showed him a grotto she had been making, came off no better. "Would it not be a pretty cool habitation in summer," said she, "Dr. Johnson?" "I think it would, madam," replied he, "for a toad." —Piozzi, p. 48. —CROKER.

⁶ The correspondent of the Gentleman's Magazine who subscribes himself Sciolus furnishes the following supplement:—"A lady of my acquaintance remembers to have heard her uncle sing those homely stanzas more than forty-five years ago. He repeated the second thus:—

To hear a man of the weight and dignity of Johnson repeating such humble attempts at poetry had a very amusing effect. He, however, seriously observed of the last stanza repeated by him, that it nearly comprised all the advantages that wealth can give.

"An eminent foreigner, when he was shown the British Museum, was very troublesome with many absurd inquiries. 'Now there, Sir,' said he, 'is the difference between an Englishman and a Frenchman. A Frenchman must be always talking, whether he knows any thing of the matter or not; an Englishman is content to say nothing, when he has nothing to say.'

"His unjust contempt for foreigners was, indeed, extreme. One evening at Old Slaughter's Coffee-house, when a number of them were talking loud about little matters, he said, Does not this confirm old Meynell's observation, *For any thing I see, foreigners are fools?*'

"He said that once, when he had a violent tooth-ache, a Frenchman accosted him thus: *Ah, monsieur, vous étudiez trop.*

"Having spent an evening at Mr. Langton's with the Reverend Dr. Parr, he was much pleased with the conversation of that learned gentleman; and, after he was gone, said to Mr. Langton, 'Sir, I am obliged to you for having asked me this evening. Parr is a fair man. I do not know when I have had an occasion of such free controversy. It is remarkable how much of a man's life may pass without meeting with any instance of this kind of open discussion.'

"We may fairly institute a criticism between Shakspeare and Corneille, as they both had, though in a different degree, the lights of a later age. It is not so just between the Greek dramatic writers and Shakspeare. It may be replied to what is said by one of the remarkers on Shakspeare, that though Darius's shade had *rescience*, it does not necessarily follow that he had all *past* particulars revealed to him.

"Spanish plays, being wildly and improbably critical, would please children here, as children are entertained with stories full of prodigies², their experience not being sufficient to cause them to be so readily startled at deviations from the natural course of life. The machinery of the pagans is uninteresting to us: when a goddess appears in Homer or Virgil we grow weary; still more so in the Grecian tragedies,

as in that kind of composition a nearer approach to nature is intended. Yet there are good reasons for reading romances; as the fertility of invention, the beauty of style and expression, the curiosity of seeing with what kind of performances the age and country in which they were written was delighted: for it is to be apprehended, that at the time when very wild improbable tales were well received, the people were in a barbarous state, and so on the footing of children, as has been explained.

"It is evident enough that no one who writes now can use the pagan deities and mythology; the only machinery, therefore, seems that of ministering spirits, the ghosts of the departed, witches and fairies; though these latter, as the vulgar superstition concerning them (which, while in its force, infected at least the imagination of those that had more advantage in education, though their reason set them free from it) is every day wearing out, seem likely to be of little further assistance in the machinery of poetry. As I recollect, Hammond introduces a hag or witch into one of his love-elegies, where the effect is unmeaning and disgusting.³

"The man who uses his talent of ridicule in creating or grossly exaggerating the instances he gives, who imputes absurdities that did not happen, or when a man was a little ridiculous, describes him as having been very much so, abuses his talents greatly. The great use of delineating absurdities is, that we may know how far human folly can go: the account, therefore, ought of absolute necessity to be faithful. A certain character (naming the person), as to the general cast of it, is well described by Garrick; but a great deal of the phraseology he uses in it is quite his own, particularly in the proverbial comparisons, 'obstinate as a pig,' &c.: but I don't know whether it might not be true of Lord ———⁴, that from a too great eagerness of praise and popularity, and a politeness carried to a ridiculous excess, he was likely, after asserting a thing in general, to give it up again in parts. For instance, if he had said Reynolds was the first of painters, he was capable enough of giving up, as objections might happen to be severally made, first his outline, — then the grace in form, — then the colouring, — and lastly, to have owned that he was such a mannerist, that the disposition of his pictures was all alike.

"She shall breed young lords and ladies fair,
And ride abroad in a coach and three pair,
And the best, &c.
And have a house," &c.

and remembered a third, which seems to have been the reductive one, and is believed to have been the only reducing one: —

When the Duke of Leeds shall have made his choice
Of a charming young lady that's beautiful and wise,
She'll be the happiest young gentlewoman under the skies,
As long as the sun and moon shall rise,
And how happy shall," &c.

is with pleasure I add that this stanza could never be more fully applied than at this present time [1792]. — BOSWELL.
The Duke and Duchess of Leeds, at the date of Boswell's

note, were Francis the fifth duke, who died in 1799, and his second wife Catherine Anghish, who still survives. I believe all these additional lines to be spurious. — CROKER, 1831.

¹ When the corporation of Norwich applied to Johnson to point out to them a proper master for their grammar-school, he recommended Dr. Parr, on his ceasing to be usher to Sumner at Harrow. — BURNES.

² I doubt whether he adequately understood or justly appreciated the Spanish plays; I only know them by translations, but many of them seem to me of a very high order both of pathos and comedy. — CROKER, 1847.

³ Not more so than the rest of the elegy (the fifth), which is certainly, in every point of view, the worst of all Hammond's productions. Johnson exposes the absurdity of modern mythology very forcibly in his *Life of Hammond*. — CROKER.

⁴ Perhaps Lord Cork and Orrery, p. 555. — CROKER.

"For hospitality, as formerly practised, there is no longer the same reason. Heretofore the poorer people were more numerous, and, from want of commerce, their means of getting a livelihood more difficult; therefore the supporting them was an act of great benevolence: now that the poor can find maintenance for themselves, and their labour is wanted, a general undiscerning hospitality tends to ill, by withdrawing them from their work to idleness and drunkenness. Then, formerly, rents were received in kind, so that there was a great abundance of provisions in possession of the owners of the lands, which, since the plenty of money afforded by commerce, is no longer the case.

"Hospitality to strangers and foreigners in our country is now almost at an end; since, from the increase of them that come to us, there have been a sufficient number of people that have found an interest in providing inns and proper accommodations, which is in general a more expedient method for the entertainment of travellers. Where the travellers and strangers are few, more of that hospitality subsists, as it has not been worth while to provide places of accommodation. In Ireland, there is still hospitality to strangers in some degree; in Hungary and Poland, probably more.

"Colman, in a note on his translation of Terence, talking of Shakspeare's learning, asks, 'What says Farmer to this? What says Johnson?' Upon this he observed, 'Sir, let Farmer answer for himself: I never engaged in this controversy. I always said Shakspeare had Latin enough to grammaticise his English.'

"A clergyman, whom he characterised as one who loved to say little oddities, was affecting one day, at a bishop's table, a sort of slyness and freedom not in character, and repeated, as if part of 'The Old Man's Wish,' a song by Dr. Walter Pope, a verse bordering on licentiousness. Johnson rebuked him in the finest manner, by first showing him that he did not know the passage he was aiming at, and thus humbling him: 'Sir, that is not the song: it is thus.' And he gave it right. Then, looking stedfastly on him, 'Sir, there is a part of that song which I should wish to exemplify in my own life:—

"May I govern my passions with absolute sway!"

"Being asked if Barnes knew a good deal

of Greek, he answered, 'I doubt, Sir, he was *unoculus inter cacos*.'¹

"He used frequently to observe, that men might be very eminent in a profession, without our perceiving any particular power of mind in them in conversation. 'It seems strange,' said he, 'that a man should see so far to the left, who sees so short a way to the left. Burke is the only man whose common conversation corresponds with the general fame which he has in the world. Take up whatever topic you please, he is ready to meet you.'

"A gentleman, by no means deficient in literature, having discovered less acquaintance with one of the classics than Johnson expected, when the gentleman left the room, he observed, 'You see, now, how little any body reads.' Mr. Langton happening to mention his having read a good deal in Clenardus's Greek Grammar², 'Why, Sir,' said he, 'who is there in this town who knows any thing of Clenardus but you and I?'³ And upon Mr. Langton's mentioning that he had taken the pains to learn by heart the Epistle of St. Basil, which is given in that grammar as a praxis, 'Sir,' said he, 'I never made such an effort to attain Greek.'

"Of Dodsley's 'Public Virtue, a poem,' he said 'It was fine *blank*' (meaning to express his usual contempt for blank verse): however this miserable poem did not sell, and my poor friend Doddy said Public Virtue was not a subject to interest the age.

"Mr. Langton, when a very young man read Dodsley's 'Cleone, a Tragedy,' to him not aware of his extreme impatience to be read to. As it went on, he turned his face to the back of his chair, and put himself into various attitudes, which marked his uneasiness. At the end of an act, however, he said, 'Come let's have some more; let's go into the slaughter-house again, Lanky. But I am afraid there is more blood than brains.' Yet he afterwards said, 'When I heard you read it, thought higher of its power of language; when I read it myself, I was more sensible of its pathetic effect; and then he paid it a compliment which many will think very extravagant. 'Sir,' said he, 'if Otway had written this play, no other of his pieces would have been remembered.' Dodsley himself, upon this being repeated to him, said, 'It was too much.' It must be remembered, that Johnson always appeared not to be sufficiently sensible of the merit of Otway.⁴

¹ Johnson, in his Life of Milton, after mentioning that great poet's extraordinary fauce, that the world was in its decay, and that his book was to be written in an age too late for heroic poetry, thus concludes: "However inferior to the heroes who were born in better ages, he might still be great among his contemporaries, with the hope of growing every day greater in the dwindling of prosperity; he might still be a giant among the pygmies, the one-eyed monarch of the blind," — J. BOSWELL, jun.

² Nicholas Clenard, who was born in Brabant, and died at Grenada in 1542, was a great traveller and linguist. Beside his Greek Grammar (of which an improved edition was published by Vossius at Amsterdam in 1626), he wrote a Hebrew

Grammar, and an account of his travels in various countries in Latin (*Epistolarum Libri duo*, 8vo. 1556) — a very rare work, of which there is a copy in the Bodleian Library. The Latin (says the author of *Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique*, 1789) would have been more pure, if he had not known so many languages. — MALONE.

³ Mr. Langton, as has been already observed, was not a student of Greek literature. — CROKER.

⁴ This assertion concerning Johnson's insensibility to the pathetic powers of Otway is too round. I once asked him whether he did not think Otway frequently tender; when answered, "Sir, he is all tenderness." — BURNEY.

"Snatches of reading," said he, "will not make a Bentley or a Clarke. They are, however, in a certain degree advantageous. I would put a child into a library (where no unfit books are), and let him read at his choice. A child should not be discouraged from reading any thing that he takes a liking to, from a notion that it is above his reach. If that be the case, the child will soon find it out and desist; if not, he of course gains the instruction; which is so much the more likely to come, from the inclination with which he takes up the study."

"Though he used to censure carelessness with great vehemence, he owned, that he once, to avoid the trouble of locking up five guineas, hid them, he forgot where, so that he could not find them."

"A gentleman who introduced his brother to Dr. Johnson was earnest to recommend him to the doctor's notice, which he did by saying, 'When we have sat together some time, you'll find my brother grow very entertaining.' 'Sir,' said Johnson, 'I can wait.'"

"When the rumour was strong that we should have a war, because the French would assist the Americans, he rebuked a friend with some asperity for supposing it, saying, 'No, Sir, national faith is not yet sunk so low.'"

"In the latter part of his life, in order to satisfy himself whether his mental faculties were impaired, he resolved that he would try to learn a new language, and fixed upon the Low Dutch for that purpose, and this he continued till he had read about one half of 'Thomas à Kempis;' and, finding that there appeared no abatement of his power of acquisition, he then desisted, as thinking the experiment had been duly tried. Mr. Burke justly observed, that this was not the most vigorous trial, Low Dutch being a language so near to our own: had it been one of the languages entirely different, he might have been very soon satisfied."

"Mr. Langton and he having gone to see a freemason's funeral procession when they were at Rochester, and some solemn music being played on French horns, he said, 'This is the first time that I have ever been affected by musical sounds;' adding, 'that the impression made upon him was of a melancholy kind.' Mr. Langton saying, that this effect was a fine one, — JOHNSON. 'Yes, if it softens the mind

so as to prepare it for the reception of salutary feelings, it may be good: but inasmuch as it is melancholy *per se*, it is bad.'

"Goldsmith had long a visionary project, that some time or other, when his circumstances should be easier, he would go to Aleppo, in order to acquire a knowledge, as far as might be, of any arts peculiar to the East, and introduce them into Britain. When this was talked of in Dr. Johnson's company, he said, 'Of all men, Goldsmith is the most unfit to go out upon such an inquiry; for he is utterly ignorant of such arts as we already possess, and consequently could not know what would be accessions to our present stock of mechanical knowledge. Sir, he would bring home a grinding barrow, which you see in every street in London, and think that he had furnished a wonderful improvement.'"

"Greek, Sir," said he, 'is like lace; every man gets as much of it as he can.'

"When Lord Charles Hay, after his return from America, was preparing his defence to be offered to the court-martial which he had demanded, having heard Mr. Langton as high in expressions of admiration of Johnson as he usually was, he requested that Dr. Johnson might be introduced to him; and Mr. Langton having mentioned it to Johnson, he very kindly and readily agreed; and, being presented by Mr. Langton to his lordship, while under arrest, he saw him several times; upon one of which occasions Lord Charles read to him what he had prepared, which Johnson signified his approbation of, saying, 'It is a very good soldierly defence.' Johnson said that he had advised his lordship, that as it was in vain to contend with those who were in possession of power, if they would offer him the rank of lieutenant-general, and a government, it would be better judged to desist from urging his complaints. It is well known that his lordship died before the sentence was made known.³

"Johnson one day gave high praise to Dr. Bentley's verses in Dodsley's Collection, which he recited with his usual energy. Dr. Adam Smith, who was present, observed, in his decisive professorial manner, "Very well, — very well." Johnson, however, added, 'Yes, they are very well, Sir; but you may observe in what manner they are well. They are the forcible verses⁴ of a man of a strong mind, but

¹ The French horn, however, is so far from being melancholy *per se*, that when the strain is light, and in the field, there is nothing so cheerful! It was the funeral occasion, and probably the solemnity of the strain, that produced the plaintive effect here mentioned. — BURNEY. Surely the barytone of the French horn is graver than the treble of the flageolet. "Johnson said of Music, that it was the only sensual pleasure without vice." — *Hawkins's Apoph.* — CROKER, 1847.

² It should be remembered, that this was said twenty-five or thirty years ago, when lace was very generally worn. — MALONE, 1796. But even with this explanation the meaning is not clear. Perhaps Johnson meant that Greek was an elegant ornament, like lace, of which every man gets and displays as much as he can. — CROKER.

³ See *ante*, p. 497. n. 2. — C.

⁴ Dr. Johnson, in his Life of Cowley, says, that these are

"the only English verses which Bentley is known to have written." I shall here insert them, and hope my readers will apply them.

"Who strives to mount Parnassus' hill,
And thence poetic laurels bring,
Must first acquire due force and skill,
Must fly with swan's or eagle's wing.

"Who Nature's treasures would explore,
Her mysteries and arcana know,
Must high as lofty Newton soar,
Must stoop as delving Woodward low.

"Who studies ancient laws and rites,
Tongues, arts, and arms, and history,
Must drudge, like Selden, days and nights,
And in the endless labour die.

not accustomed to write verse; for there is some uncouthness in the expression.¹

"Drinking tea one day at Garrick's with Mr. Langton, he was questioned if he was not somewhat of a heretic as to Shakspeare. Said Garrick, 'I doubt he is a little of an infidel.' 'Sir,' said Johnson, 'I will stand by the lines I have written on Shakspeare in my prologue at the opening of your theatre.' Mr. Langton suggested, that in the line,—

'And panting Time toil'd after him in vain,'

Johnson might have had in his eye the passage in the 'Tempest,' where Prospero says of Miranda,—

'——— She will outstrip all praise,
And make it halt behind her.'

Johnson said nothing. Garrick then ventured to observe, 'I do not think that the happiest line in the praise of Shakspeare.' Johnson exclaimed (smiling), 'Prosaical rogues! next time I write, I'll make both time and space pant.'²

"It is well known that there was formerly a rude custom for those who were sailing upon the Thames to accost each other as they passed in the most abusive language they could invent; generally, however, with as much satirical humour as they were capable of producing. Addison gives a specimen of this ribaldry in Number 383. of 'The Spectator,' when Sir Roger de Coverly and he are going to Spring-garden.³ Johnson was once eminently successful in this species of contest. A fellow having attacked him with some coarse raillery, Johnson answered him thus, 'Sir, your wife, *under pretence of keeping a house of ill fame, is a receiver of stolen goods.*' One evening when he and Mr. Burke and Mr. Langton were in company together, and the admirable scolding of Timon of Athens was mentioned, this in-

stance of Johnson's was quoted, and thought to have at least equal excellence.

"As Johnson always allowed the extraordinary talents of Mr. Burke, so Mr. Burke was fully sensible of the wonderful powers of Johnson. Mr. Langton recollects having passed an evening with both of them, when Mr. Burke repeatedly entered upon topics which it was evident he would have illustrated with extensive knowledge and richness of expression; but Johnson always seized upon the conversation, in which, however, he acquitted himself in a most masterly manner. As Mr. Burke and Mr. Langton were walking home, Mr. Burke observed that Johnson had been very great that night: Mr. Langton joined in this, but added, he could have wished to hear more from another person (plainly intimating that he meant Mr. Burke). 'O, no,' said Mr. Burke, 'it is enough for me to have rung the bell to him.'

"Beauleclerk having observed to him of one of their friends, that he was awkward at counting money; 'Why, Sir,' said Johnson, I am likewise awkward at counting money. But then, Sir, the reason is plain; I have had very little money to count.'

"He had an abhorrence of affectation. Talking of old Mr. Langton, of whom he said, 'Sir, you will seldom see such a gentleman, such are his stores of literature, such his knowledge in divinity, and such his exemplary life;' he added, 'and, Sir, he has no grimace, no gesticulation, no bursts of admiration on trivial occasions: he never embraces you with an overacted cordiality.'

"Being in company with a gentleman who thought fit to maintain Dr. Berkeley's ingenious philosophy, that nothing exists but as perceived by some mind; when the gentleman was going away, Johnson said to him, 'Pray, Sir, don't leave us; for we may perhaps forget

"Who travels in religious jars,
(Truth mix'd with error, shades with rays),
Like Whiston, wanting pyx or stars,
In ocean wide or sinks or strays.

"But grant our hero's hope long toil
And comprehensive genius crown,
All sciences, all hearts his spoil,
Yet what reward, or what renown?"

"Envy, innate in vulgar souls,
Envy steps in and stops his rise;
Envy with poison'd tarnish fouls
His lustre, and his worth decies.

"Inglorious or by wants enthral'd,
To college and old books confined;
A pedant from his learning call'd,
Dunces advanced, he's left behind:
Yet left content, a genuine stoic he,
Great without patron, rich without South Sea."

— BOSWELL.

The last stanza is corrected from a better copy found by J. BOSWELL, JUN. — CROKER.

¹ The difference between Johnson and Smith is apparent even in this slight instance. Smith was a man of extraordinary application, and had his mind crowded with all manner of subjects; but the force, acuteness, and vivacity of Johnson were not to be found there. He had book-making so much in his thoughts, and was so chary of what might be turned to account in that way, that he once said to Sir Joshua Reynolds, that he made it a rule, when in company,

never to talk of what he understood. Beauleclerk had for a short time a pretty high opinion of Smith's conversation. Garrick, after listening to him for a while, as to one of whom his expectations had been raised, turned slyly to a friend, and whispered him, "What say you to this?—eh? *Flabby*, I think." — BOSWELL. I suppose these conversations occurred at the Club, to which Smith was admitted in 1775, — only Beauleclerk, Gibbon, Jones, and Reynolds being present. — CROKER, 1847.

² I am sorry to see in the "Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh," vol. ii., "An essay on the Character of Hamlet," written, I should suppose, by a very young man, though called "Reverend," who speaks with presumptuous petulance of the first literary character of his age. Amidst a cloudy confusion of words (which hath of late too often passed in Scotland for *metaphysics*), he thus ventures to criticise one of the noblest lines in our language: — "Dr. Johnson has remarked, that 'Time toiled after him in vain.' But I should apprehend that this is *entirely to mistake the character*." Time toils after every great man, as well as after Shakspeare. The workings of an ordinary mind keep pace, indeed, with time; they move no faster; they have their beginning, their middle, and their end; but superior natures can reduce these into a point. They do not, indeed, suppress them; but they suspend, or they lock them up in the breast." The learned society, under whose sanction such gabble is ushered into the world, would do well to offer a premium to any one who will discover its meaning. — BOSWELL. The author of this essay was Mr. Thomas Robertson, afterwards D.D. and author of a "Life of Mary Queen of Scots." — CROKER, 1847.

³ Vauxhall. — CROKER.

to think of you, and then you will cease to exist."

"Goldsmith, upon being visited by Johnson one day in the Temple, said to him with a little jealousy of the appearance of his accommodation, 'I shall soon be in better chambers than these.' Johnson at the same time checked him and paid him a handsome compliment, implying that a man of his talents should be above attention to such distinctions. — 'Nay, Sir, never mind that: *Nil te quæsieris extra.*'"

"At the time when his pension was granted to him, he said, with a noble literary ambition, 'Had this happened twenty years ago, I should have gone to Constantinople to learn Arabic, as Pœcocke did.'

"As an instance of the niceness of his taste, though he praised West's translation of *Pindar*, he pointed out the following passages as faulty, by expressing a circumstance so minute as to detract from the general dignity which should prevail: —

'Down then from thy glittering nail,
Take, O Muse, thy Dorian lyre.'

"When Mr. Vesey² was proposed as a member of the Literary Club, Mr. Burke began by saying that he was a man of gentle manners. 'Sir,' said Johnson, 'you need say no more. When you have said a man of gentle manners, you have said enough.'

"The late Mr. Fitzherbert told Mr. Langton that Johnson said to him, 'Sir, a man has no more right to say an uncivil thing, than to act one; no more right to say a rude thing to another than to knock him down.'

"My dear friend, Dr. Bathurst,' said he, with a warmth of approbation, 'declared he was glad that his father, who was a West India planter, had left his affairs in total ruin, because, having no estate, he was not under the temptation of having slaves.'

"Richardson had little conversation, except about his own works, of which Sir Joshua Reynolds said he was always willing to talk, and glad to have them introduced.³ Johnson, when he carried Mr. Langton to see him, professed that he could bring him out into conversation, and used this allusive expression, 'Sir, I can make him rear.' But he failed; for in that interview Richardson said little else

than that there lay in the room a translation of his *Clarissa* into German.

"Once when somebody produced a newspaper in which there was a letter of stupid abuse of Sir Joshua Reynolds, of which Johnson himself came in for a share, 'Pray,' said he, 'let us have it read aloud from beginning to end; which being done, he, with a ludicrous earnestness, and not directing his look to any particular person, called out, 'Are we alive after all this satire?'

"He had a strong prejudice against the political character of Secker, one instance of which appeared at Oxford, where he expressed great dissatisfaction at his varying the old-established toast, 'Church and king.' 'The Archbishop of Canterbury,' said he, with an affected, smooth, smiling grimace, drinks "Constitution in church and state." Being asked what difference there was between the two toasts, he said, 'Why, Sir, you may be sure he meant something.' Yet when the life of that prelate, prefixed to his sermons by Dr. Porteus and Dr. Stinton, his chaplains, first came out, he read it with the utmost avidity, and said, 'It is a life well written, and that well deserves to be recorded.'

"Of a certain noble lord⁴, he said, 'Respect him you could not; for he had no mind of his own. Love him you could not; for that which you could do with him every one else could.'

"Of Dr. Goldsmith he said, 'No man was more foolish when he had not a pen in his hand, or more wise when he had.'

"He told, in his lively manner, the following literary anecdote: — 'Green and Guthrie, an Irishman and a Scotchman, undertook a translation of Duhalde's History of China. Green said of Guthrie, that he knew no English, and Guthrie of Green, that he knew no French; and these two undertook to translate Duhalde's History of China. In this translation there was found, 'the twenty-sixth day of the new moon.' Now, as the whole age of the moon is but twenty-eight days, the moon, instead of being new, was nearly as old as it could be. The blunder arose from their mistaking the word *neuvième*, ninth, for *nouvelle*, or *neuve*.'

"Talking of Dr. Blagden's⁵ copiousness and precision of communication, Dr. Johnson said, 'Blagden, Sir, is a delightful fellow.'

¹ *Nec te quæsieris extra.*

Nor seek beyond yourself. — *Persius*, Sat. 1. 7. — C.

² The Right Hon. Agmondesham Vesey was elected a member of the Literary Club in 1773, and died August 11th, 1786. — MALONE. Yet he afterwards found that gentle manners alone were not "enough;" for when Mrs. Piozzi once asked him concerning the conversational powers of Mr. Vesey, with whom she was unacquainted, "He talked to me," said Johnson, "one day at the Club concerning Catiline's conspiracy; so I withdrew my attention, and thought about Tom Thumb." — CROKER.

³ A literary lady has favoured me with a characteristic anecdote of Richardson. One day at his country house at Northend, where a large company was assembled at dinner, a gentleman, who was just returned from Paris, willing to please Mr. Richardson, mentioned to him a very flattering circumstance, that he had seen his *Clarissa* lying on the king's brother's table. Richardson, observing that part of

the company were engaged in talking to each other, affected then not to attend to it; but, by and by, when there was a general silence, and he thought that the flattery might be fully heard, he addressed himself to the gentleman: "I think, Sir, you were saying somewhat about" — pausing in a high flutter of expectation. The gentleman, provoked at his inordinate vanity, resolved not to indulge it, and with an exquisitely sly air of indifference, answered, "A mere trifle, Sir, not worth repeating." The mortification of Richardson was visible, and he did not speak ten words more the whole day. Doctor Johnson was present, and appeared to enjoy it much. — BOSWELL.

⁴ Probably Lord Cork. See *anté*, p. 555. 659. — CROKER.

⁵ Afterwards Sir Charles Blagden. Hannah More's account of him was, "Doctor Blagden is Secretary to the Royal Society, so modest, so sensible, and so knowing, that he exemplifies Pope's line, 'Willing to teach, and yet not proud to know.'" — *Life*, vol. ii. p. 98. — CROKER, 1835.

"On occasion of Dr. Johnson's publishing his pamphlet of 'The False Alarm,' there came out a very angry answer (by many supposed to be by Mr. Wilkes). Dr. Johnson determined on not answering it; but, in conversation with Mr. Langton, mentioned a particular or two, which, if he *had* replied to it, he might perhaps have inserted. In the answerer's pamphlet, it had been said with solemnity, 'Do you consider, Sir, that a house of commons is to the people as a creature is to its Creator?' 'To this question,' said Dr. Johnson, 'I could have replied, that, in the first place, the idea of a Creator must be such as that he has a power to unmake or annihilate his creature. Then it cannot be conceived that a creature can make laws for its Creator.'¹

"'Depend upon it,' said he, 'that if a man *talks* of his misfortunes, there is something in them that is not disagreeable to him; for where there is nothing but pure misery, there never is any recourse to the mention of it.'

"'A man must be a poor beast, that should read no more in quantity than he could utter aloud.'

"'Imlac, in *Rasselas*, I spelt with a *c* at the end, because it is less like English, which should always have the Saxon *k* added to the *c*.'²

"'Many a man is mad in certain instances, and goes through life without having it perceived. For example, a madness has seized a person, of supposing himself obliged literally to pray continually³: had the madness turned the opposite way, and the person thought it a crime ever to pray, it might not improbably have continued unobserved.'

"He apprehended that the delineation of *characters* in the end of the first book of the 'Retreat of the Ten Thousand' was the first instance of the kind that was known.

"'Supposing,' said he, 'a wife to be of a studious or argumentative turn, it would be very troublesome: for instance, if a woman should continually dwell upon the subject of the Arian heresy.'

"'No man speaks concerning another, even suppose it to be in his praise, if he thinks he does not hear him, exactly as he would if he thought he was within hearing.'⁴

"'The applause of a single human being is of great consequence.' This he said to me

with great earnestness of manner, very near the time of his decease, on occasion of having desired me to read a letter addressed to him from some person in the north of England; which when I had done, and he asked me what the contents were, as I thought being particular upon it might fatigue him, it being of great length, I only told him in general that it was highly in his praise; and then he expressed himself as above.

"He mentioned with an air of satisfaction what Baretti had told him; that, meeting in the course of his studying English with an excellent paper in 'The Spectator,' one of four⁵ that were written by the respectable dissenting minister, Mr. Grove of Taunton, and observing the genius and energy of mind that it exhibits, it greatly quickened his curiosity to visit our country; as he thought, if such were the lighter periodical essays of our authors, their productions on more weighty occasions must be wonderful indeed!

"He observed once, at Sir Joshua Reynolds's, that a beggar in the street will more readily ask alms from a *man*, though there should be no marks of wealth in his appearance, than from even a well-dressed *woman*⁶; which he accounted for from the great degree of carefulness as to money, that is to be found in women; saying farther upon it, that the opportunities in general that they possess of improving their condition are much fewer than men have; and adding, as he looked round the company, which consisted of men only, 'There is not one of us who does not think he might be richer, if he would use his endeavour.'

"He thus characterised an ingenious writer of his acquaintance: 'Sir, he is an enthusiast by rule.'

"'He may hold up that shield against all his enemies,' was an observation on Homer, in reference to his description of the shield of Achilles, made by Mrs. Fitzherbert [p. 20.], wife to his friend Mr. Fitzherbert of Derbyshire, and respected by Dr. Johnson as a very fine one.⁷ He had in general a very high opinion of that lady's understanding.

"An observation of Bathurst's may be mentioned, which Johnson repeated, appearing to acknowledge it to be well founded; namely, it was somewhat remarkable how seldom, on oc-

¹ His profound adoration of the Great First Cause was such as to set him above that "philosophy and vain deceit" with which men of narrow conceptions have been infected. I have heard him strongly maintain that "what is right is not so from any natural fitness, but because God wills it to be right;" and it is certainly so, because he has predisposed the relations of things so, as that which he wills must be right. — BOSWELL.

² I hope the authority of the great master of our language will stop that curling innovation by which we see *critic*, *public*, &c. frequently written instead of *critick*, *publick*, &c. — BOSWELL. Why should we not retrench an obvious superfluity? In the preceding age *public* and *critic* were written *publicke* and *critique*. I find that Johnson himself, in a memorandum among Mr. Anderdon's papers, dated in 1784, writes "*cubic feet*." — CROKER.

³ Johnson had, no doubt, his poor friend Smart in his recollection: see *anté*, p. 135. — CROKER.

⁴ This observation confirms my suggestion, *anté*, p. 282. n. 5, and p. 364. n. 1, that we have suffered by Boswell's having written his *Journal of the Tour to the Hebrides* under Johnson's inspection. — CROKER, 1847.

⁵ No. 588, 601, 626, 635. See *anté*, 10th April, 1776. Johnson's praise of that on *Novelty*, which is No. 626.; but I find in the Biographical Preface to the *Spectator*, this praise attributed (I know not why) to No. 588. — CROKER, 1847.

⁶ Sterne is of a direct contrary opinion. See his "Sentimental Journey;" article, *The Mystery*. — BOSWELL.

⁷ Meaning, I suppose, that Homer's description of the shield of Achilles was so masterly that it alone was sufficient to prove him a great poet, and to turn all the shafts of criticism. But the reader cannot have failed to observe that many of the anecdotes in Mr. Langton's *Collectanea*, are very obscurely expressed, and that different topics seem sometimes jumbled into one paragraph. — CROKER.

casion of coming into the company of any new person, one felt any wish or inclination to see him again."

This year the Reverend Dr. Franklin having published a translation of "Lucian," inscribed to him the *Demonax* thus:—

"To Dr. Samuel Johnson, the *Demonax* of the present age, this piece is inscribed by a sincere admirer of his respectable talents,

THE TRANSLATOR."

Though upon a particular comparison of *Demonax* and Johnson, there does not seem to be a great deal of similarity between them¹, this dedication is a just compliment from the general character given by Lucian of the ancient sage, "ἄριστον ὦν διὰ ἐγὼ φιλοσόφων γενομένων, the best philosopher whom I have ever seen or known."

CHAPTER LXXI.

1781.

The "*Lives of the Poets*" completed. — *Observations upon, and various Readings in, the Life of Cowley.* — Waller. — Milton. — Dryden. — Pope. — Broome. — Addison. — Parnell. — Blackmore. — Philips. — Congreve. — Tickell. — Akenside. — Lord Lyttelton. — Young. — Swift.

IN 1781, Johnson at last completed his "*Lives of the Poets*," of which he gives this account: "Some time in March I finished the '*Lives of the Poets*,' which I wrote in my usual way, dilatorily and hastily, unwilling to work, and working with vigour and haste."² In a memorandum previous to this, he says of them: "Written, I hope, in such a manner as may tend to the promotion of piety." — (*Pr. and Med.*, pp. 174. 190.)

This is the work which, of all Dr. Johnson's writings, will perhaps be read most generally,

and with most pleasure. Philology and biography were his favourite pursuits, and those who lived most in intimacy with him, heard him upon all occasions, when there was a proper opportunity, take delight in expatiating upon the various merits of the English poets: upon the niceties of their characters, and the events of their progress through the world which they contributed to illuminate. His mind was so full of that kind of information, and it was so well arranged in his memory, that in performing what he had undertaken in this way, he had little more to do than to put his thoughts upon paper; exhibiting first each poet's life, and then subjoining a critical examination of his genius and works. But when he began to write, the subject swelled in such a manner, that instead of prefaces to each poet, of no more than a few pages, as he had originally intended³, he produced an ample, rich, and most entertaining view of them in every respect. In this he resembled Quintilian, who tells us, that in the composition of his "*Institutions of Oratory*," "*Latiùs se tamen aperiente materiâ, plus quam imponebatur oneris sponte suscepi.*" The booksellers, justly sensible of the great additional value of the copy-right, presented him with another hundred pounds, over and above two hundred, for which his agreement was to furnish such prefaces as he thought fit.⁴

This was, however, but a small recompence for such a collection of biography, and such principles and illustrations of criticism, as, if digested and arranged in one system, by some modern Aristotle or Longinus, might form a code upon that subject, such as no other nation can show. As he was so good as to make me a present of the greatest part of the original, and indeed only, manuscript of this admirable work, I have an opportunity of observing with wonder the correctness with which he rapidly struck off such glowing composition. He may be assimilated to the lady in Waller, who could impress with "love at first sight:"

"Some other nymphs with colours faint,
And pencil slow, may Cupid paint,
And a weak heart in time destroy:
She has a stamp, and prints the boy."

¹ There were many points in which Johnson did not resemble *Demonax*, who was high-born and rich, very mild in his manners, gentle in argument and even in his reprimands, and lived to a great age in uninterrupted health; but in some other particulars Lucian's character seems applicable to Johnson; and indeed his tract resembles (in little) Boswell's own work, being a collection of observations on several topics, moral, critical, and religious, made by a philosopher of strong sense, ready wit, and fearless veracity; and the character which Lucian ascribes to the conversation of *Demonax* appears to me not unlike (making due allowance for the difference of ancient and modern habits and topics) the style of that of Dr. Johnson. — CROKER.

² This facility of writing, and this dilatoriness ever to write, Dr. Johnson always retained, from the days that he lay a-bed and dictated his first publication to Mr. Hector, to the moment he made me copy out those variations in Pope's *Homer* which are printed in the *Lives of the Poets*. "And now," said he, when I had finished it for him, "I fear not Mr. Nichols [the printer] of a pin." — Piozzi. The first *livraison*

was published in 1779. This edition of the *Poets* was in sixty volumes, small octavo. — CROKER.

³ His design is thus announced in his advertisement: "The booksellers having determined to publish a body of English poetry, I was persuaded to promise them a preface to the works of each author: an undertaking, as it was then presented to my mind, not very tedious or difficult. My purpose was only to have allotted to every poet an advertisement, like that which we find in the '*French Miscellanies*,' containing a few dates, and a general character; but I have been led beyond my intention, I hope by the honest desire of giving useful pleasure." — BOSWELL.

⁴ The bargain was for two hundred guineas, and the booksellers spontaneously added a third hundred; on this occasion Dr. Johnson observed to me, "Sir, I always said the booksellers were a generous set of men. Nor, in the present instance, have I reason to complain. The fact is, not that they have paid me too little, but that I have written too much." The "*Lives*" were soon published in a separate edition; when, for a very few corrections, he was presented with another hundred guineas. — NICHOLS. *Anté*, p. 531. n. 1. — C.

That he, however, had a good deal of trouble, and some anxiety, in carrying on the work, we see from a series of letters to Mr. Nichols, the printer, whose variety of literary inquiry and obliging disposition rendered him useful to Johnson. Thus :—

"In the Life of Waller, Mr. Nichols will find a reference to the Parliamentary History, from which a long quotation is to be inserted. If Mr. Nichols cannot easily find the book, Mr. Johnson will send it from Streatham.

"Clarendon is here returned.

"By some accident I laid *your* note upon Duke up so safely, that I cannot find it. Your informations have been of great use to me. I must beg it again, with another list of our authors, for I have laid that with the other. I have sent Stepnay's Epitaph. Let me have the revises as soon as can be. December, 1778.

"I have sent Philips, with his Epitaphs, to be inserted. The fragment of a preface is hardly worth the impression, but that we may seem to do something. It may be added to the Life of Philips. The Latin page is to be added to the Life of Smith. I shall be at home to revise the two sheets of Milton. March 1. 1779.

"Please to get me the last edition of Hughes's Letters; and try to get Dennis upon Blackmore and upon Cato, and any thing of the same writer against Pope. Our materials are defective.

"As Waller professed to have imitated Fairfax, do you think a few pages of Fairfax would enrich our edition? Few readers have seen it, and it may please them. But it is not necessary.

"An account of the Lives and Works of some of the most eminent English Poets, by, &c. 'The English Poets, biographically and critically considered, by Sam. Johnson.' Let Mr. Nichols take his choice, or make another to his mind. May, 1781.

"You somehow forgot the advertisement for the new edition. It was not enclosed. Of Gay's Letters I see not that any use can be made, for they give no information of any thing. That he was a member of a philosophical society is something; but surely he could be but a corresponding member. However, not having his life here, I know not how to put it in, and it is of little importance."¹

Mr. Stevens appears, from the papers in my possession, to have supplied him with some anecdotes and quotations; and I observe the fair hand² of Mrs. Thrale as one of his copyists of select passages. But he was principally indebted to my steady friend, Mr. Isaac Reed, of Staple-inn, whose extensive and accurate knowledge of English literary history I do not

express with exaggeration, when I say it is wonderful: indeed, his labours have proved it to the world; and all who have the pleasure of his acquaintance can bear testimony to the frankness of his communications in private society.

It is not my intention to dwell upon each of Johnson's "Lives of the Poets," or attempt an analysis of their merits, which, were I able to do it, would take up too much room in this work; yet I shall make a few observations upon some of them, and insert a few various readings.

The Life of COWLEY he himself considered as the best of the whole, on account of the dissertation which it contains on the *Metaphysical Poets*.³ Dryden, whose critical abilities were equal to his poetical, had mentioned them in his excellent Dedication of his Juvenal, but had barely mentioned them. Johnson has exhibited them at large, with such happy illustration from their writings, and in so luminous a manner, that indeed he may be allowed the full merit of novelty, and to have discovered to us, as it were, a new planet in the poetical hemisphere.

It is remarked by Johnson, in considering the works of a poet⁴, that "amendments are seldom made without some token of a rent;" but I do not find that this is applicable to prose.⁵ We shall see, that though his amendments in this work are for the better, there is nothing of the *pannus assutus*; the texture is uniform; and indeed, what had been there at first, is very seldom unfit to have remained.

*Various Readings*⁶ in the Life of COWLEY.

"All [future votaries of] that may hereafter pant for solitude.

"To conceive and execute the [agitation or perception] pains and the pleasures of other minds.

"The wide effulgence of [the blazing] a summer noon."

In the Life of WALLER, Johnson gives a distinct and animated narrative of public affairs in that variegated period, with strong yet nice touches of character; and having a fair opportunity to display his political principles, does it with an unqualified manly confidence, and satisfies his readers how nobly he might have executed a *Tory History* of his country.

So easy is his style in these Lives, that I do not recollect more than three uncommon or learned words: one, when giving an account of the approach of Waller's mortal disease, he says, "he found his legs grow *tumid*;" by

¹ See several more in "The Gentleman's Magazine," 1785. The editor of that miscellany, in which Johnson wrote for several years, seems justly to think that every fragment of so great a man is worthy of being preserved. — BOSWELL. The originals are now in the British Museum. — P. CUNNINGHAM.

² A fair hand, in more than one sense — her writing is an almost perfect specimen of calligraphy, as beautiful, I think, as I ever saw; and this power remained unimpaired to the last years of her long life. — CROKER.

³ Hawkins says, that he also gave it the preference, as containing a nicer investigation and discrimination of the

characteristics of *wit*, than is elsewhere to be found. — CROKER.

⁴ Life of Sheffield. — BOSWELL.

⁵ See, however, p. 657. of this volume, where the same remark is made, and Johnson is there speaking of *prose*. In his Life of Dryden, his observations on the opera of "King Arthur" furnish a striking instance of the truth of this remark. — MALONE.

⁶ The original reading is enclosed in brackets, and the present one is printed in italics. — BOSWELL.

using the expression his legs *swelled*, he would have avoided this; and there would have been no impropriety in its being followed by the interesting question to his physician, "What that *swelling* meant?" Another, when he mentions that Pope had *emitted* proposals; when *published* or *issued* would have been more readily understood; and a third, when he calls Orrery and Dr. Delaney writers both undoubtedly *veracious*; when *true*, *honest*, or *faithful*, might have been used. Yet, it must be owned, that none of these are *hard* or *too big* words; that custom would make them seem as easy as any others; and that a language is richer and capable of more beauty of expression, by having a greater variety of synonyms.

His dissertation upon the unfitness of poetry for the awful subjects of our holy religion, though I do not entirely agree with him, has all the merit of originality, with uncommon force and reasoning.

Various Readings in the Life of WALLER.

"Consented to [the insertion of their names] *their own nomination*."

"[After] *paying* a fine of ten thousand pounds.

"Congratulating Charles the Second on his [coronation] *recovered right*."

"He that has flattery ready for all whom the vicissitudes of the world happen to exalt, must be [confessed to degrade his powers] *scorned as a prostituted mind*."

"The characters by which Waller intended to distinguish his writings are [elegance] *sprightliness* and dignity."

"Blossoms to be valued only as they [fetch] *foretell* fruits."

"Images such as the superficies of nature [easily] *readily* supplies."

"[His] *Some* applications [are sometimes] *may be thought* too remote and un consequential."

"His images are [sometimes confused] *not always distinct*."

Against his Life of MILTON, the hounds of whiggism have opened in full cry.¹ But of Milton's great excellence as a poet, where shall we find such a blazon as by the hand of Johnson? I shall select only the following passage concerning "Paradise Lost:"—

"Fancy can hardly forbear to conjecture with what temper Milton surveyed the silent progress of

his work, and marked his reputation stealing its way in a kind of subterraneous current, through fear and silence. I cannot but conceive him calm and confident, little disappointed, not at all dejected, relying on his own merit with steady consciousness, and waiting, without impatience, the vicissitudes of opinion, and the impartiality of a future generation."

Indeed even Dr. Towers, who may be considered as one of the warmest zealots of *The Revolution Society* itself, allows, that "Johnson has spoken in the highest terms of the abilities of that great poet, and has bestowed on his principal poetical compositions the most honourable encomiums."²

That a man, who venerated the church and monarchy as Johnson did, should speak with a just abhorrence of Milton as a politician, or rather as a daring foe to good polity, was surely to be expected; and to those who censure him, I would recommend his commentary on Milton's celebrated complaint of his situation, when by the lenity of Charles the Second, "a lenity of which," as Johnson well observes, "the world has had perhaps no other example, he, who had written in justification of the murder of his sovereign, was safe under an *Act of Oblivion*." "No sooner is he safe than he finds himself in danger, *fallen on evil days and evil tongues, with darkness and with dangers compassed round*. This darkness, had his eyes been better employed, had undoubtedly deserved compassion; but to add the mention of danger was ungrateful and unjust. He was fallen, indeed, on *evil days*; the time was come in which regicides could no longer boast their wickedness. But of *evil tongues* for Milton to complain, required impudence at least equal to his other powers; Milton, whose warmest advocates must allow, that he never spared any asperity of reproach, or brutality of insolence."

I have, indeed, often wondered how Milton, "an acrimonious and surly republican,"³—"a man who in his domestic relations was so severe and arbitrary," and whose head was filled with the hardest and most dismal tenets of Calvinism, should have been such a poet; should not only have written with sublimity, but with beauty, and even gaiety; should have exquisitely painted the sweetest sensa-

¹ "Mr. Nichols," says Murphy, "whose attachment to his illustrious friend was unwearied, showed him, in 1780, a book called Remarks on Johnson's Life of Milton, in which the affair of Lauder was renewed with virulence, and a poetical scale in the Literary Magazine, 1758 (when Johnson had ceased to write in that collection), was urged as an additional proof of deliberate malice. He read the libellous passage with attention, and instantly wrote on the margin: 'In the business of Lauder I was deceived, partly by thinking the man too frantic to be fraudulent. Of the poetical scale, quoted from the Magazine, I am not the author. I fancy it was put in after I had quitted that work; for I not only did not write it, but I do not remember it.' " But see *ante*, p. 73. n. 2.—CROKER.

² See "An Essay on the Life, Character, and Writings of Dr. Samuel Johnson," London, 1787; which is very well written, making a proper allowance for the democratical bigotry of its author; whom I cannot however but admire for his liberality in speaking thus of my illustrious friend:—

"He possessed extraordinary powers of understanding, which were much cultivated by study, and still more by meditation and reflection. His memory was remarkably retentive, his imagination uncommonly vigorous, and his judgment keen and penetrating. He had a strong sense of the importance of religion; his piety was sincere, and sometimes ardent; and his zeal for the interests of virtue was often manifested in his conversation and in his writings. The same energy which was displayed in his literary productions was exhibited also in his conversation, which was various, striking, and instructive; and perhaps no man ever equalled him for nervous and pointed repartees. His Dictionary, his Moral Essays, and his productions in polite literature, will convey useful instruction, and elegant entertainment, as long as the language in which they are written shall be understood."—BOSWELL.

³ Johnson's Life of Milton. — BOSWELL.

tions of which our nature is capable; imaged the delicate raptures of connubial love; nay, seemed to be animated with all the spirit of revelry. It is a proof that in the human mind the departments of judgment and imagination, perception and temper, may sometimes be divided by strong partitions; and that the light and shade in the same character may be kept so distinct as never to be blended.¹

In the Life of Milton, Johnson took occasion to maintain his own and the general opinion of the excellence of rhyme over blank verse, in English poetry; and quotes this apposite illustration of it by "an ingenious critic," that *it seems to be verse only to the eye*.² The gentleman whom he thus characterises is (as he told Mr. Seward) Mr. Lock, of Norbury Park, in Surrey, whose knowledge and taste in the fine arts is universally celebrated; with whose elegance of manners the writer of the present work has felt himself much impressed, and to whose virtues a common friend, who has known him long and is not much addicted to flattery, gives the highest testimony.

Various Readings in the Life of MILTON.

"I cannot find any meaning but this which [his most bigoted advocates] *even kindness and reverence* can give.

"[Perhaps no] *scarcely any man ever wrote so much, and praised so few.*

"A certain [rescue] *preservative* from oblivion.

"Let me not be censured for this digression, as [contracted] *pedantic* or paradoxical.

"Socrates rather was of opinion, that what we had to learn was how to [obtain and communicate happiness] *do good and avoid evil.*

"Its elegance [who can exhibit?] *is less attainable.*"

I could, with pleasure, expatiate upon the masterly execution of the Life of DRYDEN, which we have seen³ was one of Johnson's literary projects at an early period, and which it is remarkable, that after desisting from it, from a supposed scantiness of materials, he should, at an advanced age, have exhibited so amply.

His defence of that great poet against the illiberal attacks upon him, as if his embracing the Roman Catholic communion had been a time-serving measure, is a piece of reasoning at once able and candid. Indeed, Dryden himself, in his "Hind and Panther," hath given such a picture of his mind, that they who know the anxiety for repose as to the awful subject of our state beyond the grave,

though they may think his opinion ill-founded, must think charitably of his sentiment:—

"But, gracious God, how well dost thou provide
For erring judgments an unerring guide!
Thy throne is darkness in the abyss of light,
A blaze of glory that forbids the sight.
O! teach me to believe thee thus conceal'd;
And search no farther than thyself reveal'd;
But Her alone for my director take,
Whom thou hast promised never to forsake.
My thoughtless youth was wing'd with vain
desires;
My manhood long misled by wand'ring fires,
Follow'd false lights; and when their glimpse
was gone,
My pride struck out new sparkles of her own.
Such was I, such by nature still I am;
Be thine the glory, and be mine the shame.
Good life be now my task; my doubts are done;
What more could shock my faith than Three in
One?"

In drawing Dryden's character, Johnson has given, though I suppose unintentionally, some touches of his own. Thus: "The power that predominated in his intellectual operations was rather strong reason than quick sensibility. Upon all occasions that were presented, he studied rather than felt; and produced sentiments not such as nature enforces, but meditation supplies. With the simple and elemental passions, as they spring separate in the mind, he seems not much acquainted. He is, therefore, with all his variety of excellence, not often pathetic, and had so little sensibility of the power of effusions purely natural, that he did not esteem them in others." It may indeed be observed, that in all the numerous writings of Johnson, whether in prose or verse, and even in his tragedy, of which the subject is the distress of an unfortunate princess, there is not a single passage that ever drew a tear.⁴

Various Readings in the Life of DRYDEN.

"The reason of this general perusal, Addison has attempted to [find in] *derive from* the delight which the mind feels in the investigation of secrets.

"His best actions are but [convenient] *inability* of wickedness.

"When once he had engaged himself in disputation, [matter] *thoughts* flowed in on either side.

"The abyss of an un-ideal [emptiness] *vacancy.*

"These, like [many other harlots], *the harlots of other men*, had his love, though not his approbation.

"He [sometimes displays] *descends to display* his knowledge with pedantic ostentation.

"French words which [were then used in] *had then crept into conversation.*"

¹ Mr. Malone thinks it is rather a proof that he felt nothing of those cheerful sensations which he has described: that on these topics it is the *poet*, and not the *man*, that writes.—BOSWELL.

² One of the most natural instances of the effect of blank verse occurred to the late Earl of Hopeton. His lordship observed one of his shepherds poring in the fields upon Milton's "Paradise Lost;" and having asked him what book it was, the man answered, "An't please your lordship, this is

a very odd sort of an author: he would fain rhyme, but cannot get at it."—BOSWELL.

³ See *anté*, p. 516.—BOSWELL.

⁴ It seems to me, that there are many pathetic passages in Johnson's works, both prose and verse.—KEARNEY. The deep and pathetic morality of the *Fanny of Human Wishes*, has often extracted tears from those whose eyes wander dry over the pages of professed sentimentality.—WALTER SCOTT.

The Life of POPE¹ was written by Johnson *con amore*, both from the early possession which that writer had taken of his mind, and from the pleasure which he must have felt, in for ever silencing all attempts to lessen his poetical fame, by demonstrating his excellence, and pronouncing the following triumphant eulogium :

"After all this, it is surely superfluous to answer the question that has once been asked, Whether Pope was a poet? otherwise than by asking in return, if Pope be not a poet, where is poetry to be found? To circumscribe poetry by a definition, will only show the narrowness of the definer; though a definition which shall exclude Pope will not easily be made. Let us look round upon the present time, and back upon the past; let us inquire to whom the voice of mankind has decreed the wreath of poetry; let their productions be examined, and their claims stated, and the pretensions of Pope will be no more disputed."

I remember once to have heard Johnson say, "Sir, a thousand years may elapse before there shall appear another man with a power of versification equal to that of Pope." That power must undoubtedly be allowed its due share in enhancing the value of his captivating composition.

Johnson, who had done liberal justice to Warburton in his edition of Shakspeare, which

was published during the life of that powerful writer, with still greater liberality took an opportunity, in the life of Pope, of paying the tribute due to him when he was no longer in "high place," but numbered with the dead.²

It seems strange, that two such men as Johnson and Warburton, who lived in the same age and country, should not only not have been in any degree of intimacy, but been almost personally unacquainted. But such instances, though we must wonder at them, are not rare. If I am rightly informed, after a careful inquiry, they never met but once, which was at the house of Mrs. French, in London, well known for her elegant assemblies and bringing eminent characters together. The interview proved to be mutually agreeable.³

I am well informed, that Warburton said of Johnson, "I admire him, but I cannot bear his style:" and that Johnson being told of this, said, "That is exactly my case as to him." The manner in which he expressed his admiration of the fertility of Warburton's genius and of the variety of his materials, was, "The table is always full, Sir. He brings things from the north, and the south, and from every quarter. In his 'Divine Legation,' you are always entertained. He carries you round and round, without carrying you forward to the point, but then you have no wish to be

¹ Mr. D'Israeli has, in the third volume of his "Literary Curiosities," favoured the public with an original memorandum of Dr. Johnson's, of hints for the "Life of Pope," written down as they were suggested to his mind in the course of his researches. — CHALMERS.

² Of Johnson's conduct towards Warburton, a very honourable notice is taken by the editor of *Tracts by Warburton, and a Warburtonian, not admitted into the Collection of their respective Works*. After an able and "fond, though not undistinguishing," consideration of Warburton's character, he says,—

"In two immortal works, Johnson has stood forth in the foremost rank of his admirers. By the testimony of such a man, impertinence must be abashed, and malignity itself must be softened. Of literary merit, Johnson, as we all know, was a sagacious but a most severe judge. Such was his discernment, that he pierced into the most secret springs of human actions; and such was his integrity, that he always weighed the moral characters of his fellow-creatures in the 'balance of the sanctuary.' He was too courageous to propitiate a rival, and too proud to truckle to a superior. Warburton he knew, as I know him, and as every man of sense and virtue would wish to be known,—I mean, both from his own writings, and from the writings of those who dissented from his principles or who envied his reputation. But, as to favours, that he never received or asked any from the Bishop of Gloucester; and, if my memory fails me not, he had seen him only once, when they met almost without design, conversed without much effort, and parted without any lasting impression of hatred or affection. Yet, with all the ardour of sympathetic genius, Johnson had done that spontaneously and ably, which, by some writers, had been before attempted injudiciously, and which, by others, from whom more successful attempts might have been expected, has not hitherto been done at all. He spoke well of Warburton, without insulting those whom Warburton despised. He suppressed not the imperfections of this extraordinary man, while he endeavoured to do justice to his numerous and transcendental excellencies. He defended him when living, amidst the clamours of his enemies; and praised him when dead, amidst the silence of his friends."

Having availed myself of the eulogy of this editor [Dr. Parr] on my departed friend, for which I warmly thank him, let me not suffer the lustre of his reputation, honestly acquired by profound learning and vigorous eloquence, to be tarnished by a charge of illiberality. He has been accused of invidiously dragging again into light certain writings of a person [Bishop Hurd] respectable by his talents, his learning, his station, and his age, which were published a great

many years ago, and have since, it is said, been silently given up by their author. But when it is considered that these writings were not *sins of youth*, but deliberate works of one well advanced in life, overflowing at once with flattery to a great man of great interest in the church, and with unjust and acrimonious abuse of two men of eminent merit; and that, though it would have been unreasonable to expect an humiliating recantation, no apology whatever has been made in the cool of the evening, for the oppressive fervour of the heat of the day; no slight relenting indication has appeared in any note, or any corner of later publications; is it not fair to understand him as superciliously persevering? When he allows the shafts to remain in the wounds, and will not stretch forth a lenient hand, is it wrong, is it not generous, to become an indignant avenger? — BOSWELL. Warburton himself did not feel, as Mr. Boswell was disposed to think he did, kindly or gratefully towards Johnson: for in one of his letters to a friend, he says,—

"The remarks he (Dr. Johnson) makes in every page on my commentaries, are full of insolent and malignant reflections, which, had they not in them as much folly as malignity, I should have had reason to have been offended with. As it is, I think myself obliged to him in thus setting before the public so many of my notes, with his remarks upon them: for though I have no great opinion of the trifling part of the public which pretends to judge of this part of literature, in which boys and girls decide, yet I think nobody can be mistaken in this comparison: though I think their thoughts have never yet extended thus far as to reflect, that to discover the corruption in an author's text, and by a happy sagacity to restore it to sense, is no easy task; but when the discovery is made, then to cavil at the conjecture, to propose an equivalent, and defend nonsense, by producing out of the thick darkness it occasions a weak and faint glimmering of sense (which has been the business of this editor throughout) is the easiest, as well as the dulllest, of all literary efforts." — Warburton's *Letters*, published by Bp. Hurd, 8vo. 367. — CROKER.

³ Johnson being asked "whether he had ever been in company with Dr. Warburton?" answered, "I never saw him till one evening, about a week ago, at the Bishop of St. [Asaph's]: at first he looked surlily at me; but after we had been jostled into conversation, he took me to a window, asked me some questions, and before we parted was so well pleased with me, that he patted me." "You always, Sir, preserved a respect for him?" "Yes, and justly; when as yet I was in no favour with the world, he spoke well of me, and I hope I never forgot the obligation." — *Hartkin's Apoph.* — CROKER.

carried forward." He said to the Reverend Mr. Strahan, "Warburton is perhaps the last man who has written with a mind full of reading and reflection."

It is remarkable that in the *Life of Broome*, Johnson takes notice of Dr. Warburton's using a mode of expression which he himself used, and that not seldom, to the great offence of those who did not know him. Having occasion to mention a note, stating the different parts which were executed by the associated translators of "The Odyssey," he says, "Dr. Warburton told me, in his warm language, that he thought the relation given in the note *a lie*." The language is *warm* indeed; and, I must own, cannot be justified in consistency with a decent regard to the established forms of speech. Johnson had accustomed himself to use the word *lie*; to express a mistake or an error in relation; in short, when the *thing* was not so as *told*, though the relater did not mean to deceive. When he thought there was intentional falsehood in the relater, his expression was, "He *lies*, and he *knows* he *lies*."

Speaking of Pope's not having been known to excel in conversation, Johnson observes, that "traditional memory retains no sallies of railery, or sentences of observation; nothing either pointed or solid, wise or merry; and that one apophthegm only is recorded." In this respect, Pope differed widely from Johnson, whose conversation was, perhaps, more admirable than even his writings, however excellent. Mr. Wilkes has, however, favoured me with one repartee of Pope, of which Johnson was not informed.¹ Johnson, after justly censuring him for having "nursed in his mind a foolish disesteem of kings," tells us, "yet a little regard shown him by the Prince of Wales melted his obduracy; and he had not much to say when he was asked by his royal highness, *how he could love a prince while he disliked kings?*" The answer which Pope made was, "The young lion is harmless, and even playful; but when his claws are full grown, he becomes cruel, dreadful, and mischievous."

But although we have no collection of Pope's sayings, it is not therefore to be concluded, that he was not agreeable in social intercourse; for Johnson has been heard to say, that the happiest conversation is that of which nothing

is distinctly remembered, but a general effect of pleasing impression." The late Lord Somerville², who saw much both of great and brilliant life, told me, that he had dined in company with Pope, and that after dinner the *little man*, as he called him, drank his bottle of Burgundy, and was exceedingly gay and entertaining.

I cannot withhold from my great friend a censure of at least culpable inattention to a nobleman, who, it has been shown, behaved to him with uncommon politeness. He says, "except Lord Bathurst, none of Pope's noble friends were such as that a good man would wish to have his intimacy with them known to posterity." This will not apply to Lord Mansfield, who was not ennobled in Pope's lifetime; but Johnson should have recollected, that Lord Marchmont was one of those noble friends.³ He includes his lordship, along with Lord Bolingbroke, in a charge of neglect of the papers which Pope left by his will; when, in truth, as I myself pointed out to him, before he wrote that poet's life, the papers were "committed to the sole care and judgment of Lord Bolingbroke, unless he (Lord Bolingbroke) shall not survive me;" so that Lord Marchmont has no concern whatever with them. After the first edition of the *Lives*, Mr. Malone, whose love of justice is equal to his accuracy, made, in my hearing, the same remark to Johnson: yet he omitted to correct the erroneous statement.⁴ These particulars I mention, in the belief that there was only forgetfulness in my friend; but I owe this much to the Earl of Marchmont's reputation, who, were there no other memorials, will be immortalised by that line of Pope, in the verses on his Grotto:

"And the bright flame was shot through Marchmont's soul."

Various Readings in the Life of Pope.

"[Somewhat free] sufficiently bold in his criticism.

"All the gay [niceties] varieties of diction.

"Strikes the imagination with far [more] greater force.

"It is [probably] certainly the noblest version of poetry which the world has ever seen.

¹ He however ought to have been; for it is to be found in Ruffhead's "Life of Pope," p. 535., though in more decent and appropriate terms than Wilkes or Boswell attributed to him. "The young lion may be caressed with safety before his nails are grown." — CROKER, 1835.

² [James, 13th Lord Somerville, who died in 1765.] Let me here express my grateful remembrance of Lord Somerville's kindness to me, at a very early period. He was the first person of high rank that took particular notice of me in the way most flattering to a young man, fondly ambitious of being distinguished for his literary talents; and by the honour of his encouragement made me think well of myself, and aspire to deserve it better. He had a happy art of communicating his varied knowledge of the world, in short remarks and anecdotes, with a quiet pleasant gravity, that was exceedingly engaging. Never shall I forget the hours which I enjoyed with him at his apartments in the royal palace of

Holyrood House, and at his seat near Edinburgh, which he himself had formed with an elegant taste. — BOSWELL.

³ He said, on a subsequent occasion, that another of Pope's noble friends, "Lord Peterborough, was a favourite of his." See *post*, 27th June, 1784. And he had said, not long before, (*anté*, p. 614.) that "Bathurst was a pleasing man," and that "he had heard no ill of Marchmont." — CROKER.

⁴ This neglect, however, assuredly did not arise from any ill-will towards Lord Marchmont, but from inattention; just as he neglected to correct his statement concerning the family of Thomson, the poet, after it had been shown to be erroneous. — MALONE. Johnson seems to have habitually disregarded such corrections; but as to the *Lives of the Poets*, the truth is, that he began the work as a thing that might be done in a few weeks, and was surprised and fatigued at the length to which he found it expand: and it is not wonderful that at so advanced an age he was not very anxious to purchase minute accuracy by the labour of revision. — CROKER.

"Every sheet enabled him to write the next with [less trouble] *more facility*.

"No man sympathises with [vanity depressed] *the sorrows of vanity*.

"It had been [criminal] *less easily excused*.

"When he [threatened to lay down] *talked of laying down* his pen.

"Society [is so named emphatically in opposition to] *politically regulated, is a state contradistinguished from a state of nature*.

"A fictitious life of an [absurd] *infatuated* scholar.

"A foolish [contempt, disregard,] *disesteem* of kings.

"His hopes and fears, his joys and sorrows [were like those of other mortals] *acted strongly upon his mind*.

"Eager to pursue knowledge and attentive to [accumulate] *retain it*.

"A mind [excursive] *active, ambitious, and adventurous*.

"In its [noblest] *widest* searches still longing to go forward.

"He wrote in such a manner as might expose him to few [neglects] *hazards*.

"The [reasonableness] *justice* of my determination.

"A [favourite] *delicious* employment of the poets.

"More terrific and more powerful [beings] *phantoms* perform on the stormy ocean.

"The inventor of [those] *this* petty [beings] *nation*.

"The [mind] *heart* naturally loves truth."

In the Life of ADDISON we find an unpleasant account of his having lent Steele a hundred pounds, and "reclaimed his loan by an execution." In the new edition of the *Biographia Britannica*, the authenticity of this anecdote is denied. But Mr. Malone has obliged me with the following note concerning it:—

"March 15th, 1781. — Many persons having doubts concerning this fact, I applied to Dr. Johnson, to learn on what authority he asserted it. He told me, he had it from Savage, who lived in intimacy with Steele, and who mentioned, that Steele told him the story with tears in his eyes. Ben Victor, Dr. Johnson said, likewise informed him of this remarkable transaction, from the relation of Mr. Wilks the comedian, who was also an intimate of Steele's.¹ Some, in defence of Addison, have said, that 'the act was done with the good-

natured view of rousing Steele, and correcting that profusion which always made him necessitous.' 'If that were the case,' said Johnson, 'and that he only wanted to alarm Steele, he would afterwards have returned the money to his friend, which it is not pretended he did.' 'This too,' he added, 'might be retorted by an advocate for Steele, who might allege, that he did not repay the loan *intentionally*, merely to see whether Addison would be mean and ungenerous enough to make use of legal process to recover it. But of such speculations there is no end; we cannot dive into the hearts of men; but their actions are open to observation.'

"I then mentioned to him that some people thought that Mr. Addison's character was so pure, that the fact, *though true*, ought to have been suppressed. He saw no reason for this. 'If nothing but the bright side of characters should be shown, we should sit down in despondency, and think it utterly impossible to imitate them in *any thing*. The sacred writers,' he observed, 'related the vicious as well as the virtuous actions of men; which had this moral effect, that it kept mankind from *despair*, into which otherwise they would naturally fall, were they not supported by the recollection that others had offended like themselves, and by penitence and amendment of life had been restored to the favour of Heaven.'²

"E. M."

The last paragraph of this note is of great importance; and I request that my readers may consider it with particular attention. It will be afterwards referred to in this work.

Various Readings in the Life of ADDISON.

"[But he was our first example.] *He was, however, one of our earliest examples* of correctness.

"And [overlook] *despise* their masters.

"His instructions were such as the [state] *character* of his [own time] *readers* made [necessary] *proper*.

"His purpose was to [diffuse] *infuse* literary curiosity by gentle and unsuspected conveyance [among] *into* the gay, the idle, and the wealthy.

"Framed rather for those that [wish] *are learning* to write.

"Domestic [manners] *scenes*."

In his Life of PARNELL, I wonder that Johnson omitted to insert an epitaph which he had long before composed for that amiable man, without ever writing it down, but which he was so good as, at my request, to dictate to me, by which means it has been preserved.

¹ The late Mr. Burke informed me, in 1792, that Lady Dorothea Primrose, who died at a great age, I think in 1768, and had been well acquainted with Steele, told him the same story. — MALONE. Lady Dorothea, the sixth and youngest daughter of the first Earl of Roseberry, could not have been, at her death, in 1768, more than sixty-five, and was probably some years less, and must have been little more than a child when Addison died; so that her evidence as a contemporary is not worth much. If the story be at all true (which I doubt), the most probable explanation is that which was given by Mr. Thomas Sheridan (see post, 15th April, 1781), namely, that it was a *friendly* execution put in to screen Steele's goods from hostile creditors. A not unfrequent practice, nor quite unjustifiable, when the debt is real. — CROKER.

² I have since observed, that Johnson has further enforced

the propriety of exhibiting the faults of virtuous and eminent men in their true colours, in the last paragraph of the 164th Number of his Rambler: —

"It is particularly the duty of those who consign illustrious names to posterity, to take care lest their readers be misled by ambiguous examples. That writer may be justly condemned as an enemy to goodness, who suffers fondness or interest to confound right with wrong, or to shelter the faults which even the wisest and the best have committed, from that ignominy which guilt ought always to suffer, and with which it should be more deeply stigmatised, when dignified by its neighbourhood to uncommon worth; since we shall be in danger of beholding it without abhorrence, unless its turpitude be laid open, and the eye secured from the deception of surrounding splendour." — MALONE.

"Hic requiescit THOMAS PARNELL, S. T. P.

"Qui sacerdos pariter et poeta,
Utrisque partes ita implevit,
Ut neque sacerdoti suavitatis poetæ,
Nec poetæ sacerdotis sanctitatis, deesset."

Various Readings in the Life of PARNELL.

"About three years [after] afterwards.

"[Did not much want] *was in no great need of improvement.*

"But his prosperity *did not last long* [was clouded with that which took away all his powers of enjoying either profit or pleasure, the death of his wife, whom he is said to have lamented with such sorrow, as hastened his end.¹] His end, whatever was the cause, was now approaching.

"In the Hermit, the [composition] *narrative*, as it is less airy, is less pleasing."

In the Life of BLACKMORE, we find that writer's reputation generously cleared by Johnson from the cloud of prejudice which the malignity of contemporary wits had raised around it. In the spirited exertion of justice, he has been imitated by Sir Joshua Reynolds, in his praise of the architecture of Vanbrugh.

We trace Johnson's own character in his observations on Blackmore's "magnanimity as an author." "The incessant attacks of his enemies, whether serious or merry, are never discovered to have disturbed his quiet, or to have lessened his confidence in himself." Johnson, I recollect, once told me, laughing heartily, that he understood it has been said of him, "He *appears* not to feel; but when he is *alone*, depend upon it, he *suffers sadly*." I am as certain as I can be of any man's real sentiments, that he *enjoyed* the perpetual shower of little hostile arrows, as evidences of his fame.

Various Readings in the Life of BLACKMORE.

"To [set] *engage* poetry [on the side] *in the cause of virtue.*

"He likewise [established] *enforced* the truth of Revelation.

"[Kindness] *benevolence* was ashamed to favour.

"His practice, which was once [very extensive] *invidiously great.*

"There is scarcely any distemper of dreadful name [of] which he has not [shown] *taught* his reader how [it is to be opposed] *to oppose.*

"Of this [contemptuous] *indecent* arrogance.

"[He wrote] *but produced* likewise a work of a different kind.

"At least [written] *compiled* with integrity.

"Faults which many tongues [were desirous] *would have made haste to publish.*

"But though he [had not] *could not boast* of much critical knowledge.

"He [used] *waited* for no felicities of fancy.

"Or had ever elated his [mind] *views* to that ideal perfection which every [mind] *genius* born to excel is condemned always to pursue and never to overtake.

"The [first great] *fundamental* principle of wisdom and of virtue."

Various Readings in the Life of PHILIPS.

"His dreaded [rival] *antagonist* Pope.

"They [have not often much] *are not loaded with thought.*

"In his translation from Pindar, he [will not be denied to have reached] *found the art of reaching* all the obscurity of the Theban bard."

Various Readings in the Life of CONGREVE.

"Congreve's conversation must surely have been *at least* equally pleasing with his writings.

"It apparently [requires] *presupposes* a similar knowledge of many characters.

"Reciprocal of [similes] *conceits.*

"The dialogue is [quick and various] *sparkling.*

"Love for Love; a comedy [more drawn from life] *of nearer alliance to life.*

"The general character of his miscellanies is, that they show little wit and [no] *little* virtue.

"[Perhaps] *certainly* he had not the fire requisite for the higher species of lyric poetry."

Various Readings in the Life of TICKELL.

"[Longed] *long wished* to peruse it.

"At the [accession] *arrival* of King George.

"Fiction [unnaturally] *unskilfully* compounded of Grecian deities and Gothic fables."

Various Readings in the Life of AKENSIDE.

"For [another] *a different* purpose.

"[A furious] *an unnecessary*. and outrageous zeal.

"[Something which] *what* he called and thought liberty.

"[A favourer of innovation] *lover of contradiction.*

"Warburton's [censure] *objections.*

"His rage [for liberty] *of patriotism.*

"Mr. Dyson with [a zeal] *an ardour of friendship.*"

In the Life of LYTTLETON, Johnson seems to have been not favourably disposed towards that nobleman. Mrs. Thrale suggests that he was offended by *Molly Aston's* preference of his lordship to him.² I can by no means join

¹ I should have thought that Johnson, who had felt the severe affliction from which Parnell never recovered, would have preserved this passage. He omitted it, doubtless, because he afterwards learned, that however he might have lamented his wife, his end was hastened by other means. — MALONE. Malone had not turned to the *Life*, where he would have found the substance of this passage transferred to another paragraph. The common story combines both these causes; for it is said that the loss of his wife led poor Parnell into such intemperance as shortened his life. — CROKER, 1835.

² Let not my readers smile to think of Johnson's being a candidate for female favour; Mr. Peter Garrick assured me that he was told by a lady, that, in her opinion, Johnson was

"a very seducing man." Disadvantages of person and manner may be forgotten, where intellectual pleasure is communicated to a susceptible mind; and that Johnson was capable of feeling the most delicate and disinterested attachment appears from the following letter, which is published by Mrs. Thrale, with some others to the same person, of which the excellence is not so apparent:

"JOHNSON TO MISS BOOTHBY.

"January, 1755.

"DEAREST MADAM, — Though I am afraid your illness leaves you little leisure for the reception of airy civilities, yet I cannot forbear to pay you my congratulations on the new

in the censure bestowed by Johnson on his lordship, whom he calls "poor Lyttelton," for returning thanks to the critical reviewers, for having "kindly commended" his "Dialogues of the Dead." Such "acknowledgments," says my friend, "never can be proper, since they must be paid either for flattery or for justice." In my opinion, the most upright man, who has been tried on a false accusation, may, when he is acquitted, make a bow to his jury. And when those, who are so much the arbiters of literary merit, as in a considerable degree to influence the public opinion, review an author's work, *placido lumine*, when I am afraid mankind in general are better pleased with severity, he may surely express a grateful sense of their civility.

Various Readings in the Life of LYTTETTON.

"He solaced [himself] his grief by writing a long poem to her memory.

"The production rather [of a mind that means well, than thinks vigorously] as it seems of leisure than of study, rather effusions than compositions.

"His last literary [work] production.

"[Found the way] undertook to persuade."

As the introduction to his critical examination of the genius and writings of Young, he did Mr. Herbert Croft, then a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, now a clergyman¹, the honour to adopt a Life of Young, written by that gentleman, who was the friend of Dr. Young's son, and wished to vindicate him from some very erroneous remarks to his prejudice. Mr. Croft's performance was subjected to the revision of Dr. Johnson, as appears from the following note to Mr. John Nichols²:

"This Life of Dr. Young was written by a friend of his son. What is crossed with black is expunged by the author, what is crossed with red is expunged by me. If you find any thing more that can be well omitted, I shall not be sorry to see it yet shorter."

It has always appeared to me to have a considerable share of merit, and to display a pretty successful imitation of Johnson's style. When I mentioned this to a very eminent literary character [Mr. Burke], he opposed me vehemently, exclaiming, "No, no, it is *not* a good imitation of Johnson; it has all his pomp without his force;

it has all the nodosities of the oak without its strength." This was an image so happy, that one might have thought he would have been satisfied with it; but he was not. And setting his mind again to work, he added, with exquisite felicity, "It has all the contortions of the sibyl, without the inspiration."

Mr. Croft very properly guards us against supposing that Young was a gloomy man; and mentions, that "his parish was indebted to the good-humour of the author of the 'Night Thoughts' for an assembly and a bowling-green." A letter from a noble foreigner is quoted, in which he is said to have been "very pleasant in conversation."

Mr. Langton, who frequently visited him, informs me that there was an air of benevolence in his manner, but that he could obtain from him less information than he had hoped to receive from one who had lived so much in intercourse with the brightest men of what has been called the Augustan age of England; and that he showed a degree of eager curiosity concerning the common occurrences that were then passing, which appeared somewhat remarkable in a man of such intellectual stores, of such an advanced age, and who had retired from life with declared disappointment in his expectations.

An instance at once of his pensive turn of mind, and his cheerfulness of temper, appeared in a little story, which he himself told to Mr. Langton, when they were walking in his garden: "Here (said he) I had put a handsome sun-dial, with this inscription, *Eheu fugaces!* which (speaking with a smile) was sadly verified, for by the next morning my dial had been carried off."³

It gives me much pleasure to observe, that however Johnson may have casually talked, yet when he sits, as "an ardent judge zealous to his trust, giving sentence" upon the excellent works of Young, he allows them the high praise to which they are justly entitled. "The *Universal Passion*," says he, "is indeed a very great performance,—his distichs have the weight of solid sentiment, and his points the sharpness of resistless truth."

But I was most anxious concerning Johnson's decision upon "Night Thoughts," which I esteem as a mass of the grandest and richest

year; and to declare my wishes that your years to come may be many and happy. In this wish, indeed, I include myself, who have none but you on whom my heart reposes; yet surely I wish your good, even though your situation were such as should permit you to communicate no gratifications to dearest, dearest Madam, your, &c., SAM. JOHNSON."

—BOSWELL.

There is here a *slight mistake* in the text. It was not Molly Aston, but Hill Boothby, for whose affections Johnson and Lord Lyttelton were rival candidates. —MALONE. The *mistake* of the gay and handsome Molly Aston the object of Johnson's youthful admiration, for Miss Boothby whom he never saw till she was an ailing and ascetic old maid, is surely not a *slight one*. See *anté*, p. 20. n. 2. Mrs. Piozzi states that Johnson confessed that he had depreciated Lyttelton from a jealous recollection of the preference that Miss Boothby showed him. But this would indeed have been an

odium in longum jacens, as Miss Boothby had been dead twenty-five years. She might perhaps have offended the proud spirit of Johnson, by paying more attention to so distinguished a visitor as *Sir George Lyttelton*; but that he, a married and eminently moral man, could, at the time of Johnson's acquaintance with her, have had any design on poor Miss Boothby's heart, is quite impossible. —CROKER.

¹ See *anté* p. 650. n. 2. —C.

² Gentleman's Magazine, vol. lv. p. 10.

³ The late Mr. James Ralph told Lord Macartney, that he passed an evening with Dr. Young at Lord Melcombe's (then Mr. Doddington), at Hammersmith. The doctor happening to go out into the garden, Mr. Doddington observed to him, on his return, that it was a dreadful night, as in truth it was, there being a violent storm of rain and wind. "No, Sir," replied the doctor, "it is a very fine night. The Lord is abroad!" —BOSWELL.

poetry that human genius has ever produced; and was delighted to find this character of that work: "In his 'Night Thoughts,' he has exhibited a very wide display of original poetry, variegated with deep reflection and striking allusions: a wilderness of thought, in which the fertility of fancy scatters flowers of every hue and of every odour. This is one of the few poems in which blank verse could not be changed for rhyme, but with disadvantage." And afterwards, "Particular lines are not to be regarded; the power is in the whole; and in the whole there is a magnificence like that ascribed to Chinese plantation, the magnificence of vast extent and endless diversity."

But there is in this poem not only all that Johnson so well brings in view, but a power of the *pathetic* beyond almost any example that I have seen. He who does not feel his nerves shaken and his heart pierced by many passages in this extraordinary work, particularly by that most affecting one, which describes the gradual torment suffered by the contemplation of an object of affectionate attachment visibly and certainly decaying into dissolution, must be of a hard and obstinate frame.

To all the other excellencies of "Night Thoughts" let me add the great and peculiar one, — that they contain not only the noblest sentiments of virtue and contemplations on immortality, but the *Christian sacrifice*, the *divine propitiation*, with all its interesting circumstances, and consolations to a "wounded spirit," solemnly and poetically displayed in such imagery and language, as cannot fail to exalt, animate, and soothe the truly pious. No book whatever can be recommended to young persons, with better hopes of seasoning their minds with *vital religion*, than "Young's Night Thoughts."

In the Life of SWIFT, it appears to me that Johnson had a certain degree of prejudice against that extraordinary man, of which I have elsewhere had occasion to speak. Mr. Thomas Sheridan imputed it to a supposed apprehension in Johnson, that Swift had not been sufficiently active in obtaining for him an Irish degree when it was solicited¹; but of this there was not sufficient evidence; and let me not presume to charge Johnson with injustice, because he did not think so highly of the writings of this author, as I have done from my youth upwards. Yet that he had an unfavourable bias is evident, were it only from that passage in which he speaks of Swift's practice of saving, as "first ridiculous, and at last detestable;" and yet, after some examination of circumstances, finds himself obliged to own, that "it will perhaps appear that he only liked one mode of expense better than another,

and saved merely that he might have something to give."

One observation which Johnson makes in Swift's life should be often inculcated: "It may be justly supposed, that there was in his conversation what appears so frequently in his letters, an affectation of familiarity with the great, an ambition of momentary equality, sought and enjoyed by the neglect of those ceremonies which custom has established as the barriers between one order of society and another. This transgression of regularity was by himself and his admirers termed greatness of soul; but a great mind disdains to hold any thing by courtesy, and therefore never usurps what a lawful claimant may take away. He that encroaches on another's dignity, puts himself in his power; he is either repelled with helpless indignity, or endured by clemency and condescension."

Various Readings in the Life of SWIFT.

"Charity may be persuaded to think that it might be written by a man of a peculiar [opinions] character, without ill intention.

"He did not [disown] deny it.

"[To] by whose kindness it is not unlikely that he was [indebted for] advanced to his benefices.

"[With] for this purpose he had recourse to Mr. Harley.

"Sharpe, whom he [represents] describes as 'the harmless tool of others' hate.'

"Harley was slow because he was [irresolute] doubtful.

"When [readers were not many] we were not yet a nation of readers.

"[Every man who] he that could say he knew him.

"Every man of known influence has so many [more] petitions [than] which [he can] cannot grant, that he must necessarily offend more than he [can gratify] gratifies.

"Ecclesiastical [preferments] benefices.

"Swift [procured] contrived an interview.

"[As a writer] In his works he has given very different specimens.

"On all common occasions he habitually [assumes] affects a style of [superiority] arrogance.

"By the [omission] neglect of those ceremonies.

"That their merits filled the world [and] or that there was no [room for] hope of more."

I have not confined myself to the order of the "Lives," in making my few remarks. Indeed a different order is observed in the original publication, and in the collection of Johnson's works. And should it be objected, that many of my various readings are inconsiderable, those who make an objection will be pleased to consider, that such small particulars are intended for those who are nicely critical in composition, to whom they will be an acceptable selection.²

¹ See *antiq.* p. 37. n. 3. and p. 277. — C.

² Mr. Chalmers here records a curious literary anecdote — that when a new and enlarged edition of the "Lives of the Poets" was published in 1783, Mr. Nichols, in justice to the purchasers of the preceding editions, printed the additions in

a separate pamphlet, and advertised that it might be had gratis. Not ten copies were called for. It may be presumed that the owners of the former editions had bound their sets; but it must also be observed, that the alterations were not considerable. — CROKER.

"Spence's Anecdotes," which are frequently quoted and referred to in Johnson's "Lives of the Poets," are in a manuscript collection, made by the Reverend Mr. Joseph Spence¹, containing a number of particulars concerning eminent men. To each anecdote is marked the name of the person on whose authority it is mentioned. This valuable collection is the property of the Duke of Newcastle, who, upon the application of Sir Lucas Pepys, was pleased to permit it to be put into the hands of Dr. Johnson, who I am sorry to think made but an awkward return. "Great assistance," says he, "has been given me by Mr. Spence's Collection, of which I consider the communication as a favour worthy of public acknowledgement:" but he has not owned to whom he was obliged; so that the acknowledgement is unappropriated to his grace.²

While the world in general was filled with admiration of Johnson's "Lives of the Poets," there were narrow circles in which prejudice and resentment were fostered, and from which attacks of different sorts issued against him.³ By some violent Whigs he was arraigned of injustice to Milton; by some Cambridge men, of depreciating Gray; and his expressing with a dignified freedom what he really thought of George, Lord Lyttelton, gave offence to some of the friends of that nobleman, and particularly produced a declaration of war against him from Mrs. Montagu, the ingenious essayist on Shakspeare, between whom and his lordship a commerce of reciprocal compliments had long been carried on. In this war the smaller powers in alliance with him were of course led to engage, at least on the defensive, and thus I for one was excluded⁴ from the enjoyment of "a Feast of Reason," such as Mr. Cumberland has described, with a keen yet just and delicate pen, in his "Observer." These minute inconveniences gave not the least disturbance to Johnson. He nobly said, when I talked to him of the feeble though shrill outcry which had been raised, "Sir, I considered myself as intrusted with a certain portion of truth. I have given my opinion sincerely; let them show where they think me wrong."

CHAPTER LXXII.

1781.

Warren Hastings. — *Liberty and Necessity. — Picture of a Man, by Shakspeare and by Milton. — Registration of Deeds. — Duty of a Member of Parliament. — Deportment of a Bishop. — "Merriment of Parsons." — Zachariah Mudge. — Dr. Walter Harte. — Scale of Liquors. — Dancing. — Sir Philip Jennings Clerk. — American War. — Dudley Long. — Exaggerated Praise. — "Learning to Talk." — Veracity. — Death of Mr. Thrale. — Queen's Arms Club. — Constructive Treason. — Castes of Men. — Passion Week. — Addison. — Blackstone. — Steele. — Educating by Lectures. — The Resurrection. — Apparitions.*

WHILE my friend is thus contemplated in the splendour derived from his last and perhaps most admirable work, I introduce him with peculiar propriety as the correspondent of Warren Hastings! a man whose regard reflects dignity even upon Johnson; a man, the extent of whose abilities was equal to that of his power; and who, by those who are fortunate enough to know him in private life, is admired for his literature and taste, and beloved for the candour, moderation, and mildness of his character. Were I capable of paying a suitable tribute of admiration to him, I should certainly not withhold it at a moment⁵ when it is not possible that I should be suspected of being an interested flatterer. But how weak would be my voice after that of the millions whom he governed! His condescending and obliging compliance with my solicitation, I with humble gratitude acknowledge; and while by publishing his letter to me, accompanying the valuable communication, I do eminent honour to my great friend, I shall entirely disregard any invidious suggestions, that, as I in some degree participate in the honour, I have, at the same time, the gratification of my own vanity in view.

WARREN HASTINGS TO BOSWELL.

"Park Lane, Dec. 2. 1790.

"SIR, — I have been fortunately spared the troublesome suspense of a long search, to which, in performance of my promise, I had devoted this morning, by lighting upon the objects of it among the first papers that I laid my hands on; my veneration for your great and good friend, Dr. Johnson, and the pride, or I hope something of a better sentiment, which I indulge in possessing such

¹ The Rev. Joseph Spence, A. M., Rector of Great Harwood in Buckinghamshire, and Prebendary of Durham, died at Byfleet in Surrey, August 20. 1768. He was a fellow of New College in Oxford, and held the office of Professor of Poetry in that University from 1728 to 1738. — MALONE.

² It appears from a letter of Mrs. Boscawen to Hannah More (*Mem.* i. 191.) that she was the person who procured Johnson the loan of Spence's papers. — CROKER, 1835.

³ From this disreputable class, I except an ingenious, though not satisfactory, defence of Hammond, which I did not see till lately, by the favour of its author, my amiable

friend, the Reverend Mr. Bevil, who published it without his name. It is a juvenile performance, but elegantly written, with classical enthusiasm of sentiment, and yet with a becoming modesty, and great respect for Dr. Johnson. — BOSWELL.

⁴ Boswell had never been cordially received at Mrs. Montagu's. See *anté*, p. 205. n. 2. — CROKER, 1847.

⁵ January, 1791. — BOSWELL. At this date Mr. Hastings's impeachment was still lingering on, but with a certainty of his ultimate acquittal. — CROKER.

memorials of his good will towards me, having induced me to bind them in a parcel containing other select papers, and labelled with the titles appertaining to them. They consist but of three letters, which I believe were all that I ever received from Dr. Johnson. Of these, one, which was written in quadruplicate, under the different dates of its respective despatches, has already been made public, but not from any communication of mine. This, however, I have joined to the rest; and have now the pleasure of sending them to you, for the use to which you informed me it was your desire to destine them.

"My promise was pledged with the condition, that if the letters were found to contain any thing which should render them improper for the public eye, you would dispense with the performance of it. You will have the goodness, I am sure, to pardon my recalling this stipulation to your recollection, as I shall be loth to appear negligent of that obligation which is always implied in an epistolary confidence. In the reservation of that right I have read them over with the most scrupulous attention, but have not seen in them the slightest cause on that ground to withhold them from you. But, though not on that, yet on another ground, I own I feel a little, yet but a little, reluctance to part with them: I mean on that of my own credit, which I fear will suffer by the information conveyed by them, that I was early in the possession of such valuable instructions for the beneficial employment of the influence of my late station, and (as it may seem) have so little availed myself of them. Whether I could, if it were necessary, defend myself against such an imputation, it little concerns the world to know. I look only to the effect which these relies may produce, considered as evidences of the virtues of their author; and believing that they will be found to display an uncommon warmth of private friendship, and a mind ever attentive to the improvement and extension of useful knowledge, and solicitous for the interests of mankind, I can cheerfully submit to the little sacrifice of my own fame, to contribute to the illustration of so great and venerable a character. They cannot be better applied, for that end, than by being intrusted to your hands. Allow me, with this offering, to infer from it a proof of the very great esteem with which I have the honour to profess myself, Sir, your, &c., WARREN HASTINGS.

"P. S. At some future time, and when you have no further occasion for these papers, I shall be obliged to you if you will return them."

The last of the three letters thus graciously put into my hands, and which has already appeared in public, belongs to this year; but I shall previously insert the first two in the order of their dates. They altogether form a grand group in my biographical picture.

JOHNSON TO WARREN HASTINGS.

"March 30. 1774.

"Sir, — Though I have had but little personal knowledge of you, I have had enough to make me wish for more; and though it be now a long time

since I was honoured by your visit, I had too much pleasure from it to forget it. By those whom we delight to remember, we are unwilling to be forgotten; and therefore I cannot omit this opportunity of reviving myself in your memory by a letter which you will receive from the hands of my friend Mr. Chambers¹; a man whose purity of manners and vigour of mind are sufficient to make every thing welcome that he brings.

"That this is my only reason for writing will be too apparent by the uselessness of my letter to any other purpose. I have no questions to ask; not that I want curiosity after either the ancient or present state of regions in which have been seen all the power and splendour of wide-extended empire; and which, as by some grant of natural superiority, supply the rest of the world with almost all that pride desires and luxury enjoys. But my knowledge of them is too scanty to furnish me with proper topics of inquiry: I can only wish for information; and hope that a mind comprehensive like yours will find leisure, amidst the cares of your important station, to inquire into many subjects of which the European world either thinks not at all, or thinks with deficient intelligence and uncertain conjecture. I shall hope that he who once intended to increase the learning of his country by the introduction of the Persian language will examine nicely the traditions and histories of the East; that he will survey the wonders of its ancient edifices and trace the vestiges of its ruined cities; and that, at his return, we shall know the arts and opinions of a race of men from whom very little has been hitherto derived.

"You, Sir, have no need of being told by me how much may be added by your attention and patronage to experimental knowledge and natural history. There are arts of manufacture practised in the countries in which you preside, which are yet very imperfectly known here, either to artificers or philosophers. Of the natural productions, animate and inanimate, we yet have so little intelligence, that our books are filled, I fear, with conjectures about things which an Indian peasant knows by his senses.

"Many of those things my first wish is to see; my second, to know, by such accounts as a man like you will be able to give.

"As I have not skill to ask proper questions, I have likewise no such access to great men as can enable me to send you any political information. Of the agitations of an unsettled government, and the struggles of a feeble ministry, care is doubtless taken to give you more exact accounts than I can obtain. If you are inclined to interest yourself much in public transactions, it is no misfortune to you to be distant from them.

"That literature is not totally forsaking us, and that your favourite language is not neglected, will appear from the book², which I should have pleased myself more with sending, if I could have presented it bound: but time was wanting. I beg, however, Sir, that you will accept it from a man very desirous of your regard; and that if you think me able to gratify you by any thing more important, you will employ me.

¹ Afterwards Sir Robert Chambers, one of his majesty's judges in India — BOSWELL. *Auté*, p. 90. n. 2. — C.

² Jones's "Persian Grammar."

"I am now going to take leave, perhaps a very long leave, of my dear Mr. Chambers. That he is going to live where you govern may justly alleviate the regret of parting; and the hope of seeing both him and you again, which I am not willing to mingle with doubt, must at present comfort as it can, Sir, your, &c.,

SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO HASTINGS.

"London, Dec. 20. 1774.

"SIR, — Being informed that by the departure of a ship there is now an opportunity of writing to Bengal, I am unwilling to slip out of your memory by my own negligence, and therefore take the liberty of reminding you of my existence by sending you a book which is not yet made public.

"I have lately visited a region less remote and less illustrious than India, which afforded some occasions for speculation. What has occurred to me, I have put into the volume¹, of which I beg your acceptance.

"Men in your station seldom have presents totally disinterested: my book is received, let me now make my request. There is, Sir, somewhere within your government, a young adventurer, one Channcey Lawrence, whose father is one of my oldest friends. Be pleased to show the young man what countenance is fit; whether he wants to be restrained by your authority, or encouraged by your favour. His father is now president of the college of physicians; a man venerable for his knowledge, and more venerable for his virtue.

"I wish you a prosperous government, a safe return, and a long enjoyment of plenty and tranquillity. I am, Sir, your, &c.,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO HASTINGS.

"Jan. 9. 1781.

"SIR, — Amidst the importance and multiplicity of affairs in which your great office engages you, I take the liberty of recalling your attention for a moment to literature, and will not prolong the interruption by an apology which your character makes needless.

"Mr. Hoole, a gentleman long known and long esteemed in the India House, after having translated Tasso, has undertaken Ariosto. How well he is qualified for his undertaking he has already shown. He is desirous, Sir, of your favour in promoting his proposals, and flatters me by supposing that my testimony may advance his interest.

"It is a new thing for a clerk of the India House to translate poets; — it is new for a governor of Bengal to patronise learning. That he may find his ingenuity rewarded, and that learning may flourish under your protection, is the wish of, Sir, your, &c.,

SAM. JOHNSON."

I wrote to him in February, complaining of having been troubled by a recurrence of the perplexing question of Liberty and Necessity; and mentioning that I hoped soon to meet him again in London.

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"March 14. 1781.

"DEAR SIR, — I hoped you had got rid of all this hypocrisy of misery. What have you to do with Liberty and Necessity? Or what more than to hold your tongue about it? Do not doubt but I shall be most heartily glad to see you here again, for I love every part about you but your affectation of distress.

"I have at last finished my Lives, and have laid up for you a load of copy, all out of order, so that it will amuse you a long time to set it right. Come to me, my dear Boszy, and let us be as happy as we can. We will go again to the Mitre, and talk old times over. I am, dear Sir, yours affectionately,

SAM. JOHNSON."

On Monday, March 19., I arrived in London, and on Tuesday, the 20th, met him in Fleet Street, walking, or rather indeed moving along; for his peculiar march is thus described in a very just and picturesque manner, in a short Life² of him published very soon after his death: — "When he walked the streets, what with the constant roll of his head, and the concomitant motion of his body, he appeared to make his way by that motion, independent of his feet." That he was often much stared at while he advanced in this manner may easily be believed; but it was not safe to make sport of one so robust as he was. Mr. Langton saw him one day, in a fit of absence, by a sudden start, drive the load off a porter's back, and walk forward briskly, without being conscious of what he had done. The porter was very angry, but stood still, and eyed the huge figure with much earnestness, till he was satisfied that his wisest course was to be quiet, and take up his burthen again.

Our accidental meeting in the street after a long separation was a pleasing surprise to us both. He stepped aside with me into Falcon Court, and made kind inquiries about my family; and as we were in a hurry, going different ways, I promised to call on him next day. He said he was engaged to go out in the morning. "Early, Sir?" said I. JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, a London morning does not go with the sun."

I waited on him next evening, and he gave me a great portion of his original manuscript of his "Lives of the Poets," which he had preserved for me.

I found on visiting his friend, Mr. Thrale, that he was now very ill, and had removed, I suppose by the solicitation of Mrs. Thrale, to a house in Grosvenor Square. I was sorry to see him sadly changed in his appearance.

He told me I might now have the pleasure to see Dr. Johnson drink wine again, for he had lately returned to it. When I mentioned this to Johnson, he said, "I drink it now some-

¹ The "Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland." — BOSWELL.

² Published by Kearsley, with this well-chosen motto: —

— "From his cradle
He was a scholar, and a ripe and good one:
And, to add greater honours to his age
Than man could give him, he died fearing Heaven.
SHAKESPEARE.

times, but not socially." The first evening that I was with him at Thrale's, I observed he poured a large quantity of it into a glass, and swallowed it greedily. Every thing about his character and manners was forcible and violent; there never was any moderation. Many a day did he fast, many a year did he refrain from wine: but when he did eat, it was voraciously; when he did drink wine, it was copiously. He could practise abstinence, but not temperance.

Mrs. Thrale and I had a dispute whether Shakspeare or Milton had drawn the most admirable picture of a man.¹ I was for Shakspeare, Mrs. Thrale for Milton; and, after a fair hearing, Johnson decided for my opinion.

I told him of one of Mr. Burke's playful sallies upon Dean Marlay²: "I don't like the Deane of *Ferns*; it sounds so like a barren title." "Dr. Heath³ should have it," said I. Johnson laughed, and, condescending to trifle in the same mode of conceit, suggested Dr. Moss.⁴

He said, "Mrs. Montagu has dropt me.⁵ Now, Sir, there are people whom one should like very well to drop, but would not wish to be dropt by." He certainly was vain of the society of ladies, and could make himself very agreeable to them when he chose it: Sir Joshua Reynolds agreed with me that he could. Mr. Gibbon, with his usual sneer, controverted it, perhaps in resentment of Johnson's having talked with some disgust of his ugliness, which one would think a *philosopher* would not mind. Dean Marlay wittily observed, "A lady may be vain when she can turn a wolf-dog into a lap-dog."

The election for Ayrshire, my own county, was this spring tried upon a petition before a committee of the House of Commons. I was one of the counsel for the sitting member⁶, and took the liberty of previously stating different points to Johnson, who never failed to see them clearly, and to supply me with some good hints. He dictated to me the following note upon the registration of deeds:—

¹ Shakspeare makes Hamlet thus describe his father:

"See what a grace was seated on his brow:
Hyperion's curls, the front of Jove himself,
An eye like Mars, to threaten and command;
A station like the herald Mercury,
New-lighted on a heaven-kissing hill;
A combination and a form, indeed,
Where every god did seem to set his seal,
To give the world assurance of a man."

Milton thus portrays our first parent, Adam:

"His fair large front and eye sublime declared
Absolute rule; and hyacinthin locks
Round from his parted forelock many hung
Clust'ring, but not beneath his shoulders bound."

BOSWELL.

The latter part of this description, "but not beneath" &c., may very probably be ascribed to Milton's prejudices in favour of the puritans, who had a great aversion to long hair. — MALONE. It is strange that the picture drawn by the unlearned Shakspeare should be full of classical images, and that by the learned Milton void of them. Milton's description appears to be more picturesque. — KEARNEY. Dr. Kearney seems to have forgotten that Milton is here a mere descriptive poet, giving a kind of abstract delineation of the

"All laws are made for the convenience of the community. What is legally done should be legally recorded, that the state of things may be known, and that wherever evidence is requisite, evidence may be had. For this reason, the obligation to frame and establish a legal register is enforced by a legal penalty, which penalty is the want of that perfection and plenitude of right which a register would give. Thence it follows that this is not an objection merely legal; for the reason on which the law stands being equitable, makes it an equitable objection."

"This," said he, "you must enlarge on, when speaking to the committee. You must not argue there as if you were arguing in the schools; close reasoning will not fix their attention: you must say the same thing over and over again in different words. If you say it but once, they miss it in a moment of inattention. It is unjust, Sir, to censure lawyers for multiplying words when they argue; it is often necessary for them to multiply words."

His notion of the duty of a member of parliament, sitting upon an election-committee, was very high; and when he was told of a gentleman upon one of those committees, who read the newspapers part of the time, and slept the rest, while the merits of a vote were examined by the counsel; and as an excuse, when challenged by the chairman for such behaviour, bluntly answered, "I had made up my mind upon that case;" Johnson, with an indignant contempt, said, "If he was such a rogue as to make up his mind upon a case without hearing it, he should not have been such a fool as to tell it." "I think," said Mr. Dudley Long⁷, now North, "the Doctor has pretty plainly made him out to be both rogue and fool."

Johnson's profound reverence for the hierarchy made him expect from bishops the highest degree of decorum; he was offended even at their going to taverns: "A bishop," said he, "has nothing to do at a tippling-house. It is not indeed immoral in him to go to a tavern; neither would it be immoral in him to whip a

first man, while Shakspeare is a *dramatist*, speaking in the character of an enthusiastic youth, fresh from his studies, and boiling with indignation and grief, which he endeavours to controul, or moderate, by these classical and, in any other case would be, pedantic allusions. — CROKER.

² Dr. Richard Marlay, afterwards Lord Bishop of Waterford; a very amiable, benevolent, and ingenious man. He was chosen a member of the Literary Club in 1777, and died in Dublin, July 2, 1802, in his seventy-fifth year. — MALONE. In very early life, I had the honour of the bishop's acquaintance and indulgent notice of my first attempts in literature. He was all that Mr. Malone says of him. — CROKER.

³ Dr. Benjamin Heath, celebrated for a curious library, which was sold in 1810, at very high prices. — CROKER.

⁴ Dr. Charles Moss had been already better provided for, having been, in 1766, Bishop of St. David's, and in 1774, of Bath and Wells. He died in 1802. — CROKER.

⁵ Mrs. Montagu, with, I think, an over nicety of feeling (if that was the real cause) 'dropt' him on account of his Life of Lord Lyttelton. See *anté*, p. 675. — CROKER.

⁶ Hugh Montgomery, Esq. The petitioner, however, William Macdowall, Esq., was declared duly elected. — CROKER.

⁷ This ingenious and pleasant gentleman died in 1829, at the age of eighty, after an illness which had for some years secluded him from society. — CROKER.

top in Grosvenor Square: but, if he did, I hope the boys would fall upon him, and apply the whip to him. There are gradations in conduct; there is morality, — decency, — propriety. None of these should be violated by a bishop. A bishop should not go to a house where he may meet a young fellow leading out a wench." BOSWELL. "But, Sir, every tavern does not admit women." JOHNSON. "Depend upon it, Sir, any tavern will admit a well-dressed man and a well-dressed woman: they will not perhaps admit a woman whom they see every night walking by their door, in the street. But a well-dressed man may lead in a well-dressed woman to any tavern in London. Taverns sell meat and drink, and will sell them to any body who can eat and can drink. You may as well say that a mercer will not sell silks to a woman of the town."

He also disapproved of bishops going to routs; at least of their staying at them longer than their presence commanded respect. He mentioned a particular bishop. "Poh!" said Mrs. Thrale, "the Bishop of [St. Asaph's]¹ is never minded at a rout." BOSWELL. "When a bishop places himself in a situation where he has no distinct character, and is of no consequence, he degrades the dignity of his order." JOHNSON. "Mr. Boswell, Madam, has said it as correctly as it could be."

Nor was it only in the dignitaries of the church that Johnson required a particular decorum and delicacy of behaviour; he justly considered that the clergy, as persons set apart for the sacred office of serving at the altar, and impressing the minds of men with the awful concerns of a future state, should be somewhat more serious than the generality of mankind, and have a suitable composure of manners. A due sense of the dignity of their profession, independent of higher motives, will ever prevent them from losing their distinction in an indiscriminate sociality; and did such as affect this know how much it lessens them in the eyes of those whom they think to please by it, they would feel themselves much mortified.

Johnson and his friend Beauclerk were once together in company with several clergymen, who thought that they should appear to advantage, by assuming the lax jollity of *men of the world*; which, as it may be observed in similar cases, they carried to noisy excess. Johnson, who they expected would be *entertained*, sat grave and silent for some time; at last, turning to Beauclerk, he said, by no means in a whisper, "This merriment of parsons is mighty offensive."

Even the dress of a clergyman should be in character, and nothing can be more despicable than conceited attempts at avoiding the appearance of the clerical order; attempts, which are as ineffectual as they are pitiful. Dr.

Porteus, now Bishop of London, in his excellent charge when presiding over the diocese of Chester, justly animadverted upon this subject; and observes of a reverend fop, that he "can be but *half a beau*."

Addison, in "The Spectator," has given us a fine portrait of a clergyman, who is supposed to be a member of his *Club*; and Johnson has exhibited a model, in the character of Mr. Mudge², which has escaped the collectors of his works, but which he owed to me, and which indeed he showed to Sir Joshua Reynolds at the time when it was written. It bears the genuine marks of Johnson's best manner, and is as follows:—

"The Reverend Mr. Zachariah Mudge, prebendary of Exeter, and vicar of St. Andrew's in Plymouth; a man equally eminent for his virtues and abilities, and at once beloved as a companion and revered as a pastor. He had that general curiosity to which no kind of knowledge is indifferent or superfluous; and that general benevolence by which no order of men is hated or despised.

"His principles both of thought and action were great and comprehensive. By a solicitous examination of objections, and judicious comparison of opposite arguments, he attained what inquiry never gives but to industry and perspicuity, a firm and unshaken settlement of conviction. But his firmness was without asperity; for, knowing with how much difficulty truth was sometimes found, he did not wonder that many missed it.

"The general course of his life was determined by his profession; he studied the sacred volumes in the original languages; with what diligence and success his 'Notes upon the Psalms' give sufficient evidence. He once endeavoured to add the knowledge of Arabic to that of Hebrew; but, finding his thoughts too much diverted from other studies, after some time desisted from his purpose.

"His discharge of parochial duties was exemplary. How his Sermons were composed, may be learned from the excellent volume which he has given to the public; but how they were delivered, can be known only to those that heard them; for, as he appeared in the pulpit, words will not easily describe him. His delivery, though unconstrained, was not negligent, and though forcible, was not turbulent; disdaining anxious nicety of emphasis, and laboured artifice of action, it captivated the hearer by its natural dignity; it roused the sluggish and fixed the volatile, and detained the mind upon the subject without directing it to the speaker.

"The grandeur and solemnity of the preacher did not intrude upon his general behaviour; at the table of his friends he was a companion communicative and attentive, of unaffected manners, of manly cheerfulness, willing to please, and easy to be pleased. His acquaintance was universally solicited, and his presence obstructed no enjoyment which religion did not forbid. Though studious, he was popular; though argumentative, he was modest; though inflexible, he was candid; and though metaphysical, yet orthodox."³

¹ Dr. Shipley. See *anté*, p. 647. n. 2. — CROKER.

² See *anté*, p. 127. — BOSWELL.

³ "London Chronicle," May 2. 1769. This respectable

man is there mentioned to have died on the 3d of April, that year, at Coffleet, [near Exeter] the seat of Thomas Veale, Esq., in his way to London. — BOSWELL.

On Friday, March 30., I dined with him at Sir Joshua Reynolds's, with the Earl of Charlemont, Sir Annesley Stewart, Mr. Eliot of Port-Eliot, Mr. Burke, Dean Marlay, Mr. Langton; a most agreeable day, of which I regret that every circumstance is not preserved: but it is unreasonable to require such a multiplication of felicity.

Mr. Eliot, with whom Dr. Walter Harte¹ had travelled, talked to us of his "History of Gustavus Adolphus," which he said was a very good book in the German translation. JOHNSON. "Harte was excessively vain. He put copies of his book in manuscript into the hands of Lord Chesterfield and Lord Granville, that they might revise it. Now how absurd was it to suppose that two such noblemen would revise so big a manuscript. Poor man! he left London the day of the publication of his book, that he might be out of the way of the great praise he was to receive; and he was ashamed to return, when he found how ill his book had succeeded. It was unlucky in coming out on the same day with Robertson's 'History of Scotland.' His husbandry, however is good." BOSWELL. "So he was fitter for that than for heroic history: he did well, when he turned his sword into a ploughshare."

Mr. Eliot mentioned a curious liquor peculiar to his country, which the Cornish fishermen drink. They call it *mahogany*; and it is made of two parts gin and one part treacle, well beaten together. I begged to have some of it made, which was done with proper skill by Mr. Eliot. I thought it very good liquor; and said it was a counterpart of what is called *Athol porridge* in the Highlands of Scotland, which is a mixture of whisky and honey. JOHNSON said, "that must be a better liquor than the Cornish, for both its component parts are better." He also observed, "*Mahogany* must be a modern name; for it is not long since the wood called mahogany was known in this country." I mentioned his scale of liquors: — claret for boys, — port for men, — brandy for heroes. "Then," said Mr. Burke, "let me have claret: I love to be a boy; to have the careless gaiety of boyish days." JOHNSON. "I should drink claret too, if it would give me that; but it does not: it neither makes boys men, nor men boys. You'll be drowned by it before it has any effect upon you."

I ventured to mention a ludicrous paragraph in the newspapers, that Dr. Johnson was learning to dance of Vestris. Lord Charlemont, wishing to excite him to talk, proposed, in a whisper, that he should be asked whether it was true. "Shall I ask him?" said his lordship. We were, by a great majority, clear for the ex-

periment. Upon which his lordship very gravely, and with a courteous air, said, "Pray, Sir, is it true that you are taking lessons of Vestris?" This was risking a good deal, and required the boldness of a general of Irish volunteers to make the attempt. JOHNSON was at first startled, and in some heat answered, "How can your lordship ask so simple a question?" But immediately recovering himself, whether from unwillingness to be deceived or to appear deceived, or whether from real good humour, he kept up the joke: "Nay, but if any body were to answer the paragraph, and contradict it, I'd have a reply, and would say, that he who contradicted it was no friend either to Vestris or me. For why should not Dr. JOHNSON add to his other powers a little corporeal agility? Socrates learnt to dance at an advanced age, and Cato learnt Greek at an advanced age. Then it might proceed to say, that this JOHNSON, not content with dancing on the ground, might dance on the rope; and they might introduce the elephant dancing on the rope. A nobleman² wrote a play called 'Love in a Hollow Tree.' He found out that it was a bad one, and therefore wished to buy up all the copies and burn them. The Duchess of Marlborough had kept one; and when he was against her at an election, she had a new edition of it printed, and prefixed to it, as a frontispiece, an elephant dancing on a rope, to show that his lordship's writing comedy was as awkward as an elephant dancing on a rope."

On Sunday, April 1., I dined with him at Mr. Thrale's, with Sir Philip Jennings Clerk and Mr. Perkins, who had the superintendence of Mr. Thrale's brewery, with a salary of five hundred pounds a year. Sir Philip had the appearance of a gentleman of ancient family, well advanced in life. He wore his own white hair in a bag of goodly size, a black velvet coat, with an embroidered waistcoat, and very rich laced ruffles; which Mrs. Thrale said were old-fashioned, but which, for that reason, I thought the more respectable, more like a Tory; yet Sir Philip was then in opposition in parliament. "Ah! Sir," said JOHNSON, "ancient ruffles and modern principles do not agree." Sir Philip defended the opposition to the American war ably and with temper, and I joined him. He said the majority of the nation was against the ministry. JOHNSON. "I, Sir, am against the ministry; but it is for having too little of that of which opposition thinks they have too much. Were I minister, if any man wagged his finger against me, he should be turned out; for that which it is in the power of government to give at pleasure to one or to another should be given to the supporters of

¹ Mr. Eliot, afterwards Lord Eliot, had accompanied Mr. Stanhope, the natural son of Lord Chesterfield, for whom the celebrated Letters were written, and is frequently mentioned in them. Mr. Harte was travelling tutor to both these young gentlemen: see *ante*, p. 217. — CROKER.

² William, the first Viscount Grimston. — BOSWELL. Lord Charlemont was far from being pleased with Mr. Boswell's having published this conversation. See his "*Life*" by Hardy, vol. i. p. 401. — CROKER.

government. If you will not oppose at the expense of losing your place, your opposition will not be honest, you will feel no serious grievance, and the present opposition is only a contest to get what others have. Sir Robert Walpole acted as I would do. As to the American war, the *sense* of the nation is *with* the ministry. The majority of those who can *understand* is with it; the majority of those who can only *hear* is against it; and as those who can only hear are more numerous than those who can understand, and opposition is always loudest, a majority of the rabble will be for opposition."

This boisterous vivacity¹ entertained us; but the truth in my opinion was, that those who could understand the best were against the American war, as almost every man now is, when the question has been coolly considered.

Mrs. Thrale gave high praise to Mr. Dudley Long (now North). JOHNSON. "Nay, my dear lady, don't talk so. Mr. Long's character is very *short*.² It is nothing. He fills a chair. He is a man of genteel appearance, and that is all. I know nobody who blasts by praise as you do: for whenever there is exaggerated praise, every body is set against a character. They are provoked to attack it. Now there is Peypys³: you praised that man with such disproportion, that I was incited to lessen him, perhaps more than he deserves. His blood is upon your head. By the same principle, your malice defeats itself; for your censure is too violent. And yet (looking to her with a leering smile) she is the first woman in the world, could she but restrain that wicked tongue of hers;—she would be the only woman, could she but command that little whirligig."

Upon the subject of exaggerated praise I took the liberty to say, that I thought there might be very high praise given to a known character which deserved it, and therefore it would not be exaggerated. Thus, one might say of Mr. Edmund Burke, he is a very wonderful man. JOHNSON. "No, Sir, you would not be safe, if another man had a mind perversely to contradict. He might answer, 'Where is all the wonder? Burke is, to be sure, a man of uncommon abilities; with a great quantity of matter in his mind, and a great fluency of language in his mouth. But we are not to be stunned and astonished by him.' So you see, Sir, even Burke would suffer, not from any fault of his own, but from your folly."

Mrs. Thrale mentioned a gentleman who had acquired a fortune of four thousand a year in

trade, but was absolutely miserable because he could not talk in company; so miserable, that he was impelled to lament his situation in the street to ***** whom he hates, and who he knows despises him. "I am a most unhappy man," said he. "I am invited to *conversations*; I go to *conversations*; but, alas! I have no conversation." JOHNSON. "Man commonly cannot be successful in different ways. This gentleman has spent, in getting four thousand pounds a year, the time in which he might have learnt to talk; and now he cannot talk." Mr. Perkins made a shrewd and droll remark: "If he had got his four thousand a year as a mountebank, he might have learnt to talk at the same time that he was getting his fortune."

Some other gentlemen came in. The conversation concerning the person whose character Dr. Johnson had treated so slightly, as he did not know his merit, was resumed. Mrs. Thrale said, "You think so of him, Sir, because he is quiet, and does not exert himself with force. You'll be saying the same thing of Mr. ***** there, who sits as quiet." This was not well bred; and Johnson did not let it pass without correction. "Nay, Madam, what right have you to talk thus? Both Mr. ***** and I have reason to take it ill. *You* may talk so of Mr. *****; but why do you make *me* do it? Have I said anything against Mr. *****? You have *set* him, that I might shoot him: but I have not shot him."

One of the gentlemen said he had seen three folio volumes of Dr. Johnson's sayings collected by me. "I must put you right, Sir," said I; "for I am very exact in authenticity. You could not see folio volumes, for I have none: you might have seen some in quarto and octavo. This is an inattention which one should guard against." JOHNSON. "Sir, it is a want of concern about veracity. He does not know that he saw *my* volumes. If he had seen them, he could have remembered their size."

Mr. Thrale appeared very lethargic to-day. I saw him again on Monday evening, at which time he was not thought to be in immediate danger: but early in the morning of Wednesday the 4th he expired. Upon that day there was a *call* of the Literary Club; but Johnson apologised for his absence by the following note:—

"Wednesday, (4th April.)

"Mr. Johnson knows that Sir Joshua Reynolds and the other gentlemen will excuse his incomppliance with the call, when they are told that Mr. Thrale died this morning."

¹ This is "boisterous vivacity," because Boswell happened to have taken up the other side of the question.—CROKER, 1847.

² Here Johnson condescended to play upon the words *long* and *short*. But little did he know that, owing to Mr. Long's reserve in his presence, he was talking thus of a gentleman distinguished amongst his acquaintance for acuteness of wit; and to whom, I think, the French expression, "*Il pétile d'esprit*," is particularly suited. He has gratified me by mentioning that he heard Dr. Johnson say, "Sir, if I were

to lose Boswell, it would be a limb amputated."—BOSWELL. See *anté*, p. 678, n. 7.—C.

³ William Weller Peypys, Esq., one of the masters in the High Court of Chancery, and well known in polite circles. My acquaintance with him is not sufficient to enable me to speak of him from my own judgment. But I know that both at Eton and Oxford he was the intimate friend of the late Sir James Macdonald, the *Marcellus* of Scotland, whose extraordinary talents, learning, and virtues will ever be remembered with admiration and regret.—BOSWELL. See *anté*, p. 644.—C.

Johnson was in the house, and thus mentions the event:—

"Good Friday, April 13th, 1781. — On Wednesday, 11th, was buried my dear friend Thrale, who died on Wednesday, 4th; and with him were buried many of my hopes and pleasures. About five, I think, on Wednesday morning, he expired. I felt almost the last flutter of his pulse, and looked for the last time upon the face that for fifteen years had never been turned upon me but with respect or benignity.¹ Farewell. May God, that delightheth in mercy, have had mercy on thee! I had constantly prayed for him some time before his death. The decease of him, from whose friendship I had obtained many opportunities of amusement, and to whom I turned my thoughts as to a refuge from misfortunes, has left me heavy. But my business is with myself." (*Pr. and Med.*, p. 187.²)

Mr. Thrale's death was a very essential loss to Johnson, who, although he did not foresee all that afterwards happened, was sufficiently convinced that the comforts which Mr. Thrale's family afforded him would now in a great measure cease. He, however, continued to show a kind attention to his widow and children as long as it was acceptable; and he took upon him, with a very earnest concern, the office of one of his executors; the importance of which seemed greater than usual to him, from his circumstances having been always such that he had scarcely any share in the real business of life. His friends of the Club were in hopes that Mr. Thrale might have made a liberal provision for him for his life, which, as Mr. Thrale left no son and a very large fortune, it would have been highly to his honour to have done; and, considering Dr. Johnson's age, could not have been of long duration; but he bequeathed him only two hundred pounds, which was the legacy given to each of his executors. I could not but be somewhat diverted by hearing Johnson talk in a pompous manner of his new office, and particularly of the concerns of the brewery, which it was at last resolved should be sold. Lord Lucan tells a very good story, which, if not precisely exact, is certainly characteristical; that when the sale of Thrale's brewery was going forward, Johnson appeared bustling about, with an ink-horn and pen in his button-hole, like an excise-man; and on being asked what he really considered to be the value of the property which

was to be disposed of, answered, "We are not here to sell a parcel of boilers and vats, but the potentiality of growing rich beyond the dreams of avarice."³

[JOHNSON TO MRS. THRALE.

"London, April 5. 1781.

"DEAREST MADAM, — Of your injunctions to pray for you and write to you, I hope to leave neither unobserved; and I hope to find you willing in a short time to alleviate your trouble by some other exercise of the mind. I am not without my part of the calamity. No death since that of my wife has ever oppressed me like this. But let us remember that we are in the hands of Him who knows when to give and when to take away, who will look upon us with mercy through all our variations of existence, and who invites us to call on him in the day of trouble. Call upon him in this great revolution of life, and call with confidence. You will then find comfort for the past, and support for the future. He that has given you happiness in marriage, to a degree of which, without personal knowledge, I should have thought the description fabulous, can give you another mode of happiness as a mother, and at last the happiness of losing all temporal cares in the thoughts of an eternity in heaven.

"I do not exhort you to reason yourself into tranquillity. We must first pray, and then labour; first implore the blessing of God, and [use] those means, which he puts into our hands. Cultivated ground has few weeds; a mind occupied by lawful business has little room for useless regret.

"We read the will to-day; but I will not fill my first letter with any account than that, with all my zeal for your advantage, I am satisfied; and that the other executors, more used to consider property than I, commended it for wisdom and equity. Yet why should I not tell you that you have five hundred pounds for your immediate expenses, and two thousand pounds a year, with both the houses, and all the goods?

"Let us pray for one another, that the time, whether long or short, that shall yet be granted us, may be well spent; and that when this life, which at the longest is very short, shall come to an end, a better may begin which shall never end."]

— *Letters.*

On Friday, April 6th, he carried me to dine at a club which, at his desire, had been lately formed at the Queen's Arms in St. Paul's Churchyard. He told Mr. Hoole that he wished to have a city Club, and asked him to collect one; but, said he, "Don't let them be

¹ Johnson's expressions on this occasion remind us of Isaac Walton's eulogy on Whitgift, in his Life of Hooker. "He lived to be present at the expiration of her (Queen Elizabeth's) last breath, and to behold the closing of those eyes that had long looked upon him with reverence and affection." — KEARNEY.

² At a subsequent date he added, on the same paper:—"18th September. My first knowledge of Thrale was in 1765. I enjoyed his favour for almost a fourth part of my life." See *anté*, p. 169. — CROKER.

³ The brewery was sold by Dr. Johnson and his brother executor, to Messrs. BARCLAY, PERKINS, & Co., for 135,000*l*. While on his Tour to the Hebrides, in 1773, Johnson mentioned that Thrale "paid 20,000*l*. a year to the revenue, and that he had four vats, each of which held 1600 barrels, above a thousand hogsheads." The establishment in Park Street,

in the Borough, is now the largest of its kind in the world. The buildings extend over ten acres, and the machinery includes two steam-engines. The store-cellars contain 126 vats, varying in their contents from 4000 barrels down to 500. About 160 horses are employed in conveying beer to different parts of London. The quantity brewed in 1826 was 380,180 barrels, upon which a duty of ten shillings the barrel, 180,090*l*. was paid to the revenue; and, in the last year, the malt consumed exceeded 100,000 quarters. — WRIGHT, 1835.

⁴ It seems unfeeling to have dined at a tavern the day but one after poor Thrale's death; but he was afraid to indulge his own morbid grief. He writes to Mrs. Thrale, "Our sorrow has different effects; you are driven into solitude, I am driven into company." * * * I give my affliction a little vent, and amuse it as I can." — CROKER.

patriots.”¹ The company were to-day very sensible, well-behaved men. I have preserved only two particulars of his conversation. He said he was glad Lord George Gordon had escaped, rather than that a precedent should be established for hanging a man for *constructive treason*, which, in consistency with his true, manly, constitutional Toryism, he considered would be a dangerous engine of arbitrary power. And upon its being mentioned that an opulent and very indolent Scotch nobleman, who totally resigned the management of his affairs to a man of knowledge and abilities, had claimed some merit by saying, “The next best thing to managing a man’s own affairs well is being sensible of incapacity, and not attempting it, but having a full confidence in one who can do it:”—JOHNSON. “Nay, Sir, ~~this~~ is paltry. There is a middle course. Let a man give application; and depend upon it he will soon get above a despicable state of helplessness, and attain the power of acting for himself.”

On Saturday, April 7., I dined with him at Mr. Hoole’s with Governor Bouchier and Captain Orme, both of whom had been long in the East Indies; and, being men of good sense and observation, were very entertaining. Johnson defended the oriental regulation of different *castes* of men, which was objected to as totally destructive of the hopes of rising in society by personal merit. He showed that there was a *principle* in it sufficiently plausible by analogy. “We see,” said he, “in metals that there are different species; and so likewise in animals, though one species may not differ very widely from another, as, in the species of dogs, the cur, the spaniel, the mastiff. The Bramins are the mastiffs of mankind.”²

On Thursday, April 12., I dined with him at a bishop’s, where were Sir Joshua Reynolds, Mr. Berenger, and some more company. He had dined the day before at another bishop’s.³ I have unfortunately recorded none of his conversation at the bishop’s where we dined together: but I have preserved his ingenious defence of his dining twice abroad in Passion-week; a laxity in which I am convinced he would not have indulged himself at the time when he wrote his solemn paper in “The Rambler” upon that awful season. It appeared to me, that by being much more in company, and enjoying more luxurious living, he had contracted a keener relish for pleasure, and was consequently less rigorous in his religious rites. This he would not acknowledge; but he reasoned with admirable sophistry as fol-

lows: “Why, Sir, a bishop’s calling company together in this week is, to use the vulgar phrase, not *the thing*. But you must consider laxity is a bad thing; but preciseness is also a bad thing; and your general character may be more hurt by preciseness than by dining with a bishop in Passion-week. There might be a handle for reflection. It might be said, ‘He refuses to dine with a bishop in Passion-week, but was three Sundays absent from church.’” BOSWELL. “Very true, Sir. But suppose a man to be uniformly of good conduct, would it not be better that he should refuse to dine with a bishop in this week, and so not encourage a bad practice by his example?” JOHNSON. “Why, Sir, you are to consider whether you might not do more harm by lessening the influence of a bishop’s character by your disapprobation in refusing him, than by going to him.”⁴

JOHNSON TO MRS. PORTER.

“London, April 12. 1781.

“DEAR MADAM,—Life is full of troubles. I have just lost my dear friend Thrale. I hope he is happy; but I have had a great loss. I am otherwise pretty well. I require some care of myself, but that care is not ineffectual; and when I am out of order, I think it often my own fault.

“The spring is now making quick advances. As it is the season in which the whole world is enlivened and invigorated, I hope that both you and I shall partake of its benefits. My desire is to see Lichfield; but being left executor to my friend, I know not whether I can be spared; but I will try, for it is now long since we saw one another; and how little we can promise ourselves many more interviews, we are taught by hourly examples of mortality. Let us try to live so as that mortality may not be an evil. Write to me soon, my dearest: your letters will give me great pleasure.

“I am sorry that Mr. Porter has not had his box; but by sending it to Mr. Mathias, who very readily undertook its conveyance, I did the best I could, and perhaps before now he has it. Be so kind as to make my compliments to my friends. I have a great value for their kindness, and hope to enjoy it before summer is past. Do write to me. I am, dearest love, your, &c.,

“SAM. JOHNSON.”

On Friday, April 13., being Good Friday, I went to St. Clement’s church with him as usual. There I saw again his old fellow-collegian, Edwards, to whom I said, “I think, Sir, Dr. Johnson and you meet only at church.” “Sir,” said he, “it is the best place we can meet in, except heaven, and I hope we shall meet there too.” Dr. Johnson told me that

is odd that he should, in two succeeding Aprils, have dined on two successive days with these two bishops, but it seems nevertheless certain. The matter is of some little importance, for we had rather be assured that Bishop Porteus were not the bishop here alluded to. See *post*, 26th April, 1782.—CROKER.

⁴ This is a very poor excuse for many reasons, but one is very obvious—that the refusal need neither have been public nor *motivé*, as the French say.—CROKER, 1847.

¹ The truth is, that the *patriots* had driven him away from Sir Joshua’s Club, which he latterly seldom attended. See *ante* p. 529, n. 1.—CROKER.

² Rajapouts, the military caste; the Bramins, pacific and abstemious.—KEARNEY.

³ The only bishops at whose houses Johnson is recorded to have dined were Shipley of St. Asaph and Porteus of Chester, afterwards of London. By a letter, *post*, April, 1782, it appears that he dined two consecutive days, in April of that year, with the Bishops of St. Asaph’s and Chester. It

there was very little communication between Edwards and him after their unexpected renewal of acquaintance. "But," said he, smiling, "he met me once and said, 'I am told you have written a very pretty book called 'The Rambler.' I was unwilling that he should leave the world in total darkness, and sent him a set."

Mr. Berenger¹ visited him to-day, and was very pleasing. We talked of an evening society for conversation at a house in town, of which we were all members, but of which Johnson said, "It will never do, Sir. There is nothing served about there; neither tea, nor coffee, nor lemonade, nor anything whatever; and depend upon it, Sir, a man does not love to go to a place from whence he comes out exactly as he went in." I endeavoured, for argument's sake, to maintain that men of learning and talents might have very good intellectual society, without the aid of any little gratifications of the senses. Berenger joined with Johnson, and said that without these any meeting would be dull and insipid. He would therefore have all the slight refreshments; nay, it would not be amiss to have some cold meat, and a bottle of wine upon a sideboard. "Sir," said Johnson to me, with an air of triumph, "Mr. Berenger knows the world. Every body loves to have good things furnished to them without any trouble. I told Mrs. Thrale once, that, as she did not choose to have card-tables, she should have a profusion of the best sweetmeats, and she would be sure to have company enough come to her." I agreed with my illustrious friend upon this subject; for it has pleased God to make man a composite animal, and where there is nothing to refresh the body, the mind will languish.

On Sunday, April 15., being Easter-day, after solemn worship in St. Paul's church, I found him alone. Dr. Scott, of the Commons, came in. He talked of its having been said, that Addison wrote some of his best papers in "The Spectator" when warm with wine. Dr. Johnson did not seem willing to admit this. Dr. Scott, as a confirmation of it, related that Blackstone, a sober man, composed his "Commentaries" with a bottle of port before him; and found his mind invigorated and supported in the fatigue of his great work, by a temperate use of it.

I told him, that in a company where I had lately been, a desire was expressed to know his authority for the shocking story of Addison's sending an execution into Steele's house.

"Sir," said he, "it is generally known; it is known to all who are acquainted with the literary history of that period: it is as well known as that he wrote 'Cato.' Mr. Thomas Sheridan once defended Addison to me, by alleging that he did it in order to cover Steele's goods from other creditors, who were going to seize them."²

We talked of the difference between the mode of education at Oxford and that in those colleges where instruction is chiefly conveyed by lectures. JOHNSON. "Lectures were once useful; but now, when all can read, and books are so numerous, lectures are unnecessary. If your attention fails, and you miss a part of the lecture, it is lost; you cannot go back as you do upon a book." Dr. Scott agreed with him. "But yet," said I, "Dr. Scott, you yourself gave lectures at Oxford." He smiled. "You laughed," then said I, "at those who came to you."

Dr. Scott left us, and soon afterwards we went to dinner. Our company consisted of Mrs. Williams, Mrs. Desmoulins, Mr. Levett, Mr. Allen, the printer, (Mr. Macbean), and Mrs. Hall, sister of the Reverend Mr. John Wesley, and resembling him, as I thought, both in figure and manner. Johnson produced now, for the first time, some handsome silver salvers, which he told me he had bought fourteen years ago; so it was a great day. I was not a little amused by observing Allen perpetually struggling to talk in the manner of Johnson, like the little frog in the fable blowing himself up to resemble the stately ox.

I mentioned a kind of religious Robin-Hood society³, which met every Sunday evening at Coachmakers'-Hall, for free debate; and that the subject for this night was, the text which relates, with other miracles which happened at our Saviour's death, "And the graves were opened, and many bodies of the saints which slept arose, and came out of the graves after his resurrection, and went into the holy city, and appeared unto many." Mrs. Hall said it was a very curious subject, and she should like to hear it discussed. JOHNSON (somewhat warmly). "One would not go to such a place to hear it, — one would not be seen in such a place, to give countenance to such a meeting." I, however, resolved that I would go. "But, Sir," said she to Johnson, "I should like to hear you discuss it." He seemed reluctant to engage in it. She talked of the resurrection of the human race in general, and maintained that we shall be raised with the

¹ Richard Berenger, many years Gentleman of the Horse to her present majesty, and author of *The History and Art of Horsemanship*, 2 vols. 4to. 1771. — MALONE. Mr. Berenger's mother was sister of Lord Cobham and of Lady Lyttelton, mother of the first lord. Talking of good manners, Johnson named Mr. Berenger as the standard of true elegance; but some one objecting that he too much resembled the gentlemen in Congreve's comedies, Johnson said, "Well then, we must fix on the famous Thomas Hervey," [*anté*, p. 183. n. 4.] — PIOZZI. "I dined the other day," says Hannah More, "at Mrs. Boscawen's, very pleasantly, for Berenger

was there, and was all himself, all chivalry, blank verse, and anecdote. He told us some curious stories of Pope, with whom he used to spend the summer at his uncle Lord Cobham's." He died in Sept. 1782, æt. 62. — CROKER.

² See *anté*, p. 671. — C.

³ The original Robin-Hood was a debating club, "chiefly composed" (says the *Connoisseur*, 28th March, 1754) "of lawyers, clerks, petty tradesmen, and low mechanics, where it is usual for the advocates of infidelity to assemble and openly avow their infidelity." See *Gent. Mag.* xxii. 54. and xxiv. 154. — CROKER.

same bodies. JOHNSON. "Nay, Madam, we see that it is not to be the same body; for the scripture uses the illustration of grain sown, and we know that the grain which grows is not the same with what is sown. You cannot suppose that we shall rise with a diseased body; it is enough if there be such a sameness as to distinguish identity of person." She seemed desirous of knowing more, but he left the question in obscurity.

Of apparitions¹, he observed, "A total disbelief of them is adverse to the opinion of the existence of the soul between death and the last day; the question simply is, whether departed spirits ever have the power of making themselves perceptible to us: a man who thinks he has seen an apparition can only be convinced himself; his authority will not convince another; and his conviction, if rational, must be founded on being told something which cannot be known but by supernatural means."

He mentioned a thing as not unfrequent, of which I had never heard before, — being *called*, that is, hearing one's name pronounced by the voice of a known person at a great distance, far beyond the possibility of being reached by any sound uttered by human organs. "An acquaintance, on whose veracity I can depend, told me, that walking home one evening to Kilmarnock, he heard himself *called* from a wood, by the voice of a brother who had gone to America: and the next packet brought accounts of that brother's death." Macbean asserted that this inexplicable *calling* was a thing very well known. Dr. Johnson said, that one day at Oxford, as he was turning the key of his chamber, he heard his mother distinctly call — *Sam*. She was then at Lichfield; but nothing ensued. This phenomenon is, I think, as wonderful as any other mysterious fact, which many people are very slow to believe, or rather, indeed, reject with an obstinate contempt.

Some time after this, upon his making a remark which escaped my attention, Mrs. Williams and Mrs. Hall were both together striving to answer him. He grew angry, and called out loudly, "Nay, when you both speak at once, it is intolerable." But checking himself, and softening, he said, "This one may say, though, you *are* ladies." Then he brightened into gay humour, and addressed them in the words of one of the songs in "The Beggar's Opera,"

"But two at a time there's no mortal can bear."

"What, Sir," said I, "are you going to turn Captain Macheath?" There was something as pleasantly ludicrous in this scene as can be

imagined. The contrast between Macheath, Polly, and Lucy — and Dr. Samuel Johnson, blind, peevish Mrs. Williams, and lean, lank, preaching Mrs. Hall, was exquisite.

I stole away to Coachmakers'-hall, and heard the difficult text of which we had talked, discussed with great decency, and some intelligence, by several speakers. There was a difference of opinion as to the appearance of ghosts in modern times, though the argument for it, supported by Mr. Addison's authority, preponderated. The immediate subject of debate was embarrassed by the *bodies* of the saints having been said to rise, and by the question what became of them afterwards: — did they return again to their graves? or were they translated to heaven? Only one evangelist mentions the fact (Matthew, xxvii. 52, 53.), and the commentators whom I have looked at do not make the passage clear. There is, however, no occasion for our understanding it farther than to know that it was one of the extraordinary manifestations of divine power which accompanied the most important event that ever happened.

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

1781.

Dinner at Mrs. Garrick's. — Miss Hannah More. — Mudge's "Sermons." — *A Printer's Devil.* — Quotation. — Letter-writing. — Bet Flint. — Oratory. — Beauclerk's Library. — English Sermons. — Blue-Stocking Clubs. — Miss Monckton. — Talking for Victory. — *A Cui Bono Man.* — "Heroic Epistle." — Lord Carlisle's Poems. — Dr. Barnard. — "Of Tory and Whig." — Visit to Welwyn. — Dr. Young. — Trusting to Impressions. — Original Sin. — Ancient Egyptians. — Wealth. — Memory and Recollection. — Marrying a pretty Woman. — Thrale's Brewery. — Mr. Bewley. — Johnson's Hearth-broom. — Dr. Patten. — Visit to Ashbourne and Lichfield.

On Friday, April 20., I spent with him one of the happiest days that I remember to have enjoyed in the whole course of my life. Mrs. Garrick, whose grief for the loss of her husband was, I believe, as sincere as wounded affection and admiration could produce, had this day, for the first time since his death, a select party of his friends to dine with her.² The company was, Miss Hannah More, who lived with her, and whom she called her chaplain; Mrs. Boscawen, Mrs. Elizabeth Carter, Sir Joshua

¹ As this subject frequently recurs in this volume, the reader may be led erroneously to suppose that Dr. Johnson was so fond of such discussions as frequently to introduce them. But the truth is, that the author himself delighted in talking concerning ghosts, and what he has frequently denominated the *mysterious*; and therefore took every opportunity of leading Johnson to converse on such subjects. — MALONE. The author of this work was most undoubtedly

fond of the *mysterious*, and perhaps upon some occasions may have directed the conversation to those topics, when they would not spontaneously have suggested themselves to Johnson's mind; but that he also had a love for speculations of that nature may be gathered from his writings throughout.

— J. BOSWELL, J. A. S.

² Garrick had been dead two years and three months. — CROKER, 1847.

Reynolds, Dr. Burney, Dr. Johnson, and myself. We found ourselves very elegantly entertained at her house in the Adelphi, where I have passed many a pleasing hour with him "who gladdened life." She looked well, talked of her husband with complacency, and while she cast her eyes on his portrait, which hung over the chimney-piece, said, that "death was now the most agreeable object to her." The very semblance of David Garrick was cheering. Mr. Beauclerk, with happy propriety, inscribed under that fine portrait of him, which by Lady Diana's kindness is now the property of my friend Mr. Langton, the following passage from his beloved Shakspeare:

"——— A merrier man,
Within the limit of becoming mirth,
I never spent an hour's talk withal.
His eye begets occasion for his wit;
For every object that the one doth catch
The other turns to a mirth-moving jest;
Which his fair tongue (Conceit's expositor)
Delivers in such apt and gracious words,
That aged ears play truant at his tales,
And younger hearings are quite ravished;
So sweet and voluble is his discourse."

We were all in fine spirits; and I whispered to Mrs. Boscawen, "I believe this is as much as can be made of life."² In addition to a splendid entertainment, we were regaled with Lichfield ale, which had a peculiar appropriate value. Sir Joshua, and Dr. Burney, and I drank cordially of it to Dr. Johnson's health; and though he would not join us, he as cordially answered, "Gentlemen, I wish you all as well as you do me."

The general effect of this day dwells upon my mind in fond remembrance; but I do not find much conversation recorded. What I have preserved shall be faithfully given.

One of the company mentioned Mr. Thomas Hollis, the strenuous Whig, who used to send over Europe presents of democratical books, with their boards stamped with daggers and caps of liberty. Mrs. Carter said, "He was a bad man: he used to talk uncharitably." JOHNSON. "Poh! poh! Madam; who is the worse for being talked of very uncharitably? Besides, he was a dull poor creature as ever lived: and I believe he would not have done harm to a man whom he knew to be of very opposite principles to his own. I remember

once at the Society of Arts, when an advertisement was to be drawn up, he pointed me out as the man who could do it best. This, you will observe, was kindness to me. I however slept away, and escaped it."

Mrs. Carter having said of the same person, "I doubt he was an atheist:" JOHNSON. "I don't know that. He might, perhaps, have become one, if he had had time to ripen (smiling). He might have *exuberated* into an atheist."

Sir Joshua Reynolds praised "Mudge's Sermons." JOHNSON. "Mudge's Sermons are good, but not practical. He grasps more sense than he can hold; he takes more corn than he can make into meal; he opens a wide prospect, but it is so distant, it is indistinct." I love 'Blair's Sermons.' Though the dog is a Scotchman, and a presbyterian, and every thing he should not be, I was the first to praise them. Such was my candour" (smiling). MRS. BOSCAWEN. "Such his great merit, to get the better of all your prejudices." JOHNSON. "Why, Madam, let us compound the matter; let us ascribe it to my candour, and his merit."

In the evening we had a large company in the drawing-room; several ladies, the Bishop of Killaloe (Dr. Barnard), Dr. Percy, Mr. Chamberlayne⁴ of the Treasury, &c. &c. Somebody said, the life of a mere literary man could not be very entertaining. JOHNSON. "But it certainly may. This is a remark which has been made, and repeated, without justice. Why should the life of a literary man be less entertaining than the life of any other man? Are there not as interesting varieties in such a life? As a *literary life* it may be very entertaining." BOSWELL. "But it must be better surely when it is diversified with a little active variety—such as his having gone to Jamaica;—or—his having gone to the Hebrides." JOHNSON was not displeased at this.

Talking of a very respectable author, he told us a curious circumstance in his life, which was, that he had married a printer's devil. REYNOLDS. "A printer's devil, Sir! why, I thought a printer's devil was a creature with a black face and in rags." JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir. But I suppose he had her face washed, and put clean clothes on her." Then, looking very serious, and very earnest. "And she did not

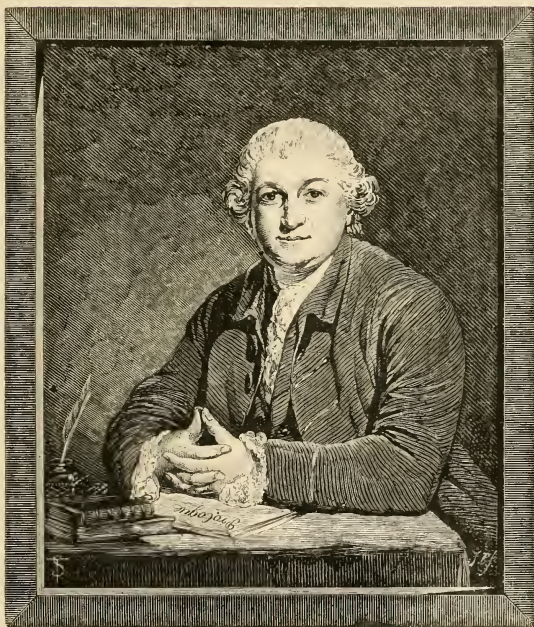
¹ Rosaline's character of Biron. *Love's Labour's Lost*, act 2. sc. 1.—CROKER.

² Boswell was right; four other such women or such men, it would have been difficult to collect. Hannah More gives two anecdotes only of this day, neither mentioned by Boswell. "Johnson was in full song, and I quarrelled with him sadly. I accused him of not having done justice to the '*Allegro*' and '*Penseroso*.' He spoke disparagingly of both. I praised *Lycidas*, which he absolutely abused, adding, that if Milton had not written *Paradise Lost* he would have only ranked among the minor poets. He was a Phidias that could cut a Colossus out of a rock, but could not cut heads out of cherry stones." Boswell brought to my mind my being made by Sir William Forbes the umpire in a trial of skill between Garrick and Boswell, which could most nearly imitate Johnson's manner. I remember I gave

it for Boswell in familiar conversation, and for Garrick in reciting poetry. Mrs. Boscawen shone with her usual mild lustre."—*Memoirs*, i. 212.—CROKER, 1847.

³ See *anté*, p. 679., a more favourable opinion.—CROKER.

⁴ Edward Chamberlayne was, for a short time, Secretary of the Treasury under Lord Rockingham, an office which he unwillingly accepted; and, overwhelmed with his fancied responsibilities, he, on the 5th April, 1782, committed suicide by throwing himself out of one of the windows of the Treasury. He lived 36 hours, with his understanding clear, arranged his affairs with great coolness, did not reproach himself for self-murder, but expressed contrition that he had done business with Lord Rockingham on Good Friday! He was the brother of Mrs. Kennicott. See *Hannah More's Memoirs*, i. 245.—CROKER, 1847.



DAVID GARRICK

(From the Painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds)

London : John Murray, Albemarle Street

disgrace him;—the woman had a bottom of good sense." The word *bottom* thus introduced was so ludicrous when contrasted with his gravity, that most of us could not forbear tittering and laughing; though I recollect that the Bishop of Killaloe kept his countenance with perfect steadiness, while Miss Hannah More slyly hid her face behind a lady's back who sat on the same settee with her. His pride could not bear that any expression of his should excite ridicule, when he did not intend it: he therefore resolved to assume and exercise despotic power, glanced sternly around, and called out in a strong tone, "Where's the merriment?" Then collecting himself, and looking awful, to make us feel how he could impose restraint, and as it were searching his mind for a still more ludicrous word, he slowly pronounced, "I say the woman was *fundamentally* sensible;" as if he had said, Hear this now, and laugh if you dare. We all sat composed as at a funeral.¹

He and I walked away together: we stopped a little while by the rails of the Adelphi, looking on the Thames, and I said to him with some emotion, that I was now thinking of two friends we had lost, who once lived in the buildings behind us, Beauchamp and Garrick. "Ay, sir, (said he, tenderly) and two such friends as cannot be supplied."

For some time after this day I did not see him very often, and of the conversation which I did enjoy, I am sorry to find I have preserved but little. I was at this time engaged in a variety of other matters which required exertion and assiduity, and necessarily occupied almost all my time.

One day, having spoken very freely of those who were then in power, he said to me, "Between ourselves, Sir, I do not like to give Opposition the satisfaction of knowing how much I disapprove of the ministry." And when I mentioned that Mr. Burke had boasted how quiet the nation was in George the Second's reign, when whigs were in power, compared with the present reign, when tories governed;—"Why, sir," said he, "you are to consider that tories having more reverence for government, will not oppose with the same violence as whigs, who, being unrestrained by that principle, will oppose by any means."

This month he lost not only Mr. Thrale, but another friend, Mr. William Strahan, junior, printer, the eldest son of his old and constant friend, printer to his Majesty.

JOHNSON TO MRS. STRAHAN.

"23d April, 1781.

"DEAR MADAM,—The grief which I feel for the loss of a very kind friend is sufficient to make me know how much you suffer by the death of an

amiable son: a man of whom I think it may be truly said, that no one knew him who does not lament him. I look upon myself as having a friend, another friend, taken from me.

"Comfort, dear Madam, I would give you, if I could; but I know how little the forms of consolation can avail. Let me, however, counsel you not to waste your health in unprofitable sorrow, but go to Bath, and endeavour to prolong your own life. But when we have all done all that we can, one friend must in time lose the other. I am, dear Madam, your most humble servant, SAM. JOHNSON."

On Tuesday, May 8., I had the pleasure of again dining with him and Mr. Wilkes, at Mr. Dilly's. No negotiation was now required to bring them together; for Johnson was so well satisfied with the former interview, that he was very glad to meet Wilkes again, who was this day seated between Dr. Beattie and Dr. Johnson; (between *Truth*² and *Reason*, as General Paoli said, when I told him of it.) WILKES. "I have been thinking, Dr. Johnson, that there should be a bill brought into parliament that the controverted elections for Scotland should be tried in that country, at their own Abbey of Holyrood-house, and not here; for the consequence of trying them here is, that we have an inundation of Scotchmen, who come up and never go back again. Now, here is Boswell, who is come upon the election for his own county, which will not last a fortnight." JOHNSON. "Nay, Sir, I see no reason why they should be tried at all; for, you know, one Scotchman is as good as another." WILKES. "Pray, Boswell, how much may be got in a year by an advocate at the Scotch bar?" BOSWELL. "I believe, two thousand pounds." WILKES. "How can it be possible to spend that money in Scotland?" JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, the money may be spent in England; but there is a harder question. If one man in Scotland gets possession of two thousand pounds, what remains for all the rest of the nation?" WILKES. "You know, in the last war, the immense booty which Thurot carried off by the complete plunder of seven Scotch isles; he re-embarked with *three and sixpence*." Here again Johnson and Wilkes joined in extravagant sportive railery upon the supposed poverty of Scotland, which Dr. Beattie and I did not think it worth our while to dispute.

The subject of quotation being introduced, Mr. Wilkes censured it as pedantry. JOHNSON. "No, Sir, it is a good thing; there is a community of mind in it. Classical quotation is the *parole* of literary men all over the world." WILKES. "Upon the continent they all quote the Vulgate Bible. Shakspeare is chiefly quoted here: and we quote also Pope, Prior, Butler, Waller, and sometimes Cowley."

We talked of letter-writing. JOHNSON. "It

¹ Manners are certainly more refined than they were. Such a scene as this could hardly now occur in respectable company. — CROKER.

² In allusion to Dr. Beattie's Essay on *Truth*. — CROKER.

is now become so much the fashion¹ to publish letters, that, in order to avoid it, I put as little into mine as I can." BOSWELL. "Do what you will, Sir, you cannot avoid it. Should you even write as ill as you can, your letters would be published as curiosities:

'Behold a miracle, instead of wit!

See two dull lines with Stanhope's pencil writ.'

He gave us an entertaining account of Bet Flint, a woman of the town, who, with some eccentric talents and much effrontery, forced herself upon his acquaintance. "Bet," said he, "wrote her own *Life* in verse², which she brought to me, wishing that I would furnish her with a preface to it (laughing). I used to say of her, that she was generally slut and drunkard; occasionally whore and thief. She had, however, genteel lodgings, a spinnet on which she played, and a boy that walked before her chair. Poor Bet was taken up on a charge of stealing a counterpane, and tried at the Old Bailey. Chief Justice [Wilkes], who loved a wench, summed up favourably, and she was acquitted.³ After which, Bet said, with a gay and satisfied air, 'Now that the counterpane is *my own*, I shall make a petticoat of it.'⁴

Talking of oratory, Mr. Wilkes described it as accompanied with all the charms of poetical expression. JOHNSON. "No, Sir; oratory is the power of beating down your adversary's arguments, and putting better in their place." WILKES. "But this does not move the passions." JOHNSON. "He must be a weak man who is to be so moved." WILKES (naming a celebrated orator). "Amidst all the brilliancy of [Burke's] imagination, and the exuberance of his wit, there is a strange want of *taste*. It was observed of Apelles's *Venus*⁵, that her flesh seemed as if she had been nourished by roses: his oratory would sometimes make one

suspect that he eats potatoes and drinks whiskey."

Mr. Wilkes observed, how tenacious we are of forms in this country; and gave as an instance, the vote of the House of Commons for remitting money to pay the army in America in Portugal pieces, when, in reality, the remittance is made not in Portugal money, but in our specie. JOHNSON. "Is there not a law, Sir, against exporting the current coin of the realm?" WILKES. "Yes, Sir; but might not the House of Commons, in case of real evident necessity, order our own current coin to be sent into our own colonies?" Here Johnson, with that quickness of recollection which distinguished him so eminently, gave the Middlesex patriot an admirable retort upon his own ground. "Sure, Sir, you don't think a *resolution of the House of Commons* equal to the *law of the land*." WILKES (at once perceiving the application). "God forbid, Sir."—To hear what had been treated with such violence in "The False Alarm" now turned into pleasant repartee, was extremely agreeable. Johnson went on:—"Locke observes well, that a prohibition to export the current coin is impolitic; for when the balance of trade happens to be against a state, the current coin *must* be exported."

Mr. Beaclerk's great library was this season sold in London by auction. Mr. Wilkes said, he wondered to find in it such a numerous collection of sermons: seeming to think it strange that a gentleman of Mr. Beaclerk's character in the gay world should have chosen to have many compositions of that kind. JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, you are to consider, that sermons make a considerable branch of English literature; so that a library must be very imperfect if it has not a numerous collection of sermons⁶: and in all collections, Sir, the desire

¹ It had been long growing into a fashion. Doctor Arbuthnot had, 60 years before, called the publication of posthumous letters, "a new terror of death."—CROKER, 1847.

² Johnson, whose memory was wonderfully retentive, remembered the first four lines of this curious production, which have been communicated to me by a young lady of his acquaintance:—

"When first I drew my vital breath,
A little minikin I came upon earth;
And then I came from a dark abode,
Into this gay and gaudy world."—BOSWELL.

³ Johnson was here guilty, not merely of coarseness, but, it seems, of scandal; for James Boswell, junior, ascertained from the Sessions paper that Bet was tried at the Old Bailey in September, 1758, not by the Chief Justice here alluded to, but before Sir William Moreton, recorder; and she was acquitted not in consequence of any favourable summing up of the judge, but because the prosecutrix could not prove that the goods charged to have been stolen were her property.—MALONE.

⁴ This story and two or three others of the same stamp are wretchedly told in *Madam D'Aubray's Memoirs*, i. 88. But one is ready enough to join in the exclamation she attributed to Mrs. Thrale, "Bless me, Sir, how can all these vagabonds contrive to get at *you*, of all people?"—CROKER, 1847.

⁵ Mr. Wilkes mistook the objection of Euphranor to the *Theæsus* of Parrhasius for a description of the *Venus* of Apelles. Vide *Plutarch*. "Pelione an price clariore Athenienses."—KEARNEY. "Euphranor, comparing his own representation of *Theæsus* with that by Parrhasius, said that the latter looked as if the hero had been fed on roses, but

that his showed that he had lived on *beef*." *Plut. Xyl. v. ii. p. 346*.—CROKER.

⁶ Mr. Wilkes probably did not know that there is in an English sermon the most comprehensive and lively account of that entertaining faculty for which he himself was so much admired. It is in Dr. Barrow's first volume, and fourteenth sermon, "Against foolish Talking and Jestings." My old acquaintance, the late Corby Morris, in his ingenious "Essay on Wit, Humour, and Ridicule," calls it "a profuse description of wit;" but I do not see how it could be curtailed, without leaving out some good circumstance of discrimination. As it is not generally known, and may perhaps dispose some to read sermons, from which they may receive real advantage, while looking only for entertainment, I shall here subjoin it.

"But first (says the learned preacher) it may be demanded, what the thing we speak of is? Or what this facetiousness (or wit, as he calls it before) doth import? To which questions I might reply, as Democritus did to him that asked the definition of a man, 'Tis that which we all see and know.' Any one better apprehends what it is by acquaintance than I can inform him by description. It is, indeed, a thing so versatile and multifarious, appearing in so many shapes, so many postures, so many garbs, so variously apprehended by several eyes and judgments, that it seemeth no less hard to settle a clear and certain notion thereof, than to make a portrait of Proteus, or to define the figure of the fleeting air. Sometimes it lieth in pat allusion to a known story, or in sensible application of a trivial saying, or in forging an apposite tale; sometimes it playeth in words and phrases, taking advantage from the ambiguity of their sense, or the affinity of their sound: sometimes it is wrapt in a dress of humorous expression: sometimes it turketh under an odd

of augmenting them grows stronger in proportion to the advance in acquisition; as motion is accelerated by the continuance of the *impetus*. Besides, Sir," looking at Mr. Wilkes, with a placid but significant smile, "a man may collect sermons with intention of making himself better by them. I hope Mr. Beauclerk intended that some time or other that should be the case with him."

Mr. Wilkes said to me, loud enough for Dr. Johnson to hear, "Dr. Johnson should make me a present of his 'Lives of the Poets,' as I am a poor patriot, who cannot afford to buy them." Johnson seemed to take no notice of this hint; but in a little while he called to Mr. Dilly, "Pray, Sir, be so good as to send a set of my Lives to Mr. Wilkes, with my compliments." This was accordingly done; and Mr. Wilkes paid Dr. Johnson a visit, was courteously received, and sat with him a long time.

The company gradually dropped away. Mr. Dilly himself was called down stairs upon business; I left the room for some time; when I returned, I was struck with observing Dr. Samuel Johnson and John Wilkes, Esq. literally *tête-à-tête*; for they were reclined upon their chairs, with their heads leaning almost close to each other, and talking earnestly, in a kind of confidential whisper, of the personal quarrel between George the Second and the King of Prussia. Such a scene of perfectly easy sociability between two such opponents in the war of political controversy, as that which I now beheld, would have been an excellent subject for a picture. It presented to my mind the happy days which are foretold in the scripture, when the lion shall lie down with the kid.¹

After this day there was another pretty long interval, during which Dr. Johnson and I did not meet. When I mentioned it to him with regret, he was pleased to say, "Then, Sir, let us live double."

About this time it was much the fashion for several ladies to have evening assemblies, where the fair sex might participate in conversation with literary and ingenious men, animated by

a desire to please. These societies were denominated *Blue-stocking Clubs*; the origin of which title being little known, it may be worth while to relate it. One of the most eminent members of those societies, when they first commenced, was Mr. Stillingfleet², whose dress was remarkably grave, and in particular it was observed that he wore blue stockings. Such was the excellence of his conversation, that his absence was felt as so great a loss, that it used to be said, "We can do nothing without the *blue stockings*"; and thus by degrees the title was established. Miss Hannah More has admirably described a *Blue-stocking Club* in her "*Bas Bleu*," a poem in which many of the persons who were most conspicuous there are mentioned.

Johnson was prevailed with to come sometimes into these circles, and did not think himself too grave even for the lively Miss Monckton³ (now Countess of Cork), who used to have the finest *bit of blue* at the house of her mother, Lady Galway. Her vivacity enchanted the sage, and they used to talk together with all imaginable ease. A singular instance happened one evening, when she insisted that some of Sterne's writings were very pathetic. Johnson bluntly denied it. "I am sure," said she, "they have affected me." "Why," said Johnson, smiling and rolling himself about, "that is because, dearest, you're a dunce." When she some time afterwards mentioned this to him, he said, with equal truth and politeness, "Madam, if I had thought so, I certainly should not have said it."

Another evening Johnson's kind indulgence towards me had a pretty difficult trial. I had dined at the Duke of Montrose's with a very agreeable party; and his grace, according to his usual custom, had circulated the bottle very freely. Lord Graham and I went together to Miss Monckton's, where I certainly was in extraordinary spirits, and above all fear or awe. In the midst of a great number of persons of the first rank, amongst whom I recollect, with confusion, a noble lady of the most stately decorum, I placed myself next to Johnson, and

accommodate them to the purpose before him: together with a lively briskness of humour, not apt to damp those sportful flashes of imagination. (Whence in Aristotle such persons are termed *εὐδαιμονοί*, dexterous men, and *εὐφρονοί*, men of facile or versatile manners, who can easily turn themselves to all things, or turn all things to themselves.) It also procureth delight, by gratifying curiosity with its rareness, as semblance of difficulty: (as monsters, not for their beauty, but their rarity; as juggling tricks, not for their use, but their abstruseness, are beheld with pleasure:) by diverting the mind from its road of serious thoughts; by instilling gaiety and airiness of spirit; by provoking to such dispositions of spirit in way of emulation or complaisance; and by seasoning matters, otherwise distasteful or insipid, with an unusual and thence grateful tang." — BOSWELL.

¹ When I mentioned this to the Bishop of Killaloe (Dr. Barnard), "With the *goat*," said his lordship. Such, however, was the engaging politeness and pleasantry of Mr. Wilkes, and such the social good humour of the bishop, that when they dined together at Mr. Dilly's, where I also was, they were mutually agreeable. — BOSWELL.

² Mr. Benjamin Stillingfleet, author of tracts relating to natural history, &c. — BOSWELL.

³ See *anté*, p. 645. n. 10. — C.

similitude: sometimes it is lodged in a sly question, in a smart answer, in a quirkish reason, in a shrewd intimation, in a cunningly diverting or cleverly retorting an objection: sometimes it is couched in a bold scheme of speech, in a tart irony, in a lusty hyperbole, in a startling metaphor, in a lausible reconciling of contradictions, or in acute nonsense: sometimes a scemical representation of persons or things, a counterfeit speech, a mimical look or gesture, passeth for wit: sometimes an affected simplicity, sometimes a presumptuous bluntness giveth it being: sometimes it riseth only from a lucky hitting upon what is strange: sometimes from a rafty wresting obvious matter to the purpose. Often it consisteth in one knows not what, and springeth up one can hardly tell how. Its ways are unaccountable and inexplicable; being answerable to the numberless roivings of fancy and windings of language. It is, in short, a manner of speaking out of the simple and plain way (such as reason teacheth and loveth things by), which, by a pretty surprising uncouthness in conceit or expression, doth affect and amuse the fancy, stirring in it some wonder, and breeding some delight and respect. It raiseth admiration, as signifying a nimble sagacity and apprehension, a special felicity of invention, a vivacity of spirit, and reach of wit more than vulgar; it seeming to argue rare quickness of parts, that one can fetch in remote conceits applicable; a notable skill, that he can dexterously

thinking myself now fully his match, talked to him in a loud and boisterous manner, desirous to let the company know how I could contend with *Ajax*. I particularly remember pressing him upon the value of the pleasures of the imagination, and, as an illustration of my argument, asking him, "What, Sir, supposing I were to fancy that the — (naming the most charming duchess in his majesty's dominions) were in love with me, should I not be very happy?" My friend with much address evaded my interrogatories, and kept me as quiet as possible; but it may easily be conceived how he must have felt.¹ However, when a few days afterwards I waited upon him and made an apology, he behaved with the most friendly gentleness.

While I remained in London this year. Johnson and I dined together at several places. I recollect a placid day at Dr. Butter's, who had now removed from Derby to Lower Grosvenor Street, London; but of his conversation on that and other occasions during this period I neglected to keep any regular record, and shall therefore insert here some miscellaneous articles which I find in my Johnsonian notes.

His disorderly habits, when "making provision for the day that was passing over him," appear from the following anecdote, communicated to me by Mr. John Nichols: "In the year 1763 a young bookseller, who was an apprentice to Mr. Whiston, waited on him with a subscription to his 'Shakspeare;' and observing that the doctor made no entry in any book of the subscriber's name, ventured diffidently to ask whether he would please to have the gentleman's address, that it might be properly inserted in the printed list of subscribers. '*I shall print no list of subscribers,*' said Johnson, with great abruptness; but almost immediately recollecting himself, added, very complacently, 'Sir, I have two very cogent reasons for not printing any list of subscribers: one, that I have lost all the names; the other, that I have spent all the money.'

Johnson could not brook appearing to be worsted in argument, even when he had taken the wrong side, to show the force and dexterity of his talents. When, therefore, he perceived that his opponent gained ground, he had recourse to some sudden mode of robust sophistry.

Once when I was pressing upon him with visible advantage, he stopped me thus: "My dear Boswell, let's have no more of this; you'll make nothing of it. I'd rather have you whistle a Scotch tune."

Care, however, must be taken to distinguish between Johnson when he "talked for victory," and Johnson when he had no desire but to inform and illustrate. "One of Johnson's principal talents," says an eminent friend of his, "was shown in maintaining the wrong side of an argument, and in a splendid perversion of the truth. If you could contrive to have his fair opinion on a subject, and without any bias from personal prejudice, or from a wish to be victorious in argument, it was wisdom itself, not only convincing, but overpowering."

He had, however, all his life habituated himself to consider conversation as a trial of intellectual vigour and skill: and to this, I think, we may venture to ascribe that unexampled richness and brilliancy which appeared in his own. As a proof at once of his eagerness for colloquial distinction, and his high notion of this eminent friend², he once addressed him thus: "—, we now have been several hours together, and you have said but one thing for which I envied you."

He disliked much all speculative desponding considerations, which tended to discourage men from diligence and exertion. He was in this like Dr. Shaw, the great traveller, who, Mr. Daines Barrington told me, used to say, "I hate a *cui bono* man." Upon being asked by a friend what he should think of a man who was apt to say *non est tanti*; "That he's a stupid fellow, Sir," answered Johnson. "What would these *tanti* men be doing the while?" When I, in a low-spirited fit, was talking to him with indifference of the pursuits which generally engage us in a course of action, and inquiring a reason for taking so much trouble; "Sir," said he, in an animated tone, "it is driving on the system of life."

He told me that he was glad that I had, by General Oglethorpe's means, become acquainted with Dr. Shebbeare. Indeed that gentleman, whatever objections were made to him, had knowledge and abilities much above the class of ordinary writers, and deserves to be remembered as a respectable name in literature,

But not a brilliant blaze, I own;
Of the dull smoke I'm yet ashamed;
I was a dreary ruin grown,
And not enlighten'd, though inflamed.

Victim at once to wine and love,
I hope, Maria, you'll forgive;
While I invoke the powers above,
That henceforth I may wiser live.

The lady was generously forgiving, returned me an obliging answer, and I thus obtained an *act of oblivion*, and took care never to offend again. — BOSWELL.

² See *anté*, p. 549. — C.

³ The Right Hon. William Gerrard Hamilton. — MALONE. It seems an odd way of expressing a high notion of a gentleman's conversation, to say that "in several hours he had said but one good thing." — CROKER.

¹ Next day I endeavoured to give what had happened the most ingenious turn I could by the following verses:

TO THE HONOURABLE MISS MONCKTON.

Not that with th' excellent Montrose
I had the happiness to dine;
Not that I late from table rose,
From Graham's wit, from generous wine.

It was not these alone which led
On sacred manners to encroach;
And made me feel what most I dread,
Johnson's just frown, and self-reproach.

But when I enter'd, not abash'd,
From your bright eyes were shot such rays,
At once intoxication flash'd,
And all my frame was in a blaze!

were it only for his admirable "Letters on the English Nation," under the name of "Battista Angeloni, a Jesuit."

Johnson and Shebbeare¹ were frequently named together, as having in former reigns had no predilection for the family of Hanover. The author² of the celebrated "Heroic Epistle to Sir William Chambers" introduced them in one line [p. 604. n. 4.], in a list of those "who tasted the sweets of his present majesty's reign." Such was Johnson's candid relish of the merit of that satire, that he allowed Dr. Goldsmith, as he told me, to read it to him from beginning to end, and did not refuse his praise to its execution.³

Goldsmith could sometimes take adventurous liberties with him, and escape unpunished. Beauclerk told me, that when Goldsmith talked of a project for having a third theatre in London solely for the exhibition of new plays, in order to deliver authors from the supposed tyranny of managers, Johnson treated it slightly; upon which Goldsmith said, "Ay, ay, this may be nothing to you, who can now shelter yourself behind the corner of a pension;" and Johnson bore this with good humour.

Johnson praised the Earl of Carlisle's poems⁴, which his lordship had published with his name, as not disdaining to be a candidate for literary fame. My friend was of opinion that when a man of rank appeared in that character, he deserved to have his merit handsomely allowed.⁵ In this I think he was more liberal than Mr. William Whitehead, in his "Elegy to Lord Villiers," in which, under the pretext of "superior toils, demanding all their care," he discovers a jealousy of the great paying their court to the Muses:—

"——— to the chosen few

Who dare excel, thy fostering aid afford;
Their arts, their magic powers, with honours due
Exalt; — but be thyself what they record."

Johnson had called twice on the Bishop of Killaloe before his lordship set out for Ireland, having missed him the first time. He said, "It would have hung heavy on my heart if I had not seen him. No man ever paid more attention to another than he has done to me; and I have neglected him, not wilfully, but from

being otherwise occupied. Always, Sir, set a high value on spontaneous kindness. He whose inclination prompts him to cultivate your friendship of his own accord, will love you more than one whom you have been at pains to attach to you."

This gave me very great pleasure, for there had been once a pretty smart altercation between Dr. Barnard and him, upon a question, whether a man could improve himself after the age of forty-five; when Johnson in a hasty humour expressed himself in a manner not quite civil. Dr. Barnard made it the subject of a copy of pleasant verses, in which he supposed himself to learn different perfections from different men. They concluded with delicate irony⁶:

"Johnson shall teach me how to place
In fairest light each borrow'd grace;
From him I'll learn to write,
Copy his clear familiar style,
And, by the roughness of his file,
Grow, like himself, polite."

I know not whether Johnson ever saw the poem, but I had occasion to find that, as Dr. Barnard and he knew each other better, their mutual regard increased.

Johnson told me that he was once much pleased to find that a carpenter, who lived near him, was very ready to show him some things in his business which he wished to see; "It was paying," said he, "respect to literature."

I asked him if he was not dissatisfied with having so small a share of wealth, and none of those distinctions in the state which are the objects of ambition. He had only a pension of three hundred a year. Why was he not in such circumstances as to keep his coach? Why had he not some considerable office? JOHNSON. "Sir, I have never complained of the world; nor do I think that I have reason to complain. It is rather to be wondered at that I have so much. My pension is more out of the usual course of things than any instance that I have known. Here, Sir, was a man avowedly no friend to government at the time, who got a pension without asking for it. I never courted the great; they sent for me; but I think they

¹ I recollect a ludicrous paragraph in the newspapers, that he king had pensioned both a *He-bear* and a *She-bear*. — BOSWELL. See *anté*, p. 198. — C.

² See *anté*, p. 325. n. 4. — C.

³ He remembered it too, *anté*, p. 587. n. 3. — CROKER.

⁴ Frederick, fifth Earl of Carlisle, born in 1748; died in 825. — CROKER.

⁵ Men of rank and fortune, however, should be pretty well served of having a real claim to the approbation of the public, as writers, before they venture to stand forth. Dryden, in his preface to "All for Love," thus expresses himself:—"Men of pleasant conversation (at least esteemed so) and adorned with a trifling kind of fancy, perhaps helped out by a mattering of Latin, are ambitious to distinguish themselves from the herd of gentlemen by their poetry:

'Rarus enim fermè sensus communis in illa
Fortuna.' — *Juv.* viii. 72.

[For in that fortune common sense is rare.]

and is not this a wretched affectation, not to be contented

with what fortune has done for them, and sit down quietly with their estates, but they must call their wits in question, and needlessly expose their nakedness to public view? Not considering that they are not to expect the same approbation from sober men which they have found from their flatterers after the third bottle: if a little glittering in discourse has passed them on us for witty men, where was the necessity of undeceiving the world? Would a man who has an ill title to an estate, but yet is in possession of it — would he bring it out of his own accord to be tried at Westminster? We who write, if we want the talents, yet have the excuse that we do it for a poor subsistence; but what can be urged in their defence, who, not having the vocation of poverty to scribble, out of mere wantonness take pains to make themselves ridiculous? Horace was certainly in the right where he said, 'That no man is satisfied with his own condition.' A poet is not pleased because he is not rich; and the rich are discontented because the poets will not admit them of their number.' — BOSWELL.

⁶ See the whole poem, and some anecdotes connected with it, in Miss Reynolds's *Recollections*, Appendix. — CROKER.

now give me up. They are satisfied: they have seen enough of me." Upon my observing that I could not believe this, for they must certainly be highly pleased by his conversation; conscious of his own superiority, he answered, "No, Sir; great lords and great ladies don't love to have their mouths stopped." This was very expressive of the effect which the force of his understanding and brilliancy of his fancy could not but produce; and, to be sure, they must have found themselves strangely diminished in his company. When I warmly declared how happy I was at all times to hear him,—"Yes, Sir," said he; "but if you were lord chancellor it would not be so: you would then consider your own dignity."

There were much truth and knowledge of human nature in this remark. But certainly one should think that in whatever elevated state of life a man who *knew* the value of the conversation of Johnson might be placed, though he might prudently avoid a situation in which he might appear lessened by comparison, yet he would frequently gratify himself in private with the participation of the rich intellectual entertainment which Johnson could furnish. Strange, however, is it, to consider how few of the great sought his society¹; so that if one were disposed to take occasion for satire on that account, very conspicuous objects present themselves. His noble friend, Lord Elibank, well observed, that if a great man procured an interview with Johnson, and did not wish to see him more, it showed a mere idle curiosity, and a wretched want of relish for extraordinary powers of mind. Mrs. Thrale justly and wittily accounted for such conduct by saying, that Johnson's conversation was by much too strong for a person accustomed to obsequiousness and flattery; it was *mustard in a young child's mouth!*

One day, when I told him that I was a zealous Tory, but not enough "according to knowledge," and should be obliged to him for "a reason," he was so candid, and expressed himself so well, that I begged of him to repeat what he had said, and I wrote down as follows:—

"Of Tory and Whig."

"A wise Tory and a wise Whig, I believe, will agree. Their principles are the same, though their modes of thinking are different. A high Tory makes government unintelligible; it is lost in the clouds. A violent Whig makes it impracticable: he is for allowing so much liberty to every man, that there is not power enough to govern any man. The prejudice of the Tory is for establishment, the prejudice of the Whig is for innovation. A Tory

does not wish to give more real power to government; but that government should have more reverence. Then they differ as to the church. The Tory is not for giving more legal power to the clergy, but wishes they should have a considerable influence, founded on the opinion of mankind: the Whig is for limiting and watching them with a narrow jealousy."

JOHNSON TO PERKINS.

"June 2. 1781.

"SIR, — However often I have seen you, I have hitherto forgotten the note; but I have now sent it, with my good wishes for the prosperity of you and your partner², of whom, from our short conversation, I could not judge otherwise than favourably. I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

On Saturday, June 2., I set out for Scotland, and had promised to pay a visit, in my way, as I sometimes did, at Southill, in Bedfordshire, at the hospitable mansion of Squire Dilly, the elder brother of my worthy friends, the booksellers, in the Poultry. Dr. Johnson agreed to be of the party this year, with Mr. Charles Dilly and me, and to go and see Lord Bute's seat at Luton Hoe. He talked little to us in the carriage, being chiefly occupied in reading Dr. Watson's³ second volume of "Chemical Essays," which he liked very well, and his own "Prince of Abyssinia," on which he seemed to be intensely fixed; having told us, that he had not looked at it since it was first finished. I happened to take it out of my pocket this day, and he seized upon it with avidity. He pointed out to me the following remarkable passage:—

"By what means (said the prince) are the Europeans thus powerful? or why, since they can so easily visit Asia and Africa for trade or conquest, cannot the Asiatics and Africans invade their coasts, plant colonies⁴ in their ports, and give laws to their natural princes? The same wind that carried them back would bring us thither." "They are more powerful, Sir, than we (answered Imlac), because they are wiser. Knowledge will always predominate over ignorance, as man governs the other animals. But why their knowledge is more than ours, I know not what reason can be given but the unsearchable will of the Supreme Being."

He said, "This, Sir, no man can explain otherwise."

We stopped at Welwin, where I wished much to see, in company with Johnson, the residence of the author of "Night Thoughts," which was then possessed by his son, Mr. Young. Here some address was requisite, for I was not

¹ See *anté*, p. 501, n. 3. — C.

² Mr. Barclay, a descendant of Robert Barclay, of Ury, the celebrated apologist of the people called Quakers, and remarkable for maintaining the principles of his venerable progenitor, with as much of elegance of modern manners as is consistent with primitive simplicity. — BOSWELL. Died 1831.

³ Now Bishop of Llandaff, one of the *poorest* bishoprics in this kingdom. His lordship has written with much zeal to

show the propriety of *equalising* the revenues of bishop. He has informed us that he has burnt all his chemical paper. The friends of our excellent constitution, now assailed on every side by innovators and levellers, would have less regretted the suppression of some of his lordship's other writings. — BOSWELL.

⁴ The Phœnicians and Carthaginians *did* plant colonies in Europe. — KEARNEY.

acquainted with Mr. Young; and had I proposed to Dr. Johnson that we should send to him, he would have checked my wish, and perhaps been offended. I therefore concerted with Mr. Dilly, that I should steal away from Dr. Johnson and him, and try what reception I could procure from Mr. Young: if unfavourable, nothing was to be said; but if agreeable, I should return and notify it to them. I hastened to Mr. Young's, found he was at home, sent in word that a gentleman desired to wait upon him, and was shown into a parlour, where he and a young lady, his daughter, were sitting. He appeared to be a plain, civil, country gentleman; and when I begged pardon for presuming to trouble him, but that I wished much to see his place, if he would give me leave, he behaved very courteously, and answered, "By all means, Sir. We are just going to drink tea; will you sit down?" I thanked him, but said that Dr. Johnson had come with me from London, and I must return to the inn to drink tea with him: that my name was Boswell; I had travelled with him in the Hebrides. "Sir," said he, "I should think it a great honour to see Dr. Johnson here. Will you allow me to send for him?" Availing myself of this opening, I said that "I would go myself and bring him when he had drunk tea; he knew nothing of my calling here." Having been thus successful, I hastened back to the inn, and informed Dr. Johnson that Mr. Young, son of Dr. Young, the author of 'Night Thoughts,' whom I had just left, desired to have the honour of seeing him at the house where his father lived." Dr. Johnson luckily made no inquiry how this invitation had arisen, but agreed to go; and when we entered Mr. Young's parlour, he addressed him with a very polite bow, "Sir, I had a curiosity to come and see this place. I had the honour to know that great man your father." We went into the garden, where we found a gravel walk, on each side of which was a row of trees, planted by Dr. Young, which formed a handsome Gothic arch. Dr. Johnson called it a fine grove. I beheld it with reverence.

We sat some time in the summer-house, on the outside wall of which was inscribed, "*Ambulantes in horto audiebant vocem Dei*"; and in the reference to a brook by which it is situated, "*Vivendi rectè qui prorogat horam*,"² &c. I said to Mr. Young, that I had been told his father was cheerful. "Sir," said he, "he was too well bred a man not to be cheerful in company; but he was gloomy when alone. He never was cheerful after my mother's death, and he had met with many disappointments." Dr. Johnson observed to me afterwards, "That

this was no favourable account of Dr. Young; for it is not becoming in a man to have so little acquiescence in the ways of Providence, as to be gloomy because he has not obtained as much preferment as he expected; nor to continue gloomy for the loss of his wife. Grief has its time." The last part of this censure was theoretically made. Practically, we know that grief for the loss of a wife may be continued very long, in proportion as affection has been sincere. No man knew this better than Dr. Johnson.

We went into the church, and looked at the monument erected by Mr. Young to his father. Mr. Young mentioned an anecdote, that his father had received several thousand pounds of subscription-money for his "Universal Passion," but had lost it in the South Sea.³ Dr. Johnson thought this must be a mistake, for he had never seen a subscription-book.

Upon the road we talked of the uncertainty of profit with which authors and booksellers engage in the publication of literary works. JOHNSON. "My judgment I have found is no certain rule as to the sale of a book." BOSWELL. "Pray, Sir, have you been much plagued with authors sending you their works to revise?" JOHNSON. "No, Sir; I have been thought a sour surly fellow." BOSWELL. "Very lucky for you, Sir,—in that respect." I must however observe, that, notwithstanding what he now said, which he no doubt imagined at the time to be the fact, there was, perhaps, no man who more frequently yielded to the solicitations even of very obscure authors to read their manuscripts, or more liberally assisted them with advice and correction.

He found himself very happy at Squire Dilly's, where there is always abundance of excellent fare, and hearty welcome.

On Sunday, June 3., we all went to Southill church, which is very near to Mr. Dilly's house. It being the first Sunday in the month, the holy sacrament was administered, and I stayed to partake of it. When I came afterwards into Dr. Johnson's room, he said, "You did right to stay and receive the communion: I had not thought of it." This seemed to imply that he did not choose to approach the altar without a previous preparation, as to which good men entertain different opinions, some holding that it is irreverent to partake of that ordinance without considerable premeditation; others, that whoever is a sincere Christian, and in a proper frame of mind to discharge any other ritual duty of our religion, may, without scruple, discharge this most solemn one. A middle notion I believe to be the just one, which is, that communicants need not think a

¹ "Walking in the garden, they heard the voice of God." *Genesis*, iii. 8. — CROKER.

² — The man who has it in his power
To practise virtue, and protracts the hour,
Waits till the river pass away; but, lo!
Ceaseless it flows, and will for ever flow."
FRANCIS, *Hor. Epist.* lib. i. ep. 2. — CROKER.

³ This assertion is disproved by a comparison of dates. The first four satires of Young were published in 1725. The South Sea scheme (which no doubt was meant) was in 1720. — MALONE.

long train of preparatory forms indispensably necessary; but neither should they rashly and lightly venture upon so awful and mysterious an institution. Christians must judge, each for himself, what degree of retirement and self-examination is necessary upon each occasion.

Being in a frame of mind which I hope, for the felicity of human nature, many experience, — in fine weather, — at the country-house of a friend, — consoled and elevated by pious exercises, — I expressed myself with an unrestrained fervour to my "Guide, Philosopher, and Friend." "My dear Sir, I would fain be a good man; and I am very good now. I fear God, and honour the king; I wish to do no ill, and to be benevolent to all mankind." He looked at me with a benignant indulgence; but took occasion to give me wise and salutary caution. "Do not, Sir, accustom yourself to trust to *impressions*. There is a middle state of mind between conviction and hypocrisy, of which many are unconscious. By trusting to impressions, a man may gradually come to yield to them, and at length be subject to them, so as not to be a free agent, or what is the same thing in effect, to *suppose* that he is not a free agent. A man who is in that state should not be suffered to live; if he declares he cannot help acting in a particular way, and is irresistibly impelled, there can be no confidence in him, no more than in a tiger. But, Sir, no man believes himself to be impelled irresistibly; we know that he who says he believes it, lies. Favourable impressions at particular moments, as to the state of our souls, may be deceitful and dangerous. In general, no man can be sure of his acceptance with God; some, indeed, may have had it revealed to them. St. Paul, who wrought miracles, may have had a miracle wrought on himself, and may have obtained supernatural assurance of pardon, and mercy, and beatitude; yet St. Paul, though he expresses strong hope, also expresses fear, lest having preached to others, he himself should be a castaway."

The opinion of a learned bishop of our acquaintance, as to there being merit in religious faith, being mentioned: — JOHNSON. "Why, yes, Sir, the most licentious man, were hell open before him, would not take the most beautiful strumpet to his arms. We must, as the apostle says, live by faith, not by sight.¹

I talked to him of original sin, in conse-

quence of the fall of man, and of the atonement made by our Saviour.* After some conversation, which he desired me to remember, he, at my request, dictated to me as follows:

"With respect to original sin, the inquiry is not necessary; for, whatever is the cause of human corruption, men are evidently and confessedly so corrupt, that all the laws of heaven and earth are insufficient to restrain them from crimes.

"Whatever difficulty there may be in the conception of vicarious punishments, it is an opinion which has had possession of mankind in all ages. There is no nation that has not used the practice of sacrifices. Whoever, therefore, denies the propriety of vicarious punishments, holds an opinion which the sentiments and practice of mankind have contradicted from the beginning of the world. The great sacrifice for the sins of mankind was offered at the death of the Messiah, who is called in Scripture 'The Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world.' To judge of the reasonableness of the scheme of redemption, it must be considered as necessary to the government of the universe that God should make known his perpetual and irreconcilable detestation of moral evil. He might indeed punish, and punish only the offenders; but as the end of punishment is not revenge of crimes but propagation of virtue, it was more becoming the Divine clemency to find another manner of proceeding, less destructive to man, and at least equally powerful to promote goodness. The end of punishment is to reclaim and warn. That punishment will both reclaim and warn, which shows evidently such abhorrence of sin in God, as may deter us from it, or strike us with dread of vengeance when we have committed it. This is effected by vicarious punishment. Nothing could more testify the opposition between the nature of God and moral evil, or more amply display his justice, to men and angels, to all orders and successions of beings, than that it was necessary for the highest and purest nature, even for Divinity itself, to pacify the demands of vengeance by a painful death: of which the natural effect will be, that when justice is appeased, there is a proper place for the exercise of mercy; and that such propitiation shall supply, in some degree, the imperfections of our obedience and the inefficacy of our repentance: for obedience and repentance, such as we can perform, are still necessary. Our Saviour has told us, that he did not come to destroy the law, but to fulfil: to fulfil the typical law, by the performance of what those types had foreshown; and the moral law, by precepts of greater purity and higher exaltation."

Here he said, "God bless you with it."]

¹ There seems much obscurity here. If the bishop used the word *merit* in a popular sense, and meant only to say, colloquially, that "a religious faith was *meritorious* or *praiseworthy*," the observation was hardly worth recording; yet it is not, on the other hand, likely that he meant, speaking theologically, to attribute *merit towards salvation* to any act or operation of the human mind, "for that were" (as the Homily forbids) "to count ourselves to be justified by some act or virtue which is within us." But on either interpretation it seems hard to discover the connexion or meaning of the reply attributed to Dr. Johnson. The bishop's opinion is evidently very imperfectly stated, and there must have been some connecting links in the chain of Johnson's reasoning which Mr. Boswell has lost. The passage — not quite accurately quoted by Dr. Johnson — is in St. Paul's second

epistle to the Corinthians, v. 7: "We walk by faith, and not by sight." — CROKER.

² Dr. Ogen, in his second sermon "On the Articles of the Christian Faith," with admirable acuteness thus addresses the opposers of that doctrine, which accounts for the confusion, sin, and misery which we find in this life: "It would be severe in God, you think, to *degrade* us to such a sad state as this, for the offence of our first parents; but you can allow him to *place* us in it without any inducement. Are our calamities lessened by not being ascribed to Adam? If your condition be unhappy, is it not still unhappy, whatever was the occasion? With the aggravation of this reflection, that it was as good as it was at first designed, there seems to be somewhat the less reason to look for its amendment." — BOSWELL.

acknowledged myself much obliged to him; but I begged that he would go on as to the propitiation being the chief object of our most holy faith. He then dictated this one other paragraph.

"The peculiar doctrine of Christianity is, that of an universal sacrifice and perpetual propitiation.¹ Other prophets only proclaimed the will and the threatenings of God. Christ satisfied his justice."

The Reverend Mr. Palmer², fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge, dined with us. He expressed a wish that a better provision were made for parish-clerks. JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir, a parish-clerk should be a man who is able to make a will or write a letter for any body in the parish."

I mentioned Lord Monboddo's notion³ that the ancient Egyptians, with all their learning and all their arts, were not only black, but woolly-haired. Mr. Palmer asked how did it appear upon examining the mummies? Dr. Johnson approved of this test.⁴

Although upon most occasions I never heard a more strenuous advocate for the advantages of wealth than Dr. Johnson, he this day, I know not from what caprice, took the other side. "I have not observed," said he, "that men of very large fortunes enjoy any thing extraordinary that makes happiness. What has the Duke of Bedford? What has the Duke of Devonshire? The only great instance that I have ever known of the enjoyment of wealth was that of Jamaica Dawkins, who going to visit Palmyra, and hearing that the way was infested by robbers, hired a troop of Turkish horse to guard him."⁵

Dr. Gibbons⁶, the dissenting minister, being mentioned, he said, "I took to Dr. Gibbons." And addressing himself to Mr. Charles Dilly, added, "I shall be glad to see him. Tell him, if he'll call on me, and dawdle over a dish of tea in an afternoon, I shall take it kind."

The Reverend Mr. Smith, vicar of Southill,

a very respectable man, with a very agreeable family, sent an invitation to us to drink tea. I remarked Dr. Johnson's very respectful politeness. Though always fond of changing the scene, he said, "We must have Mr. Dilly's leave. We cannot go from your house, Sir, without your permission." We all went, and were well satisfied with our visit. I, however, remember nothing particular, except a nice distinction which Dr. Johnson made with respect to the power of memory, maintaining that forgetfulness was a man's own fault. "To remember and to recollect," said he, "are different things. A man has not the power to recollect what is not in his mind, but when a thing is in his mind he may remember it."⁷

The remark was occasioned by my leaning back on a chair, which a little before I had perceived to be broken, and pleading forgetfulness as an excuse. "Sir," said he, "its being broken was certainly in your mind."

When I observed that a housebreaker was in general very timorous;—JOHNSON. "No wonder, Sir; he is afraid of being shot getting into a house, or hanged when he has got out of it."

He told us, that he had in one day written six sheets of a translation from the French; adding, "I should be glad to see it now. I wish that I had copies of all the pamphlets written against me, as it is said Pope had. Had I known that I should make so much noise in the world, I should have been at pains to collect them. I believe there is hardly a day in which there is not something about me in the newspapers."

On Monday, June 4., we all went to Luton-Hoe, to see Lord Bute's magnificent seat, for which I had obtained a ticket. As we entered the park, I talked in a high style of my old friendship with Lord Mountstuart, and said, "I shall probably be much at this place." The sage, aware of human vicissitudes, gently checked me: "Don't you be too sure of that."⁸ He made two or three peculiar observations;

¹ See *anté*, p. 292. This passage proves the justice of that observation as to Johnson's opinion on this important point. —CROKER.

² This unfortunate person, whose full name was Thomas Fyche Palmer, afterwards went to Dundee, in Scotland, where he officiated as minister to a congregation of the sect who call themselves Unitarians, from a notion that they distinctively worship one God, because they *deny* the mysterious doctrine of the Trinity. They do not advert that the great body of the Christian church in maintaining that mystery maintain also the *unity* of the Godhead: "the Trinity in Unity—three persons and one God." The church humbly adores the Divinity as exhibited in the holy Scriptures. The Unitarian sect vainly presumes to comprehend and define the Almighty. Mr. Palmer, having heated his mind with political speculations, became so much dissatisfied with our excellent constitution as to compose, publish, and circulate writings, which were found to be so seditious and dangerous, that upon being found guilty by a jury, the court of justiciary in Scotland sentenced him to transportation for fourteen years. A loud clamour against this sentence was made by some members of both houses of parliament; but both houses approved of it by a great majority, and he was conveyed to the settlement for convicts in New South Wales.—BOSWELL. Mr. T. F. Palmer was of Queen's College in Cambridge, where he took the degree of master of arts in 1772, and that of S. T. B. in 1781. He died on his return from Botany Bay in 1803.—MALONE.

³ Taken from Herodotus.—BOSWELL.

⁴ It appears from every kind of evidence, that the Egyptians had long hair, and sharp and handsome features. At all events, they were not negroes.—CROKER, 1835.

⁵ Henry Dawkins, Esq., the companion of Wood and Bouverie in their travels, and the patron of the *Athenian Stuart*.—CROKER.

⁶ Thomas Gibbons, "a Calvinist" (says the *Biog. Dict.*) "of the old stamp, and a man of great piety and primitive manners." He wrote a life of Dr. Watts, and assisted Dr. Johnson with some materials for the *Life* of Watts in the *English Poets*. He died in 1785, *ætat.* sixty-five.—CROKER.

⁷ Mr. Boswell's note was, I suspect, imperfect. A thing to be either *remembered* or *recollected* must equally have been in the mind. In his Dictionary, Johnson defines "*Remember*—to bear in mind, to *recollect*, to call to mind." This would seem to imply that he considered the words as nearly synonymous; but in his definition of "*Recollect*—to recover memory, to gather what is scattered," he makes the true distinction. When the words are to be contradistinguished, it may be said that *remembrance* is spontaneous, and *recollection* an effort; and this, I think, is what Johnson meant.—CROKER.

⁸ See *anté*, p. 478, n. 5.

"Dulcis inexpertis cultura potentis amici, Expertus metuit."—*Hor. i. Epist. xviii.* 86.

The inexperienced love to court the great; Experience dreads it.—CROKER.

as, when shown the botanical garden, "Is not every garden a botanical garden?" When told that there was a shrubbery to the extent of several miles;—"That is making a very foolish use of the ground; a little of it is very well." When it was proposed that we should walk on the pleasure-ground; "Don't let us fatigue ourselves. Why should we walk there? Here's a fine tree, let's get to the top of it." But upon the whole, he was very much pleased. He said, "This is one of the places I do not regret having come to see. It is a very stately place, indeed; in the house, magnificence is not sacrificed to convenience, nor convenience to magnificence. The library is very splendid; the dignity of the rooms is very great; and the quantity of pictures is beyond expectation, beyond hope."

It happened without any previous concert that we visited the seat of Lord Bute upon the king's birthday; we dined and drank his majesty's health at an inn in the village of Luton.

In the evening I put him in mind of his promise to favour me with a copy of his celebrated Letter to the Earl of Chesterfield¹, and he was at last pleased to comply with this earnest request, by dictating it to me from his memory; for he believed that he himself had no copy. There was an animated glow in his countenance while he thus recalled his high-minded indignation.

He laughed heartily at a ludicrous action in the court of session, in which I was counsel. The society of procurators, or attorneys, entitled to practise in the inferior courts at Edinburgh, had obtained a royal charter, in which they had taken care to have their ancient designation of *Procurators* changed into that of *Solicitors*, from a notion, as they supposed, that it was more genteel; and this new title they displayed by a public advertisement for a general meeting at their hall.

It has been said that the Scottish nation is not distinguished for humour; and, indeed, what happened on this occasion may, in some degree, justify the remark; for although this society had contrived to make themselves a very prominent object for the ridicule of such as might stoop to it, the only joke to which it gave rise was the following paragraph, sent to the newspaper called "The Caledonian Mercury."

"A correspondent informs us, the Worshipful Society of *Challeans, Cadies, or Running-Stationers* of this city are resolved, in imitation, and encouraged by the singular success of their brethren, of an *equally respectable* Society, to apply for a Charter of their Privileges, particularly of the sole privilege of *PROCURING*, in the most extensive sense of

the word, exclusive of chairmen, porters, penny-post men, and other *inferior* ranks; their brethren, the R—Y—L S—L—RS, *alias* P—C—RS², before the *INFERIOR* Courts of this City, always excepted.

"Should the Worshipful Society be successful, they are further resolved not to be *puffed up* thereby, but to demean themselves with more equanimity and decency than their *r-y-l, learned*, and *very modest* brethren above mentioned have done, upon their late dignification and exaltation."

A majority of the members of the society prosecuted Mr. Robertson, the publisher of the paper, for damages; and the first judgment of the whole court very wisely dismissed the action: *Solventur risu tabule, tu missus abibis*. But a new trial or review was granted upon a petition, according to the forms in Scotland. This petition I was engaged to answer, and Dr. Johnson, with great alacrity, furnished me this evening with what follows. [See Appendix.]

I am ashamed to mention, that the court, by a plurality of voices, without having a single additional circumstance before them, reversed their own judgment, made a serious matter of this dull and foolish joke, and adjudged Mr. Robertson to pay to the society five pounds (sterling money) and costs of suit. The decision will seem strange to English lawyers.

On Tuesday, June 5., Johnson was to return to London. He was very pleasant at breakfast: I mentioned a friend of mine having resolved never to marry a pretty woman. JOHNSON. "Sir, it is a very foolish resolution to resolve not to marry a pretty woman. Beauty is of itself very estimable. No, Sir, I would prefer a pretty woman, unless there are objections to her. A pretty woman may be foolish; a pretty woman may be wicked; a pretty woman may not like me. But there is no such danger in marrying a pretty woman as is apprehended; she will not be persecuted if she does not invite persecution. A pretty woman, if she has a mind to be wicked, can find a readier way than another; and that is all."

I accompanied him in Mr. Dilly's chaise to Shefford, where, talking of Lord Bute's never going to Scotland, he said, "As an Englishman, I should wish all the Scotch gentlemen should be educated in England; Scotland would become a province; they would spend all their rents in England."³ This is a subject of much consequence, and much delicacy. The advantage of an English education is unquestionably very great to Scotch gentlemen of talents and ambition; and regular visits to Scotland, and perhaps other means, might be

¹ See *anté*, p. 85. — C.

² *Royal Solicitors, alias Procurators*. — C.

³ It may seem unlikely that Boswell should have garbled Johnson's statements, yet, recollecting that Boswell was now about to become an absentee, and knowing that he occasionally twisted Johnson's expressions in favour of his own views, I

cannot but suspect, both from Johnson's good sense and former opinions, *anté*, pp. 312, 578., as well as from the context, that to what he said "*as an Englishman*" he must have added, "*but if a Scotchman, I should be of a different opinion*." — CROKER, 1847.

effectually used to prevent them from being totally estranged from their native country, any more than a Cumberland or Northumberland gentleman, who has been educated in the south of England. I own, indeed, that it is no small misfortune for Scotch gentlemen, who have neither talents nor ambition, to be educated in England, where they may be perhaps distinguished only by a nickname, lavish their fortune in giving expensive entertainments to those who laugh at them, and saunter about as mere idle, insignificant hangers-on even upon the foolish great; when, if they had been judiciously brought up at home, they might have been comfortable and creditable members of society.

At Sheffield I had another affectionate parting from my revered friend, who was taken up by the Bedford coach and carried to the metropolis. I went with Messieurs Dilly to see some friends at Bedford; dined with the officers of the militia of the county, and next day proceeded on my journey.

JOHNSON TO LANGTON.

"Bolt Court, June 16. 1781.

"DEAR SIR, — How welcome your account of yourself and your invitation to your new house was to me, I need not tell you, who consider our friendship not only as formed by choice, but as matured by time. We have been now long enough acquainted to have many images in common, and therefore to have a source of conversation which neither the learning nor the wit of a new companion can supply.

"My 'Lives' are now published; and if you will tell me whither I shall send them, that they may come to you, I will take care that you shall not be without them.

"You will perhaps be glad to hear that Mrs. Thrale is disencumbered of her brewhouse; and that it seemed to the purchaser so far from an evil, that he was content to give for it an hundred and thirty-five thousand pounds. Is the nation ruined?

"Please to make my respectful compliments to Lady Rothes, and keep me in the memory of all the little dear family, particularly Mrs. Jane. I am, Sir, your, &c., SAM. JOHNSON."

Johnson's charity to the poor was uniform and extensive, both from inclination and principle. He not only bestowed liberally out of his own purse, but what is more difficult as well as rare, would beg from others, when he had proper objects in view. This he did

judiciously as well as humanely. Mr. Philip Metcalfe tells me, that when he has asked him for some money for persons in distress, and Mr. Metcalfe has offered what Johnson thought too much, he insisted on taking less, saying, "No, no, Sir; we must not *pamper* them."

I am indebted to Mr. Malone, one of Sir Joshua Reynolds's executors, for the following note, which was found among his papers after his death, and which, we may presume, his unaffected modesty prevented him from communicating to me with the other letters from Dr. Johnson with which he was pleased to furnish me. However slight in itself, as it does honour to that illustrious painter and most amiable man, I am happy to introduce it.

JOHNSON TO REYNOLDS.

"June 23. 1781.

"DEAR SIR, — It was not before yesterday that I received your splendid benefaction. To a hand so liberal in distributing, I hope nobody will envy the power of acquiring. I am, dear Sir, your, &c., "SAM. JOHNSON."

The following letters were written at this time by Johnson to Miss Reynolds; the latter, on receiving from her a copy of her "Essay on Taste," privately printed, but never published.

[JOHNSON TO MISS REYNOLDS.

"25th June, 1781.

"DEAR MADAM, — You may give the book¹ to Mrs. Horneck [p. 140.], and I will give you another for yourself.

"I am afraid there is no hope of Mrs. Thrale's custom for your pictures; but, if you please, I will mention it. She cannot make a pension out of her jointure.²

"I will bring the papers myself. I am, Madam, your most humble servant, SAM. JOHNSON."
— Reynolds MSS.]

JOHNSON TO MISS REYNOLDS.³

"Bolt Court, July 21. 1781.

"DEAREST MADAM, — There is in these [*papers?*] such force of comprehension, such nicety of observation, as Locke or Pascal might be proud of. This I say with an intention to have you think I speak my opinion. They cannot, however, be printed in their present state. Many of your notions seem not very clear in your own mind; many are not sufficiently developed and expanded for the common reader: the expression almost every where

¹ Probably the *Beauties of Johnson*, published about this time: see *aut.*, p. 67. — CROKER.

² Miss Reynolds, it seems, wished to dispose of her collection, and thought that Mrs. Thrale might purchase and pay for it by an annuity. — CROKER.

³ I print this hyperbolical eulogy from the original in the *Reynolds Papers*, but Mr. Malone, who first produced it, gives it with variations so great in the expressions, and so small in the meaning, that I preserve it as a curious instance of falsification, without, as far as I can see, any object.

JOHNSON TO MISS REYNOLDS.

"Bolt Court, June 28. 1781.

"DEAREST MADAM, — There is in these [*pages or remarks?*] such depth of penetration, such nicety of observation, as Locke or Pascal might be proud of. This I desire you to believe is my real opinion. However, it cannot be published in its present state. Many of your notions seem not to be very clear in your own mind; many are not sufficiently developed and expanded for the common reader: it wants every where to be made smoother and plainer. You may, by revision and correction, make it a very elegant and a very curious work. I am, my dearest dear, your, &c., SAM. JOHNSON."
— Malone.

wants to be made clearer and smoother. You may, by revision and improvement, make it a very elegant work. I am, my dearest dear, your most humble servant,
SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO ASTLE.¹

"July 17. 1781.

"SIR, — I am ashamed that you have been forced to call so often for your books, but it has been by no fault on either side. They have never been out of my hands, nor have I ever been at home without seeing you; for to see a man so skilful in the antiquities of my country is an opportunity of improvement not willingly to be missed.

"Your notes on Alfred appear to me very judicious and accurate, but they are too few. Many things familiar to you are unknown to me, and to most others; and you must not think too favourably of your readers: by supposing them knowing, you will leave them ignorant. Measure of land, and value of money, it is of great importance to state with care. Had the Saxons any gold coin?

"I have much curiosity after the manners and transactions of the middle ages, but have wanted either diligence or opportunity, or both. You, Sir, have great opportunities, and I wish you both diligence and success. I am, Sir, &c.,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

The following curious anecdote I insert in Dr. Burney's own words:

"Dr. Burney related to Dr. Johnson the partiality which his writings had excited in a friend of Dr. Burney's, the late Mr. Bewley², well known in Norfolk by the name of the *Philosopher of Musingham*; who, from the *Ramblers* and plan of his Dictionary, and long before the author's fame was established by the Dictionary itself, or any other work, had conceived such a reverence for him, that he earnestly begged Dr. Burney to give him the cover of the first letter he had received from him, as a relic of so estimable a writer. This was in 1755. In 1760, when Dr. Burney visited Dr. Johnson at the Temple, in London, where he had then chambers, he happened to arrive there before he was up; and being shown into the room where he was to breakfast, finding himself alone, he examined the contents of the apartment, to try whether he could, undiscovered, steal any thing to send to his friend Bewley, as another relic of the admirable Dr. Johnson. But finding nothing better to his purpose, he cut some bristles off his hearth-broom, and enclosed them in a letter to his country enthusiast, who received them with due reverence. The Doctor was so sensible of the honour done to him by a man of genius and science, to whom he was an utter stranger, that he

said to Dr. Burney, 'Sir, there is no man possessed of the smallest portion of modesty, but must be flattered with the admiration of such a man. I'll give him a set of my Lives, if he will do me the honour to accept of them.' In this he kept his word; and Dr. Burney had not only the pleasure of gratifying his friend with a present more worthy of his acceptance than the segment from the hearth-broom, but soon after introducing him to Dr. Johnson himself in Bolt Court, with whom he had the satisfaction of conversing a considerable time, not a fortnight before his death; which happened in St. Martin's Street, during his visit to Dr. Burney, in the house [No. 36.] where the great Sir Isaac Newton had lived and died before."

In one of his little memorandum-books is the following minute:

"August 9., 3 P.M., ætat. 72, in the summer-house at Streatham. After innumerable resolutions formed and neglected, I have retired hither, to plan a life of greater diligence, in hope that I may yet be useful, and be daily better prepared to appear before my Creator and my Judge, from whose infinite mercy I humbly call for assistance and support. My purpose is, — To pass eight hours every day in some serious employment. Having prayed, I purpose to employ the next six weeks upon the Italian language for my settled study."

How venerably pious does he appear in these moments of solitude! and how spirited are his resolutions for the improvement of his mind, even in elegant literature, at a very advanced period of life, and when afflicted with many complaints!

In autumn he went to Oxford, Birmingham, Lichfield, and Ashbourne, for which very good reasons might be given in the conjectural yet positive manner of writers, who are proud to account for every event which they relate.³ He himself, however, says, "The motives of my journey I hardly know: I omitted it last year, and am not willing to miss it again." (*Pr. and Med.*, p. 198.) But some good considerations arise, amongst which is the kindly recollection of Mr. Hector, surgeon, of Birmingham. "Hector is likewise an old friend, the only companion of my childhood that passed through the school with me. We have always loved one another; perhaps we may be made better by some serious conversation; of which, however, I have no distinct hope."

He says, too, "At Lichfield, my native place, I hope to show a good example by frequent attendance on public worship."

¹ [*Ante*, p. 46. n. 8. — C.] The will of King Alfred, alluded to in this letter, from the original Saxon, in the library of Mr. Astle, has been printed at the expense of the University of Oxford. — BOSWELL.

² Mr. William Bewley was a Monthly Reviewer, and died in the house of Dr. Burney, in 1783. If this anecdote were seriously true, Mr. Bewley might have been better called an *idiot* than an *enthusiast*. That he should have really received the *bristles with reverence* — that Burney should not have mentioned the fact to Johnson for *twenty-five years*, and that Johnson should have considered it as an *honour*, would be very strange. Nor does the story acquire much confirmation

from Madame D'Arbly's addition, that it happened in *Bolt Court*, where Johnson did not live till seventeen years after the assigned date. I conclude the affair must have been a mere pleasantry. — CROKER, 1831-47.

³ This observation, just enough in general, is ill-placed here; for this had been, as we have seen, an almost annual excursion, and, besides the additional motives for the journey mentioned in the text, it appears that Mr. Thrale's kindness had forced him to undertake this little tour for the benefit of his health and spirits. Did Boswell wish to conceal Mrs. Thrale's attention? — CROKER.

[JOHNSON TO DR. PATTEN.

"Sept. 24. 1781.

"DEAR SIR, — It is so long since we passed any time together, that you may be allowed to have forgotten some part of my character; and I know not upon what other supposition I can pass without censure or complaint the ceremony of your address. Let me not trifle time in words, to which while we speak or write them we assign little meaning. Whenever you favour me with a letter, treat me as one that is glad of your kindness and proud of your esteem.

"The papers which have been sent for my perusal I am ready to inspect, if you judge my inspection necessary or useful; but indeed, I do not; for what advantage can arise from it? A dictionary consists of independent parts, and therefore one page is not much a specimen of the rest. It does not occur to me that I can give any assistance to the author, and for my own interest I resign it into your hands, and do not suppose that I shall ever see my name with regret where you shall think it proper to be put.

"I think it, however, my duty to inform a writer who intends me so great an honour, that in my opinion he would have consulted his interest by dedicating his work to some powerful and popular neighbour, who can give him more than a name. What will the world do but look on and laugh when one scholar dedicates to another?

"If I had been consulted about this *Lexicon* of Antiquities while it was yet only a design, I should have recommended rather a division of Hebrew, Greek, and Roman particulars into three volumes, than a combination in one. The Hebrew part, at least, I would have wished to separate, as it might be a very popular book, of which the use might be extended from men of learning down to the English reader, and which might become a concomitant to the Family Bible.

"When works of a multifarious and extensive kind are undertaken in the country, the necessary books are not always known. I remember a very learned and ingenious clergyman¹, of whom, when he had published notes upon the Psalms, I inquired what was his opinion of Hammond's Commentary, and was answered, that he had never heard of it. As this gentleman has the opportunity of consulting you, it needs not to be supposed that he has not heard of all the proper books; but unless he is near some library, I know not how he could peruse them; and if he is conscious that his *supellex* is *nimis angusta*, it would be prudent to delay his publication till his deficiencies may be supplied.

"It seems not very candid to hint any suspicions of imperfection in a work which I have not seen, yet what I have said ought to be excused, since I cannot but wish well to a learned man, who has

elected me for the honour of a dedication, and to whom I am indebted for a correspondence so valuable as yours. And I beg that I may not lose any part of his kindness, which I consider with respectful gratitude. Of you, dear Sir, I entreat that you will never again forget for so long a time your most humble servant,
SAM. JOHNSON."²
— *Gent. Mag.*

JOHNSON TO MRS. THRALE.

(Extracts.)

"Oxford, October 17. 1781. — On Monday evening arrived at the Angel inn at Oxford, Mr. Johnson and Mr. Barber, without any sinister accident.

"I am here; but why am I here? on my way to Lichfield, where I believe Mrs. Aston will be glad to see me. We have known each other long, and, by consequence, are both old; and she is paralytic; and if I do not see her soon, I may see her no more in this world. To make a visit on such considerations is to go on a melancholy errand. But such is the course of life.

"Lichfield, October 20. 1781. — I wrote from Oxford, where I staid two days. On Thursday I went to Birmingham, and was told by Hector that I should not be well so soon as I expected; but that well I should be. Mrs. Careless took me under her care, and told me *when I had tea enough*. On Friday I came hither, and have escaped the post-chaises³ all the way. Every body here is as kind as I expected; I think Lucy is kinder than ever."

"Ashbourne, November 10. 1781. — Yesterday I came to Ashbourne, and last night I had very little rest. Dr. Taylor lives on milk, and grows every day better, and is not wholly without hope.

"Lichfield, December 3. 1781. — I am now come back to Lichfield, where I do not intend to stay long enough to receive another letter. I have little to do here but to take leave of Mrs. Aston. I hope not the last leave. But Christians may with more confidence than Sophonisha

'Avremo tosto lungo lungo spazio

Per stare assieme, et sarà forse eterno."⁴

— Letters.

Trissino."

JOHNSON TO ALLEN⁵,

Bolt Court.

"Ashbourne, November 26. 1781.

"DEAR SIR, — I am weary enough of the country to think of Bolt Court, and purpose to leave Ashbourne, where I now am, in a day or two, and to make my way through Lichfield, Birmingham, and Oxford, with what expedition I decently can, and then we will have a row and a dinner, and now and then a dish of tea together.

¹ See *anté*, p. 679., an allusion to Mr. Mudge's notes on the Psalms, whence Mr. Chalmers very justly concludes that he is the person meant. — CROKER.

² Dr. Thomas Patten had been a Fellow of Corpus Christi College, A. M. 1736, D. D. 1754. He was afterwards Rector of Childry, Berks, where he died in 1790. The letter in the text relates to Mr. Wilson's *Archæological Dictionary*, which was ultimately dedicated to Johnson. See post, 31 Dec. 1782. — CROKER. Jones, of Nayland, describes Patten as one of Bishop Horne's "excellent friends" in early life — "a man of the purest manners and unquestionable erudition." — MARKLAND.

³ He means *escaped the expense of post-chaises* by happening to find places in stage-coaches. — CROKER.

⁴ We soon shall find, in mutual converse blest,
A long, perhaps eternal, space of rest. — C.

⁵ Communicated to me by Mr. P. Cunningham: who found also in a pocket-book of Allen's, memoranda of Johnson's departure and return. "October 15. 1781, Dr. Johnson set out about 9 A.M. to Oxford, Lichfield, and Ashbourne." "December 11. 1781, Dr. Johnson returned from Derbyshire." — CROKER.

I doubt not but you have been so kind as to send the oysters to Lichfield, and I now beg that you will let Mrs. Desmoulins have a guinea on my account.

My health has been but indifferent, much of the time I have been out, and my journey has not supplied much entertainment.

"I shall be at Lichfield, I suppose, long enough to receive a letter, and I desire Mrs. Desmoulins to write immediately what she knows. I wish to be told about Frank's wife and child.¹ I am, dear Sir, your most humble servant,
— MS. "SAM. JOHNSON."]

My correspondence with him during the rest of this year was, I know not why, very scanty, and all on my side. I wrote him one letter to introduce Mr. Sinclair (now Sir John), the member for Caithness², to his acquaintance; and informed him in another that my wife had again been affected with alarming symptoms of illness.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

1782.

Death of Robert Levett. — Verses to his Memory. — Chatterton. — Dr. Lawrence. — Death of Friendship. — "Beauties" and "Deformities" of Johnson. — Misery of being in Debt. — Six Rules for Travellers. — Death of Lord Auchinleck. — "Kindness and Fondness." — Life. — Old Age. — Evils of Poverty. — Prayer on leaving Streatham. — Visit to Cowdrey. — Nichols's "Anecdotes." — Wilson's "Archæological Dictionary." — Dr. Patten.

In 1782 his complaints increased, and the history of his life this year is little more than a mournful recital of the variations of his illness, in the midst of which, however, it will appear from his letters, that the powers of his mind were in no degree impaired.

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"Jan. 5. 1782.

"DEAR SIR, — I sit down to answer your letter on the same day in which I received it, and am pleased that my first letter of the year is to you. No man ought to be at ease while he knows himself in the wrong; and I have not satisfied myself with my long silence. The letter relating to Mr. Sinclair, however, was, I believe, never brought.

"My health has been tottering this last year; and I can give no very laudable account of my time. I am always hoping to do better than I have ever hitherto done. My journey to Ashbourne and Staffordshire was not pleasant; for

what enjoyment has a sick man visiting the sick? Shall we ever have another frolic like our journey to the Hebrides?

"I hope that dear Mrs. Boswell will surmount her complaints: in losing her you will lose your anchor, and be tossed, without stability, by the waves of life.³ I wish both you and her very many years, and very happy.

"For some months past I have been so withdrawn from the world, that I can send you nothing particular. All your friends, however, are well, and will be glad of your return to London. I am, dear Sir, &c.,
SAM. JOHNSON."

At a time when he was less able than he had once been to sustain a shock, he was suddenly deprived of Mr. Levett; which event he thus communicated to Dr. Lawrence.

JOHNSON TO LAWRENCE.

"Jan. 17. 1782.

"SIR, — Our old friend, Mr. Levett, who was last night eminently cheerful, died this morning. The man who lay in the same room, hearing an uncommon noise, got up and tried to make him speak, but without effect. He then called Mr. Holder, the apothecary, who, though when he came he thought him dead, opened a vein, but could draw no blood. So has ended the long life of a very useful and very blameless man. I am, Sir, your most humble servant,
SAM. JOHNSON."

In one of his memorandum-books in my possession is the following entry:

"January 20., Sunday, Robert Levett was buried in the churchyard of Bridewell, between one and two in the afternoon. He died on Thursday, 17., about seven in the morning, by an instantaneous death. He was an old and faithful friend: I have known him from about 1746. *Commendavi.* May God have mercy on him! May he have mercy on me!"

Such was Johnson's affectionate regard for Levett⁴, that he honoured his memory with the following pathetic verses:

"Condemn'd to Hope's delusive mine,
As on we toil from day to day,
By sudden blast or slow decline
Our social comforts drop away.

"Well try'd through many a varying year,
See Levett to the grave descend;
Officious, innocent, sincere,
Of every friendless name the friend.

"Yet still he fills affection's eye,
Obscurely wise and coarsely kind;
Nor, letter'd arrogance, deny
Thy praise to merit unrefined.

"When fainting Nature call'd for aid,
And hovering death prepared the blow,
His vigorous remedy display'd
The power of art without the show.

¹ Barber was with him on this journey: the whole letter exhibits *minutiae* of Johnson's charity and good nature towards his humble friends. — CROKER.

² The Right Hon. Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster, Bart.; a voluminous writer on agriculture and statistics. — CROKER.

³ The truth of this has been proved by sad experience. — BOSWELL. Mrs. Boswell died June 4. 1789. — MALONE.

⁴ See an account of him, *antè*, p. 78. n. 7. — C.

"In misery's darkest caverns known,
His ready help was ever nigh,
Where hopeless anguish pour'd his groan,
And lonely want retired to die.¹

"No summons mock'd by chill delay,
No petty gains disdain'd by pride:
The modest wants of every day
The toil of every day supply'd.

"His virtues walk'd their narrow round,
Nor made a pause, nor left a void;
And sure the eternal Master found
His single talent² well employ'd.

"The busy day, the peaceful night³,
Unfelt, uncounted, glided by;
His frame was firm, his powers were bright,
Though now his eightieth year was nigh.

"Then, with no throbs of fiery pain,
No cold gradations of decay,
Death broke at once the vital chain,
And freed his soul the nearest way."

[JOHNSON TO MR. BEATNIFFE,
Recorder of Hull.

"Bolt Court, Fleet Street, February 14. 1782.

SIR, — Robert Levett, with whom I have been connected by a friendship of many years, died lately at my house. His death was sudden, and no will has yet been found; I therefore gave notice of his death in the papers, that an heir, if he has any, may appear. He has left very little; but of that little his brother is doubtless heir, and your friend may be perhaps his brother. I have had another application from one who calls himself his brother; and I suppose it is fit that the claimant should give some proofs of his relation. I would gladly know, from the gentleman that thinks himself R. Levett's brother,

"In what year, and in what parish, R. Levett was born?

"Where or how was he educated?

"What was his early course of life?

"What were the marks of his person; his stature; the colour of his eyes?

"Was he marked by the small-pox?

"Had he any impediment in his speech?

"What relations had he, and how many are now living?

¹ Johnson repeated this line to me thus:

"And labour steals an hour to die."

But he afterwards altered it to the present reading. — BOSWELL.

² Allusion to the parable, Matthew xxv. 15. — CROKER.

³ Johnson, who used to disparage Gray so much, found some of his happy expressions lingering in his memory. Mr. Markland pointed out to me that "*The busy day — the peaceful night*" are in Gray's *Ode on Vicissitudes*, and "*The thoughtless day, the easy night*," in his *Verses on Eton College*. — CROKER, 1847.

⁴ The results of Johnson's inquiries were, that Levett was born at West Ella, about five miles from Hull; was supposed to be about 78 years old, was the eldest of a family of ten children, and left two brothers and a sister living. — CROKER, 1847.

⁵ This note was in answer to one which accompanied one of the earliest pamphlets on the subject of Chatterton's forgery, entitled "*Cursory Observations on the Poems attributed to Thomas Rowley*," &c. Mr. Thomas Warton's very able "*Inquiry*" appeared about three months afterwards; and Mr. Tyrwhitt's admirable "*Vindication of his Appendix*," in the summer of the same year, left the believers

"His answer to these questions will show whether he knew him; and he may then proceed to show that he is his brother.

"He may be sure, that nothing shall be hastily wasted or removed. I have not looked into his boxes, but transferred that business to a gentleman in the neighbourhood, of character above suspicion.⁴ SAM. JOHNSON."

— *Hariwood MSS.*

JOHNSON TO MRS. STRAIIAN.

"Feb. 4. 1782.

"DEAR MADAM, — Mrs. Williams showed me your kind letter. This little habitation is now but a melancholy place, clouded with the gloom of disease and death. Of the four inmates, one has been suddenly snatched away; two are oppressed by very afflictive and dangerous illness; and I tried yesterday to gain some relief by a third bleeding from a disorder which has for some time distressed me, and I think myself to-day much better.

"I am glad, dear Madam, to hear that you are so far recovered as to go to Bath. Let me once more entreat you to stay till your health is not only obtained, but confirmed. Your fortune is such as that no moderate expense deserves your care; and you have a husband who, I believe, does not regard it. Stay, therefore, till you are quite well. I am, for my part, very much deserted; but complaint is useless. I hope God will bless you, and I desire you to form the same wish for me. I am, dear Madam, &c., SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO MALONE.

"Feb. 27. 1782.

"SIR, — I have for many weeks been so much out of order, that I have gone out only in a coach to Mrs. Thrale's, where I can use all the freedom that sickness requires. Do not, therefore, take it amiss, that I am not with you and Dr. Farmer. I hope hereafter to see you often. I am, Sir, &c.,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO MALONE.

"March 2. 1782.

"DEAR SIR, — I hope I grow better, and shall soon be able to enjoy the kindness of my friends. I think this wild adherence to Chatterton⁵ more unaccountable than the obstinate defence of Ossian. In Ossian there is a national pride, which may be

in this daring imposture nothing but "the resolution to say again what had been said before." Daring, however, as this fiction was, and wild as was the adherence to Chatterton, both were greatly exceeded in 1795 and the following year, by a still more audacious imposture, and the pertinacity of one of its adherents, who has immortalised his name by publishing a bulky volume, of which the direct and manifest object was, to prove the authenticity of certain papers attributed to Shakspeare, after the fabricator of the spurious trash had publicly acknowledged the imposture. — MALONE. Mr. Malone alludes to the forgery, by Mr. William Henry Ireland, of the Shakespearian papers which were exhibited, with a ridiculous mixture of pomp and mystery, at his father's house in Norfolk Street. It seems scarcely conceivable how such palpable impositions could have deceived the most ignorant; and yet there were numerous dupes in the critical and literary circles of the day. Mr. W. H. Ireland afterwards published a full and minute confession of the whole progress of his forgery; but, with a curious obstinacy, he, in this work, vehemently accuses of blindness, ignorance, and bad faith, all those who detected what he confesses to have been an imposture, and is equally lavish in praise of the discernment and judgment of those whom he proves to have been dupes. — CROKER. He died in 1834. — WRIGHT.

forgiven, though it cannot be applauded. In Chatterton there is nothing but the resolution to say again what has once been said. I am, Sir, &c.,
"SAM. JOHNSON."

These short letters show the regard which Dr. Johnson entertained for Mr. Malone, who the more he is known is the more highly valued. It is much to be regretted that Johnson was prevented from sharing the elegant hospitality of that gentleman's table, at which he would in every respect have been fully gratified. Mr. Malone, who has so ably succeeded him as an editor of Shakspeare, has, in his Preface, done great and just honour to Johnson's memory.

JOHNSON TO MRS. PORTER.

"London, March 2. 1782.

"DEAR MADAM, — I went away from Lichfield ill, and have had a troublesome time with my breath. For some weeks I have been disordered by a cold, of which I could not get the violence abated till I had been let blood three times. I have not, however, been so bad but that I could have written, and am sorry that I neglected it.

"My dwelling is but melancholy. Both Williams, and Desmoulins, and myself, are very sickly; Frank is not well; and poor Levett died in his bed the other day by a sudden stroke. I suppose not one minute passed between health and death. So uncertain are human things.

"Such is the appearance of the world about me; I hope your scenes are more cheerful. But whatever befalls us, though it is wise to be serious, it is useless and foolish, and perhaps sinful, to be gloomy. Let us, therefore, keep ourselves as easy as we can; though the loss of friends will be felt, and poor Levett had been a faithful adherent for thirty years.

"Forgive me, my dear love, the omission of writing; I hope to mend that and my other faults. Let me have your prayers. Make my compliments to Mrs. Cobb, and Miss Adey, and Mr. Pearson, and the whole company of my friends. I am, &c.,
SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO MRS. PORTER.

"Bolt Court, March 19. 1782.

"DEAR MADAM, — My last was but a dull letter, and I know not that this will be much more cheerful: I am, however, willing to write, because you are desirous to hear from me. My disorder has now begun its ninth week, for it is not yet

over. I was last Thursday bled for the fourth time, and have since found myself much relieved, but I am very tender and easily hurt; so that since we parted I have had but little comfort. But I hope that the spring will recover me, and that in the summer I shall see Lichfield again, for I will not delay my visit another year to the end of autumn.

"I have, by advertising, found poor Mr. Levett's brothers, in Yorkshire, who will take the little he has left; it is but little, yet it will be welcome, for I believe they are of very low condition.

"To be sick, and to see nothing but sickness and death, is but a gloomy state: but I hope better times, even in this world, will come; and whatever this world may withhold or give, we shall be happy in a better state. Pray for me, my dear Lucy. Make my compliments to Mrs. Cobb, and Miss Adey, and my old friend, Hetty Bailey, and to all the Lichfield ladies. I am, &c.,
"SAM. JOHNSON."

On the day on which this letter was written, he thus feelingly mentions his respected friend and physician, Dr. Lawrence: —

"Poor Lawrence has almost lost the sense of hearing; and I have lost the conversation of a learned, intelligent, and communicative companion, and a friend whom long familiarity has much endeared. Lawrence is one of the best men whom I have known. — *Nostrum omnium, miserere Deus.*" (*Pr. and Med. p. 203.*)¹

It was Dr. Johnson's custom, when he wrote to Dr. Lawrence concerning his own health, to use the Latin language. I have been favoured by Miss Lawrence with one of these letters as a specimen:

"T. LAWRENCIO, MEDICO S.

"Mæis Calendis, 1782.²

"Novum frigus, nova tussis, nova spirandi difficultas, novam sanguinis missionem suadent, quam tamen te inconsumo nolim fieri. Ad te venire vix possum, nec est cur ad me venias. Licere vel non licere uno verbo dicendum est; cætera mihi et Holdero³ reliqueris. Si per te licet, imperator nuncio Holderum ad me deducere. Postquam tu discesseris quò me vertam?"⁴

Soon after the above letter; Dr. Lawrence left London, but not before the palsy had made so great a progress as to render him unable to write for himself. The following are

¹ Dr. Lawrence had long been his friend and confidant. A conversation Mrs. Thrale saw them hold together in Essex Street, one day in the year 1781 or 1782, was a singular and melancholy one. Dr. Johnson was exceedingly ill, and she accompanied him thither for advice. The physician was, however, in some respects, more to be pitied than the patient: Johnson was panting under an asthma and dropsy; but Lawrence had been brought home that very morning struck with the palsy, from which he had, two hours before they came, strove to awaken himself by blisters: they were both deaf, and scarce able to speak besides; one from difficulty of breathing, the other from paralytic debility. To give and receive medical counsel, therefore, they fairly sat down on each side a table in the doctor's gloomy apartment, adorned with skeletons, preserved monsters, and agreed to write Latin billets to each other. [Mr. Malone, in his MS. notes, says that this description is *ideal*, as Dr. Lawrence had no skeletons or monsters in his room.] "Such a scene, &c." exclaims Mrs. Thrale, "did I never see." "You," said Johnson,

are "*timidè and gelidè*;" finding that his friend had prescribed palliative not drastic remedies. "It is not *me*," replies poor Lawrence, in an interrupted voice; "'tis nature that is *gelidè and timidè*." In fact he lived but few months after, and retained his faculties a still shorter time. He was a man of strict piety and profound learning, but little skilled in the knowledge of life or manners, and died without ever having enjoyed the reputation he so justly deserved. — *Anecdotes.* — CROKER.

² Boswell here departs a little from the order of date. — CROKER.

³ Mr. Holder, in the Strand, Dr. Johnson's apothecary. — BOSWELL.

⁴ "May, 1782. Fresh cold, renewed cough, and an increased difficulty of breathing; all suggest a further letting of blood, which, however, I do not choose to have done without your advice. I cannot well come to you, nor is there any occasion for your coming to me. You may say, in one word, yes or no, and leave the rest to Holder and me. If you con-

extracts from letters addressed by Johnson to Miss Lawrence:

JOHNSON TO MISS LAWRENCE.

"Bolt Court, Fleet Street, Feb. 4. 1783.

"You will easily believe with what gladness I read that you had heard once again that voice to which we have all so often delighted to attend. May you often hear it. If we had his mind, and his tongue, we could spare the rest.

"I am not vigorous, but much better than when dear Dr. Lawrence held my pulse the last time. Be so kind as to let me know, from one little interval to another, the state of his body. I am pleased that he remembers me, and hope that it never can be possible for me to forget him. July 22d, 1782.

"I am much delighted even with the small advances which dear Dr. Lawrence makes towards recovery. If we could have again but his mind, and his tongue in his mind, and his right hand, we should not much lament the rest. I should not despair of helping the swelled hand by electricity, if it were frequently and diligently supplied.

"Let me know from time to time whatever happens; and I hope I need not tell you how much I am interested in every change. Aug. 26. 1782.

"Though the account with which you favoured me in your last letter could not give me the pleasure that I wished, yet I was glad to receive it; for my affection to my dear friend makes me desirous of knowing his state, whatever it be. I beg, therefore, that you continue to let me know, from time to time, all that you observe.

"Many fits of severe illness have, for about three months past, forced my kind physician often upon my mind. I am now better; and hope gratitude, as well as distress, can be a motive to remembrance."

JOHNSON TO CAPTAIN LANGTON¹,

In Rochester.

"Bolt Court, March 20. 1782.

"DEAR SIR, — It is now long since we saw one another: and, whatever has been the reason, neither you have written to me, nor I to you. To let friendship die away by negligence and silence, is certainly not wise. It is voluntarily to throw away one of the greatest comforts of this weary pilgrimage, of which when it is, as it must be, taken finally away, he that travels on alone will wonder how his esteem could be so little. Do not forget me; you see that I do not forget you. It is pleasing in the silence of solitude to think that there is one at least, however distant, of whose benevolence there is little doubt, and whom there is yet hope of seeing again.

"Of my life, from the time we parted, the history is mournful. The spring of last year de-

prived me of Thrale, a man whose eye for fifteen years had scarcely been turned upon me but with respect or tenderness; for such another friend, the general course of human things will not suffer man to hope. I passed the summer at Streatham, but there was no Thrale; and having idled away the summer with a weakly body and neglected mind, I made a journey to Staffordshire on the edge of winter. The season was dreary, I was sickly, and found the friends sickly whom I went to see. After a sorrowful sojourn, I returned to a habitation possessed for the present by two sick women, where my dear old friend, Mr. Levett, to whom, as he used to tell me, I owe your acquaintance, died a few weeks ago, suddenly, in his bed; there passed not, I believe, a minute between health and death. At night, at Mrs. Thrale's, as I was musing in my chamber, I thought with uncommon earnestness, that, however I might alter my mode of life, or whithersoever I might remove, I would endeavour to retain Levett about me: in the morning my servant brought me word that Levett was called to another state, a state for which, I think, he was not unprepared, for he was very useful to the poor. How much soever I valued him, I now wish that I had valued him more.²

"I have myself been ill more than eight weeks of a disorder, from which, at the expense of about fifty ounces of blood, I hope I am now recovering.

"You, dear Sir, have, I hope, a more cheerful scene; you see George fond of his book, and the pretty Misses airy and lively, with my own little Jenny³, equal to the best; and in whatever can contribute to your quiet or pleasure, you have Lady Rothes ready to concur. May whatever you enjoy of good be increased, and whatever you suffer of evil be diminished. I am, dear Sir, &c.,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO HECTOR,⁴

"London, March 21. 1782.

"DEAR SIR, — I hope I do not very grossly flatter myself to imagine that you and dear Mrs. Careless (p. 488.) will be glad to hear some account of me. I performed the journey to London with very little inconvenience, and came safe to my habitation, where I found nothing but ill health, and, of consequence, very little cheerfulness. I then went to visit a little way into the country, where I got a complaint by a cold which has hung eight weeks upon me, and from which I am, at the expense of fifty ounces of blood, not yet free. I am afraid I must once more owe my recovery to warm weather, which seems to make no advances towards us.

"Such is my health, which will, I hope, soon grow better. In other respects I have no reason to complain. I know not that I have written any thing more generally commended than the *Lives of the Poets*; and have found the world willing enough to caress me, if my health had invited me to be

sent, the messenger will bring Holder to me. When you shall be gone, whither shall I turn myself?" — CROKER.

¹ Mr. Langton being at this time on duty at Rochester, he is addressed by his military title. — BOSWELL. This is, I think, a mistake: Mr. Langton had now fixed his residence at Rochester. — CROKER, 1847.

² Johnson has here expressed a sentiment similar to that contained in one of Shensstone's stanzas, to which, in his life of that poet, he has given high praise:

"I prized every hour that went by,
Beyond all that had pleased me before;
But now they are gone, and I sigh,
And I grieve that I prized them no more."

J. BOSWELL, JUN.

³ See *ant.* p. 565. n. 2. — C.

⁴ A part of this letter having been torn off, I have, from the evident meaning, supplied a few words and half words at the ends and beginning of lines. — BOSWELL.

in much company; but this season I have been almost wholly employed in nursing myself.

"When summer comes I hope to see you again, and will not put off my visit to the end of the year. I have lived so long in London, that I did not remember the difference of seasons.

"Your health, when I saw you, was much improved. You will be prudent enough not to put it in danger. I hope, when we meet again, we shall congratulate each other upon fair prospects of longer life; though what are the pleasures of the longest life, when placed in comparison with a happy death? I am, &c., SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO HECTOR.

(Without a date, but supposed to be about this time.)

"DEAR SIR, — That you and dear Mrs. Careless should have care or curiosity about my health gives me that pleasure which every man feels from finding himself not forgotten. In age we feel again that love of our native place and our early friends, which, in the bustle or amusements of middle life, were overborne and suspended. You and I should now naturally cling to one another; we have outlived most of those who could pretend to rival us in each other's kindness. In our walk through life we have dropped our companions, and are now to pick up such as chance may offer us, or to travel on alone. You, indeed, have a sister, with whom you can divide the day; I have no natural friend left: but Providence has been pleased to preserve me from neglect; I have not wanted such alleviations of life as friendship could supply. My health has been, from my twentieth year, such as has seldom afforded me a single day of ease; but it is at least not worse; and I sometimes make myself believe that it is better. My disorders are, however, still sufficiently oppressive.

"I think of seeing Staffordshire again this autumn, and intend to find my way through Birmingham, where I hope to see you and dear Mrs. Careless well. I am, Sir, &c.,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

"March 18.¹ — Having been from the middle of January distressed by a cold, which made my respiration very laborious, and from which I was but little relieved by being blooded three times; having tried to ease the oppression of my breast by frequent opiates, which kept me waking in the night and drowsy the next day, and subjected me to the tyranny of vain imaginations; having to all this added frequent cathartics, sometimes with mercury, I at last persuaded Dr. Lawrence, on Thursday, March 14., to let me bleed more copiously. Sixteen ounces were taken away, and from that

time my breath has been free, and my breast easy. On that day I took little food, and no flesh. On Thursday night I slept with great tranquillity. On the next night I took diacodium [syrup of poppies], and had a most restless night. Of the next day I remember nothing, but that I rose in the afternoon, and saw Mrs. Lennox and Seward.

"Sunday, 17. — I lay late, and had only palfrey to dinner. I read part of Waller's Directory², a pious, rational book: but in any except a very regular life difficult to practise.

"It occurred to me, that though my time might pass unemployed, no more should pass uncounted, and this has been written to-day, in consequence of that thought. I read a Greek chapter, prayed with Francis, which I now do commonly, and explained to him the Lord's Prayer, in which I find connexion, not observed, I think, by the expositors. I made punch for myself and my servants, by which, in the night, I thought both my breast and imagination disordered.

Monday, 18. — I rose late, looked a little into books. Saw Miss Reynolds and Miss Thrale, and Nicolaidas³; afterwards Dr. Hunter⁴ came for his catalogue. I then dined on tea, &c.; then read over part of Dr. Lawrence's book "De Temperamentis," which seems to have been written with a troubled mind.

"My mind has been for some time much disturbed. The peace of God be with me.

"Tuesday, 19. — I rose late. I was visited by Mrs. Thrale, Mr. Cotton, and Mr. Crofts.⁵ I took Lawrence's paper in hand, but was chill; having fasted yesterday, I was hungry, and dined freely, then slept a little, and drank tea; then took candles, and wrote to Aston and Lucy; then went on with Lawrence, of which little remains. I prayed with Francis.

"Mens sedatio, laus Deo.

"To-morrow Shaw⁷ comes. I think to finish Lawrence, and write to Langton.

"Poor Lawrence has almost lost the sense of hearing; and I have lost the conversation of a learned, intelligent, and communicative companion, and a friend whom long familiarity has much endeared. Lawrence is one of the best men whom I have known.

"Nostrum omnium miserere Deus.

"Wednesday, 20. — Shaw came; I finished reading Lawrence. I dined liberally. Wrote a long letter to Langton, and designed to read, but was hindered by Strahan. *The ministry is dissolved.* I prayed with Francis, and gave thanks.

"To-morrow — To Mrs. Thrale — To write to Hector — To Dr. Taylor.

"Thursday, 21. — I went to Mrs. Thrale. Mr. Cox⁸ and Paradise met me at the door, and went with me in the coach. Paradise's loss.⁹ In

¹ For the latter half of this month of March he kept the following diary, of which Boswell has given only one paragraph. — CROKER.

² Sir William Waller, the Parliamentary General in the Grand Rebellion, wrote "*Divine Meditations on several Occasions, with a daily Directory*, 1689." — CROKER. 1847.

³ A learned Greek; a friend of Mr. Langton. — CROKER.

⁴ The catalogue referred to was probably that of the ancient coins in Dr. Hunter's museum, which was published in the ensuing year, with a classical dedication to the queen, which perhaps Dr. Johnson revised. — CROKER.

⁵ This means, I suppose, Galen's work, *De Temperamentis et inaequali temperie*, Lib. iii. *Thoma Linacro, Anglo in-*

terprete, 1521. A curious book, which Dr. Lawrence had probably lent him, perhaps with a view to the "paper" subsequently mentioned. — CROKER. 1847.

⁶ Probably Mr. Herbert Croft, who had supplied him with a life of Young. — CROKER.

⁷ Probably the editor of the Gaelic Dictionary, who, about this period, was warmly engaged in the Ossian controversy, and as he took Dr. Johnson's part, probably received some assistance from him. *Ante*, p. 528; *post*, p. 745.

⁸ Mr. Cox was, I believe, a solicitor in Southampton Buildings. — CROKER.

⁹ This probably refers to some property in Virginia which Mr. Paradise possessed in right of his wife, and which had

the evening wrote to Hector. At night there were eleven visitants. Conversation with Mr. Cox. When I waked I saw the penthouses covered with snow.

"Friday, 22. — I spent the time idly. Mens turbata. In the afternoon it snowed. At night I wrote to Taylor about the pot, and to Hamilton about the Fædera.¹

"Saturday, 23. — I came home and found that Desmoulins had, while I was away, been in bed. Letters from Langton and Boswell. I promised L. —² six guineas.

"Sunday, 24. — I rose not early. Visitors, Allen, Dav's, Windham, Dr. Horsley.³ Dinner at Strahan's. Came home and chatted with Williams, and read Romans ix. in Greek.

"To-morrow begin again to read the Bible; put rooms in order; copy L. —'s letter. At night I read 11 p. and something more, of the Bible, in fifty-five minutes.

"Tuesday, 26. — I copied L. —'s letter. Then wrote to Mrs. Thrale. Cox visited me. I sent home Dr. Lawrence's papers, with notes. I gave [Mrs. Desmoulins] a guinea, and found her a gown.

"Wednesday, 27. — At Harley-street.⁴ Bad nights. — In the evening Dr. Bromfield and his family — Merlin's steelyard given me.

"Thursday, 28. — I came home. Sold Rymer for Davies; wrote to Boswell. Visitors, Dr. Percy, Mr. Crofts. I have, in ten days, written to [Mrs.] Aston, Lucy, Hector, Langton, Boswell; perhaps to all by whom my letters are desired.

"The weather, which now begins to be warm, gives me great help. I have hardly been at church this year; certainly not since the 15th of January. My cough and difficulty of breath would not permit it.

"This is the day on which, in 1752, dear Tetty died. I have now uttered a prayer of repentance and contrition; perhaps Tetty knows that I prayed for her. Perhaps Tetty is now praying for me. God help me. Thou, God, art merciful; hear my prayers, and enable me to trust in Thee.

"We were married almost seventeen years, and have now been parted thirty.

"I then read 11 p. from Ex. 36. to Lev. 7. I prayed with Francis, and used the prayer for Good Friday.

"29. — Good Friday. After a night of great disturbance and solicitude, such as I do not remember, I rose, drank tea, but without eating, and went to church. I was very composed, and coming home, read Hammond on one of the Psalms for the day. I then read Leviticus. Scott [Lord Stowell] came in. A kind letter from [Mrs.] Gastrell. I read on, then went to evening prayers, and afterwards drank tea, with buns: then read till I finished Leviticus, 24 pages et supra.

been confiscated. See *Jefferson's Letters*, where he advocates Paradise's claims as being a whig and friend to American independence. — CROKER.

¹ A set of Rymer which he was charitably endeavouring to sell for Davies, probably to Mr. Gerard Hamilton; and this was, perhaps, the occasion which made Mr. Hamilton say (as is stated in Malone's MS. notes communicated to me by Mr. Markland) that Johnson once asked him for 50*l.* for a charitable purpose. Sir Joshua told Malone that he never asked him for more than a guinea for one object. — CROKER.

² Lennox or Lowe? I believe Lowe. — CROKER, 1847.

³ In 1788 Bishop of St. David's. — CROKER.

"30. — Saturday. Visitors, Paradise, and I think Horsley. Read 11 pages of the Bible. I was faint; dined on herrings and potatoes. At prayers, I think, in the evening. I wrote to [Mrs.] Gastrell, and received a kind letter from Hector. At night Lowe. Pr[ayed] with Francis.

"31. — Easter-Day. Read 15 pages of the Bible. Cætera alibi." — Pr. and Med.

On the foregoing curious passage — "March 20.⁵ *The ministry is dissolved. I prayed with Francis, and gave thanks*" — it has been the subject of discussion whether there are two distinct particulars mentioned here? Or that we are to understand the giving of thanks to be in consequence of the dissolution of the ministry? In support of the last of these conjectures may be urged his mean opinion of that ministry, which has frequently appeared in the course of this work; and it is strongly confirmed by what he said on the subject to Mr. Seward: — "I am glad the ministry is removed.⁶ Such a bunch of imbecility never disgraced a country.⁷ If they sent a messenger into the city to take up a printer, the messenger was taken up instead of the printer, and committed by the sitting alderman. If they sent one army to the relief of another, the first army was defeated and taken before the second arrived. I will not say that what they did was always wrong; but it was always done at a wrong time."

I wrote to him at different dates; regretted that I could not come to London this spring, but hoped we should meet somewhere in the summer; mentioned the state of my affairs, and suggested hopes of some preferment; informed him, that as "*The Beauties of Johnson*" had been published in London, some obscure scribbler had published at Edinburgh what he called "*The Deformities of Johnson*."

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"London, March 28. 1782.

"DEAR SIR, — The pleasure which we used to receive from each other on Good-Friday and Easter-day, we must be this year content to miss. Let us, however, pray for each other, and I hope to see one another yet from time to time with mutual delight. My disorder has been a cold, which impeded the organs of respiration, and kept me many weeks in a state of great uneasiness; but by repeated phlebotomy it is now relieved: and next to the recovery of Mrs. Boswell, I flatter myself, that you will rejoice at mine.

"What we shall do in the summer, it is yet too

⁴ Probably Mr. Ramsay's. *Ante*, p. 630. — CROKER.

⁵ Boswell gave only this passage from the Diary, and misdated it 20th January, and introduced it by these words: "*In one of Johnson's registers of this year there occurs the following curious passage*." — CROKER.

⁶ On the preceding day the ministry had been changed. — MALONE. Lord North's administration was superseded by that of Lord Rockingham, on the 19th March. — CROKER.

⁷ Johnson's personal pique against Lord North makes him unjust to the ministry, by reproaching them with the mischiefs created by the factious which opposed them. — See *post*, p. 712. — CROKER, 1847.

early to consider. You want to know what you shall do now; I do not think this time of bustle and confusion like to produce any advantage to you. Every man has those to reward and gratify who have contributed to his advancement. To come hither with such expectations at the expense of borrowed money, which I find you know not where to borrow, can hardly be considered prudent. I am sorry to find, what your solicitations seem to imply, that you have already gone the whole length of your credit. This is to set the quiet of your whole life at hazard. If you anticipate your inheritance, you can at last inherit nothing; all that you receive must pay for the past. You must get a place, or pine in penury, with the empty name of a great estate. Poverty, my dear friend, is so great an evil, and pregnant with so much temptation, and so much misery, that I cannot but earnestly enjoin you to avoid it. Live on what you have; live if you can on less; do not borrow either for vanity or pleasure; the vanity will end in shame, and the pleasure in regret: stay therefore at home, till you have saved money for your journey hither.

"The Beauties of Johnson" are said to have got money to the collector; if the "Deformities" have the same success, I shall be still a more extensive benefactor.

"Make my compliments to Mrs. Boswell, who is I hope reconciled to me; and to the young people, whom I never have offended. You never told me the success of your plea against the solicitors. I am, dear Sir, &c., SAM. JOHNSON."

[JOHNSON TO MRS. GASTRELL AND MRS. ASTON.]

"Bolt Court, March 30. 1782.

"DEAREST LADIES, — The tenderness expressed in your kind letter makes me think it necessary to tell you that they who are pleased to wish me well, need not be any longer particularly solicitous about me. I prevailed on my physician to bleed me very copiously, almost against his inclination. However, he kept his finger on the pulse of the other hand, and, finding that I bore it well, let the vein run on. From that time I have mended, and hope I am now well. I went yesterday to church without inconvenience, and hope to go to-morrow.

"Here are great changes in the great world; but I cannot tell you more than you will find in the papers. The men have got in whom I have endeavoured to keep out; but I hope they will do better than their predecessors; it will not be easy to do worse.

"Spring seems now to approach, and I feel its benefit, which I hope will extend to dear Mrs. Aston.

"When Dr. Falconer saw me, I was at home only by accident, for I lived much with Mrs. Thrale, and had all the care from her that she

could take or could be taken. But I have never been ill enough to want attendance; my disorder has been rather tedious than violent; rather irksome than painful. He needed not have made such a tragical representation.

"I am now well enough to flatter myself with some hope of pleasure from the summer. How happy would it be if we could see one another, and be all tolerably well! Let us pray for one another. I am, &c., SAM. JOHNSON."

— *Pembroke MSS.*

JOHNSON TO MISS REYNOLDS.

"April 8. 1782.

"DEAREST MADAM, — Your work¹ is full of very penetrating meditation, and very forcible sentiments. I read it with a full perception of the sublime, with wonder and terror; but I cannot think of any profit from it; it seems not born to be popular.

"Your system of the mental fabric is exceedingly obscure, and, without more attention than will be willingly bestowed, is unintelligible. The plans of Burnaby will be more safely understood, and are often charming. I was delighted with the different bounty of different ages.

"I would make it produce something if I could but I have indeed no hope. If a bookseller would buy it at all, as it must be published without a name, he would give nothing for it worth your acceptance. I am, &c., SAM. JOHNSON."

— *Reynolds MSS.*

JOHNSON TO MRS. THRALE.

(Extracts.)

"26th April, [1782]. — I have been very much out of order since you sent me away; but why should I tell you, who do not care, nor desire to know. I dined with Mr. Paradise on Monday with the Bishop of St. Asaph [Shipley] yesterday with the Bishop of Chester [Porteus] I dine to-day², and with the Academy on Saturday, with Mr. Hoole on Monday, and with Mr. Garrick on Thursday, the 2d of May, and then — what care you? — what then?

"Do not let Mr. Piozzi³ nor any body else put me quite out of your head; and do not think the any one will love you like your, &c."

"30th April, 1782. — I have had a fresh cold and been very poorly. But I was yesterday at Mr. Hoole's, where were Miss Reynolds and many others. I am going to the club.

"Since Mrs. Garrick's invitation I have a letter from Miss Moore⁴, to engage me for the evening. I have an appointment to Miss Monkton, another with Lady Sheffield⁵ at Mrs. Way's.⁶

"Two days ago Mr. Cumberland had his third night⁷, which, after all expenses, put into his own pocket five pounds. He has lost his plume.

¹ I can hardly think that this could be the same work mentioned *anté*, p. 697.; nor am I able to explain the allusion to *Burnaby*, which, I suspect, may have been a mis-transcription for *Bunbury*. — CROKER.

² Hannah More was at this dinner, and sat next to Johnson. She urged him to take a little wine; he replied, "I can't drink a little, child: therefore I never touch it. Abstinence is as easy to me as temperance would be difficult. *Anté*, p. 678. — CROKER, 1847.

³ This is the first time that this name occurs. — Gabriel Piozzi was a Brescian, who came to England a few years before as a professional singer, and was introduced by

Burney at Streatham, where he gave lessons to the young ladies, and sometimes sang for the company. It seems that he had now made considerable advances in Mrs. Thrale's good graces, and in about two years she married him. He died in March, 1809, at her family seat in Wales. — CROKER.

⁴ Hannah More. — CROKER.

⁵ The first wife of the first Lord Sheffield. — CROKER.

⁶ Wife of Daniel Way, Esq. of the Exchequer Office, whom there is so copious an account in Nichols's continuation of Bowyer's *Anecdotes*. — CROKER.

⁷ The play of the *Wallons*, acted about this time; but the third night was the 2d of May. — CROKER.

"Mrs. S[heridan]¹ refused to sing, at the Duchess of Devonshire's request, a song to the Prince of Wales. They pay for the [theatre]² neither principal nor interest; and poor Garrick's funeral expenses are yet unpaid, though the undertaker is broken. Could you have a better purveyor for a little scandal? But I wish I was at Streatham."]

— *Letters.*

Notwithstanding his afflicted state of body and mind this year, the following correspondence affords a proof not only of his benevolence and conscientious readiness to relieve a good man from error, but by his clothing one of the sentiments in his "Rambler," in different language, not inferior to that of the original, shows his extraordinary command of clear and forcible expression.

A clergyman at Bath wrote to him, that in "The Morning Chronicle," a passage in "The Beauties of Johnson," article Death, had been pointed out as supposed by some readers to recommend suicide, the words being, "To die is the fate of man; but to die with lingering anguish is generally his folly;" and respectfully suggesting to him, that such an erroneous notion of any sentence in the writings of an acknowledged friend of religion and virtue should not pass uncontradicted. Johnson thus answered this clergyman's letter:—

JOHNSON TO THE REV. MR. ———,

At Bath.

"May 15. 1782.

"SIR, — Being now in the country in a state of recovery, as I hope, from a very oppressive disorder, I cannot neglect the acknowledgment of our Christian letter. The book called 'The Beauties of Johnson' is the production of I know of whom; I never saw it but by casual inspection, and considered myself as utterly disengaged from its consequences. Of the passage you mention, I remember some notice in some paper; but knowing that it must be misrepresented, I thought of it no more, nor do I know where to find it in my own books. I am accustomed to think little of newspapers; but an opinion so weighty and serious as yours has determined me to do, what I could without your seasonable admonition have omitted: and I will direct my thought to be true in its true state.³ If I could find the passage, would direct you to it. I suppose the tenor is: — 'Acute diseases are the immediate and inevitable strokes of Heaven; but of them the pain short, and the conclusion speedy; chronic disorders, by which we are suspended in tedious torture between life and death, are commonly the

effect of our own misconduct and intemperance. To die, &c.' — This, Sir, you see, is all true and all blameless. I hope some time in the next week to have all rectified. My health has been lately much shaken; if you favour me with any answer, it will be a comfort to me to know that I have your prayers. I am, &c., SAM. JOHNSON."

This letter, as might be expected, had its full effect, and the clergyman acknowledged it in grateful and pious terms.⁴

The following letters require no extracts from mine to introduce them:—

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"London, June 3. 1782.

"DEAR SIR, — The earnestness and tenderness of your letter is such, that I cannot think myself showing it more respect than it claims, by sitting down to answer it the day on which I received it.

"This year has afflicted me with a very irksome and severe disorder. My respiration has been much impeded, and much blood has been taken away. I am now harassed by a catarrhus cough, from which my purpose is to seek relief by change of air; and I am, therefore, preparing to go to Oxford.

"Whether I did right in dissuading you from coming to London this spring, I will not determine. You have not lost much by missing my company; I have scarcely been well for a single week. I might have received comfort from your kindness; but you would have seen me afflicted, and, perhaps, found me peevish. Whatever might have been your pleasure or mine, I know not how I could have honestly advised you to come hither with borrowed money. Do not accustom yourself to consider debt only as an inconvenience; you will find it a calamity. Poverty takes away so many means of doing good, and produces so much inability to resist evil, both natural and moral, that it is by all virtuous means to be avoided. Consider a man whose fortune is very narrow; whatever be his rank by birth, or whatever his reputation by intellectual excellence, what can he do? or what evil can he prevent? That he cannot help the needy is evident; he has nothing to spare. But, perhaps, his advice or admonition may be useful. His poverty will destroy his influence; many more can find that he is poor, than that he is wise; and few will reverence the understanding that is of so little advantage to its owner. I say nothing of the personal wretchedness of a debtor, which, however, has passed into a proverb. Of riches it is not necessary to write the praise. Let it, however, be remembered, that he who has money to spare, has it always in his power to benefit others; and of such power a good man must always be desirous.

¹ See *antè*, April 10. 1775. — C.

² Druy-lane Theatre, sold by Garrick to Sheridan. — CROKER.

³ What follows appeared in "The Morning Chronicle" of May 29. 1782:—

"A correspondent having mentioned in 'The Morning Chronicle' of December 12. the last clause of the following paragraph, as seeming to favour suicide; we are requested to state the whole passage, that its true meaning may appear, which is not to recommend suicide, but exercise.

⁴ Exercise cannot secure us from that dissolution to which

we are decreed; but while the soul and body continue united, it can make the association pleasing, and give probable hopes that they shall be disjoined by an easy separation. It was a principle among the ancients, that acute diseases are from Heaven, and chronic from ourselves; the dart of death, indeed, falls from Heaven; but we poison it by our own misconduct: to die is the fate of man; but to die with lingering anguish is generally his folly." — BOSWELL. The passage is in No. 85. of the *Rambler*. — CROKER, 1847.

⁵ The correspondence may be seen at length in "The Gentleman's Magazine," Feb. 1786. — BOSWELL.

"I am pleased with your account of Easter.¹ We shall meet, I hope, in autumn, both well and both cheerful; and part each the better for the other's company. Make my compliments to Mrs. Boswell, and to the young charmers. I am, &c.,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

[JOHNSON TO MRS. THRALE.

(Extracts.)

"Sunday, June 8.² 1782. — I have this day taken a passage to Oxford for Monday — not to frisk, as you express it with very unfeeling irony, but to catch at the hopes of better health. The change of place may do something. To leave the house where so much has been suffered affords some pleasure."

"Oxford, June 11. — Yesterday I came to Oxford, without fatigue or inconvenience. Here is Miss More³, at Dr. Adams's, with whom I shall dine to-morrow."

"Oxford, June 12. 1782. — I find no particular salubrity in this air; my respiration is very laborious; my appetite is good, and my sleep commonly long and quiet: but a very little motion disables me."

"I dine to-day with Dr. Adams, and to-morrow with Dr. Wetherel.⁴ Yesterday Dr. Edwards⁵ invited some men from Exeter college, whom I liked very well. These variations of company help the mind, though they cannot do much for the body. But the body receives some help from a cheerful mind."

"Oxford, June 17. 1782. — Oxford has done, I think, what for the present it can do, and I am going slyly to take a place in the coach for Wednesday, and you or my sweet *Queeney* will fetch me on Thursday, and see what you can make of me."

"To-day I am going to dine with Dr. Wheeler, and to-morrow Dr. Edwards has invited Miss Adams and Miss More. He has really done all that he could do for my relief or entertainment, and really drives me away by doing too much."]
— Letters.

JOHNSON TO MR. PERKINS.⁶

"July 28. 1782."

"DEAR SIR, — I am much pleased that you are going a very long journey, which may by proper conduct restore your health and prolong your life."

"Observe these rules: — 1. Turn all care out of your head as soon as you mount the chaise. 2. Do not think about frugality; your health is worth more than it can cost. 3. Do not continue any

day's journey to fatigue. 4. Take now and then a day's rest. 5. Get a smart sea-sickness, if you can. 6. Cast away all anxiety, and keep your mind easy. This last direction is the principal; with an unquiet mind, neither exercise, nor diet, nor physic, can be of much use."

"I wish you, dear Sir, a prosperous journey, and a happy recovery. I am, dear Sir, your most affectionate humble servant, SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"Aug. 24. 1782."

"DEAR SIR, — Being uncertain whether I should have any call this autumn into the country I did not immediately answer your kind letter. I have no call; but if you desire to meet me at Ashbourne, I believe I can come thither; if you had rather come to London, I can stay at Streatham take your choice."

"This year has been very heavy. From the middle of January to the middle of June, I was battered by one disorder after another! I am now very much recovered, and hope still to be better. What happiness it is that Mrs. Poswe has escaped."

"My *Lives* are reprinting, and I have forgotte the author of Gray's character⁷: write immediately, and it may be perhaps yet inserted. Of London or Ashbourne you have your free choice; at any place I shall be glad to see you. I am, &c.,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

On the 30th August, I informed him that my honoured father had died that morning a complaint under which he had long laboured having suddenly come to a crisis, while I was upon a visit at the seat of Sir Charles Presto from whence I had hastened the day before upon receiving a letter by express.

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"London, Sept. 7. 1782"

"DEAR SIR, — I have struggled through the year with so much infirmity of body, and so strong impressions of the fragility of life, the death, whenever it appears, fills me with melancholy; and I cannot bear without emotion the removal of any one, whom I have known, in another state."

"Your father's death had every circumstance that could enable you to bear it; it was at a mature age, and it was expected; and as his general I had been pious, his thoughts had doubtless many years past been turned upon eternity. That you did not find him sensible must doubtless grieve

¹ Which I celebrated in the Church of England chapel at Edinburgh, founded by Lord Chief Baron Smith, of respectable and pious memory. — BOSWELL.

² Mrs. Piozzi had misdated and misplaced this and the following letter. — CROKER.

³ Hannah More writes: — "Oxford, June 13th, 1782. — "Who do you think is my principal cicerone at Oxford? Only Dr. Johnson! and we do so gallant it about. You cannot imagine with what delight he showed me every part of his own college (Pembroke), nor how rejoiced Henderson [p. 763. n. 4.] looked to make one in the party. Dr. Adams, the Master of Pembroke, had contrived a very pretty piece of gallantry. We spent the day and evening at his house. After dinner Johnson begged to conduct me to see the college; he would let no one show it me but himself: 'This was my room; this Shensstone's.' Then, after pointing out all the rooms of the poets who had been of his college, 'in short,' said he, 'we were

a nest of singing birds.' 'Here we walked, there we played at cricket.' He ran over with pleasure the history of juvenile days he passed there. When he came into the common room we spied a fine large print of Johnson, framed, hung up that very morning, with this motto, 'And is Johnson ours, himself a host?' Under which stared your face, 'From Miss More's Sensibility.' This little incident amused us; but, alas! Johnson looks very ill, indeed, spleen and wan. However, he made an effort to be cheerful. CROKER, 1835.

⁴ Master of University College, father of Sir Charles Wetherel, Attorney General in 1826. — CROKER.

⁵ See *Ante*, p. 621. n. 2. — C.

⁶ Mr. Thrale's successor in the brewery. — CROKER, 18

⁷ The Rev. Mr. Temple, Vicar of St. Gluvias, Cornwall. — BOSWELL. *Ante*, p. 149. n. 1. — C.

you; his disposition towards you was undoubtedly that of a kind, though not of a fond father. Kindness, at least actual, is in our power, but fondness is not; and if by negligence or imprudence you had extinguished his fondness, he could not at will rekindle it. Nothing then remained between you but mutual forgiveness of each other's faults, and mutual desire of each other's happiness. I shall long to know his final disposition of his fortune.

"You, dear Sir, have now a new station, and have therefore new cares, and new employments. Life, as Cowley seems to say, ought to resemble a well-ordered poem; of which one rule generally received is, that the exordium should be simple, and should promise little. Begin your new course of life with the least show and the least expense possible: you may at pleasure increase both, but you cannot easily diminish them. Do not think your estate your own, while any man can call upon you for money which you cannot pay: therefore, begin with timorous parsimony. Let it be your first care not to be in any man's debt.

"When the thoughts are extended to a future state, the present life seems hardly worthy of all those principles of conduct and maxims of prudence which one generation of men has transmitted to another; but upon a closer view, when it is perceived how much evil is produced and how much good is impeded by embarrassment and distress, and how little room the expedients of poverty leave for the exercise of virtue, it grows manifest that the boundless importance of the next life enforces some attention to the interests of this.

"Be kind to the old servants, and secure the kindness of the agents and factors. Do not disgust them by asperity, or unwelcome gaiety, or apparent suspicion. From them you must learn the real state of your affairs, the characters of your tenants, and the value of your lands.

"Make my compliments to Mrs. Boswell. I think her expectations from air and exercise are the best that she can form. I hope she will live long and happily.

"I forget whether I told you that Rasay has been here. We dined cheerfully together. I entertained lately a young gentleman from Corrichatichin. I received your letters only this morning. I am, &c.,
SAM. JOHNSON."

In answer to my next letter I received one from him, dissuading me from hastening to him as I had proposed. What is proper for publication is the following paragraph, equally just and tender:—

"One expense, however, I would not have you to spare: let nothing be omitted that can preserve Mrs. Boswell, though it should be necessary to transplant her for a time into a softer climate. She is the prop and stay of your life. How much must your children suffer by losing her!"

My wife was now so much convinced of his sincere friendship for me, and regard for her, that without any suggestion on my part, she wrote him a very polite and grateful letter.

JOHNSON TO MRS. BOSWELL.

"London, Sept. 7. 1782.

"DEAR LADY,—I have not often received so much pleasure as from your invitation to Auchin-

leck. The journey thither and back is, indeed, too great for the latter part of the year; but if my health were fully recovered, I would suffer no little heat and cold, nor a wet or a rough road, to keep me from you. I am, indeed, not without hope of seeing Auchinleck again; but to make it a pleasant place I must see its lady well, and brisk, and airy. For my sake, therefore, among many greater reasons, take care, dear Madam, of your health; spare no expense, and want no attendance, that can procure ease or preserve it. Be very careful to keep your mind quiet; and do not think it too much to give an account of your recovery to, Madam, yours, &c.,
SAM. JOHNSON."

[JOHNSON TO LOWE.]

"Oct. 22. 1782.

"SIR,—I congratulate you on the good that has befallen you. I always told you that it would come. I would not, however, have you flatter yourself too soon with punctuality. You must not expect the other half year at Christmas. You may use the money as your needs require; but save what you can.

"You must undoubtedly write a letter of thanks to your benefactor in your own name. I have put something on the other side. I am, Sir, your most humble servant,
SAM. JOHNSON."
—MSS.

LOWE TO LORD SOUTHWELL.

"MY LORD,—The allowance which you are pleased to make me, I received on the by Mr. Puget. Of the joy which it brought your lordship cannot judge, because you cannot imagine my distress. It was long since I had known a morning without solicitude for noon, or laid down at night without foreseeing with terror the distresses of the morning. My debts were small, but many; my creditors were poor, and therefore troublesome. Of this misery your lordship's bounty has given me an intermission. May your lordship live long to do much good, and to do for many what you have done for, my Lord, your lordship's &c.,
M. LOWE."]

—MSS

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"London, Dec. 7. 1782.

"DEAR SIR,—Having passed almost this whole year in a succession of disorders, I went in October to Brightelmstone, whither I came in a state of so much weakness, that I rested four times in walking between the inn and the lodging. By physic and abstinence I grew better, and am now reasonably easy, though at a great distance from health. I am afraid, however, that health begins, after seventy, and long before, to have a meaning different from that which it had at thirty. But it is culpable to murmur at the established order of the creation, as it is vain to oppose it. He that lives must grow old; and he that would rather grow old than die has God to thank for the infirmities of old age.

"At your long silence I am rather angry. You

¹ These two letters communicated by Mr. Markland relate to the renewal of Lowe's annuity from Lord Southwell, and show his constant zeal for his humble friend. — CROKER.

do not, since now you are the head of your house, think it worth your while to try whether you or your friend can live longer without writing; nor suspect, after so many years of friendship, that when I do not write to you I forget you. Put all such useless jealousies out of your head, and disdain to regulate your own practice by the practice of another, or by any other principle than the desire of doing right.

"Your economy, I suppose, begins now to be settled; your expenses are adjusted to your revenue, and all your people in their proper places. Resolve not to be poor. Whatever you have, spend less. Poverty is a great enemy to human happiness: it certainly destroys liberty; and it makes some virtues impracticable, and others extremely difficult.

"Let me know the history of your life since your accession to your estate; — how many houses, how many cows, how much land in your own hand, and what bargains you make with your tenants.

"Of my 'Lives of the Poets' they have printed a new edition in octavo, I hear, of three thousand. Did I give a set to Lord Hailes? If I did not, I will do it out of these. What did you make of all your copy?

"Mrs. Thrale and the three misses are now, for the winter, in Argyll Street. Sir Joshua Reynolds has been out of order, but is well again; and I am, dear Sir, your, &c., SAM. JOHNSON."

MRS. BOSWELL TO JOHNSON.

"Edinburgh, Dec. 20. 1782.

"DEAR SIR, — I was made happy by your letter, which gave us the agreeable hopes of seeing you in Scotland again.

"I am much flattered by the concern you are pleased to take in my recovery. I am better, and hope to have it in my power to convince you by my attention, of how much consequence I esteem your health to the world and to myself. I remain, Sir, with grateful respect, your obliged and obedient servant,
MARGARET BOSWELL."

The death of Mr. Thrale had made a very material alteration with respect to Johnson's reception in that family. The manly authority of the husband no longer curbed the lively exuberance of the lady; and as her vanity had been fully gratified, by having the Colossus of Literature attached to her for many years, she gradually became less assiduous to please him. Whether her attachment to him was already divided by another object, I am unable to ascertain; but it is plain that Johnson's

penetration was alive to her neglect or forced attention; for on the 6th of October this year we find him making a "parting use of the library" at Streatham, and pronouncing a prayer which he composed on leaving Mr. Thrale's family.

"Almighty God, Father of all mercy, help me by thy grace, that I may, with humble and sincere thankfulness, remember the comforts and conveniences which I have enjoyed at this place; and that I may resign them with holy submission, equally trusting in thy protection when thou givest and when thou takest away. Have mercy upon me, O Lord! have mercy upon me! To thy fatherly protection, O Lord, I commend this family. Bless, guide, and defend them, that they may so pass through this world, as finally to enjoy in thy presence everlasting happiness, for Jesus Christ's sake. Amen." (*Pr. and Med.*, p. 214.)

One cannot read this prayer without some emotions not very favourable to the lady whose conduct occasioned it.¹

The next day, he made the following memorandum:

"October 7. — I was called early. I packed up my bundles, and used the foregoing prayer, with my morning devotions somewhat, I think, enlarged. Being earlier than the family, I read St. Paul's farewell in the Acts, and then read fortuitously in the Gospels, — which was my parting use of the library."

And in one of his memorandum books I find, "Sunday, went to church at Streatham *Templo valedixi cum osculo.*"²

He met Mr. Philip Metcalfe³ often at Sir Joshua Reynolds's and other places, and was a good deal with him at Brighthelmston this autumn, being pleased at once with his excellent table and animated conversation. Mr. Metcalfe showed him great respect, and sent him a note that he might have the use of his carriage whenever he pleased. Johnson (30 October, 1782,) returned this polite answer. "Mr. Johnson is very much obliged by the kind offer of the carriage, but he has no desire of using Mr. Metcalfe's carriage, except when he can have the pleasure of Mr. Metcalfe's company." Mr. Metcalfe could not but be highly pleased that his company was thus valued by Johnson, and he frequently attended him in airings. They also went together to Chichester, and they visited Petworth, and

¹ Johnson, though dissatisfied with Mrs. Thrale, meant no reproach on this occasion — he makes a *parting use of the library* — makes a *valediction to the church*, and pronounces a prayer on quitting "a place where he had enjoyed so much comfort," not because Mrs. Thrale made him less welcome there, but because *she*, and *he with her*, were leaving it. When Boswell came to town six months later, he found his friend domiciled in Mrs. Thrale's residence in Argyll Street. — CROKER.

² He seems to have taken leave of the kitchen as well as of the church at Streatham in Latin.

³ Oct. 6. Die Dominica, 1782.

"Pransus sum Streathamie agninum crus coctum cum herbis (spinach) comminutis, farcimen farinaceum cum uvis

passis, lumbos bovillos, et pullum gallinæ Turcicæ; et post carnes missas, ficus, uvas, non admodum maturas, ita volui ante interperies, cum malis Persicis, iis tamen duris. Non laetus accubui, cibum modicè sumpsit, ne intemperantiâ a extremum peccaretur. Si recte memini, in mentem venerunt epule in exequiis Hadoni celebratæ. Streathamian quand revisam?" — *Rose MSS.* The phrase "ne intemperantiâ a extremum peccaretur" is remarkable, and proves that this, which at first sight looks like burlesque, was written in sober sadness. — CROKER.

³ Mr. Metcalfe, who signed the *Round Robin*, ante, p. 531. He was a friend of Sir Joshua Reynolds, and a member of three parliaments. He took a leading part in the relief of the French clergy, expelled by the Revolution, and died May 24. 1809. — CROKER, 1847.

Cowdray, the venerable seat of the Lords Montacute.¹ "Sir," said Johnson, "I should like to stay here four-and-twenty hours. We see here how our ancestors lived."

That his curiosity was still unabated appears from two letters to Mr. John Nichols, of the 10th and 20th of October this year. In one he says, "I have looked into your 'Anecdotes,' and you will hardly thank a lover of literary history for telling you that he has been much informed and gratified. I wish you would add your own discoveries and intelligence to those of Dr. Rawlinson², and undertake the Supplement to Wood. Think of it." In the other, "I wish, Sir, you could obtain some fuller information of Jortin³, Markland⁴, and Thirlby.⁵ They were three contemporaries of great eminence."

JOHNSON TO REYNOLDS.

"Brighthelmstone, Nov. 14. 1782.

"DEAR SIR, — I heard yesterday of your late disorder, and should think ill of myself if I had heard of it without alarm. I heard likewise of your recovery, which I sincerely wish to be complete and permanent. Your country has been in danger of losing one of its brightest ornaments, and I of losing one of my oldest and kindest friends; but I hope you will still live long, for the honour of the nation; and that more enjoyment of your elegance, your intelligence, and your benevolence is still reserved for, dear Sir, your most affectionate, &c.,

SAM. JOHNSON."

The Reverend Mr. Wilson⁶ having dedicated

to him his "Archæological Dictionary," that mark of respect was thus acknowledged: —

JOHNSON TO THE REV. MR. WILSON,

Clitheroe, Lancashire.

"Dec. 31. 1782.

"REVEREND SIR, — That I have long omitted to return you thanks for the honour conferred upon me by your dedication, I entreat you with great earnestness not to consider as more faulty than it is. A very importunate and oppressive disorder has for some time debarred me from the pleasures and obstructed me in the duties of life. The esteem and kindness of wise and good men is one of the last pleasures which I can be content to lose; and gratitude to those from whom this pleasure is received is a duty of which I hope never to be reproached with the final neglect. I therefore now return you thanks for the notice which I have received from you, and which I consider as giving to my name not only more bulk, but more weight; not only as extending its superficialities, but as increasing its value. Your book was evidently wanted, and will, I hope, find its way into the school; to which, however, I do not mean to confine it; for no man has so much skill in ancient rites and practices as not to want it. As I suppose myself to owe part of your kindness to my excellent friend, Dr. Patten, he has likewise a just claim to my acknowledgment, which I hope you, Sir, will transmit. There will soon appear a new edition of my Poetical Biography: if you will accept of a copy to keep me in your mind, be pleased to let me know how it may be conveniently conveyed to you. This present is small, but it is given with good-will by, reverend Sir, your most, &c.,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

¹ This venerable mansion has since [25th Sept. 1793] been totally destroyed by fire. — MALONE. There is a popular superstition that this inheritance is *accursed*, for having been part of the plunder of the church at the *Dissolution*; and some lamentable accidents have given countenance to the vulgar prejudice. When I visited the ruins of Cowdray some twenty years ago I was reminded (in addition to older stories) that the *curse of both fire and water* had fallen on Cowdray; its noble owner, Browne Viscount Montagu, the last male of his ancient race, having been drowned in the Rhine at Schaffhausen in October, 1793, a few days after the destruction of Cowdray: and the good folks of the neighbourhood did not scruple to prophesy that it would turn out a fatal inheritance. At that period the present possessor, Mr. Poyntz, who had married Lord Montagu's sister and heiress, had two sons, who seemed destined to inherit Cowdray; but, on the 7th July, 1815, these young gentlemen boating off Bognor with their father, on a very fine day, the boat was unaccountably upset, and the two youths perished; and thus were once more fulfilled the forebodings of superstition. See some curious observations on the subject of the fatality attending the inheritance of confiscated church property in Sir Henry Spelman's Treatise on the "History and Fall of Sacrilege." — CROKER, 1831. See Archbishop Whig's speech to Queen Elizabeth, as given by Walton, in his "Life of Hooker: 'Curses have, and will cleave to the very stones of those buildings that have been consecrated to God, and the father's sin of sacrilege hath and will prove to be entailed on his son and family.'" See also the remarkable passage of Sir H. Spelman's History and Fate of Sacrilege quoted, *Quarterly Review*, vol. 43, p. 188. — MARKLAND, 1835. The Browne and Poyntz families being extinct in the male line, Cowdray has lately passed by purchase into the possession of the Earl of Egmont — let us hope *melioribus fatis*. — CROKER, 1847.

² Dr. Richard Rawlinson, an eminent antiquary, and a great benefactor to the University of Oxford. He founded the Anglo-Saxon professorship there, and bequeathed to it all his collection of MSS., medals, antiquities, and curiosities. He died in 1754, æt. 65. There had been some idea of obtaining this professorship for Johnson. — CROKER.

³ Dr. John Jortin, a voluminous and respectable writer on general subjects, as well as an eminent divine. He died in August, 1770, Archdeacon of London and Vicar of Kensington; where his piety and charity, greater even than his great learning and talents, are still remembered. His laconic epitaph in Kensington churchyard, dictated by himself, contains a new turn of that thought which must be common to all epitaphs. — *Johannes Jortin mortalis esse desuit. A.S. 1770, æt. 72.* John Jortin ceased to be mortal, &c. — CROKER.

⁴ Jeremiah Markland was an eminent critic, particularly in Greek literature. He died in 1776, æt. 83. — CROKER.

⁵ Styan Thirlby; a critic of at least as much reputation as he deserves. He studied successively divinity, medicine, and law. He seems to have been of a temper at once perverse and indolent, and to have dimmed and disgraced his talents by habits of intoxication. He complains, in a strain of self-satisfaction, that "when a man (meaning himself) thus towers by intellectual exaltation above his contemporaries, he is represented as *drunken, or lazy, or capricious*." He died in 1753, æt. 61. — CROKER.

⁶ A concise but very just character of Mr. Wilson is given by Dr. Whitaker in the dedication of a plate, in the History of Whalley. "Viro Reverendo Thomæ Wilson S. T. B. ecclesiæ de Clitheroe, ministro — sodali jucundissimo — αρχαιολογῶν ἰσθμινέλει जुवनम institutori." He died in 1813, aged sixty-five; during about forty of which, he was laboriously occupied as the master of the grammar school of Clitheroe. — MARKLAND.

CHAPTER LXXV.

1783.

Country Gentleman. — House of Hanover. — Conversation. — Lies of Vanity. — Opium. — Exaggeration. — Neglect of Merit. — Use of Riches. — Crabbe's "Village." — Keeping Accounts. — Lords Mansfield, Loughborough, and Thurlow. — Harrington's *Nuga Antiquæ*. — "*Quos Deus vult perdere*," &c. — Prince of Wales. — Burney's Travels. — Chinese Architecture. — Innovation. — Tyburn. — Dr. Hurd. — Parentheses. — "*Derrick or Smart*." — "*The great Twalmley*." — Owen Cambridge. — Family Histories. — "*Turkish Spy*." — Orchards. — Oratory. — Origin of Language. — Madness. — Rev. James Compton.

IN 1783 he was more severely afflicted than ever, as will appear in the course of his correspondence; but still the same ardour for literature, the same constant piety, the same kindness for his friends, and the same vivacity, both in conversation and writing, distinguished him.

Having given Dr. Johnson a full account of what I was doing at Auchinleck, and particularly mentioned what I knew would please him,—my having brought an old man of eighty-eight from a lonely cottage to a comfortable habitation within my inclosures, where he had good neighbours near to him,—I received an answer in February, of which I extract what follows:

"I am delighted with your account of your activity at Auchinleck, and wish the old gentleman, whom you have so kindly removed, may live long to promote your prosperity by his prayers. You have now a new character and new duties: think on them and practise them.

"Make an impartial estimate of your revenue; and whatever it is, live upon less. Resolve never to be poor. Frugality is not only the basis of quiet, but of beneficence. No man can help others that wants help himself. We must have enough, before we have to spare.

"I am glad to find that Mrs. Boswell grows well; and hope that, to keep her well, no care nor caution will be omitted. May you long live happily together. When you come hither, pray bring with you Baxter's Anacreon. I cannot get that edition in London."¹

On Friday, March 21., having arrived in London the night before, I was glad to find him at Mrs. Thrale's house, in Argyll Street, appearances of friendship between them being still kept up. I was shown into his room; and after the first salutation he said, "I am glad you are come; I am very ill." He looked pale, and was distressed with a difficulty of breathing; but after the common inquiries, he assumed his usual strong animated style of

conversation. Seeing me now for the first time as a *laird*, or proprietor of land, he began thus: "Sir, the superiority of a country gentleman over the people upon his estate is very agreeable; and he who says he does not feel it to be agreeable, lies; for it must be agreeable to have a casual superiority over those who are by nature equal with us." BOSWELL. "Yet, Sir, we see great proprietors of land who prefer living in London." JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, the pleasure of living in London, the intellectual superiority that is enjoyed there, may counterbalance the other. Besides, Sir, a man may prefer the state of the country gentleman upon the whole, and yet there may never be a moment when he is willing to make the change, to quit London for it." He said, "It is better to have five *per cent.* out of land than out of money, because it is more secure; but the readiness of transfer and promptness of interest make many people rather choose the funds. Nay, there is another disadvantage belonging to land, compared with money: a man is not so much afraid of being a hard creditor, as of being a hard landlord." BOSWELL. "Because there is a sort of kindly connexion between a landlord and his tenants." JOHNSON. "No, Sir; many landlords with us never see their tenants. It is because, if a landlord drives away his tenants, he may not get others; whereas the demand for money is so great, it may always be lent."

He talked with regret and indignation of the factious opposition to government at this time, and imputed it in a great measure to the Revolution. "Sir," said he, in a low voice, having come nearer to me, while his old prejudices seemed to be fermenting in his mind, "this Hanoverian family is *isolée* here. They have no friends. Now the Stuarts had friends who stuck by them so late as 1745. When the right of the king is not revered, there will not be reverence for those appointed by the king."

His observation, that the present royal family has no friends, has been too much justified by the very ungrateful behaviour of many who were under great obligations to his majesty: at the same time there are honourable exceptions; and the very next year after this conversation, and ever since, the king has had as extensive and generous support as ever was given to any monarch, and has had the satisfaction of knowing that he was more and more endeared to his people.

He repeated to me his verses on Mr. Levett, with an emotion which gave them full effect; and then he was pleased to say, "You must be as much with me as you can. You have done me good. You cannot think how much better I am since you came in."

He sent a message to acquaint Mrs. Thrale

¹ Dr. Johnson should seem not to have sought diligently for Baxter's Anacreon; for there are two editions of that

book, and they are frequently found in the London sale catalogues. — MALONE.

that I was arrived. I had not seen her since her husband's death. She soon appeared, and favoured me with an invitation to stay to dinner, which I accepted. There was no other company but herself and three of her daughters, Dr. Johnson, and I. She too said she was very glad I was come; for she was going to Bath, and should have been sorry to leave Dr. Johnson before I came. This seemed to be attentive and kind; and I, who had not been informed of any change, imagined all to be as well as formerly. He was little inclined to talk at dinner, and went to sleep after it; but when he joined us in the drawing-room he seemed revived, and was again himself.

Talking of conversation, he said, "There must, in the first place, be knowledge — there must be materials; in the second place, there must be a command of words; in the third place, there must be imagination, to place things in such views as they are not commonly seen in; and, in the fourth place, there must be presence of mind, and a resolution that is not to be overcome by failures: this last is an essential requisite; for want of it many people do not excel in conversation. Now I want it; I throw up the game upon losing a trick." I wondered to hear him talk thus of himself, and said, "I don't know, Sir, how this may be; but I am sure you beat other people's cards out of their hands." I doubt whether he heard this remark. While he went on talking triumphantly, I was fixed in admiration, and said to Mrs. Thrale, "O for short-hand to take this down!"—"You'll carry it all in your head," said she: "a long head is as good as short-hand."

It has been observed and wondered at, that Mr. Charles Fox never talked with any freedom in the presence of Dr. Johnson; though it is well known, and I myself can witness, that his conversation is various, fluent, and exceedingly agreeable. Johnson's own experience, however, of that gentleman's reserve, was a sufficient reason for his going on thus: "Fox never talks in private company; not from any determination not to talk, but because he has not the first motion. A man who is used to the applause of the House of Commons has no wish for that of a private company. A man accustomed to throw for a thousand pounds, if set down to throw for sixpence,

would not be at the pains to count his dice. Burke's talk is the ebullition of his mind. He does not talk from a desire of distinction, but because his mind is full."

He thus curiously characterised one of our old acquaintance: "[Sheridan] is a good man, Sir; but he is a vain man and a liar. He, however, only tells lies of vanity; of victories, for instance, in conversation, which never happened." This alluded to a story, which I had repeated from that gentleman, to entertain Johnson with its wild bravado. "This Johnson, Sir," said he, "whom you are all afraid of, will shrink, if you come close to him in argument, and roar as loud as he. He once maintained the paradox, that there is no beauty but in utility. 'Sir, said I, 'what say you to the peacock's tail, which is one of the most beautiful objects in nature, but would have as much utility if its feathers were all of one colour?' He felt what I thus produced, and had recourse to his usual expedient, ridicule; exclaiming, 'A peacock has a tail, and a fox has a tail; and then he burst out into a laugh. 'Well, Sir,' said I, with a strong voice, looking him full in the face, 'you have unknelt your fox; pursue him if you dare.' He had not a word to say, Sir." Johnson told me that this was fiction from beginning to end.¹

After musing for some time, he said, "I wonder how I should have any enemies; for I do harm to nobody."² BOSWELL. "In the first place, Sir, you will be pleased to recollect that you set out with attacking the Scotch; so you got a whole nation for your enemies." JOHNSON. "Why, I own that by my definition of *oats* I meant to vex them." BOSWELL. "Pray, Sir, can you trace the cause of your antipathy to the Scotch?" JOHNSON. "I cannot, Sir."³ BOSWELL. "Old Mr. Sheridan says it was because they sold Charles the First." JOHNSON. "Then, Sir, old Mr. Sheridan has found out a very good reason."

Surely the most obstinate and sulky nationality, the most determined aversion to this great and good man, must be cured, when he is seen thus playing with one of his prejudices, of which he candidly admitted that he could not tell the reason. It was, however, probably owing to his having had in his view the worst part of the Scottish nation, the needy adventurers⁴, many of whom he thought were

¹ Were I to insert all the stories which have been told of contests boldly maintained with him, imaginary victories obtained over him, of reducing him to silence, and of making him own that his antagonist had the better of him in argument, my volumes would swell to an immoderate size. One instance, I find, has circulated both in conversation and in print; that when he would not allow the Scotch writers to have merit, the late Dr. Rose, of Chiswick, asserted, that he could name one Scotch writer whom Dr. Johnson himself would allow to have written better than any man of the age: and upon Johnson's asking who it was, answered "Lord Bute, when he signed the warrant for your pension." Upon which Johnson, struck with the repartee, acknowledged that it was true. When I mentioned it to Johnson, "Sir," said he, "if Rose said this, I never heard it." — BOSWELL.

² This reflection was very natural in a man of a good heart, who was not conscious of any ill-will to mankind,

though the sharp sayings which were sometimes produced by his discrimination and vivacity, which he perhaps did not recollect, were. I am afraid, too often remembered with resentment. — BOSWELL.

³ When Johnson asserted so distinctly that he could not trace the cause of his antipathy to the Scotch, it may seem unjust to attribute to him any secret personal motive; but it is the essence of prejudice to be unconscious of its cause, and I am convinced that Johnson received in early life some serious injury or affront from the Scotch. See *anté*, p. 54. n. 2. — CROKER.

⁴ This can hardly have been the cause. Many of Johnson's earliest associates were indeed "needy Scotch adventurers;" that is, they were poor scholars, indigent men of education and talent, who brought those articles to the London market, as Dr. Johnson himself had done. Such were Shells, Stewart, Macbean, &c. But Johnson had no aversion to *these* men:

advanced above their merits by means which he did not approve. Had he in his early life been in Scotland, and seen the worthy, sensible, independent gentlemen, who live rationally and hospitably at home, he never could have entertained such unfavourable and unjust notions of his fellow-subjects. And accordingly we find, that when he did visit Scotland, in the latter period of his life, he was fully sensible of all that it deserved, as I have already pointed out when speaking of his "Journey to the Western Islands."

Next day, Saturday, 22d March, I found him still at Mrs. Thrale's, but he told me that he was to go to his own house in the afternoon. He was better, but I perceived he was but an unruly patient; for Sir Lucas Pepys, who visited him while I was with him, said, "If you were tractable, Sir, I should prescribe for you."

I related to him a remark which a respectable friend had made to me upon the then state of government, when those who had been long in opposition had attained to power, as it was supposed, against the inclination of the sovereign. "You need not be uneasy," said this gentleman, "about the king. He laughs at them all; he plays them one against another." JOHNSON. "Don't think so, Sir. The king is as much oppressed as a man can be. If he plays them one against another, he *wins* nothing."

I had paid a visit to General Oglethorpe in the morning, and was told by him that Dr. Johnson saw company on Saturday evenings, and he would meet me at Johnson's that night. When I mentioned this to Johnson, not doubting that it would please him, as he had a great value for Oglethorpe, the fretfulness of his disease¹ unexpectedly showed itself; his anger suddenly kindled, and he said with vehemence, "Did not you tell him not to come? Am I to be *hunted* in this manner?" I satisfied him that I could not divine that the visit would not be convenient, and that I certainly could not take it upon me of my own accord to forbid the General.

I found Dr. Johnson in the evening in Mrs. Williams's room, at tea and coffee with her and Mrs. Desmoulins, who were also both ill; it was a sad scene, and he was not in a very

good humour. He said of a performance that had lately come out, "Sir, if you should search all the madhouses in England, you would not find ten men who would write so, and think it sense."²

I was glad when General Oglethorpe's arrival was announced, and we left the ladies. Dr. Johnson attended him in the parlour, and was as courteous as ever. The General said he was busy reading the writers of the middle age. Johnson said they were very curious. OGLETHORPE. "The House of Commons has usurped the power of the nation's money and used it tyrannically."³ Government is now carried on by corrupt influence, instead of the inherent right of the king." JOHNSON. "Sir, the want of inherent right in the king occasions all this disturbance. What we did at the Revolution was necessary: but it broke our constitution."⁴ OGLETHORPE. "My father did not think it necessary."

On Sunday, 23d March, I breakfasted with Dr. Johnson, who seemed much relieved, having taken opium the night before. He however protested against it, as a remedy that should be given with the utmost reluctance, and only in extreme necessity. I mentioned how commonly it was used in Turkey, and that therefore it could not be so pernicious as he apprehended. He grew warm, and said, "Turks take opium, and Christians take opium; but Russel, in his account of Aleppo, tells us, that it is as disgraceful in Turkey to take too much opium, as it is with us to get drunk. Sir, it is amazing how things are exaggerated. A gentleman was lately telling in a company where I was present, that in France as soon as a man of fashion marries, he takes an opera girl into keeping; and this he mentioned as a general custom. 'Pray, Sir,' said I, 'how many opera girls may there be?' He answered, 'About fourscore.' 'Well then, Sir,' said I, 'you see there can be no more than fourscore men of fashion who can do this.'"⁵

Mrs. Desmoulins made tea; and she and I talked before him upon a topic which he had once borne patiently from me when we were by ourselves, — his not complaining of the world, because he was not called to some great office, nor had attained to great wealth. He flew into a violent passion, I confess with some

on the contrary, he lived with them in familiar friendship, did them active kindnesses, and with Macbean (who seems to have been the survivor of his earliest friends) he continued in the kindest intercourse to his last hour. — CROKER.

¹ Johnson suspected that Boswell, with his usual officiousness, had invited Oglethorpe to this unseasonable visit. When Johnson chides his over-zealous friend for such intermeddling, Boswell, with easy complacency, can discover no cause for the reprimand but Johnson's sickness or ill humour. — CROKER.

² I suspect that "Annus Mirabilis; or, the Eventful Year 1782, an Historical Poem, by the Rev. W. Tasker, author of the Warlike Genius of Britain," (see *ante*, p. 624. n. 3) is here meant. — CROKER.

³ What could General Oglethorpe mean by saying that "the House of Commons had *usurped* the power of the nation's money?" Since a House of Commons has existed, has it not exercised the power of the nation's money? If

Mr. Boswell did not make an erroneous note, General Oglethorpe talked nonsense, which indeed there is reason to suspect that this amiable old gentleman (now in his 85th year) sometimes did. — CROKER.

⁴ I have, in my "Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides," fully expressed my sentiments upon this subject. The Revolution was *necessary*, but not a subject for *glory*; because it for a long time blasted the generous feelings of *loyalty*. And now, when by the benignant effect of time the present royal family are established in our *affections*, how unwise is it to revive by celebrations the memory of a shock, which it would surely have been better that our constitution had not required! — BOSWELL.

⁵ Yes; but it may be doubted whether there were fourscore persons whom the society of Paris would admit to be strictly and *par excellence* men of fashion. The fact, however, though expressed with colloquial latitude, was but too nearly true. — CROKER.

justice, and commanded us to have done. "Nobody," said he, "has a right to talk in this manner, to bring before a man his own character, and the events of his life, when he does not choose it should be done. I never have sought the world; the world was not to seek me. It is rather wonderful that so much has been done for me. All the complaints which are made of the world are unjust. I never knew a man of merit neglected; it was generally by his own fault that he failed of success. A man may hide his head in a hole; he may go into the country, and publish a book now and then, which nobody reads, and then complain he is neglected. There is no reason why any person should exert himself for a man who has written a good book: he has not written it for any individual. I may as well make a present to the postman who brings me a letter. When patronage was limited, an author expected to find a Mæcenas, and complained if he did not find one. Why should he complain? This Mæcenas has others as good as he, or others who have got the start of him." BOSWELL. "But, surely, Sir, you will allow that there are men of merit at the bar, who never get practice." JOHNSON. "Sir, you are sure that practice is got from an opinion that the person employed deserves it best; so that if a man of merit at the bar does not get practice, it is from error, not from injustice. He is not neglected. A horse that is brought to market may not be bought, though he is a very good horse; but that is from ignorance, not from inattention."

There was in this discourse much novelty, ingenuity, and discrimination, such as is seldom to be found. Yet I cannot help thinking that men of merit, who have no success in life, may be forgiven for *lamenting*, if they are not allowed to *complain*. They may consider it as *hard* that their merit should not have its suitable distinction. Though there is no intentional injustice towards them on the part of the world, their merit not having been perceived, they may yet repine against *fortune* or *fate*, or by whatever name they choose to call the supposed mythological power of *destiny*. It has, however, occurred to me, as a consolatory thought, that men of merit should consider thus:—How much harder would it be, if the same persons had both all the merit and all the prosperity? Would not this be a miserable distribution for the poor dunces? Would men of merit exchange their intellectual superiority, and the enjoyments arising from it, for external distinction and the pleasures of wealth? If they would not, let

them not envy others, who are poor where they are rich, a compensation which is made to them. Let them look inwards and be satisfied; recollecting with conscious pride what Virgil finely says of the *Corycæus Senex*, and which I have, in another place¹, with truth and sincerity applied to Mr. Burke:

"Regum æquabat opes animis."

On the subject of the right employment of wealth, Johnson observed,—"A man cannot make a bad use of his money, so far as regards society, if he does not hoard it²; for if he either spends it or lends it out, society has the benefit. It is in general better to spend money than to give it away; for industry is more promoted by spending money than by giving it away. A man who spends his money is sure he is doing good with it: he is not so sure when he gives it away. A man who spends ten thousand a year will do more good than a man who spends two thousand and gives away eight."

In the evening I came to him again. He was somewhat fretful from his illness. A gentleman asked him whether he had been abroad to-day. "Don't talk so childishly," said he. "You may as well ask if I hanged myself to-day." I mentioned politics. JOHNSON. "Sir, I'd as soon have a man to break my bones as talk to me of public affairs, internal or external. I have lived to see things all as bad as they can be."

Having mentioned his friend the second Lord Southwell, he said, "Lord Southwell was the highest-bred man without insolence, that I ever was in company with; the most *qualified* I ever saw. Lord Orrery was not dignified; Lord Chesterfield was, but he was insolent. Lord ***** is a man of coarse manners, but a man of abilities and information. I don't say he is a man I would set at the head of a nation, though perhaps he may be as good as the next prime minister that comes; but he is a man to be at the head of a club,—I don't say *our club*,—for there's no such club." BOSWELL. "But, Sir, was he not a factious man?" JOHNSON. "O yes, Sir, as factious a fellow as could be found; one who was for sinking us all into the mob." BOSWELL. "How then, Sir, did he get into favour with the king?" JOHNSON. "Because, Sir, I suppose he promised the king to do whatever the king pleased."

He said, "Goldsmith's blundering speech to Lord Shelburne, which has been so often mentioned, and which he really did make to him, was only a blunder in emphasis:—'I wonder

¹ "Letter to the People of Scotland against the Attempt to diminish the Number of Lords of Session, 1785."—BOSWELL. I do not see the peculiar resemblance between these *men of merit*.—Mr. Burke and the old Corycæan.—CROKER, 1847.

² This surely is too broadly stated: society is injured when money is spent, as in the case of *Egattié*, Duke of Orleans, in profligacy or corruption, or in exciting political sedition.—CROKER.

³ Shelburne, the second Earl, afterwards first Marquis of Lansdowne. He was now the head of the short-lived ministry of 1782, of which Mr. Pitt was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and which was ousted by the coalition in 1783, soon after this conversation. See *anti*, p. 584. n. 5, and *post*, p. 721. n. 2.—CROKER.

they should call your lordship *Malagrida*, for *Malagrida* was a very good man ;— meant, I wonder they should use *Malagrida* as a term of reproach."

Soon after this time I had an opportunity of seeing, by means of one of his friends, a proof that his talents, as well as his obliging service to authors, were ready as ever. He had revised "The Village," an admirable poem, by the Reverend Mr. Crabbe.¹ Its sentiments as to the false notions of rustic happiness and rustic virtue were quite congenial with his own ; and he had taken the trouble not only to suggest slight corrections and variations, but to furnish some lines when he thought he could give the writer's meaning better than in the words of the manuscript.²

JOHNSON TO REYNOLDS.

" March 4. 1783.

" SIR, — I have sent you back Mr. Crabbe's poem, which I read with great delight. It is original, vigorous, and elegant.

" The alterations which I have made I do not require him to adopt, for my lines are, perhaps, not often better than his own ; but he may take mine and his own together, and perhaps between them produce something better than either. He is not to think his copy wantonly defaced. A wet sponge will wash all the red lines away, and leave the page clear.

" His dedication will be least liked. It were better to contract it into a short sprightly address. I do not doubt Mr. Crabbe's success. I am, Sir, &c.,

SAM. JOHNSON."

— Reynolds MSS.

On Sunday, March 30., I found him at home in the evening, and had the pleasure to meet with Dr. Brocklesby, whose reading, and knowledge of life, and good spirits, supply him with a never-failing source of conversation. He mentioned a respectable gentleman, who became extremely penurious near the close of his life. Johnson said there must have been a degree of madness about him. " Not at all,

¹ This amiable gentleman is still alive, resident in his rectory of Trowbridge, in Wiltshire. His subsequent publications have placed him high in the roll of British poets — though his having taken a view of life too minute, too humiliating, too painful, and too just, may have deprived his works of so extensive, or, at least, so brilliant, a popularity as some of his contemporaries have attained ; but I venture to believe, that there is no poet of his times who will stand higher in the opinion of posterity. He generally deals with " the short and simple annals of the poor," but he exhibits them with such a deep knowledge of human nature — with such general ease and simplicity, and such accurate force of expression, whether gay or pathetic, as, in my humble judgment, no poet, except Shakespeare, has excelled. — C., 1831. Mr. Crabbe died Feb. 8, 1832. — CROKER, 1835.

² I shall give an instance, marking the original by Roman, and Johnson's substitution in Italic characters :

" In fairer scenes, where peaceful pleasures spring,
Tityrus, the pride of Mantuan swains might sing ;
But charm'd by him, or smitten with his views,
Shall modern poets court the Mantuan muse ?
From truth and nature shall we widely stray,
Where fancy leads, or Virgil led the way ?"

" On *Mincio's banks, in Cæsar's bounteous reign,*
If Tityrus found the golden age again,

Sir," said Dr. Brocklesby, " his judgment was entire." Unluckily, however, he mentioned that although he had a fortune of twenty-seven thousand pounds, he denied himself many comforts, from an apprehension that he could not afford them. " Nay, Sir," cried Johnson, " when the judgment is so disturbed that a man cannot count, that is pretty well."

I shall here insert a few of Johnson's sayings, without the formality of dates, as they have no reference to any particular time or place.

" The more a man extends and varies his acquaintance, the better." This, however, was meant with a just restriction ; for he on another occasion said to me, " Sir, a man may be so much of every thing, that he is nothing of any thing."

" Raising the wages of day-labourers is wrong ; for it does not make them live better, but only makes them idler, and idleness is a very bad thing for human nature."

" It is a very good custom to keep a journal for a man's own use ; he may write upon a card a day all that is necessary to be written, after he has had experience of life. At first there is a great deal to be written, because, there is a great deal of novelty : but when once a man has settled his opinions, there is seldom much to be set down."

" There is nothing wonderful in the Journal³ which we see Swift kept in London, for it contains slight topics, and it might soon be written."

I praised the accuracy of an account-book of a lady whom I mentioned. JOHNSON. " Keeping accounts, Sir, is of no use when a man is spending his own money, and has nobody to whom he is to account. You won't eat less beef to-day, because you have written down what it cost yesterday." I mentioned another lady who thought as he did, so that her husband could not get her to keep an account of the expense of the family, as she thought it enough that she never exceeded the

*Must sleepy bards the flattering dream prolong,
Mechanic echoes of the Mantuan song ?
From truth and nature shall we widely stray,
Where Virgil, not where fancy, leads the way ?"*

Here we find Johnson's poetical and critical powers undiminished. I must however observe, that the aids he gave to this poem, as to " The Traveller " and " Deserted Village " of Goldsmith, were so small as by no means to impair the distinguished merit of the author. — BOSWELL.

³ In his Life of Swift, he thus speaks of this Journal : " In the midst of his power and his politics, he kept a journal of his visits, his walks, his interviews with ministers, and quarrels with his servant, and transmitted it to Mrs. Johnson and Mrs. Dingley, to whom he knew that whatever befell him was interesting, and no account could be too minute. Whether these diurnal trifles were properly exposed to eyes which had never received any pleasure from the deed, may be reasonably doubted : they have, however, some odd attractions : the reader finding frequent mention of names which he has been used to consider as important, goes on in hope of information ; and, as there is nothing to fatigue attention, if he is disappointed, he can hardly complain." It may be added, that the reader not only hopes to find, but does find, in this very entertaining Journal, much curious information, respecting persons and things, which he will in vain seek for in other books of the same period. — MALONE.

sum allowed her. JOHNSON. "Sir, it is fit she should keep an account, because her husband wishes it; but I do not see its use." I maintained that keeping an account has this advantage, that it satisfies a man that his money has not been lost or stolen, which he might sometimes be apt to imagine, were there no written state of his expense; and, besides, a calculation of economy, so as not to exceed one's income, cannot be made without a view of the different articles in figures, that one may see how to retrench in some particulars less necessary than others. This he did not attempt to answer.

Talking of an acquaintance of ours¹, whose narratives, which abounded in curious and interesting topics, were unhappily found to be very fabulous; I mentioned Lord Mansfield's having said to me, "Suppose we believe one half of what he tells." JOHNSON. "Ay; but we don't know which half to believe. By his lying we lose not only our reverence for him, but all comfort in his conversation." BOSWELL. "May we not take it as amusing fiction?" JOHNSON. "Sir, the misfortune is, that you will insensibly believe as much of it as you incline to believe."

It is remarkable, that notwithstanding their congeniality in politics, he never was acquainted with a late eminent noble judge², whom I have heard speak of him as a writer with great respect. JOHNSON, I know not upon what degree of investigation, entertained no exalted opinion of his lordship's intellectual character. Talking of him to me one day, he said, "It is wonderful, Sir, with how little real superiority of mind men can make an eminent figure in public life." He expressed himself to the same purpose concerning another law-lord³, who, it seems, once took a fancy to associate with the wits of London; but with so little success, that Foote said, "What can he mean by coming among us? He is not only dull himself, but the cause of dullness in others." Trying him by the test of his colloquial powers, JOHNSON had found him very defective. He once said to Sir Joshua Reynolds, "This man now has been ten years about town, and has made nothing of it;" meaning as a companion.⁴ He said to me, "I never heard any thing from him in company that

was at all striking; and depend upon it, Sir, it is when you come close to a man in conversation, that you discover what his real abilities are: to make a speech in a public assembly is a knack. Now, I honour Thurlow, Sir; Thurlow is a fine fellow; he fairly puts his mind to yours."

After repeating to him some of his pointed, lively sayings, I said, "It is a pity, Sir, you don't always remember your own good things, that you may have a laugh when you will." JOHNSON. "Nay, Sir, it is better that I forget them, that I may be reminded of them, and have a laugh on their being brought to my recollection."

When I recalled to him his having said, as we sailed up Lochlomond, "That if he were any thing fine, it should be *very* fine;" I observed that all his thoughts were upon a great scale. JOHNSON. "Depend upon it, Sir, every man will have as fine a thing as he can get; as large a diamond for his ring." BOSWELL. "Pardon me, Sir; a man of a narrow mind will not think of it; a slight trinket will satisfy him:

'Nec sufferre queat majoris pondera gemmæ.'"⁵

I told him I should send him some "Essays" which I had written⁶, which I hoped he would be so good as to read, and pick out the good ones. JOHNSON. "Nay, Sir, send me only the good ones: don't make me pick them."

I heard him once say, "Though the proverb '*Nullum numen adest, si sit prudentia*,' does not always prove true, we may be certain of the converse of it, '*Nullum numen adest, si sit imprudentia*.'"⁷

Once, when Mr. Seward was going to Bath, and asked his commands, he said, "Tell Dr. Harington that I wish he would publish another volume of the '*Nugæ Antiquæ*;' "⁸ it is a very pretty book."⁹ Mr. Seward seconded this wish, and recommended to Dr. Harington to dedicate it to JOHNSON, and take for his motto what Catullus says to Cornelius Nepos:

"—— namque tu solebas
Meas esse aliquid putare NUGAS."¹⁰

As a small proof of his kindness and delicacy of feeling, the following circumstance may be mentioned: One evening, when we

¹ This, Mr. Chalmers thought, was George Steevens. — CROKER, 1847.

² Lord Mansfield. See *anté*, p. 232. n. 1. — CROKER.

³ No doubt Lord Loughborough. — CROKER.

⁴ Knowing as well as I do what precision and elegance of oratory his lordship can display, I cannot but suspect that his unfavourable appearance in a social circle, which drew such animadversions upon him, must be owing to a cold affectation of consequence, from being reserved and stiff. If it be so and he might be an agreeable man if he would, we cannot be sorry that he misses his aim. — BOSWELL.

⁵ He fears the burthen of a heavier gem.
Juvenal, i. 29. — C.

⁶ They are to be found, under the title of "The Hypochondriack," in the London Magazine from 1775 to 1784. — CROKER.

⁷ Mrs. Piozzi gives a more classical and, I suppose, more correct, version of JOHNSON'S variation: *Nullum numen adest nisi sit prudentia*. — CROKER.

⁸ It has since appeared. — BOSWELL. Though the MSS., of which this work was composed, had descended to Dr. Harington, the work was not edited by him, but by the Reverend Henry Harington, M. A. — MARKLAND.

⁹ A new and greatly improved edition of this very curious collection was published by Mr. Park in 1804, in two volumes, octavo. In this edition the letters are chronologically arranged, and the account of the bishops, which was formerly printed from a very corrupt copy, is taken from Sir John Harrington's original manuscript, which he presented to Henry, Prince of Wales, and is now in the royal library in the Museum. — MALONE.

¹⁰ ——— For you are wont
To think my trifles something. — C.

were in the street together, and I told him I was going to sup at Mr. Beaucherk's, he said, "I'll go with you." After having walked part of the way, seeming to recollect something, he suddenly stopped and said, "I cannot go, — but I do not love Beaucherk the less."

On the frame of his portrait Mr. Beaucherk had inscribed

"—— Ingenium ingens
Inculato latet hoc sub corpore."¹

After Mr. Beaucherk's death, when it became Mr. Langton's property, he made the inscription be defaced. Johnson said complacently, "It was kind in you to take it off;" and then, after a short pause, added, "and not unkind in him to put it on."

He said, "How few of his friends' houses would a man choose to be at when he is sick!" He mentioned one or two. I recollect only Thrale's.

He observed, "There is a wicked inclination in most people to suppose an old man decayed in his intellects. If a young or middle-aged man, when leaving a company, does not recollect where he laid his hat, it is nothing; but if the same inattention is discovered in an old man, people will shrug up their shoulders, and say, 'His memory is going.'"

When I once talked to him of some of the sayings which every body repeats, but nobody knows where to find, such as *Quos DEUS vult perdere, prius dementat*; he told me that he was once offered ten guineas to point out from whence *Semel insanivimus omnes* was taken.

¹ The whole passage is very descriptive of Johnson:

"—— Iracundior est paulo: minus aptus acutis Naribus horum hominum: rideri possit eo quod Rusticus tonso toga defuit: et male latus In pede calceus hæret: at est bonus, ut melior vir Non alius quisquam: at tibi amicus: at Ingenium ingens Inculato latet hoc sub corpore." — *Hor. Sat. iii. lib. 1. 27.*

"Your friend is passionate — perhaps unfit For the brisk petulance of modern wit: His hair ill cut, his robe, that awkward flows On his large shoes, to raillery expose The man you love: yet is he not possess Of virtues, with which very few are blest? While, underneath this rough uncouth disguise, A genius of extensive knowledge lies." — *Francis.*

CROKER.

² The words occur (as Mr. Bindley observes to me) in the first Eclogue of Mantuanus, "De Honesto Amore," &c.

"Id commune malum; semel insanivimus omnes."

[The evil's common; all for once are mad. — C.]

With the following elucidation of the other saying — *Quos Deus* (it should rather be, *quem Jupiter*) *vult perdere, prius dementat* [Whom God would ruin, he first disorders in mind. — C.] Mr. Boswell was furnished by Mr. Richard How, of Apsley, in Bedfordshire, as communicated to that gentleman by his friend, Mr. John Pitts, late rector of Great Brickhill, in Buckingham: "Perhaps no scrap of Latin whatever has been more quoted than this. It occasionally falls even from those who are scrupulous even to pedantry in their Latinity, and will not admit a word into their compositions which has not the sanction of the first age." The word *demento* is of no authority, either as a verb active or neuter. After a long search, for the purpose of deciding a bet, some gentlemen of Cambridge found it among the fragments of Euripides, in what edition I do not recollect, where it is given as a translation of a Greek iambic:

Ου Θιος ήλιμι απαλασαι, πρην' αποθηναι.

"The above scrap was found in the handwriting of a suicide of fashion, Sir D. O., some years ago, lying on the table of the room where he had destroyed himself. The suicide was

He could not do it; but many years afterwards met with it by chance in *Johannes Baptista Mantuanus*.²

I am very sorry that I did not take a note of an eloquent argument, in which he maintained that the situation of Prince of Wales was the happiest of any person's in the kingdom, even beyond that of the sovereign. I recollect only — the enjoyment of hope — the high superiority of rank, without the anxious cares of government — and a great degree of power, both from natural influence wisely used, and from the sanguine expectations of those who look forward to the chance of future favour.

Sir Joshua Reynolds communicated to me the following particulars:

Johnson thought the poems published as translations from Ossian had so little merit, that he said, "Sir, a man might write such stuff for ever, if he would *abandon* his mind to it."

He said, "A man should pass a part of his time with the *laughers*, by which means any thing ridiculous or particular about him might be presented to his view, and corrected." I observed, he must have been a bold laughers who would have ventured to tell Dr. Johnson of any of his peculiarities.

Having observed the vain ostentatious importance of many people in quoting the authority of dukes and lords, as having been in their company, he said, he went to the other extreme, and did not mention his authority when he should have done it, had it not been that of a duke or a lord.

a man of classical acquirements: he left no other paper behind him." Another of these proverbial sayings,

"Incidit in Scyllam, cupiens vitare Charybdim,"
[Shunning Charybdis into Scylla falls. — C.]

I, some years ago, in a note on a passage in The Merchant of Venice, traced to its source. It occurs (with a slight variation) in the Alexandrines of Philip Gualtier (a poet of the thirteenth century), which was printed at Lyons in 1558. Darius is the person addressed: —

"—— Quo tendis inertem,
Rex periture, fugam? nescis, heu! perditte, nescis
Quem fugias: hostes incurris dum fugis hostem;
Incidis in Scyllam, cupiens vitare Charybdim."

[Why, fated king, a tame evasion try?

You know not, Lost One, whom or where to fly;
You meet the foe you dread: and pressed by all,
Shunning Charybdis into Scylla fall. — C.]

The author of this line was first ascertained by Galleottus Martius, who died in 1476, as is observed in Menagiana, vol. iii. p. 130. edit. 1762. For an account of Philip Gualtier, see Vossius de Poet. Latin., p. 254. fol. 1697. A line, not less frequently quoted than any of the preceding, was suggested for inquiry, several years ago, in a note on The Rape of Lucrece:

"Solamen miseris socios habuisse doloris."

[— 'Tis to the wretched some relief

To have, at least, a partner in their grief. — C.]

But the author of this verse has not, I believe, been discovered. — MALONE.

I am happy, however, to mention a pleasing instance of his enduring with great gentleness to hear one of his most striking particularities pointed out: Miss Hunter, a niece of his friend, Christopher Smart, when a very young girl, struck by his extraordinary notions, said to him, "Pray, Dr. Johnson, why do you make such strange gestures?" "From bad habit," he replied: "do you, my dear, take care to guard against bad habits." This I was told by the young lady's brother at Margate. — BOSWELL.

Dr. Goldsmith said once to Dr. Johnson that he wished for some additional members to the Literary Club, to give it an agreeable variety; "for," said he, "there can now be nothing new among us: we have travelled over one another's minds. Johnson seemed a little angry, and said, "Sir, you have not travelled over *my* mind, I promise you." Sir Joshua, however, thought Goldsmith right; observing, that "when people have lived a great deal together, they know what each of them will say on every subject. A new understanding, therefore, is desirable: because, though it may only furnish the same sense upon a question which would have been furnished by those with whom we are accustomed to live, yet this sense will have a different colouring; and colouring is of much effect in every thing else as well as in painting."

Johnson used to say that he made it a constant rule to talk as well as he could, both as to sentiment and expression; by which means, what had been originally effort became familiar and easy. The consequence of this, Sir Joshua observed, was, that his common conversation in all companies was such as to secure him universal attention, as something above the usual colloquial style was expected.

Yet, though Johnson had this habit in company, when another mode was necessary, in order to investigate truth, he could descend to a language intelligible to the meanest capacity. An instance of this was witnessed by Sir Joshua Reynolds, when they were present at an examination of a little blackguard boy, by Mr. Saunders Welch, the late Westminster justice. Welch, who imagined that he was exalting himself in Dr. Johnson's eyes by using big words, spoke in a manner that was utterly unintelligible to the boy; Dr. Johnson perceiving it, addressed himself to the boy, and changed the pompous phraseology into colloquial language. Sir Joshua Reynolds, who was much amused by this proceeding, which seemed a kind of reversing of what might have been expected from the two men, took notice of it to Dr. Johnson, as they walked away by themselves. Johnson said, that it was continually the case; and that he was always obliged to *translate* the justice's swelling diction

(smiling), so as that his meaning might be understood by the vulgar, from whom information was to be obtained.

Sir Joshua once observed to him, that he had talked above the capacity of some people with whom they had been in company together. "No matter, Sir," said Johnson; "they consider it as a compliment to be talked to as if they were wiser than they are. So true is this, Sir, that Baxter made it a rule in every sermon that he preached to say something that was above the capacity of his audience."

Johnson's dexterity in retort, when he seemed to be driven to an extremity by his adversary, was very remarkable. Of his power, in this respect, our common friend, Mr. Windham, of Norfolk, has been pleased to furnish me with an eminent instance. However unfavourable to Scotland, he uniformly gave liberal praise to George Buchanan, as a writer. In a conversation concerning the literary merits of the two countries, in which Buchanan was introduced, a Scotchman, imagining that on this ground he should have an undoubted triumph over him, exclaimed, "Ah, Dr. Johnson, what would you have said of Buchanan had he been an Englishman?" "Why, Sir," said Johnson, after a little pause, "I should not have said of Buchanan, had he been an *Englishman*, what I will now say of him as *Scotchman*,—that he was the only man of genius his country ever produced."

And this brings to my recollection another instance of the same nature. I once reminded him that when Dr. Adam Smith was expatiating on the beauty of Glasgow, he had cut him short by saying, "Pray, Sir, have you ever seen Brentford?" and I took the liberty to add, "My dear Sir, surely that was *shocking*." "Why then, Sir," he replied, "you have never seen Brentford."

Though his usual phrase for conversation was *talk*, yet he made a distinction; for when he once told me that he dined the day before at a friend's house, with "a very pretty company;" and I asked him if there was good conversation, he answered, "No, Sir; we had *talk* enough, but no *conversation*; there was nothing *discussed*."

Talking of the success of the Scotch in Lon-

¹ The justness of this remark is confirmed by the following story, for which I am indebted to Lord Eliot:—A country parson, who was remarkable for quoting scraps of Latin in his sermons, having died, one of his parishioners was asked how he liked his successor: "He is a very good preacher," was his answer, "but no *Latiner*."—BOSWELL. This story is an old one. This "very good preacher" was, says Mr. Chalmers, the celebrated Dr. Edward Pocock, who had a living at Childry, near Oxford. One of his Oxford friends, as he travelled through Childry, inquiring for his diversion, of some people, who was their minister? and how they liked him? received from them this answer: "Our parson is one Mr. Pocock, a plain, honest man; but, master," said they, "he is no *Latiner*."—*Pocock's Life*, sect. iii. Edward Pocock died 1691, æt. 87: *ante*, p. 586.—CROKER.

² This prompt and sarcastic retort may not unaptly be compared with Sir Henry Wotton's celebrated answer to a priest in Italy, who asked him, "Where was your religion to be found before Luther?" "My religion was to be found then where yours is not to be found now, in the written word

of God." But Johnson's admirable reply has a sharper edge, and perhaps more ingenuity, than that of Wotton.—MALONE. In Selden's *Table Talk* we have the following more witty reply made to this same question: "Where was America an hundred or six-score years ago? But Archbishop Bramhall's answer is still better. "Where it is now—as a garden before it is weeded and after it is weeded, is the same garden." See also Jeremy Taylor's Works, x. 192.—MARKLAND. There is another more homely, but even more just: "Where was your face before it was washed?"—CROKER, 1847.

³ When his friend Mr. Strahan, a native of Scotland, at his return from the Hebrides asked him, with a firm tone of voice, what he thought of his country? "That it is a very vile country to be sure, Sir," returned for answer Dr. Johnson. "Well, Sir!" replies the other, somewhat mortified, "God made it." "Certainly he did," answers Dr. Johnson again; "but we must always remember that he made it for Scotchmen, and—comparisons are odious, Mr. Strahan—but God made hell." *Piozzi*.—CROKER.

don, he imputed it in a considerable degree to their spirit of nationality. "You know, Sir," said he, "that no Scotchman publishes a book, or has a play brought upon the stage, but there are five hundred people ready to applaud him."

He gave much praise to his friend Dr. Burney's elegant and entertaining Travels, and told Mr. Seward that he had them in his eye when writing his "Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland."

Such was his sensibility, and so much was he affected by pathetic poetry, that, when he was reading Dr. Beattie's "Hermit" in my presence, it brought tears into his eyes.¹

He disapproved much of mingling real facts with fiction. On this account he censured a book entitled "Love and Madness."²

Mr. Hoole told him he was born in Moorfields, and had received part of his early instruction in Grub Street. "Sir," said Johnson, smiling, "you have been *regularly* educated." Having asked who was his instructor, and Mr. Hoole having answered, "My uncle, Sir, who was a tailor;" Johnson, recollecting himself, said, "Sir, I knew him: we called him the *metaphysical* tailor. He was of a club in Old Street, with me and George Psalmanazar, and some others: but pray, Sir, was he a good tailor?" Mr. Hoole having answered that he believed he was too mathematical, and used to draw squares and triangles on his shopboard, so that he did not excel in the cut of a coat.—"I am sorry for it," said Johnson, "for I would have every man to be master of his own business."

In pleasant reference to himself and Mr. Hoole, as brother authors, he often said, "Let you and I, Sir, go together, and eat a beef-steak in Grub Street."

Sir William Chambers, that great architect, whose works show a sublimity of genius³, and who is esteemed by all who know him, for his social, hospitable, and generous qualities, submitted the manuscript of his "Chinese Architecture" to Dr. Johnson's perusal. Johnson was much pleased with it, and said, "It wants no addition nor correction, but a few lines of introduction;" which he furnished, and Sir William adopted.⁴

He said to Sir William Scott, "The age is

running mad after innovation; and all the business of the world is to be done in a new way; men are to be hanged in a new way; Tyburn itself is not safe from the fury of innovation." It having been argued that this was an improvement.—"No, Sir," said he, eagerly, "it is *not* an improvement: they object, that the old method drew together a number of spectators. Sir, executions are intended to draw spectators. If they do not draw spectators, they don't answer their purpose. The old method was most satisfactory to all parties; the public was gratified by a procession; the criminal⁵ was supported by it. Why is all this to be swept away?" I perfectly agree with Dr. Johnson upon this head, and am persuaded that executions now, the solemn procession being discontinued, have not nearly the effect which they formerly had. Magistrates, both in London and elsewhere, have, I am afraid, in this had too much regard to their own ease.

Of Dr. Hurd, Bishop of Worcester, Johnson said to a friend,— "Hurd, Sir, is one of a set of men who account for every thing systematically; for instance, it has been a fashion to wear scarlet breeches; these men would tell you, that according to causes and effects, no other wear could at that time have been chosen." He, however, said of him at another time to the same gentleman, "Hurd, Sir, is a man whose acquaintance is a valuable acquisition."

That learned and ingenious prelate, it is well known, published, at one period of his life, "Moral and Political Dialogues," with a wofully Whiggish cast. Afterwards, his lordship, having thought better, came to see his error, and republished the work with a more constitutional spirit. Johnson, however, was unwilling to allow him full credit for his political conversion. I remember when his lordship declined the honour of being archbishop of Canterbury, Johnson said, "I am glad he did not go to Lambeth; for, after all, I fear he is a Whig in his heart."

Johnson's attention to precision and clearness in expression was very remarkable. He disapproved of a parenthesis; and I believe, in all his voluminous writings, not half a dozen of them will be found. He never used the

¹ The particular passage which excited this strong emotion was, as I have heard from my father, the third stanza, "Tis night," &c.—J. BOSWELL, jun. The fourth.—MARLAND.

² A kind of novel founded on the story of Mr. Hackman and Miss Ray: see p. 628.—CROKER.

³ I do not recollect any work of Sir William Chambers that can be said to exhibit "sublimity of genius."—CROKER.

⁴ The Hon. Horace Walpole, now Earl of Orford, thus bears testimony to this gentleman's merit as a writer: "Mr. Chambers's 'Treatise on Civil Architecture' is the most sensible book, and the most exempt from prejudices, that ever was written on that science."—Preface to *Anecdotes of Painting in England*. The introductory lines are these:

"It is difficult to avoid praising too little or too much. The boundless panegyrics which have been lavished upon the Chinese learning, policy, and arts, show with what power novelty attracts regard, and how naturally esteem swells into admiration. I am far from desiring to be numbered among the exaggerators of Chinese excellence. I consider them as

great, or wise, only in comparison with the nations that surround them; and have no intention to place them in competition either with the ancients or with the moderns of this part of the world; yet they must be allowed to claim our notice as a distinct and very singular race of men; as the inhabitants of a region divided by its situation from all civilised countries, who have formed their own manners, and invented their own arts, without the assistance of example."—BOSWELL.

⁵ What could Johnson mean by saying that the criminal was supported by the lingering torture of this cruel exhibition? Boswell, we know, was fond of these dreadful spectacles; and is not this another instance in which his personal propensities may be suspected of discolouring Johnson's opinions?—CROKER. The last execution at Tyburn was on the 7th November, 1783, and the first before Newgate on the 9th of the following December.—P. CUNNINGHAM.

phrases *the former* and *the latter*, having observed, that they often occasioned obscurity; he therefore contrived to construct his sentences so as not to have occasion for them, and would even rather repeat the same words, in order to avoid them. Nothing is more common than to mistake surnames, when we hear them carelessly uttered for the first time. To prevent this, he used not only to pronounce them slowly and distinctly, but to take the trouble of spelling them; a practice which I have often followed, and which I wish were general.

Such was the heat and irritability of his blood, that not only did he pare his nails to the quick, but scraped the joints of his fingers with a penknife, till they seemed quite red and raw.¹

The heterogeneous composition of human nature was remarkably exemplified in Johnson. His liberality in giving his money to persons in distress was extraordinary. Yet there lurked about him a propensity to paltry saving. One day I owned to him, that "I was occasionally troubled with a fit of narrowness." "Why, Sir," said he, "so am I. *But I do not tell it.*" He has now and then borrowed a shilling of me; and when I asked him for it again, seemed to be rather out of humour. A droll little circumstance once occurred; as if he meant to reprimand my minute exactness as a creditor, he thus addressed me;—"Boswell, lend me sixpence — *not to be repaid.*"

This great man's attention to small things was very remarkable. As an instance of it, he one day said to me, "Sir, when you get silver in change for a guinea, look carefully at it: you may find some curious piece of coin."

Though a stern *true-born Englishman*, and fully prejudiced against all other nations, he had discernment enough to see, and candour enough to censure, the cold reserve too common among Englishmen towards strangers: "Sir," said he, "two men of any other nation who are shown into a room together, at a house where they are both visitors, will immediately find some conversation. But two Englishmen will probably go each to a different window, and remain in obstinate silence. Sir, we as yet do not enough understand the common rights of humanity."

Johnson was at a certain period of his life a good deal with the Earl of Shelburne, now Marquis of Lansdown², as he doubtless could not but have a due value for that nobleman's activity of mind, and uncommon acquisitions

of important knowledge, however much he might disapprove of other parts of his lordship's character, which were widely different from his own.

Maurice Morgann, Esq., author of the very ingenious "Essay on the Character of Falstaff", being a particular friend of his lordship, had once an opportunity of entertaining Johnson a day or two at Wycombe, when its lord was absent, and by him I have been favoured with two anecdotes.

One is not a little to the credit of Johnson's candour. Mr. Morgann and he had a dispute pretty late at night, in which Johnson would not give up, though he had the wrong side; and, in short, both kept the field. Next morning, when they met in the breakfasting-room, Dr. Johnson accosted Mr. Morgann thus: "Sir, I have been thinking on our dispute last night; — *You were in the right.*"

The other was as follows: Johnson, for sport perhaps, or from the spirit of contradiction, eagerly maintained that Derriek had merit as a writer. Mr. Morgann argued with him directly, in vain. At length he had recourse to this device. "Pray, Sir," said he, "whether do you reckon Derriek or Smart⁴ the best poet?" Johnson at once felt himself roused; and answered, "Sir, there is no settling the point of precedency between a louse and a flea."

Once, when checking my boasting too frequently of myself in company, he said to me, "Boswell, you often vaunt so much as to provoke ridicule. You put me in mind of a man who was standing in the kitchen of an inn with his back to the fire, and thus accosted the person next him. 'Do you know, Sir, who I am?' 'No, Sir,' said the other, 'I have not that advantage.' 'Sir,' said he, 'I am the great Twalmley, who invented the New Flood-gate Iron.'⁵ The Bishop of Killaloe, on my repeating the story to him, defended Twalmley, by observing that he was entitled to the epithet of *great*; for Virgil in his group of worthies in the Elysian fields—

Hic manus ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi, &c.

[*"Here patriots live, who, for their country's good,
In fighting fields were prodigal of blood."*]

Dryden.

mentions

Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artes.

[*"And searching wits, of mere mechanic parts,
Who grace their age with new invented arts."*]

Ibid.

He was pleased to say to me one morning

¹ I know not why heat and irritability of blood should make a man pare his nails too close. — CROKER.

² I cannot discover when this intercourse could have happened; nor can I even guess. In 1765, when Johnson "engaged in politics with Hamilton," (*ante*, p. 168.) Lord Shelburne was but 20; nor can I discover that his Lordship had any connexion with Hamilton. See *ante*, pp. 505. n. 3, 584. n. 5, and p. 715. n. 3. — CROKER.

³ Johnson being asked his opinion of this Essay, answered,

"Why, Sir, we shall have the man come forth again; and as he has proved Falstaff to be no coward, he may prove Iago to be a very good character." — CROKER.

⁴ It has been asserted (*European Mag.*, Sept. 1796, p. 160.) that the above comparison was made between Derriek and Boyse, and (if it be at all true) this is more likely. — CROKER.

⁵ What the great Twalmley was so proud of having invented was neither more nor less than a kind of box-iron for smoothing linen. — BOSWELL.

when we were left alone in his study, "Boswell, I think I am easier with you than with almost any body."

He would not allow Mr. David Hume any credit for his political principles, though similar to his own; saying of him, "Sir, he was a Tory by chance."

His acute observation of human life made him remark, "Sir, there is nothing by which a man exasperates most people more than by displaying a superior ability of brilliancy in conversation. They seem pleased at the time; but their envy makes them curse him at their hearts."¹

My readers will probably be surprised to hear that the great Dr. Johnson could amuse himself with so slight and playful a species of composition as a *charade*. I have recovered one which he made on Dr. Barnard, now Lord Bishop of Killaloe; who has been pleased for many years to treat me with so much intimacy and social ease, that I may presume to call him not only my right reverend, but my very dear friend. I therefore with peculiar pleasure give to the world a just and elegant compliment thus paid to his lordship by Johnson.

CHARADE.

"My *first* shuts out thieves from your house or your room,

My *second* expresses a Syrian perfume.

My *whole* is a man in whose converse is shared
The strength of a Bar and the sweetness of
Nard."²

Johnson asked Richard Owen Cambridge, Esq. if he had read the Spanish translation of Sallust, said to be written by a prince of Spain, with the assistance of his tutor, who is professedly the author of a treatise annexed, on the Phœnician language.

Mr. Cambridge commended the work, particularly as he thought the translator understood his author better than is commonly the case with translators; but said he was disappointed in the purpose for which he borrowed the book; to see whether a Spaniard could be better furnished with inscriptions from monuments, coins, or other antiquities, which he might more probably find on a coast so immediately opposite to Carthage, than the antiquaries of any other countries. JOHNSON. "I am very sorry you were not gratified in your expectations." CAMBRIDGE. "The language would have been of little use, as there is no history existing in that tongue to balance the partial accounts which the Roman writers have left us." JOHNSON. "No, Sir. They

have not been *partial*, they have told their own story without shame or regard to equitable treatment of their injured enemy; they had no compunction, no feeling for a Carthaginian. Why, Sir, they would never have borne Virgil's description of Eneas's treatment of Dido, if she had not been a Carthaginian."

I gratefully acknowledge this and other communications from Mr. Cambridge, whom, if a beautiful villa on the banks of the Thames a few miles distant from London, a numerous and excellent library, which he accurately knows and reads, a choice collection of pictures, which he understands and relishes, an easy fortune, an amiable family, an extensive circle of friends and acquaintance, distinguished by rank, fashion, and genius, a literary fame, various, elegant, and still increasing, colloquial talents rarely to be found, and, with all these means of happiness, enjoying, when well advanced in years, health and vigour of body, serenity and animation of mind, do not entitle to be addressed *fortunate senex*! I know not to whom, in any age, that expression could with propriety have been used. Long may he live to hear and to feel it!³

Johnson's love of little children, which he discovered upon all occasions, calling them "pretty dears," and giving them sweetmeats was an undoubted proof of the real humanity and gentleness of his disposition.

His uncommon kindness to his servants, and serious concern, not only for their comfort in this world, but their happiness in the next, was another unquestionable evidence of what all, who were intimately acquainted with him, knew to be true.

Nor would it be just, under this head, to omit the fondness which he showed for animals which he had taken under his protection. I never shall forget the indulgence with which he treated Hodge, his cat; for whom I myself used to go out and buy oysters, let the servants, having that trouble, should take dislike to the poor creature. I am, unluckily one of those who have an antipathy to a cat, so that I am uneasy when in the room with one; and I own I frequently suffered a good deal from the presence of this same Hodge. I recollect him one day scrambling up Dr. Johnson's breast, apparently with much satisfaction, while my friend, smiling and half-whistling, rubbed down his back, and pulled him by the tail; and when I observed he was a fine cat, saying, "Why, yes, Sir, but I have had cats whom I liked better than this;" and then, as if perceiving Hodge to be out of count

¹ This may be doubted. Johnson himself was, as we have seen, sometimes envious of the brilliancy of his friends; but, in general, surely persons of a brilliant conversation (if it be not sarcastic) are popular. — CROKER.

² As Mr. Boswell does not expressly state his authority for attributing this charade to Dr. Johnson, I take the liberty of doubting it. Johnson was by no means fond of Dr. Barnard, nor was he likely to have flattered any one in this coarse way; and the verses themselves are totally unlike his style

and rhythm. If he did condescend to this trifling, I may think, have been a kind of reparation for his rude behaviour to Dr. Barnard before detailed, *ante*, p. 696. — CROKER 1847.

³ Mr. Cambridge enjoyed all the blessings here enumerated for many years after this passage was written. He died his seat, near Twickenham, Sept. 17. 1802, in his eighty-sixth year. — MALONE. His villa was the large house next above Richmond Bridge, on the Middlesex side. — CROKER, 18

tenance, adding, "But he is a very fine cat, a very fine cat indeed."

This reminds me of the ludicrous account which he gave Mr. Langton of the despicable state of a young gentleman of good family. "Sir, when I heard of him last, he was running about town shooting cats." And then, in a sort of kindly reverie, he bethought himself of his own favourite cat, and said, "But Hodge shan't be shot; no, no, Hodge shall not be shot."

He thought Mr. Beauchamp made a shrewd and judicious remark to Mr. Langton, who, after having been for the first time in company with a well-known wit about town, was warmly admiring and praising him, — "See him again," said Beauchamp.

His respect for the hierarchy, and particularly the dignitaries of the church, has been more than once exhibited in the course of this work. Mr. Seward saw him presented to the Archbishop of York¹, and described his bow to an ARCHBISHOP as such a studied elaboration of homage, such an extension of limb, such a flexion of body, as have seldom or ever been equalled.

I cannot help mentioning with much regret, that by my own negligence I lost an opportunity of having the history of my family from its founder, Thomas Boswell, in 1504, recorded and illustrated by Johnson's pen. Such was his goodness to me, that when I presumed to solicit him for so great a favour, he was pleased to say, "Let me have all the materials you can collect, and I will do it both in Latin and English; then let it be printed, and copies of it be deposited in various places for security and preservation." I can now only do the best I can to make up for this loss, keeping my great master steadily in view. Family histories, like the *imagines majorum* of the ancients, excite to virtue; and I wish that they who really have blood, would be more careful to trace and ascertain its course. Some have affected to laugh at the history of the house of Yvery²; it would be well if many others would transmit their pedigrees to posterity, with the same accuracy and generous zeal with which the noble lord who compiled that work has honoured and perpetuated his ancestry.

On Thursday, April 10., I introduced to him, at his house in Bolt Court, the Honourable and Reverend William Stuart³, son of the Earl of Bute; a gentleman truly worthy of

being known to Johnson; being, with all the advantages of high birth, learning, travel, and elegant manners, an exemplary parish priest in every respect.

After some compliments on both sides, the tour which Johnson and I had made to the Hebrides was mentioned. JOHNSON. "I got an acquisition of more ideas by it than by any thing that I remember. I saw quite a different system of life." BOSWELL. "You would not like to make the same journey again?" JOHNSON. "Why no, Sir; not the same: it is a tale told. Gravina, an Italian critic, observes, that every man desires to see that of which he has read; but no man desires to read an account of what he has seen: so much does description fall short of reality. Description only excites curiosity; seeing satisfies it. Other people may go and see the Hebrides." BOSWELL. "I should wish to go and see some country totally different from what I have been used to; such as Turkey, where religion and every thing else are different." JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir: there are two objects of curiosity, — the Christian world and the Mahometan world. All the rest may be considered as barbarous." BOSWELL. "Pray, Sir, is the 'Turkish Spy' a genuine book?" JOHNSON. "No, Sir: Mrs. Manley, in her life, says, that her father wrote the first two volumes: and in another book, 'Dunton's Life and Errors,'⁴ we find that the rest was written by one Sault, at two guineas a sheet, under the direction of Dr. Midgeley."⁵

BOSWELL. "This has been a very factious reign, owing to the too great indulgence of government." JOHNSON. "I think so, Sir. What at first was lenity, grew timidity. Yet this is reasoning *à posteriori*, and may not be just. Supposing a few had at first been punished, I believe faction would have been crushed; but it might have been said, that it was a sanguinary reign. A man cannot tell *à priori* what will be best for government to do. This reign has been very unfortunate. We have had an unsuccessful war; but that does not prove that we have been ill governed. One side or other must prevail in war, as one or other must win at play. When we beat Louis, we were not better governed; nor were the French better governed when Louis beat us."

On Saturday, April 12., I visited him, in company with Mr. Windham, of Norfolk.

¹ The only two Archbishops of York during Seward's acquaintance with Johnson were Drummond and Markham. I think the profound bow must have been to Drummond, who died in 1776. — CROKER, 1847.

² [A strange, and I think, in a great measure, fabulous genealogy of the Percival family], written by John, Earl of Egmont, and printed (but not published) in 1742. — MALONE.

³ At that time vicar of Luton, in Bedfordshire, where he lived for some years, and fully merited the character given of him in the text; he was afterwards Lord Archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of Ireland. — MALONE. And died May, 1822, in a very strange way, having, through the blunder of a servant, had poison, by mistake for medicine, administered to him by the hand of his lady. — CROKER.

⁴ A work containing many curious biographical memoranda, reprinted, with notes, by Mr. Nichols, in 1818. — WRIGHT.

⁵ "The Turkish Spy" was pretended to have been written originally in Arabic; from Arabic translated into Italian, and thence into English. The author of the work, which was originally written in Italian, was I. P. Marana, a Genoese, who died at Paris in 1693. Dunton says, that "Mr. William Bradshaw received from Dr. Midgeley forty shillings a sheet for writing part of the 'Turkish Spy'; but I do not find that he any where mentions Sault as engaged in that work." — MALONE. *Aubrey's Letters*, i. 223., say the first volume was by the Italian, the rest by Bradshawe. — P. CUNNINGHAM.

whom, though a Whig, he highly valued. One of the best things he ever said was to this gentleman; who, before he set out for Ireland as secretary to Lord Northampton, when lord lieutenant, expressed to the sage some modest and virtuous doubts, whether he could bring himself to practise those arts which it is supposed a person in that situation has occasion to employ. "Don't be afraid, Sir," said Johnson, with a pleasant smile; "you will soon make a very pretty rascal."¹

He talked to-day a good deal of the wonderful extent and variety of London, and observed, that men of curious inquiry might see in it such modes of life as very few could even imagine. He in particular recommended to us to *explore Wapping*, which we resolved to do.²

Mr. Lowe, the painter, who was with him, was very much distressed that a large picture which he had painted was refused to be received into the Exhibition of the Royal Academy. Mrs. Thrale knew Johnson's character so superficially, as to represent him as unwilling to do small acts of benevolence; and mentions, in particular, that he would hardly take the trouble to write a letter in favour of his friends. The truth, however, is, that he was remarkable, in an extraordinary degree, for what she denies to him; and, above all, for this very sort of kindness, writing letters for those to whom his solicitations might be of service. He now gave Mr. Lowe the following, of which I was diligent enough, with his permission, to take copies at the next coffee-house, while Mr. Windham was so good as to stay by me.

JOHNSON TO REYNOLDS.

"April 12. 1783.

"SIR, — Mr. Lowe considers himself as cut off from all credit and all hope by the rejection of his picture from the Exhibition. Upon this work he has exhausted all his powers, and suspended all his expectations: and, certainly, to be refused an opportunity of taking the opinion of the public, is in itself a very great hardship. It is to be condemned without a trial.

"If you could procure the revocation of this incapacitating edict, you would deliver an unhappy man from great affliction. The council has sometimes reversed its own determination; and I hope that, by your interposition, this luckless picture may be got admitted. I am, &c., SAM. JOHNSON."

¹ This was in June, 1783, and I find in Mr. Windham's private diary (which it seems this conversation induced him to keep) the following memoranda of Dr. Johnson's advice: —

"I have no great timidity in my own disposition, and am no encourager of it in others. Never be afraid to think your self fit for any thing for which your friends think you fit. You will become an able negotiator — a very pretty rascal. No one in Ireland wears even the mask of incorruption; no one professes to do for sixpence what he can get a shilling for doing. Set sail, and see where the winds and the waves will carry you. Every day will improve another. *Dies diem docet*, by observing at night where you failed in the day, and by resolving to fail so no more."

Mr. Windham's Diary proves what I believe the world never suspected, that he was hypochondriacal to an extraordinary degree: in fact, at times, crazy, and at all times liable to strange turns of mind. His hypochondriacal sensation he used to call the *Fœt*, and it was the cause of his

JOHNSON TO BARRY.

"April 12. 1783.

"SIR, — Mr. Lowe's exclusion from the Exhibition gives him more trouble than you and the other gentlemen of the council could imagine or intend. He considers disgrace and ruin as the inevitable consequence of your determination.

"He says, that some pictures have been received after rejection; and if there be any such precedent, I earnestly entreat that you will use your interest in his favour. Of his work I can say nothing; I pretend not to judge of painting, and this picture I never saw; but I conceive it extremely hard to shut out any man from the possibility of success; and therefore I repeat my request that you will propose the re-consideration of Mr. Lowe's case; and if there be any among the council with whom my name can have any weight, be pleased to communicate to them the desire of, Sir, your, &c.,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

Such intercession was too powerful to be resisted; and Mr. Lowe's performance was admitted at Somerset Place. The subject, as I recollect, was the Deluge, at that point of time when the water was verging to the top of the last uncovered mountain. Near to the spot was seen the last of the antediluvian race, exclusive of those who were saved in the ark of Noah. This was one of those giants, then the inhabitants of the earth, who had still strength to swim, and with one of his hands held aloft his child. Upon the small remaining dry spot appeared a famished lion, ready to spring at the child and devour it. Mr. Lowe told me that Johnson said to him, "Sir, your picture is noble and probable." "A compliment indeed," said Mr. Lowe, "from a man who cannot lie, and cannot be mistaken."³

About this time he wrote to Mrs. Luc Porter mentioning his bad health, and that he intended a visit to Lichfield. "It is," say he, "with no great expectation of amendment that I make every year a journey into the country; but it is pleasant to visit those whose kindness has been often experienced."

On April 18. (being Good Friday), I found him at breakfast, in his usual manner upon that day, drinking tea without milk, and eating a cross bun to prevent faintness; we went to St. Clement's church, as formerly. When we came home from church, he placed himself on one of the stone seats at his garden door, and

resignation of the office of Secretary in Ireland, where seems to have been but a month or two. I suppose, however, that as Mr. Windham advanced in years, this disordered state of mind was not so easily abated. I, who knew him only in later life, never perceived any thing of it. — CROKER, 1847.

² We accordingly carried our scheme into execution, October, 1792; but whether from that uniformity which I, in modern times, in a great degree, spread through every part of the metropolis, or from our want of sufficient exertion, we were disappointed. — BOSWELL.

³ Northcote says the execution of this picture was execrable. *Life of Reynolds*, ii. 139. Lowe had received a prize medal from the Academy in 1771, "through favour," Northcote says. He certainly never after showed any talent, and had, I believe, more than once recourse to Johnson's interference to obtain admission for his works to the Exhibition. See *ante*, p. 605. Lowe died in 1793. — CROKER.

I took the other, and thus in the open air, and in a placid frame of mind, he talked away very easily. JOHNSON. "Were I a country gentleman, I should not be very hospitable; I should not have crowds in my house." BOSWELL.

"Sir Alexander Dick tells me that he remembers having a thousand people in a year to dine at his house; that is, reckoning each person as one, each time that he dined there." JOHNSON. "That, Sir, is about three a day."

BOSWELL. "How your statement lessens the idea!" JOHNSON. "That, Sir, is the good of counting. It brings every thing to a certainty, which before floated in the mind indefinitely."

BOSWELL. "But *Omne ignotum pro magifico est*: one is sorry to have this diminished."

JOHNSON. "Sir, you should not allow yourself to be delighted with error." BOSWELL.

"Three a day seem but few." JOHNSON.

"Nay, Sir, he who entertains three a day does very liberally. And if there is a large family, the poor entertain those three, for they eat what the poor would get; there must be superfluous meat; it must be given to the poor, or thrown out." BOSWELL.

"I observe in London, that the poor go about and gather bones, which I understand are manufactured."

JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir; they boil them, and extract a grease from them for greasing wheels and other purposes. Of the best pieces they make a mock ivory, which is used for hafts to knives, and various other things; the coarser pieces they burn and pound, and sell the ashes." BOSWELL.

"For what purpose, Sir?"

JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, for making a furnace for the chemists for melting iron. A paste made of burnt bones will stand a stronger heat than any thing else. Consider, Sir, if you are to melt iron, you cannot line your pot with brass, because it is softer than iron, and would melt sooner; nor with iron, for though malleable iron is harder than cast-iron, yet it would not do; but a paste of burnt bones will not melt." BOSWELL. "Do you know, Sir, I have discovered a manufacture to a great extent, of what you only piddle at—scraping and drying the peel of oranges? ¹ At a place in Newgate Street there is a prodigious quantity prepared, which they sell to the distillers." JOHNSON. "Sir, I believe they make a higher thing out of them than a spirit; they make what is called orange-butter, the oil of the orange inspissated, which they mix perhaps with common pomatum, and make it fragrant. The oil does not fly off in the drying."

BOSWELL. "I wish to have a good walled garden." JOHNSON. "I don't think it would be worth the expense to you. We compute, in England, a park wall at a thousand pounds a mile; now a garden wall must cost at least as

much. You intend your trees should grow higher than a deer will leap. Now let us see; for a hundred pounds you could only have forty-four square yards ², which is very little; for two hundred pounds you may have eighty-four square yards, which is very well. But when will you get the value of two hundred pounds of walls, in fruit, in your climate? No, Sir; such contention with nature is not worth while. I would plant an orchard, and have plenty of such fruit as ripen well in your country. My friend, Dr. Madden, of Ireland, said, that 'In an orchard there should be enough to eat, enough to lay up, enough to be stolen, and enough to rot upon the ground.' Cherries are an early fruit; you may have them; and you may have the early apples and pears." BOSWELL. "We cannot have nonpareils." JOHNSON. "Sir, you can no more have nonpareils than you can have grapes."

BOSWELL. "We have them, Sir; but they are very bad." JOHNSON. "Nay, Sir, never try to have a thing merely to show that you

cannot have it. From ground that would let for forty shillings you may have a large orchard; and you see it costs you only forty shillings. Nay, you may graze the ground when the trees are grown up; you cannot, while they are young." BOSWELL. "Is not a good garden a very common thing in England, Sir?"

JOHNSON. "Not so common, Sir, as you imagine. In Lincolnshire there is hardly an orchard; in Staffordshire, very little fruit."

BOSWELL. "Has Langton no orchard?"

JOHNSON. "No, Sir." BOSWELL. "How so, Sir?" JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, from the general negligence of the country. He has it not, because nobody else has it." BOSWELL.

"A hothouse is a certain thing; I may have that." JOHNSON. "A hothouse is pretty certain; but you must first build it, then you must keep fires in it, and you must have a gardener to take care of it."

BOSWELL. "But if I have a gardener at any rate?"

JOHNSON. "Why, yes." BOSWELL. "I'd have it near my house; there is no need to have it in the orchard."

JOHNSON. "Yes, I'd have it near my house. I would plant a great many currants; the fruit is good, and they make a pretty sweetmeat."

I record this minute detail, which some may think trifling, in order to show clearly how this great man, whose mind could grasp such large and extensive subjects, as he has shown in his literary labours, was yet well informed in the common affairs of life, and loved to illustrate them.

Mr. Walker, the celebrated master of elocution³, came in, and then we went up stairs into the study. I asked him if he had taught

which would be but a small closet; but of forty-four yards square—or about two-fifths of an acre, and so in proportion — CROKER.

³ He published several works on elocution and pronunciation, and died August 1, 1807, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. — CROKER.

¹ See *anté*, p. 440. — C.
² The Bishop of Ferns observes, that Mr. Boswell here mistakes forty-four square yards for forty-four yards square, and thus makes Johnson talk nonsense: the meaning is, that 100l. will give 176 running yards of park wall, which would inclose a garden, — not of forty-four square yards,

many clergymen. JOHNSON. "I hope not."

WALKER. "I have taught only one, and he is the best reader I ever heard; not by my teaching, but by his own natural talents."

JOHNSON. "Were he the best reader in the world, I would not have it told that he was taught."

Here was one of his peculiar prejudices. Could it be any disadvantage to the clergyman to have it known that he was taught an easy and graceful delivery?

BOSWELL. "Will you not allow, Sir, that a man may be taught to read well?"

JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, so far as to read better than he might do without being taught, yes. Formerly it was supposed that there was no difference in reading, but that one read as well as another."

BOSWELL. "It is wonderful to see old Sheridan as enthusiastic about oratory as ever."

WALKER. "His enthusiasm as to what oratory will do, may be too great: but he reads well."

JOHNSON. "He reads well, but he reads low; and you know it is much easier to read low than to read high; for when you read high, you are much more limited, your loudest note can be but one, and so the variety is less in proportion to the loudness. Now some people have occasion to speak to an extensive audience, and must speak loud to be heard." WALKER. "The art is to read strong, though low."

Talking of the origin of language:—JOHNSON. "It must have come by inspiration. A thousand, nay a million of children could not invent a language. While the organs are pliable, there is not understanding enough to form a language; by the time that there is understanding enough, the organs are become stiff. We know that after a certain age we cannot learn to pronounce a new language. No foreigner, who comes to England when advanced in life, ever pronounces English tolerably well; at least such instances are very rare. When I maintain that language must have come by inspiration, I do not mean that inspiration is required for rhetoric, and all the beauties of language; for when once man has language, we can conceive that he may gradually form modifications of it. I mean only that inspiration seems to me to be necessary to give man the faculty of speech; to inform him that he may have speech; which I think he could no more find out without inspiration, than cows or hogs would think of such a faculty." WALKER. "Do you think, Sir, that there are any perfect synonymes in any language?"

JOHNSON. "Originally there were not; but by using words negligently, or in poetry, one word comes to be confounded with another."

He talked of Dr. Dodd. "A friend of mine,"

said he, "came to me and told me that a lady² wished to have Dr. Dodd's picture in a bracelet, and asked me for a motto. I said, I could think of no better than *Curat Lex*. I was very willing to have him pardoned, that is, to have the sentence changed to transportation; but, when he was once hanged, I did not wish he should be made a saint."

Mrs. Burney, wife of his friend, Dr. Burney, came in, and he seemed to be entertained with her conversation.

Garrick's funeral was talked of as extravagantly expensive. Johnson, from his dislike to exaggeration, would not allow that it was distinguished by an extraordinary pomp. "Were there not six horses to each coach?" said Mrs. Burney. JOHNSON. "Madam, there were no more six horses than six phoenixes."³

Mrs. Burney wondered that some very beautiful new buildings should be erected in Moorfields, in so shocking a situation as between Bedlam and St. Luke's Hospital; and said she could not live there. JOHNSON. "Nay, Madam, you see nothing there to hurt you. You no more think of madness by having windows that look to Bedlam, than you think of death by having windows that look to a churchyard." MRS. BURNEY. "We may look to a churchyard, Sir; for it is right that we should be kept in mind of death." JOHNSON. "Nay, Madam, if you go to that, it is right that we should be kept in mind of madness, which is occasioned by too much indulgence of imagination. I think a very moral use may be made of these new buildings; I would have those who have heated imaginations live there, and take warning." MRS. BURNEY. "But, Sir, many of the poor people that are mad have become so from disease, or from distressing events. It is, therefore, not their fault, but their misfortune; and, therefore, to think of them is a melancholy consideration."

Time passed on in conversation till it was too late for the service of the church at three o'clock. I took a walk, and left him alone for some time; then returned, and we had coffee and conversation again by ourselves.

I stated the character of a noble friend of mine as a curious case for his opinion⁴:—"He is the most inexplicable man to me that I ever knew. Can you explain him, Sir? He is, I really believe, noble-minded, generous, and princely. But his most intimate friends may be separated from him for years, without his ever asking a question concerning them. He will meet them with a formality, a coldness, a stately indifference; but when they come close to him, and fairly engage him in conversation, they find him as easy, pleasant,

¹ "Mr. Sheridan, the father, is quite an enthusiast in recommending to the youth of the nation the study of oratory. According to him it is the one thing needful, the salvation of the nation, as every thing laudable and great depends upon it."—*Knorr's Wint. Even.* ii. 271.—CROKER, 1847.

² I have been told that the lady was Dr. Dodd's relict; but if there were so, Dr. Johnson could not have been aware of it,

for however he might disapprove of her wearing his picture he would hardly have affected her with such an answer.—See *ante*, p. 544. n. 2.—CROKER, 1835.

³ There certainly were, and Johnson himself went in one of the coaches and six.—CROKER.

⁴ Probably Lord Mountstuart, afterwards first Marquis of Bute.—CROKER.

and kind as they could wish. One then supposes that what is so agreeable will soon be renewed; but stay away from him for half a year, and he will neither call on you, nor send to inquire about you." JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, I cannot ascertain his character exactly, as I do not know him; but I should not like to have such a man for my friend. He may love study, and wish not to be interrupted by his friends: *Amici fures temporis*. He may be a frivolous man, and be so much occupied with petty pursuits that he may not want friends. Or he may have a notion that there is dignity in appearing indifferent, while he in fact may not be more indifferent at his heart than another."

We went to evening prayers at St. Clement's, at seven, and then parted.¹

JOHNSON TO JOSEPH FOWKE.²

"April 19. 1783.

"DEAR SIR, — To show you that neither length of time, nor distance of place, withdraws you from my memory, I have sent you a little present³, which will be transmitted by Sir Robert Chambers.

"To your former letters I made no answer, because I had none to make. Of the death of the unfortunate man (meaning Nundoomar) I believe Europe thinks as you think; but it was past prevention; and it was not fit for me to move a question in public which I was not qualified to discuss, as the inquiry could then do no good; and I might have been silenced by a hardy denial of facts, which, if denied, I could not prove.

¹ The reader will recollect, that in the year 1775, when Dr. Johnson visited France, he was kindly entertained by the English Benedictine monks at Paris (see *anté*, p. 464.) One of that body, the Rev. James Compton, in the course of some conversation with him at that time, asked him, if any of them should become converts to the protestant faith, and should visit England, whether they might hope for a friendly reception from him: to which he warmly replied, "that he should receive such a convert most cordially." In consequence of this conversation, Mr. Compton, a few years afterwards, having some doubts concerning the religion in which he had been bred, was induced, by reading the 110th Number of "The Rambler" (on REPENTANCE), to consider the subject more deeply; and the result of his inquiries was, a determination to become a protestant. With this view, in the summer of 1782, he returned to his native country, from whence he had been absent from his sixth to his thirty-fifth year; and on his arrival in London, very scantily provided with the means of subsistence, he immediately repaired to Bolt Court, to visit Dr. Johnson; and having informed him of his desire to be admitted into the Church of England, for this purpose solicited his aid to procure for him an introduction to the Bishop of London, Dr. Lowth. At the time of his first visit, Johnson was so much indisposed, that he could allow him only a short conversation of a few minutes; but he desired him to call again in the course of the following week. When Mr. Compton visited him a second time, he was perfectly recovered from his indisposition; received him with the utmost cordiality; and not only undertook the management of the business in which his friendly interposition had been requested, but with great kindness exerted himself in this gentleman's favour, with a view to his future subsistence, and immediately supplied him with the means of present support.

Finding that the proposed introduction to the Bishop of London had from some accidental causes been deferred, lest Mr. Compton, who then lodged at Highbury, should suppose himself neglected, he wrote him the following note: —

"October 6. 1782.

"SIR, — I have directed Dr. Vyse's letter to be sent to you, that you may know the situation of your business. Delays are incident to all affairs; but there appears nothing in your case of either superciliousness or neglect. Dr. Vyse seems to wish you well. I am, &c.,

SAM. JOHNSON."

"Since we parted, I have suffered much sickness of body and perturbation of mind. My mind, if I do not flatter myself, is unimpaired, except that sometimes my memory is less ready; but my body, though by nature very strong, has given way to repeated shocks.

"*Genua labant, vastos quatit æger anhelitus artus.*"⁴ This line might have been written on purpose for me. You will see, however, that I have not totally forsaken literature. I can apply better to books than I could in some more vigorous parts of my life — at least than I *did*; and I have one more reason for reading — that time has, by taking away my companions, left me less opportunity of conversation. I have led an inactive and careless life; it is time at last to be diligent: there is yet provision to be made for eternity.

"Let me know, dear Sir, what you are doing. Are you accumulating gold, or picking up diamonds? Or are you now sated with Indian wealth, and content with what you have? Have you vigour for bustle, or tranquillity for inaction? Whatever you do, I do not suspect you of pillaging or oppressing; and shall rejoice to see you return with a body unbroken, and a mind uncorrupted.

"You and I had hardly any common friends, and therefore I have few anecdotes to relate to you. Mr. Levett, who brought us into acquaintance, died suddenly at my house last year, in his seventy-eighth year, or about that age. Mrs. Williams, the blind lady, is still with me, but much broken by a very wearisome and obstinate disease. She is, however, not likely to die; and it would delight me if you would send her some *petty* token of your remembrance. You may send me one too.

"Whether we shall ever meet again in this

Mr. Compton having, by Johnson's advice, quitted Highbury, and settled in London, had now more frequent opportunities of visiting his friend, and profiting by his conversation and advice. Still, however, his means of subsistence being very scanty, Dr. Johnson kindly promised to afford him a decent maintenance, until by his own exertions he should be able to obtain a livelihood; which benevolent offer he accepted, and lived entirely at Johnson's expense till the end of January, 1783; in which month, having previously been introduced to Bishop Lowth, he was received into our communion in St. James's parish church. In the following April, the place of under-master of St. Paul's school having become vacant, his friendly protector did him a more essential service, by writing the following letter in his favour, to the Mercers' Company, in whom the appointment of the under-master lay: —

"Bolt Court, Fleet Street, April 19. 1783.

"GENTLEMEN, — At the request of the Reverend Mr. James Compton, who now solicits your votes to be elected under-master of St. Paul's school, I testify with great sincerity, that he is, in my opinion, a man of abilities sufficient, and more than sufficient, for the duties of the office for which he is a candidate. I am, &c.,

SAM. JOHNSON.

Though this testimony in Mr. Compton's favour was not attended with immediate success, yet Johnson's kindness was not without effect; for his letter procured Mr. Compton so many well-wishers in the respectable company of mercers, that he was honoured, by the favour of several of its members, with more applications to teach Latin and French than he could find time to attend to. In 1796, the Rev. Mr. Gilbert, one of his majesty's French chaplains, having accepted a living in Guernsey, nominated Mr. Compton as his substitute at the French chapel of St. James's; which appointment, in April, 1811, he relinquished for a better in the French chapel at Bethnal Green. By the favour of Dr. Porteus, the late excellent Bishop of London, he was also appointed, in 1802, chaplain of the Dutch chapel at St. James's; a station which he still holds. — MALONE.

² See *anté*, p. 500. n. 2. — C.

³ A collection of the Doctor's Works. — NICHOLS.

⁴ "For each vast limb moves stiff and slow from age,
And thick short pantings shake the lab'ring stage."

Æneid v. 432. Pitt. — C.

world, who can tell? Let us, however, wish well to each other: prayers can pass the Line and the Tropics. I am, dear Sir, yours sincerely,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

CHAPTER LXXVI.

1783.

Population of London. — Natural Affection. — Self-defence. — Duelling. — Corpulency. — Government of India. — Reviewers. — Horace. — Sickness. — Liberty of Teaching. — "Atlas." — Virgil. — Cant. — Hospitality. — Miss Burney. — Barry's Pictures. — Baxter's Works. — Devotion. — Johnson attacked with a Stroke of the Palsy. — Recovery. — Visit to Langton at Rochester.

ON Sunday, April 20., being Easter-day, after attending solemn service at St. Paul's, I came to Dr. Johnson, and found Mr. Lowe, the painter, sitting with him. Mr. Lowe mentioned the great number of new buildings of late in London, yet that Dr. Johnson had observed, that the number of inhabitants was not increased.¹ JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, the bills of mortality prove that no more people die now than formerly; so it is plain no more live. The register of births proves nothing, for not one-tenth of the people of London are born there." BOSWELL. "I believe, Sir, a great many of the children born in London, die early." JOHNSON. "Why, yes, Sir." BOSWELL. "But those who do live are as stout and strong people as any. Dr. Price says, they must be naturally strong to get through." JOHNSON. "That is system, Sir. A great traveller observes, that it is said there are no weak or deformed people among the Indians; but he, with much sagacity, assigns the reason of this, which is, that the hardship of their life as hunters and fishers does not allow weak or diseased children to grow up. Now, had I been an Indian, I must have died early; my eyes would not have served me to get food. I, indeed, now could fish, give me English tackle; but had I been an Indian, I must have starved, or they would have knocked me on the head, when they saw I could do nothing." BOSWELL. "Perhaps, they would have taken care of you; we are told they are fond of oratory,—you would have talked to them." JOHNSON. "Nay, Sir, I

should not have lived long enough to be fit to talk; I should have been dead before I was ten years old. Depend upon it, Sir, a savage, when he is hungry, will not carry about with him a looby of nine years old, who cannot help himself. They have no affection, Sir." BOSWELL. "I believe natural affection, of which we hear so much, is very small." JOHNSON. "Sir, natural affection is nothing: but affection from principle and established duty is sometimes wonderfully strong." LOWE. "A hen, Sir, will feed her chickens in preference to herself." JOHNSON. "But we don't know that the hen is hungry; let the hen be fairly hungry, and I'll warrant she'll peck the corn herself. A cock, I believe, will feed hens instead of himself: but we don't know that the cock is hungry." BOSWELL. "And that, Sir, is not from affection, but gallantry. But some of the Indians have affection." JOHNSON. "Sir, that they help some of their children is plain; for some of them live, which they could not do without being helped."

I dined with him; the company were Mrs. Williams, Mrs. Desmoulins, and Mr. Lowe. He seemed not to be well, talked little, grew drowsy soon after dinner, and retired; upon which I went away.

Having next day gone to Mr. Burke's seat in the country, from whence I was recalled by an express, that a near relation of mine had killed his antagonist in a duel, and was himself dangerously wounded², I saw little of Dr. Johnson till Monday, April 28., when I spent a considerable part of the day with him, and introduced the subject which then chiefly occupied my mind. JOHNSON. "I do not see, Sir, that fighting is absolutely forbidden in Scripture; I see revenge forbidden, but not self-defence." BOSWELL. "The quakers say it is. 'Unto him that smiteth thee on one cheek, offer him also the other.'" JOHNSON. "But stay, Sir; the text is meant only to have the effect of moderating passion; it is plain that we are not to take it in a literal sense. We see this from the context, where there are other recommendations; which, I warrant you, the quaker will not take literally; as, for instance, 'From him that would borrow of thee turn thou not away.' Let a man whose credit is bad come to a quaker, and say, 'Well, Sir, lend me a hundred pounds;' he'll find him as unwilling as any other man. No, Sir; a man may shoot the man who invades his character, as he may shoot him who attempts to break into his house."³

¹ The city was hardly capable of increase; but, in fact, the population of the city has rapidly diminished by the migration of the citizens to the suburbs, and the conversion of so many dwelling houses into counting and warehouses: the population of the city, in 1801, was about 130,000, and, in 1841, only 82,000. — CROKER, 1847.

² This remarkable duel was fought on Monday the 21st of April, 1783, between Mr. Cunningham, of the Scots Greys, wounded, and Mr. Riddell, of the Life Guards, killed. See *Genl. Mag.* 1783, p. 362. — CROKER.

³ I think it necessary to caution my readers against concluding that, in this or any other conversation of Dr. Johnson,

they have his serious and deliberate opinion on the subject of duelling. In my Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides *anté*, 397, it appears that he made this frank confession "Nobody, at times, talks more laxly than I do;" and *ibid* p. 342: "He fairly owned he could not explain the rationality of duelling." We may therefore infer that he could not think that justifiable, which seems inconsistent with the spirit of the Gospel. At the same time, it must be confessed, that, from the prevalent notions of honour, a gentleman who receives a challenge is reduced to a dreadful alternative. A remarkable instance of this is furnished by a clause in the will of the late Colonel Thomas, of the Guards

So, in 1745, my friend, Tom Cumming, the quaker [p. 343.], said he would not fight, but he would drive an ammunition cart: and we know that the quakers have sent flannel waistcoats to our soldiers, to enable them to fight better." BOSWELL. "When a man is the aggressor, and by ill usage forces on a duel in which he is killed, have we not little ground to hope that he is gone to a state of happiness?" JOHNSON. "Sir, we are not to judge determinately of the state in which a man leaves this life. He may in a moment have repented effectually, and it is possible may have been accepted of God. There is in 'Camden's Remains' an epitaph upon a very wicked man, who was killed by a fall from his horse, in which he is supposed to say,

'Between the stirrup and the ground,
I mercy ask'd, I mercy found.'

BOSWELL. "Is not the expression in the burial-service—'in the *sure* and *certain* hope of a *blessed* resurrection'²—too strong to be used indiscriminately, and, indeed, sometimes when those over whose bodies it is said have been notoriously profane?" JOHNSON. "It is *sure* and *certain hope*, Sir, not *belief*." I did not insist further; but cannot help thinking that less positive words would be more proper.³

Talking of a man who was grown very fat, so as to be incommoded with corpulency, he said, "He eats too much, Sir." BOSWELL. "I don't know, Sir; you will see one man fat, who eats moderately, and another lean, who eats a great deal." JOHNSON. "Nay, Sir, whatever may be the quantity that a man eats, it is plain that if he is too fat, he has eaten more than he should have done. One man may have a digestion that consumes food better than common; but it is certain that solidity is increased by putting something to it." BOSWELL. "But may not solids swell and be distended?" JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir, they may swell and be distended; but that is not fat."

We talked of the accusation against a gentleman⁴ for supposed delinquencies in India.

JOHNSON. "What foundation there is for accusation I know not, but they will not get at him. Where bad actions are committed at so great a distance, a delinquent can obscure the evidence till the scent becomes cold; there is a cloud between, which cannot be penetrated; therefore all distant power is bad. I am clear that the best plan for the government of India is a despotic governor; for if he be a good man, it is evidently the best government; and supposing him to be a bad man, it is better to have one plunderer than many. A governor whose power is checked lets others plunder, that he himself may be allowed to plunder; but if despotic, he sees that the more he lets others plunder, the less there will be for himself, so he restrains them; and though he himself plunders, the country is a gainer, compared with being plundered by numbers."

I mentioned the very liberal payment which had been received for reviewing; and as evidence of this, that it had been proved in a trial, that Dr. Shebbeare had received six guineas a sheet for that kind of literary labour. JOHNSON. "Sir, he might get six guineas for a particular sheet, but not *communibus sheetibus*." BOSWELL. "Pray, Sir, by a sheet of review, is it meant that it shall be all of the writer's own composition? or are extracts, made from the book reviewed, deducted?" JOHNSON. "No, Sir; it is a sheet, no matter of what." BOSWELL. "I think that is not reasonable." JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir, it is. A man will more easily write a sheet all his own, than read an octavo volume to get extracts." To one of Johnson's wonderful fertility of mind, I believe writing was really easier than reading and extracting; but with ordinary men the case is very different. A great deal, indeed, will depend upon the care and judgment with which extracts are made. I can suppose the operation to be tedious and difficult; but in many instances we must observe crude morsels cut out of books as if at random; and when a large extract is made from one place, it surely may be done with very little trouble. One, how-

written the night before he fell in a duel, September 3, 1783: "In the first place, I commit my soul to Almighty God, in hopes of his mercy and pardon for the irregular step I now (in compliance with the unwarrantable customs of this wicked world) put myself under the necessity of taking."

—BOSWELL. Colonel Thomas was shot in a duel by Colonel Cosmo Gordon. See *Gent. Mag.* 1783, p. 801. — WRIGHT.

¹ In repeating this epitaph, Johnson improved it. The original runs thus:—

"Betwixt the stirrup and the ground,
Mercy I ask'd, mercy I found." — MALONE.

² Mr. Boswell, quoting from memory, has interpolated the word "blessed." The words of the Liturgy are, "in *sure* and *certain* hope of the resurrection," &c. &c. L'Estrange, in his "Alliance of Divine Offices," p. 302, observes, "These words import the faith of the *congregation* then present in the article of the resurrection. The plural, '*our* vile bodies,' excludes the restraint to a singular number." The reformed liturgies have uniformly employed the same cautious language. In one of the prayers used in the burial service, in the first book of Edward VI., the following passage occurs: "We give thee hearty thanks for this thy servant, whom

thou hast delivered, &c. &c. And, as we trust, hast brought his soul into sure consolation of rest." — MARKLAND.

³ Upon this objection, the Rev. Mr. Ralph Churton, fellow of Brazenose College, Oxford, has favoured me with the following satisfactory observation:—

"The passage in the burial service does not mean the resurrection of the person interred, but the general resurrection; it is in *sure* and *certain* hope of the resurrection; not *his* resurrection. Where the deceased is really spoken of, the expression is very different,—'*as our hope is this our brother doth rest in Christ*;' a mode of speech consistent with every thing but absolute certainty that the person departed doth *not* rest in Christ, which no one can be assured of without immediate revelation from Heaven. In the first of these places also, '*eternal life*' does not necessarily mean eternity of bliss, but merely the eternity of the state, whether in happiness or in misery, to ensue upon the resurrection; which is probably the sense of '*the life everlasting*,' in the Apostles' Creed. See Wheatly and Bennet on the Common Prayer." — BOSWELL.

⁴ No doubt Mr. Warren Hastings, to whose case two reports of a select committee of the House of Commons, drawn up by Mr. Burke, began about this time to excite public attention. — CROKER, 1847.

ever, I must acknowledge, might be led, from the practice of reviewers, to suppose that they take a pleasure in original writing; for we often find, that instead of giving an accurate account of what has been done by the author whose work they are reviewing, which is surely the proper business of a literary journal, they produce some plausible and ingenious conceits of their own, upon the topics which have been discussed.

Upon being told that old Mr. Sheridan, indignant at the neglect of his oratorical plans, had threatened to go to America: JOHNSON. "I hope he will go to America." BOSWELL. "The Americans don't want oratory." JOHNSON. "But we can want Sheridan."

On Monday, April 28., I found him at home in the morning, and Mr. Seward with him. Horace having been mentioned: BOSWELL. "There is a great deal of thinking in his works. One finds there almost every thing but religion." SEWARD. "He speaks of his returning to it, in his *Ode Parcus Deorum cultor et infrequens*." JOHNSON. "Sir, he was not in earnest; this was merely poetical." BOSWELL. "There are, I am afraid, many people who have no religion at all." SEWARD. "And sensible people, too." JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, not sensible in that respect. There must be either a natural or a moral stupidity, if one lives in a total neglect of so very important a concern." SEWARD. "I wonder that there should be people without religion." JOHNSON. "Sir, you need not wonder at this, when you consider how large a proportion of almost every man's life is passed without thinking of it. I myself was for some years totally regardless of religion. It had dropped out of my mind. It was at an early part of my life. Sickness brought it back, and I hope I have never lost it since." BOSWELL. "My dear Sir, what a man must you have been without religion! Why you must have gone on drinking, and swearing, and—" JOHNSON (with a smile). "I drank enough, and swore enough, to be sure." SEWARD. "One should think that sickness and the view of death would make more men religious." JOHNSON. "Sir, they do not know how to go about it: they have not the first notion. A man who has never had religion before, no more grows religious when he is sick, than a man who has never learnt figures can count when he has need of calculation."

I mentioned a worthy friend¹ of ours, whom we valued much, but observed that he was too ready to introduce religious discourse upon all

occasions. JOHNSON. "Why, yes, Sir, he will introduce religious discourse without seeing whether it will end in instruction and improvement, or produce some profane jest. He would introduce it in the company of Wilkes, and twenty more such."

I mentioned Dr. Johnson's excellent distinction between liberty of conscience and liberty of teaching. JOHNSON. "Consider, Sir; if you have children whom you wish to educate in the principles of the church of England, and there comes a quaker who tries to pervert them to his principles, you would drive away the quaker. You would not trust to the predominance of right which you believe is in your opinions; you will keep wrong out of their heads. Now the vulgar are the children of the state. If any one attempts to teach them doctrines contrary to what the state approves, the magistrate may and ought to restrain him." SEWARD. "Would you restrain private conversation, Sir?" JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, it is difficult to say where private conversation begins, and where it ends. If we three should discuss even the great question concerning the existence of a Supreme Being by ourselves, we should not be restrained; for that would be to put an end to all improvement. But if we should discuss it in the presence of boarding-school girls, and as many boys, I think the magistrate would do well to put us in the stocks, to finish the debate there."

Lord Hailes had sent him a present of a curious little printed poem, on repairing the university of Aberdeen, by David Malloch which he thought would please Johnson, affording clear evidence that Mallet had appeared even as a literary character by the name of Malloch; his changing which to one of softer sound had given Johnson occasion to introduce him into his Dictionary, under the article *Alias*.² This piece was, I suppose, one of Mallet's first essays. It is preserved in his works, with several variations. Johnson having read aloud, from the beginning of it, where there were some commonplace assertions as to the superiority of ancient times:—"How false," said he, "is all this, to say that 'in ancient times learning was not a disgrace to peer, as it is now!' In ancient times a peer was as ignorant as any one else. He would have been angry to have it thought he could write his name. Men in ancient times dare to stand forth with a degree of ignorance with which nobody would now dare to stand forth. I am always angry when I hear ancient time praised at the expense of modern times. Ther

¹ Mr. Langton. *Ante*, pp. 262. 292.—CROKER.

² Malloch, as Mr. Bindley observes to me, "continued to write his name thus, after he came to London. His verses prefixed to the second edition of Thomson's 'Winter' are so subscribed, and so are his Letters written in London, and published a few years ago in 'The European Magazine;' but he soon afterwards adopted the alteration to Mallet, for he is so called in the list of subscribers to Savage's *Miscellanies*, printed in 1726; and thenceforward uniformly Mallet,

in all his writings."—MALONE. A notion has been entertained, that no such exemplification of *Alias* is to be found in Johnson's Dictionary, and that the whole story was waggishly fabricated by Wilkes in the "North Britain." The real fact is, that it is not to be found in the folio or quarto editions, but was added by Johnson in his own *octavo* abridgment, in 1756.—J. BOSWELL, jun. It still remains in the *octavo* editions, at least it is in mine of 1794.—CROKER.

is now a great deal more learning in the world than there was formerly; for it is universally diffused. You have, perhaps, no man who knows as much Greek and Latin as Bentley; no man who knows as much mathematics as Newton: but you have many more men who know Greek and Latin, and who know mathematics."

On Thursday, 1st May, I visited him in the evening along with young Mr. Burke. He said, "It is strange that there should be so little reading in the world, and so much writing. People in general do not willingly read, if they can have any thing else to amuse them. There must be an external impulse; emulation, or vanity, or avarice. The progress which the understanding makes through a book has more pain than pleasure in it. Language is scanty and inadequate to express the nice gradations and mixtures of our feelings. No man reads a book of science from pure inclination. The books that we do read with pleasure are light compositions, which contain a quick succession of events. However, I have this year read all Virgil through. I read a book of the *Æneid* every night, so it was done in twelve nights, and I had a great delight in it. The *Georgics* did not give me so much pleasure, except the fourth book. The *Eclogues* I have almost all by heart. I do not think the story of the *Æneid* interesting. I like the story of the *Odyssey* much better; and this not on account of the wonderful things which it contains; for there are wonderful things enough in the *Æneid*;—the ships of the Trojans turned to sea-nymphs,—the tree at Polydorus's tomb dropping blood. The story of the *Odyssey* is interesting, as a great part of it is domestic. It has been said there is pleasure in writing, particularly in writing verses. I allow you may have pleasure from writing after it is over, if you have written well¹; but you don't go willingly to it again. I know, when I have been writing verses, I have run my finger down the margin, to see how many I had made, and how few I had to make."

He seemed to be in a very placid humour; and although I have no note of the particulars of young Mr. Burke's conversation, it is but justice to mention in general, that it was such that Dr. Johnson said to me afterwards, "He did very well indeed; I have a mind to tell his father."²

JOHNSON TO REYNOLDS.

"May 2. 1783.

"DEAR SIR, — The gentleman who waits on you with this is Mr. Cruikshanks, who wishes to succeed his friend Dr. Hunter as professor of anatomy in the Royal Academy. His qualifications are very generally known, and it adds dignity to the institution that such men³ are candidates. I am, Sir, &c.,
"SAM. JOHNSON."

I have no minute⁴, of any interview with Johnson till Thursday, May 15th, when I find what follows: BOSWELL. "I wish much to be in parliament, Sir." JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, unless you come resolved to support any administration, you would be the worse for being in parliament, because you would be obliged to live more expensively." BOSWELL. "Perhaps, Sir, I should be the less happy for being in parliament. I never would sell my vote, and I should be vexed if things went wrong." JOHNSON. "That's cant, Sir. It would not vex you more in the House than in the gallery: public affairs vex no man." BOSWELL. "Have not they vexed yourself a little, Sir? Have not you been vexed by all the turbulence of this reign, and by that absurd vote of the House of Commons, 'That the influence of the crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished?'" JOHNSON. "Sir, I have never slept an hour less, nor eat an ounce less meat. I would have knocked the factious dogs on the head, to be sure; but I was not vexed." BOSWELL. "I declare, Sir, upon my honour, I did imagine I was vexed, and took a pride in it; but it was, perhaps, cant; for I own I neither eat less nor slept less." JOHNSON. "My dear friend, clear your mind of cant. You may talk as other people do; you may say to a man, 'Sir, I am your humble servant.' You are not his most humble servant. You may say, 'These are bad times; it is a melancholy thing to be reserved to such times.' You don't mind the times. You tell a man, 'I am sorry you had such bad weather the last day of your journey, and were so much wet.' You don't care sixpence whether he is wet or dry. You may talk in this manner; it is a mode of talking in society; but don't think foolishly."

I talked of living in the country. JOHNSON. "Don't set up for what is called hospitality;

"May. 5. 1783.

"Saturday we had a dinner at home, — Mrs. Carter, Miss Hamilton, the Kennicotts, and Dr. Johnson. Poor Johnson exerted himself exceedingly; but he was very ill, and looked so dreadfully, that it quite grieved me. His sickness seems to have softened his mind, without having at all weakened it. I was struck with the mild radiance of this setting sun. We had but a small party of such of his friends as we knew would be most agreeable to him, and as we were all very attentive and paid him the homage he both expects and deserves, he was very communicative, and, of course, instructive and delightful in the highest degree." *Memo.* i. 280.
— CROKER, 1847.

¹ Dum pingit, fruitur arte; postquam pinxerat, fruitur fructu artis. [While he paints he enjoys his art; after painting he enjoys the fruit of his art.] — *Seneca*. — KEARNEY.

² Richard Burke died Aug. 2. 1794, in his thirty-fifth year. — MALONE. The fond partiality of his father (for such it must be admitted to have been) for his talents is now well known. Mr. Burke is reported, with a mixture of personal and paternal pride, to have remarked how extraordinary it was that Lord Chatham, Lord Holland, and he should each have had a son so superior to their fathers. — CROKER.

³ Let it be remembered by those who accuse Dr. Johnson of illiberality, that both were *Scotchmen*. — BOSWELL.

⁴ On the 3d of May Johnson dined with Mrs. Garrick, and Hannah More gives the following amiable account of him:—

it is a waste of time, and a waste of money : you are eaten up, and not the more respected for your liberality. If your house be like an inn, nobody cares for you. A man who stays a week with another makes him a slave for a week." BOSWELL. "But there are people, Sir, who make their houses a home to their guests, and are themselves quite easy." JOHNSON. "Then, Sir, home must be the same to the guests, and they need not come."

Here he discovered a notion common enough in persons not much accustomed to entertain company, that there must be a degree of elaborate attention, otherwise company will think themselves neglected: and such attention is no doubt very fatiguing. He proceeded: "I would not, however, be a stranger in my own country; I would visit my neighbours, and receive their visits; but I would not be in haste to return visits. If a gentleman comes to see me, I tell him he does me a great deal of honour. I do not go to see him, perhaps, for ten weeks; then we are very complaisant to each other. No, Sir, you will have much more influence by giving or lending money where it is wanted, than by hospitality."

On Saturday, May 17., I saw him for a short time. Having mentioned that I had that morning been with old Mr. Sheridan, he remembered their former intimacy with a cordial warmth, and said to me, "Tell Mr. Sheridan, I shall be glad to see him and shake hands with him." BOSWELL. "It is to me very wonderful that resentment should be kept up so long." JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, it is not altogether resentment that he does not visit me; it is partly falling out of the habit,—partly disgust, such as one has at a drug that has made him sick. Besides, he knows that I laugh at his oratory."

Another day I spoke of one of our friends, of whom he, as well as I, had a very high opinion. He expatiated in his praise; but added, "Sir, he is a cursed Whig, a *bottomless* Whig, as they all are now."¹

I mentioned my expectations from the interest of an eminent person² then in power; adding, "But I have no claim but the claim

of friendship; however, some people will go a great way from that motive." JOHNSON. "Sir, they will go all the way from that motive." A gentleman talked of retiring;—"Never think of that," said Johnson. The gentleman urged, "I should then do no ill." JOHNSON. "Nor no good either. Sir, it would be a civil suicide."

On Monday, May 26., I found him at tea, and the celebrated Miss Burney³, the author of "Evelina" and "Cecilia," with him. I asked if there would be any speakers in parliament, if there were no places to be obtained. JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir. Why do you speak here? Either to instruct and entertain, which is a benevolent motive; or for distinction, which is a selfish motive." I mentioned "Cecilia." JOHNSON. (with an air of animated satisfaction.) "Sir, if you talk of 'Cecilia,' talk on."

We talked of Mr. Barry's exhibition of his pictures. JOHNSON. "Whatever the hand may have done, the mind has done its part. There is a grasp of mind there which you find nowhere else."⁴

I asked whether a man naturally virtuous, or one who has overcome wicked inclinations, is the best. JOHNSON. "Sir, to *you*, the man who has overcome wicked inclinations is not the best. He has more merit to *himself*. I would rather trust my money to a man who has no hands, and so a physical impossibility to steal, than to a man of the most honest principles. There is a witty satirical story of Foote. He had a small bust of Garrick placed upon his bureau. 'You may be surprised,' said he, 'that I allow him to be so near my gold;—but you will observe he has no hands.'"

On Friday, May 29.⁵, being to set out for Scotland next morning, I passed a part of the day with him in more than usual earnestness, as his health was in a more precarious state than at any time when I had parted from him. He, however, was quick and lively, and critical, as usual I mentioned one who was a very learned man. JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir, he has a great deal of learning; but it never lies

¹ Mr. Burke,—who, however, proved himself, on the French Revolution, not to be a *bottomless* Whig, *anté*, p. 509.—CROKER.

² Probably Lord Mountstuart.—CROKER.

³ Frances, afterwards Mad. D'Arblay, born in July, 1752, had published "Evelina," at the latter end of January, 1778, and "Cecilia" in the autumn of 1782. It was stated and believed that she was only *seventeen* when she surprised the world by her "Evelina;" it now appears that she was near *twenty-seven*—an important difference.—CROKER, 1831-47.

⁴ In Mr. Barry's printed analysis or description of these pictures, he speaks of Johnson's character in the highest terms.—BOSWELL. They are still to be seen, in the great room of the Society of Arts in the Adelphi.—CROKER.

⁵ Before Boswell left town he was negotiating another dinner with Dr. Johnson and Mr. Wilkes at the house of the latter; but Johnson was pre-engaged.

BOSWELL TO WILKES.

"Wednesday, May 21. 1783.

"Mr. Boswell's compliments to Mr. Wilkes. He rejoices to find he is so much better as to be abroad. He finds that it

would not be unpleasant to Dr. Johnson to dine at Mr. Wilkes's. The thing would be so curiously benignant, it were a pity it should not take place. Nobody but Mr. Boswell should be asked to meet the doctor. Mr. Boswell goes for Scotland on Friday the 30th. If, then, a card were sent to the doctor on Monday, Tuesday, or Wednesday, without delay, it is to be hoped he would be fixed; and notice will be sent to Mr. Boswell."

BOSWELL TO MR. AND MISS WILKES.

"Mr. Boswell presents his best compliments to Mr. and Miss Wilkes; encloses Dr. Johnson's answer; and regrets much that so agreeable a meeting must be deferred till next year, as Mr. Boswell is to set out for Scotland in a few days. Hopes Mr. Wilkes will write to him there."

Enclosed.

"May 24. 1783.

"Dr. Johnson returns thanks to Mr. and Miss Wilkes for their kind invitation; but he is engaged for Tuesday to Sir Joshua Reynolds and for Wednesday to Mr. Paradise."—CROKER.

straight. There is never one idea by the side of another; 'tis all entangled: and then he drives it so awkwardly upon conversation!"

I stated to him an anxious thought, by which a sincere Christian might be disturbed, even when conscious of having lived a good life, so far as is consistent with human infirmity; he might fear that he should afterwards fall away, and be guilty of such crimes as would render all his former religion vain. Could there be, upon this awful subject, such a thing as balancing of accounts? Suppose a man who has led a good life for seven years commits an act of wickedness, and instantly dies; will his former good life have any effect in his favour?

JOHNSON. "Sir, if a man has led a good life for seven years, and then is hurried by passion to do what is wrong, and is suddenly carried off, depend upon it he will have the reward of his seven years' good life: God will not take a catch of him. Upon this principle Richard Baxter believes that a suicide may be saved. 'If,' says he, 'it should be objected that what I maintain may encourage suicide, I answer, I am not to tell a lie to prevent it.'" BOSWELL. "But does not the text say, 'As the tree falls, so it must lie?'" JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir; as the tree falls: but,"—after a little pause—"that is meant as to the general state of the tree, not what is the effect of a sudden blast." In short, he interpreted the expression as referring to *condition*, not to *position*. The common notion, therefore, seems to be erroneous; and Shenstone's witty remark on divines trying to give the tree a jerk upon a death-bed, to make it lie favourably, is not well founded.¹

I asked him what works of Richard Baxter's I should read. He said, "Read any of them; they are all good."

He said, "Get as much force of mind as you can. Live within your income. Always have something saved at the end of the year. Let your imports be more than your exports, and you'll never go far wrong."

I assured him, that in the extensive and various range of his acquaintance there never had been any one who had a more sincere respect and affection for him than I had. He said, "I believe it, Sir. Were I in distress, there is no man to whom I should sooner come than to you. I should like to come and have a cottage in your park, toddle about, live

mostly on milk, and be taken care of by Mrs. Boswell. She and I are good friends now; are we not?"

Talking of devotion, he said, "Though it be true that 'God dwelleth not in temples made with hands,' yet in this state of being our minds are more piously affected in places appropriated to divine worship, than in others. Some people have a particular room in their houses where they say their prayers; of which I do not disapprove, as it may animate their devotion."

He embraced me, and gave me his blessing, as usual, when I was leaving him for any length of time. I walked from this door to-day with a fearful apprehension of what might happen before I returned.

JOHNSON TO THE RIGHT HON. W. WINDHAM.

"London, May 31. 1783.

"SIR,—The bringer of this letter is the father of Miss Philips², a singer, who comes to try her voice on the stage at Dublin. Mr. Philips is one of my old friends; and as I am of opinion that neither he nor his daughter will do any thing that can disgrace their benefactors, I take the liberty of entreating you to countenance and protect them so far as may be suitable to your station³ and character, and shall consider myself as obliged by any favourable notice which they shall have the honour of receiving from you. I am, Sir, &c.,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

The following is another instance of his active benevolence:—

JOHNSON TO REYNOLDS.

"June 2. 1783.

"DEAR SIR,—I have sent you some of my godson's performances, of which I do not pretend to form any opinion. When I took the liberty of mentioning him to you, I did not know what I have since been told, that Mr. Moser had admitted him among the students of the Academy. What more can be done for him, I earnestly entreat you to consider; for I am very desirous that he should derive some advantage from my connection with him. If you are inclined to see him, I will bring him to wait on you at any time that you shall be pleased to appoint. I am, Sir, &c.,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

¹ "When a tree is falling, I have seen the labourers, by a trivial jerk with a rope, throw it upon the spot where they would wish it to lie. Divines, understanding this text too literally, pretend, by a little interposition in the article of death, to regulate a person's everlasting happiness." *Shenstone's Works*, vol. ii. p. 297. I wonder Johnson did not remark that in the authorised version (agreeing with the Septuagint, the Vulgate, and the Genevee and Douay versions) the text is, "If the clouds be full of rain, they empty themselves upon the earth; and if the tree falls toward the south, or toward the north, there it shall be; and that the whole context, the authorised heading of the chapter, and the best commentators, Granger, Poole, Patrick, Henry, and Scott,—all concur that the object of the exhortation is *charity*, and that it has no reference whatsoever to the spiritual state of man, at or after

death. Our earlier Bibles, which are followed by the *Homily on Prayer*, give, "Where the tree falls * * * there it lieth;" and the *Bishops' Bible* adds a note, "In what state a man dyeth, in that he shall be judged." But this interpretation, though so frequently adopted, is, as I have said, rejected by the best commentators, and indeed seems, if not absolutely unintelligible, at least inconsistent with the whole scope of the chapter.—CROKER, 1831-47.

² Now the celebrated Mrs. Crouch.—BOSWELL. She died in October. 1805, æt. 45.—CROKER.

³ Mr. Windham was at this time in Dublin, secretary to the Earl of Northington, then lord lieutenant of Ireland.—BOSWELL. He held this office a very short time, finding, or, as I believe, fancying, that it was too much for his nervous system. See *antiq.* p. 724. n. 1.—CROKER, 1847.

[JOHNSON TO MRS. THRALE.

(Extract.)

"London, June 13. 1783.¹

"Seward called on me yesterday. He is going — only for a few weeks — first to Paris, and then to Flanders, to contemplate the pictures of Claude Lorraine; and he asked me if that was not as good a way as any of spending time — that time which returns no more; of which, however, a great part seems to be very foolishly spent, even by the wisest and the best.

Poor Lawrence² and his youngest son died almost on the same day.]

— *Letters.*

My anxious apprehensions at parting with him this year proved to be but too well founded; for not long afterwards he had a dreadful stroke of the palsy, of which there are very full and accurate accounts in letters written by himself, to show with what composure of mind and resignation to the Divine will his steady piety enabled him to behave.

JOHNSON TO ALLEN.

"June 17. 1783.

"It has pleased God this morning to deprive me of the powers of speech; and as I do not know but that it may be his further good pleasure to deprive me soon of my senses, I request you will, on the receipt of this note, come to me, and act for me as the exigences of my case may require. I am, &c.,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO TAYLOR.

"June 17. 1783.

"DEAR SIR, — It has pleased God, by a paralytic stroke in the night, to deprive me of speech. I am very desirous of Dr. Heberden's assistance, as I think my case is not past remedy. Let me see you as soon as it is possible. Bring Dr. Heberden with you, if you can; but come yourself at all events. I am glad you are so well when I am so dreadfully attacked.

"I think that by a speedy application of stimulants much may be done. I question if a vomit, vigorous and rough, would not rouse the organs of speech to action. As it is too early to send, I will try to recollect what I can that can be suspected to have brought on this dreadful distress.

"I have been accustomed to bleed frequently for an asthmatic complaint; but have foreborne for some time by Dr. Pepys's persuasion, who perceived my legs beginning to swell. I sometimes alleviate a painful, or, more properly, an oppressive constriction of my chest, by opiates; and have lately taken opium frequently; but the last, or two last times, in smaller quantities. My largest dose is three grains, and last night I took but two. You

will suggest these things (and they are all that I can call to mind) to Dr. Heberden. I am, &c.,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

Two days after he wrote thus to Mrs. Thrale: —

JOHNSON TO MRS. THRALE.

(Extract.)

"On Monday, the 16th, I sat for my picture [to Miss Reynolds], and walked a considerable way with little inconvenience. In the afternoon and evening I felt myself light and easy, and began to plan schemes of life. Thus I went to bed, and in a short time waked and sat up, as has been long my custom, when I felt a confusion and indistinctness in my head, which lasted, I suppose, about half a minute. I was alarmed, and prayed God, that however he might afflict my body, he would spare my understanding. This prayer, that I might try the integrity of my faculties, I made in Latin verse. The lines were not very good, but I knew them not to be very good: I made them easily, and concluded myself to be unimpaired in my faculties.

"Soon after I perceived that I had suffered a paralytic stroke, and that my speech was taken from me. I had no pain, and so little dejection in this dreadful state, that I wondered at my own apathy, and considered that perhaps death itself, when it should come, would excite less horror than seems now to attend it.

"In order to rouse the vocal organs, I took two drams. Wine has been celebrated for the production of eloquence. I put myself into violent motion, and I think repeated it; but all was vain. I then went to bed; and, strange as it may seem, I think slept. When I saw light, it was time to contrive what I should do. Though God stopped my speech, he left me my hand: I enjoyed a mercy which was not granted to my dear friend Lawrence, who now perhaps overlooks me as I am writing, and rejoices that I have what he wanted. My first note was necessarily to my servant, who came in talking, and could not immediately comprehend why he should read what I put into his hands.

"I then wrote a card to Mr. Allen, that I might have a discreet friend at hand, to act as occasion should require. In penning this note I had some difficulty: my hand, I knew not how or why, made wrong letters. I then wrote to Dr. Taylor to come to me, and bring Dr. Heberden; and I sent to Dr. Brocklesby, who is my neighbour.³ My physicians are very friendly, and give me great hopes; but you may imagine my situation. I have so far recovered my vocal powers, as to repeat the Lord's Prayer with no imperfect articulation. My memory, I hope, yet remains as it was; but such an attack produces solicitude for the safety of every faculty."

— *Letters.*

¹ I cannot account for the date of this letter, mentioning the deaths of Dr. Lawrence, who died only that day at Canterbury, and of Mr. Lawrence, who died two days later. Mrs. Thrale's answer is liable to the same difficulty. — CROKER, 1847.

² Dr. Lawrence, descended, as Sir Egerton Brydges informed me, from Milton's friend, was born in 1771, died in 1783, on the 12th of June. His son, the Reverend J. Law-

rence, died on the 15th. Johnson had addressed a Latin ode to Dr. Lawrence (*Works*, i. 180.) on the illness of one of his sons, some years before. Another of his sons was Sir Soulden Lawrence, one of the judges of the King's Bench. — CROKER.

³ He lived in Norfolk Street, in the Strand. — CROKER, 1847.

JOHNSON TO DAVIES

"June 18. 1783.

"DEAR SIR, — I have had, indeed, a very heavy blow; but God, who yet spares my life, I humbly hope will spare my understanding and restore my speech. As I am not at all helpless, I want no particular assistance, but am strongly affected by Mrs. Davies's tenderness; and when I think she can do me good, shall be very glad to call upon her. I had ordered friends to be shut out; but one or two have found the way in; and if you come you shall be admitted; for I know not whom I can see that will bring more amusement on his tongue, or more kindness in his heart. I am, &c.,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

It gives me great pleasure to preserve such a memorial of Johnson's regard for Mr. Davies, to whom I was indebted for my introduction to him.¹ He indeed loved Davies cordially, of which I shall give the following little evidence: — One day when he had treated him with too much asperity, Tom, who was not without pride and spirit, went off in a passion; but he had hardly reached home, when Frank, who had been sent after him, delivered this note: "Come, come, dear Davies, I am always sorry when we quarrel; send me word that we are friends."

[JOHNSON TO MRS. THRALE.

(Extracts.)

"June 20. 1783. — I think to send you for some time a regular diary. You will forgive the gross images that disease must necessarily present. Dr. Lawrence said that medical treatises should be always in Latin. I have had my head covered with one formidable diffusion of cantharides.

"I never had any distortion of the countenance but what Dr. Brocklesby called a little *prolapsus*, which went away the second day.

"I was this day directed to eat flesh, and I dined very copiously upon roasted lamb and boiled pease. I then went to sleep in a chair; and when I waked, I found Dr. Brocklesby sitting by me, and fell to talking with him in such a manner as made me glad, and I hope made me thankful. The doctor fell to repeating Juvenal's ninth satire; but I let him see that the province was mine.

"I am to take wine to-night, and hope it will do me good."

"June 21. — I had a comfortable and placid night. My physicians this morning thought my amendment not inconsiderable, and my friends who visited me said my look was sprightly and cheerful. My disease, whatever it was, seems collected into this one dreadful attack.

"To-day I received a letter of consolation from an unknown hand, kindly and piously, but not enthusiastically written."

"June 23. — My friends tell me that my powers of utterance improve daily, and Dr. Heberden declares he hopes to find me well to-morrow.

Palsies are more common than I thought. I have been visited by four friends, who have had each a stroke, and one of them two."

"June 28. — Your letter is just such as I desire, and as from you I hope always to deserve.

"The black dog² I hope always to resist, and in time to drive, though I am deprived of almost all those that used to help me. The neighbourhood is impoverished. I had once Richardson and Lawrence in my reach. Mrs. Allen is dead. My home has lost Levett; a man who took interest in every thing, and therefore ready at conversation. Mrs. Williams is so weak that she can be a companion no longer. When I rise, my breakfast is solitary; the black dog waits to share it. From breakfast to dinner he continues barking, except that Dr. Brocklesby for a little keeps him at a distance. Dinner with a sick woman you may venture to suppose not much better than solitary. After dinner, what remains but to count the clock, and hope for that sleep which I can scarce expect? Night comes at last, and some hours of restlessness and confusion bring me again to a day of solitude. What shall exclude the black dog from an habitation like this? If I were a little richer, I would perhaps take some cheerful female into the house.

"Last night fresh flies [*cantharides*] were put to my head, and hindered me from sleeping. To-day I fancy myself incommoded with heat.

"I have, however, watered the garden both yesterday and to-day, just as I watered the laurels in the island" [*at Streatham*].

"July 3. — Dr. Brocklesby yesterday dismissed the cantharides, and I can now find a soft place upon my pillow. Last night was cool, and I rested well; and this morning I have been a friend at a poetical difficulty. Here is now a glimpse of daylight again; but how near is the evening none can tell, and I will not prognosticate. We all know that from none of us it can be far distant: may none of us know this in vain!

"I went, as I took care to boast, on Tuesday [1st July] to the Club, and hear that I was thought to have performed as well as usual.

"I dined on fish, with the wing of a small turkey-chick, and left roast beef, goose, and venison-pie untouched. I live much on pease, and never had them so good for so long a time in any year that I can remember."

— Letters.

JOHNSON TO LOWE.³

"Friday, June 20. 1783.

"SIR, — You know, I suppose, that a sudden illness makes it impracticable to me to wait on Mr. Barry, and the time is short. If it be your opinion that the end can be obtained by writing, I am very willing to write, and, perhaps, it may do as well: it is, at least, all that can be expected at present from, Sir, your most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

"If you would have me write, come to me: I order your admission.]"

— Freeling MSS.

¹ Poor Derrick, however, though he did not himself introduce me to Dr. Johnson, as he promised, had the merit of introducing me to Davies, the immediate introducer. — BOSWELL.

² See *anti*, p. 640. n. 1. — C.

³ Amidst all this distress and danger, we see by this and some subsequent letters communicated by Mr. Markland, his indefatigable charity and kindness to his humble friends.

JOHNSON TO MRS. PORTER.

"London, June 25. 1783.

"DEAR MADAM, — Since the papers have given an account of my illness, it is proper that I should give my friends some account of it myself.

"Very early in the morning of the 16th¹ of this month I perceived my speech taken from me. When it was light I sat down and wrote such directions as appeared proper. Dr. Heberden and Dr. Brocklesby were called. Blisters were applied, and medicines given. Before night I began to speak with some freedom, which has been increasing ever since, so that I have now very little impediment in my utterance. Dr. Heberden took his leave this morning.

"Since I received this stroke I have in other respects been better than I was before, and hope yet to have a comfortable summer. Let me have your prayers.

"If writing is not troublesome, let me know whether you are pretty well, and how you have passed the winter and spring.

"Make my compliments to all my friends. I am, dear Madam, your most humble servant,
— Pearson MSS. "SAM. JOHNSON."]

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"London, July 3. 1783.

"DEAR SIR, — Your anxiety about my health is very friendly and very agreeable with your general kindness. I have indeed had a very frightful blow. On the 17th of last month, about three in the morning, as near as I can guess, I perceived myself almost totally deprived of speech. I had no pain. My organs were so obstructed that I could say *no*, but could scarcely say *yes*. I wrote the necessary directions, for it pleased God to spare my hand, and sent for Dr. Heberden and Dr. Brocklesby. Between the time in which I discovered my own disorder, and that in which I sent for the doctors, I had, I believe, in spite of my surprise and solicitude, a little sleep, and nature began to renew its operations. They came and gave the directions which the disease required, and from that time I have been continually improving in articulation. I can now speak, but the nerves are weak, and I cannot continue discourse long; but strength, I hope, will return. The physicians consider me as cured. I was last Sunday at church. On Tuesday I took an airing to Hampstead, and dined with the Club, where Lord Palmerston was proposed, and, against my opinion, was rejected.² I designed to go next week with Mr. Langton to Rochester, where I purpose to stay about ten days, and then try some other air. I have many kind invitations. Your brother has very frequently inquired after me. Most of my friends have, indeed, been very attentive. Thank dear Lord Hailes for his present.

"I hope you found at your return every thing gay and prosperous, and your lady, in particular,

quite recovered and confirmed. Pay her my respects. I am, dear Sir, &c., SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO MRS. PORTER.

"London, July 5. 1783.

"DEAR MADAM, — The account which you give of your health is but melancholy. May it please God to restore you. My disease affected my speech, and still continues, in some degree, to obstruct my utterance; my voice is distinct enough for a while, but the organs being still weak are quickly weary; but in other respects I am, I think, rather better than I have lately been, and can let you know my state without the help of any other hand. In the opinion of my friends, and in my own, I am gradually mending. The physicians consider me as cured, and I had leave four days ago to wash the cantharides from my head. Last Tuesday I dined at the Club.

"I am going next week into Kent, and purpose to change the air frequently this summer: whether I shall wander so far as Staffordshire I cannot tell. I should be glad to come. Return my thanks to Mrs. Cobb, and Mr. Pearson, and all that have shown attention to me. Let us, my dear, pray for one another, and consider our sufferings as notices mercifully given us to prepare ourselves for another state.

"I live now but in a melancholy way. My old friend Mr. Levett is dead, who lived with me in the house, and was useful and companionable; Mrs. Desmoulins is gone away³; and Mrs. Williams is so much decayed, that she can add little to another's gratifications. The world passes away, and we are passing with it; but there is, doubtless, another world, which will endure for ever. Let us all fit ourselves for it. I am, &c., SAM. JOHNSON."

Such was the general vigour of his constitution, that he recovered from this alarming and severe attack with wonderful quickness⁴: so that in July he was able to make a visit to Mr. Langton at Rochester, where he passed about a fortnight, and made little excursions as easily as at any time of his life.

JOHNSON TO MRS. THRALE.

(Extracts.)

"London, July 23. 1783.

"I have been thirteen days at Rochester, and am now just returned. I came back by water in a common boat, twenty miles for a shilling; and when I landed at Billingsgate I carried my budget myself to Cornhill before I could get a coach, and was not much incommoded."

"August 13. — Of this world, in which you represent me as delighting to live, I can say little. Since I came home I have only been to church once to Burney's, once to Paradise's, and once to

¹ Mistake for 17th. — CROKER.

² His lordship was soon after chosen, and is now a member of the Club. — BOSWELL.

³ She soon returned, and attended him in his last illness. — CROKER, 1847.

⁴ During his illness Mr. Murphy visited him, and found him reading Dr. Watson's Chemistry: articulating with difficulty, he said, "From this book he who knows nothing

may learn a great deal, and he who knows will be pleased to find his knowledge recalled to his mind in a manner highly pleasing." *Life*, p. 121. Murphy adds, that in the month of August he set out for Lichfield on a visit to Miss Lucy Porter; and in his way back paid his respects to Dr. Adams at Oxford. But it seems certain that he did not in this interval go to Lichfield, and there is barely time for a short excursion to Oxford. — CROKER.

Reynolds's. With Burney I saw Dr. Rose, his new relation, with whom I have been many years acquainted. If I discovered no reliques of disease, I am glad; but Fanny's trade is fiction.¹

"I have since partaken of an epidemical disorder; but common evils produce no dejection.

"Paradise's company, I fancy, disappointed him; I remember nobody. With Reynolds was the Archbishop of Tuam, a man coarse of voice and inelegant of language.²

"I am now broken with disease, without the alleviation of familiar friendship or domestic society; I have no middle state between clamour and silence, between general conversation and self-tormenting solitude. Levett is dead, and poor Williams is making haste to die: I know not if she will ever come out of her chamber.

"I am now quite alone; but let me turn my thoughts another way."

"August 20. — This has been a day of great emotion; the office of the communion for the sick has been performed in poor Mrs. Williams's chamber. At home I see almost all my companions dead or dying. At Oxford I have just lost Wheeler, the man with whom I most delighted to converse. The sense of my own diseases, and the sight of the world sinking round me, oppress me perhaps too much. I hope that all these admonitions will not be vain, and that I shall learn to die as dear Williams is dying, who was very cheerful before and after this awful solemnity, and seems to resign herself with calmness and hope upon eternal mercy.

"I read your last kind letter with great delight; but when I came to *love* and honour, what sprung in my mind? — How loved, how honoured once, awaits thee not.

"I sat to Mrs. Reynolds yesterday for my picture, perhaps the tenth time; and I sat for three hours with the patience of *mortal born to bear*."

"August 26. — Things stand with me much as they have done for some time. Mrs. Williams fancies now and then that she grows better, but her vital powers appear to be slowly burning out. Nobody thinks, however, that she will very soon be quite wasted; and as she suffers me to be of very little use to her, I have determined to pass some time with Mr. Bowles, near Salisbury, and have taken a place for Thursday.

"Some benefit may be perhaps received from change of air, some from change of company, and some from mere change of place. It is not easy to grow well in a chamber where one has long been sick, and where every thing seen, and every person peaking, revives and impresses images of pain. Though it be true that no man can run away from himself, yet he may escape from many causes of seless uneasiness. That *the mind is its own place*, is the boast of a fallen angel that had learned to die.³ External locality has great effects, at least upon all embodied beings. I hope this little journey will afford me at last some suspense of melancholy."]

— *Letters*.

CHAPTER LXXVII.

1783.

Visit to Heale. — Death of Mrs. Williams. — Conversation. — French Literature. — Dr. Priestley. — Candour. — Mrs. Siddons. — Mrs. Porter. — Kitty Clive. — Mrs. Pritchard. — John Philip Kemble. — George Anne Bellamy. — Lord Carlisle's Tragedy. — Unconstitutional Influence of the Scotch Peers. — Old Horses. — Mickle's "Lusiad." — Ossian. — Rules for the Essex Head Club.

In August he went as far as the neighbourhood of Salisbury, to Heale, the seat of William Bowles, Esq., a gentleman whom I have heard him praise for exemplary religious order in his family. In his diary I find a short but honourable mention of this visit: — "August 28., I came to Heale without fatigue. 30th. I am entertained quite to my mind."

JOHNSON TO BROCKLESBY.

"Heale, near Salisbury, Aug. 29. 1783.

"DEAR SIR, — Without appearing to want a just sense of your kind attention, I cannot omit to give an account of the day which seemed to appear in some sort perilous. I rose at five, and went out at six; and having reached Salisbury about nine, went forward a few miles in my friend's chariot. I was no more wearied with the journey, though it was a high-lung, rough coach, than I should have been forty years ago. We shall now see what air will do. The country is all a plain; and the house in which I am, so far as I can judge from my window, for I write before I have left my chamber, is sufficiently pleasant.

"Be so kind as to continue your attention to Mrs. Williams. It is great consolation to the well, and still greater to the sick, that they find themselves not neglected; and I know that you will be desirous of giving comfort, even where you have no great hope of giving help.

"Since I wrote the former part of the letter, I find that by the course of the post I cannot send it before the 31st. I am, &c., SAM. JOHNSON."

While he was here, he had a letter from Dr. Brocklesby, acquainting him of the death of Mrs. Williams, which affected him a good deal. Though for several years her temper had not been complacent, she had valuable qualities, and her departure left a blank in his house. Upon this occasion he, according to his habitual course of piety, composed a prayer.⁴

I shall here insert a few particulars concerning him, with which I have been favoured by one of his friends.

"He had once conceived the design of writing the Life of Oliver Cromwell, saying that he

¹ Miss Fanny Burney, the *novelist*, had, it seems, given that Johnson feared was too favourable an account of him, CROKER.

² Hon. Jos. Deane Bourke, afterwards Earl of Mayo. — CROKER.

³ Par. Lost, b. i. f. 254.

⁴ Prayers and Meditations, p. 226. — B. In his letter to Miss Susannah Thrall, Sept. 9., he thus writes: —

"Pray show mamma this passage of a letter from Dr. Brocklesby: — 'Mrs. Williams, from mere inanition, has at length paid the great debt to nature, about three o'clock this

thought it must be highly curious to trace his extraordinary rise to the supreme power from so obscure a beginning. He at length laid aside his scheme, on discovering that all that can be told of him is already in print; and that it is impracticable to procure any authentic information in addition to what the world is already in possession of."¹

"He had likewise projected, but at what part of his life is not known, a work to show how small a quantity of *REAL FICTION* there is in the world; and that the same images, with very little variation, have served all the authors who have ever written."

"His thoughts in the latter part of his life were frequently employed on his deceased friends. He often muttered these or such like sentences: 'Poor man! and then he died.'"

"Speaking of a certain literary friend, 'He is a very pompous puzzling fellow,' said he: 'he lent me a letter once that somebody had written to him, no matter what it was about; but he wanted to have the letter back, and expressed a mighty value for it: he hoped it was to be met with again; he would not lose it for a thousand pounds. I laid my hand upon it soon afterwards, and gave it him. I believe I said I was very glad to have met with it. Oh, then he did not know that it signified any thing. So you see, when the letter was lost it was worth a thousand pounds, and when it was found it was not worth a farthing.'"

"The style and character of his conversation is pretty generally known: it was certainly conducted in conformity with a precept of Lord Bacon, but it is not clear, I apprehend, that this conformity was either perceived or intended by Johnson. The precept alluded to is as follows: 'In all kinds of speech, either pleasant, grave, severe, or ordinary, it is convenient to speak leisurely, and rather drawlingly than hastily: because hasty speech confounds the memory, and oftentimes, besides the

unseemliness, drives a man either to stammering, nonplus, or harping on that which should follow whereas a slow speech confirmeth the memory addeth a conceit of wisdom to the hearers, beside a seemliness of speech and countenance."² Dr. Johnson's method of conversation was certainly calculated to excite attention, and to amuse and instruct (as it happened), without wearying or confounding his company. He was always most perfectly clear and perspicuous; and his language was so accurate, and his sentences so neatly constructed that his conversation might have been all printed without any correction. At the same time, it was easy and natural; the accuracy of it had no appearance of labour, constraint, or stiffness; he seemed more correct than others by the force of habit, and the customary exercises of his powerful mind."

"He spoke often in praise of French literature. 'The French are excellent in this,' he would say 'they have a book on every subject.' From what he had seen of them he denied them the praise superior politeness, and mentioned, with very visible disgust, the custom they have of spitting on the floors of their apartments. 'This,' said the doctor, 'is as gross a thing as can well be done; and one wonders how any man, or set of men, can persist so offensive a practice for a whole day together, one should expect that the first effort towards civilisation would remove it even among savages.'"

"Baxter's 'Reasons of the Christian Religion' he thought contained the best collection of evidences of the divinity of the Christian system."

"Chymistry was always an interesting pursuit with Dr. Johnson. Whilst he was in Wiltshire, he attended some experiments that were made by a physician at Salisbury on the new kinds of air. In the course of the experiments frequent mention being made of Dr. Priestley, Dr. Johnson knit his brows, and in a stern manner inquired, 'Why do we hear so much of Dr. Priestley?'³ He was v

morning (Sept. 6.). She died without a struggle, retaining her faculties entire to the very last; and, as she expressed it, having set her house in order, was prepared to leave it at the last summons of nature."

In his letter to Mrs. Thrale, Sept. 22., he adds:—

"Poor Williams has, I hope, seen the end of her afflictions. She acted with prudence, and she bore with fortitude. She has left me.

'Thou thy weary task hast done,
Home art gone, and ta'en thy wages.'

Had she had good-humour and prompt elocution, her universal curiosity and comprehensive knowledge would have made her the delight of all that knew her. She left her little to your charity-school."—MALONE.

¹ Mr. Malone observes, "This, however, was entirely a mistake, as appears from the Memoirs published by Mr. Noble. Had Johnson been furnished with the materials which the industry of that gentleman has procured, and with others which it is believed are yet preserved in manuscript, he would, without doubt, have produced a most valuable and curious history of Cromwell's life."—BOSWELL. I may add, that, had Johnson given us a Life of Cromwell, we should not have been disgusted in numberless instances with—"My Lord Protector" and "My Lady PROTECTRESS;" and certainly the brutal ruffian who presided in the bloody assembly that murdered their sovereign would have been characterised by very different epithets than those which are applied to him in this work, where we find him described as "the bold and DETERMINED Bradshaw."—MALONE.

² Hints for Civil Conversation.—*Bacon's Works*, 4to. vol. i. p. 571.—MALONE.

³ I do not wonder at Johnson's displeasure when the name of Dr. Priestley was mentioned; for I know no writer who has been suffered to publish more pernicious doctrines. I shall instance only three. First, *Materialism*; by which

mind is denied to human nature; which, if believed, I think deprive us of every elevated principle. Secondly, *Necessity*; or the doctrine that every action, whether good or bad, is included in an unchangeable and unavoidable system, a notion utterly subversive of moral government. Thirdly, that we have no reason to think that the *future world* (which, as he is pleased to *inform* us, will be adapted to our *improved* nature) will be materially different from this; which, if believed, would sink wretched mortals into despair, as they could no longer hope for the "rest that remaineth for the people of God," or for that happiness which is revealed to us as something beyond our present concepts, but would feel themselves doomed to a continuation of the uneasy state under which they now groan. I say nothing of the petulant intemperance with which he dares to insult the venerable establishments of his country. As a specimen of his writings, I shall quote the following passage, which appears to me equally absurd and impious, and which I have been retorted upon him by the men who were persecuted for burning his house. "I cannot," says he, "be a *necessarian* [meaning *necessitarian*], hate any man, be so I consider him as *being*, in all respects, just what God has made him to be; and also as *doing*, with respect to me, no good but what he was expressly designed and appointed to do, and being the *only cause*, and men nothing more than the instruments in his hands to execute all his pleasure."—*Illustrations of Philosophical Necessity*, p. 111. The Reverend Mr. Parr, in a late tract, appears to suppose that Dr. Johnson was not only undared, but almost solicited, an interview with Mr. Priestley. In justice to Dr. Johnson, I declare my firm belief that he never did. My illustrious friend was particularly resolute in not giving countenance to men whose writings he considered as pernicious to society. I was present at Cord when Dr. Price, even before he had rendered him so generally obnoxious by his zeal for the French revolution, came into a company where Johnson was, who instantly left the room. Much more would he have reprobated Dr.

properly answered, 'Sir, because we are indebted to him for these important discoveries.' On this Dr. Johnson appeared well content; and replied, 'Well, well, I believe we are; and let every man have the honour he has merited.'"

"A friend was one day, about two years before his death, struck with some instance of Dr. Johnson's great candour. 'Well, Sir,' said he, 'I will always say that you are a very candid man.' 'Will you?' replied the doctor; 'I doubt then you will be very singular. But, indeed, Sir,' continued he, 'I look upon myself to be a man very much misunderstood. I am not an uncandid, nor am I a severe man. I sometimes say more than I mean, in jest; and people are apt to believe me serious; however, I am more candid than I was when I was younger. As I know more of mankind, I expect less of them, and am ready now to call a man a good man upon easier terms than I was formerly.'"

[JOHNSON TO BARBER.]

"Heale, Sept. 16. 1783.

"DEAR FRANCIS,—I rather wonder that you have never written; but that is now not necessary, for I purpose to be with [you] on Thursday before dinner. As Thursday is my birth-day, I would have a little dinner got, and would have you invite Mrs. Desmoulins, Mrs. Davis that was about Mrs. Williams, and Mr. Allen and Mrs. Gardiner. I am, yours, &c.,
SAM. JOHNSON."

—Harwood MSS.

On his return from Heale he wrote to Dr. Burney:—

"I came home on the 18th of September, at noon, to a very disconsolate house. You and I have lost our friends; but you have more friends at home. My domestic companion is taken from me. I am much missed, for her acquisitions were many, and her curiosity universal; so that she partook of every conversation. I am not well enough to go much out; and to sit, and eat or fast alone, is very tedious. I always mean to send my compliments to all the ladies."

[JOHNSON TO MRS. MONTAGU.]

"September 22. 1783.

"MADAM,—That respect which is always due to beneficence makes it fit that you should be informed, otherwise than by the papers, that, on the 18th of this month, died your pensioner, Anna Williams, of whom it may be truly said, that she received your bounty with gratitude, and enjoyed it with propriety. You perhaps have still her papers.

"You have, Madam, the satisfaction of having

alleviated the sufferings of a woman of great merit, both intellectual and moral. Her curiosity was universal, her knowledge was very extensive, and she sustained forty years of misery with steady fortitude. Thirty years and more she had been my companion, and her death has left me very desolate.

"That I have not written sooner, you may impute to absence, to ill health, to any thing rather than want of regard to the benefactress of my departed friend. I am, Madam, your most humble servant,
SAM. JOHNSON."

—Montagu MSS.

His fortitude and patience met with severe trials during this year. The stroke of the palsy has been related circumstantially; but he was also afflicted with the gout, and was besides troubled with a complaint which not only was attended with immediate inconvenience, but threatened him with a surgical operation, from which most men would shrink. The complaint was a *sarcocele*, which Johnson bore with uncommon firmness, and was not at all frightened while he looked forward to amputation. He was attended by Mr. Pott and Mr. Cruikshank. I have before me a letter of the 30th of July, this year, to Mr. Cruikshank, in which he says, "I am going to put myself into your hands;" and another, accompanying a set of his "Lives of the Poets," in which he says, "I beg your acceptance of these volumes, as an acknowledgment of the great favours which you have bestowed on, Sir, your most obliged and most humble servant." I have in my possession several more letters from him to Mr. Cruikshank, and also to Dr. Mudge at Plymouth, which it would be improper to insert, as they are filled with unpleasing technical details. I shall, however, extract from his letters to Dr. Mudge such passages as show either a felicity of expression, or the undaunted state of his mind.

"My conviction of your skill, and my belief of your friendship, determine me to entrust your opinion and advice. In this state I with great earnestness desire you to tell me what is to be done. Excision is doubtless necessary to the cure, and I know not any means of palliation. The operation is doubtless painful; but is it dangerous? The pain I hope to endure with decency; but I am loath to put life into much hazard. By representing the gout as an antagonist to the palsy, you have said enough to make it welcome. This is not strictly the first fit, but I hope it is as good as the first;

not object to the change of expression"—the *mode of expression* being a disingenuous surrender of the whole question, leaving Dr. Parr without a shadow of excuse for his misrepresentation.—CROKER.

¹ I have thought it worth while to preserve this note (not included in my former edition), to show that Johnson had now overcome the reluctance to keeping his birthday (*antiq.* p. 634. n. 1), or at least could indulge his more intimate friends with that celebration.—CROKER, 1831.

² As Miss Williams enjoyed a pension from Mrs. Montagu, Johnson thought himself bound to acquaint her with the death of the object of her charity. This pension was in truth an indirect benefaction to Johnson himself, and was probably so meant by the delicate and courteous charity of that excellent lady.—CROKER, 1831—47.

for it is the second that ever confined me; and the first was ten years ago, much less fierce and fiery than this. Write, dear Sir, what you can to inform or encourage me. The operation is not delayed by any fears or objections of mine."

JOHNSON TO LANGTON.

"London, Sept. 29. 1783.

"DEAR SIR, — You may very reasonably charge me with insensibility of your kindness and that of Lady Rothes, since I have suffered so much time to pass without paying any acknowledgment. I now, at last, return my thanks; and why I did it not sooner I ought to tell you. I went into Wiltshire as soon as I well could, and was there much employed in palliating my own malady. Disease produces much selfishness. A man in pain is looking after ease, and lets most other things go as chance shall dispose of them. In the mean time I have lost a companion (Mrs. Williams), to whom I have had recourse for domestic amusement for thirty years, and whose variety of knowledge never was exhausted; and now return to a habitation vacant and desolate. I carry about a very troublesome and dangerous complaint, which admits no cure but by the surgical knife. Let me have your prayers. I am, &c., "SAM. JOHNSON."

Happily the complaint abated without his being put to the torture of amputation. But we must surely admire the manly resolution which he discovered while it hung over him.

In a letter to the same gentleman he writes, "The gout has within these four days come upon me with a violence which I never experienced before. It made me helpless as an infant." And in another, having mentioned Mrs. Williams, he says, — "whose death following that of Levett has now made my house a solitude. She left her little substance to a charity-school.¹ She is, I hope, where there is neither darkness², nor want, nor sorrow."

I wrote to him, begging to know the state of his health, and mentioned that "Baxter's Anacreon, which is in the library at Auchinleck, was, I find, collated by my father in 1727 with the MS. belonging to the University of Leyden, and he has made a number of notes upon it. Would you advise me to publish a new edition of it?" His answer was dated September 30.

"You should not make your letters such rarities, when you know, or might know, the uniform state of my health. It is very long since I heard from you; and that I have not answered is a very insufficient reason for the silence of a friend. Your Anacreon is a very uncommon book: neither Lon-

don nor Cambridge can supply a copy of that edition. Whether it should be reprinted, you cannot do better than consult Lord Hailes. Besides my constant and radical disease, I have been for these ten days much harassed with the gout; but that has now remitted. I hope God will yet grant me a little longer life, and make me less unfit to appear before him."

[JOHNSON TO MISS REYNOLDS.

"October 1. 1783.

"DEAR MADAM, — I am very ill indeed, and to my former illness is superadded the gout. I am now without shoes, and I have been lately almost motionless.

"To my other afflictions is added solitude. Mrs. Williams, a companion of thirty years, is gone. It is a comfort to me to have you near me. I am, Madam, your most humble servant,
— Reynolds MSS. "SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO MRS. THRALE.

(Extracts.)

"London, October 6. 1783.

"I yet sit without shoes, with my foot upon a pillow, but my pain and weakness are much abated, and I am no longer crawling upon two sticks. To the gout my mind is reconciled by another letter from Mr. Mudge, in which he vehemently urges the excision, and tells me that the gout will secure me from every thing paralytic. If this be true, I am ready to say to the arthritic pains, *Deh! veniti ogni di, durate un anno.*³

"My physician in ordinary is Dr. Brocklesby who comes almost every day; my surgeon, in Mr. Pott's absence, is Mr. Cruikshank, the present reader in Dr. Hunter's school. Neither of them, however, do much more than look and talk. The general health of my body is as good as you have ever known it — almost as good as I can remember.

"The carriage which you supposed made rough by my weakness was the common Salisbury stage, high hung, and driven to Salisbury in a day. was not fatigued.

"Mr. Pott has been out of town, but I expect to see him soon, and will then tell you something of the main affair, of which there seems now to be better prospect.

"This afternoon I have given [tea] to Mr. Cholmondeley, Mrs. Way Lady Sheffield's relation, Mr. Kindersley⁴ the describer of Indian manners, and another anonymous lady.

"As Mrs. Williams received a pension from Mr. Montagu, it was fit to notify her death. The account has brought me a letter not only civil but tender; so I hope peace is proclaimed." [p. 575.]

"October 9. Two nights ago Mr. Burke sat with me a long time. He seems much pleased with it.

Se al venir vostro, principe sen vanno,
Deh! venga ogni di, durate un anno; —

which Johnson himself translated —

If at your coming princes disappear.
Comets, come every day and stay a year.

See Pioszi's *Anecdotes*, p. 53. — CROKER

¹ To the "Ladies' Charity School," in King Street, Snow Hill, instituted in 1702, and where Mrs. Williams's portrait is still to be seen, with the notice of her benefactions thus recorded on the walls: —
"1783. Mrs. Anna Williams, by gift in the 3 per cent. Stock, 200*l*."

"1784. Also by her will, in cash, &c." 157*l*. 14*s*. — P. CUNNINGHAM.

² In allusion to her blindness. — CROKER.

³ The last line of an epigrammatic distich of an Italian poet on the Duke of Modena's running away from a comet.

⁴ N. E. Kindersley, Esq., of the East India Company service, who afterwards published "*Specimens of His Literature*." — CROKER, 1847.

journey. We had both seen Stonehenge this summer for the first time. I told him that the view had enabled me to confute two opinions which have been advanced about it. One, that the materials are not natural stones, but an artificial composition hardened by time. This notion is as old as Camden's time; and has this strong argument to support it, that stone of that species is nowhere to be found. The other opinion, advanced by Dr. Charlton, is, that it was erected by the Danes.

"Mr. Bowles made me observe, that the transverse stones were fixed on the perpendicular supporters by a knob formed on the top of the upright stone, which entered into a hollow cut in the crossing stone. This is a proof that the enormous edifice was raised by a people who had not yet the knowledge of mortar; which cannot be supposed of the Danes, who came hither in ships, and were not ignorant certainly of the arts of life. This proves also the stones not to be factitious; for they that could mould such durable masses could do much more than make mortar, and could have continued the transverse from the upright part with the same paste.

"You have doubtless seen Stonehenge; and if you have not, I should think it a hard task to make an adequate description.

"It is in my opinion to be referred to the earliest habitation of the island, as a druidical monument of, at least, two thousand years; probably the most ancient work of man upon the island. Salisbury cathedral and its neighbour Stonehenge are two eminent monuments of art and rudeness, and may show the first essay and the last perfection in architecture."

— *Letters.*

JOHNSON TO MISS REYNOLDS.

"London, October 27. 1783.

"MY DEAREST DEAR, — I am able enough to write, for I have now neither sickness nor pain; only the gout has left my ancles somewhat weak.

"While the weather favours you, and the air does you good, stay in the country: when you come home, I hope we shall often see one another, and enjoy that friendship to which no time is likely to put an end on the part of, Madam, your most humble servant,
SAM. JOHNSON."]

— *Reyn. MSS.*

He this autumn received a visit from the celebrated Mrs. Siddons. He gives this account of it in one of his letters to Mrs. Thrale (Oct. 27.): —

"Mrs. Siddons, in her visit to me, behaved with great modesty and propriety, and left nothing behind her to be censured or despised. Neither

praise nor money, the two powerful corruptors of mankind, seem to have deprived her. I shall be glad to see her again. Her brother Kemble² calls on me, and pleases me very well. Mrs. Siddons and I talked of plays; and she told me her intention of exhibiting this winter the characters of Constance, Catharine, and Isabella³, in Shakspeare."

Mr. Kemble has favoured me with the following minute of what passed at this visit: —

"When Mrs. Siddons came into the room, there happened to be no chair ready for her, which he observing said, with a smile, 'Madam, you who so often occasion a want of seats to other people, will the more easily excuse the want of one yourself.'

"Having placed himself by her, he, with great good humour, entered upon a consideration of the English drama; and, among other inquiries, particularly asked her which of Shakspeare's characters she was most pleased with. Upon her answering that she thought the character of Queen Catharine, in Henry the Eighth, the most natural: 'I think so too, Madam,' said he; 'and whenever you perform it, I will once more hobble out to the theatre myself.' Mrs. Siddons promised she would do herself the honour of acting his favourite part for him; but many circumstances happened to prevent the representation of King Henry the Eighth during the doctor's life.⁴

"In the course of the evening he thus gave his opinion upon the merits of some of the principal performers whom he remembered to have seen upon the stage. 'Mrs. Porter in the vehemence of rage, and Mrs. Clive in the sprightliness of humour, I have never seen equalled. What Clive did best, she did better than Garrick; but could not do half so many things well: she was a better romp than any I ever saw in nature. Pritchard, in common life, was a vulgar idiot; she would talk of her gown: but, when she appeared upon the stage, seemed to be inspired by gentility and understanding. I once talked with Colley Cibber, and thought him ignorant of the principles of his art. Garrick, Madam, was no declaimer; there was not one of his own scene-shifters who could not have spoken *To be or not to be* better than he did; yet he was the only actor I ever saw, whom I could call a master both in tragedy and comedy; though I liked him best in comedy. A true conception of character, and natural expression of it, were his distinguished excellences.' Having expatiated, with his usual force and eloquence, on Mr. Garrick's extraordinary eminence as an actor, he concluded with this compliment to his social talents: And after all, Madam, I thought him less to be envied on the stage than at the head of a table."

¹ Surely not. We who have the use of mortar use what are called *mortices*; similar in principle at least to the *knobs* and *hollows* of Stonehenge. — CROKER.

² This great actor and amiable and accomplished man left the stage in 1816, and died 26th February, 1823, at Lausanne. In his own day he had no competitor in any walk of tragedy; and those (of whom I knew several) who remembered Barry, Mossop, Henderson, and Garrick, admitted, that in characters of high tragic dignity, such as Hamlet, Coriolanus, Alexander, Cato, he excelled all his predecessors, almost as much as his sister did all actresses in the female characters of the same heroic class. I never saw any that approached to either. She, it is agreed, was never excelled, and he by Garrick alone, and by Garrick only in his universality. In such characters as I

have mentioned, those who had seen both preferred Kemble, whose countenance and figure were more suited to those parts. — CROKER.

³ Isabella in Shakspeare's *Measure for Measure*. Mrs. Siddons had made her first remarkable appearance in Isabella in the Fatal Marriage. She had before appeared in the season of 1775 with little success, then retired, and reappeared as above stated in 1782. — CROKER, 1831-47.

⁴ It was acted many years after with critical attention to historical accuracy, and with great success. Mrs. Siddons played Catharine; Mr. Kemble, Wolsey; Mr. Charles Kemble, Cromwell. There is an interesting picture, by Harlow (since engraved), of the trial scene, with portraits of all the performers. — CROKER.

Johnson, indeed, had thought more upon the subject of acting than might be generally supposed. Talking of it one day to Mr. Kemble, he said, "Are you, Sir, one of those enthusiasts who believe yourself transformed into the very character you represent?" Upon Mr. Kemble's answering, that he had never felt so strong a persuasion himself¹, "To be sure not, Sir," said Johnson; "the thing is impossible. And if Garrick really believed himself to be that monster, Richard the Third, he deserved to be hanged every time he performed it."

My worthy friend, Mr. John Nichols, was present when Mr. Henderson, the actor, paid a visit to Dr. Johnson, and was received in a very courteous manner. See *Gent. Mag.* June 1791.—I found among Dr. Johnson's papers the following letter to him, from the celebrated Mrs. Bellamy:—

"No. 10. Duke Street, St. James's, May 11. 1783.

"SIR,—The flattering remembrance of the partiality you honoured me with some years ago, as well as the humanity you are known to possess, has encouraged me to solicit your patronage at my benefit. By a long Chancery suit, and a complicated train of unfortunate events, I am reduced to the greatest distress; which obliges me, once more, to request the indulgence of the public. Give me leave to solicit the honour of your company, and to assure you, if you grant my request, the gratification I shall feel from being patronised by Dr. Johnson will be infinitely superior to any advantage that may arise from the benefit; as I am, with the profoundest respect, Sir, your most obedient, humble servant, G. A. BELLAMY."

I am happy in recording these particulars, which prove that my illustrious friend lived to think much more favourably of players than he appears to have done in the early part of his life.²

JOHNSON TO MRS. PORTER.

"Bolt Court, Fleet Street, Nov. 10. 1783.

"DEAR MADAM,—The death of poor Mr. Porter, of which your maid has sent me an account, must have very much surprised you. The death of a friend is almost always unexpected: we do not love to think of it, and therefore are not prepared for its coming. He was, I think, a religious man, and therefore that his end was happy.

"Death has likewise visited my mournful habita-

tion. Last month died Mrs. Williams, who had been to me for thirty years in the place of a sister: her knowledge was great, and her conversation pleasing. I now live in cheerless solitude.

"My two last years have passed under the pressure of successive diseases. I have lately had the gout with some severity. But I wonderfully escaped the operation which I mentioned, and am upon the whole restored to health beyond my own expectation.

"As we daily see our friends die round us, we that are left must cling closer, and, if we can do nothing more, at least pray for one another; and remember, that as others die we must die too, and prepare ourselves diligently for the last great trial. I am, Madam, yours affectionately, &c.,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

[JOHNSON TO MRS. THRALE.

(Extract.)

"London, November 13. 1783.

"Since you have written to me with the attention and tenderness of ancient time³, your letters give me a great part of the pleasure which a life of solitude admits. You will never bestow any share of your good-will on one who deserves better. Those that have loved longest love best. A sudden blaze of kindness may by a single blast of coldness be extinguished; but that fondness which length of time has connected with many circumstances and occasions, though it may for a while be depressed by disgust or resentment, with or without a cause is hourly revived by accidental recollection. To those that have lived long together, every thing heard and every thing seen recalls some pleasure communicated or some benefit conferred, some petty quarrel or some slight endearment. Esteem of great powers, or amiable qualities newly discovered, may embroder a day or a week, but a friendship of twenty years is interwoven with the texture of life. A friend may be often found and lost; but an *old friend* never can be found, and nature has provided that he cannot easily be lost.]

—Letters.

A pleasing instance of the generous attention of one of his friends has been discovered by the publication of Mrs. Thrale's Collection of Letters. In a letter to one of the Miss Thrales he writes:

"A friend, whose name I will tell you when your mamma has tried to guess it, sent to my physician to inquire whether this long train of illness

¹ Mr. Kemble repeated this to me thirty years later, adding that the occasion on which he had felt himself the most affected—the most personally touched—was in playing the last scene of *The Stranger* with Mrs. Siddons. Her pathos, he said, in that part quite overcame him, but he always endeavoured to restrain any impulses which might interfere with his previous study of his part. Sir Joshua Reynolds, in the Dialogues before-mentioned (p. 601. n. 2.) makes Johnson say that "Garrick left nothing to chance; every gesture, every expression of countenance, and variation of voice, was settled in his closet before he set his foot upon the stage." But this must not be understood too literally. A great actor prepares in his study, positions, attitudes, the particular mode of uttering certain passages, and even the tone which is to be adopted; and having once ascertained, both by thought and experience, what is best, he will naturally adhere to that, however often he may play the part; but it is equally certain, that there is a large portion of the merit of a great theatrical exhibition which is not reducible to any

rule, and which depends, not only on the *general* powers of the performer, but on his health, his spirits, and other personal circumstances of the moment, which may tend to encourage or restrain his powers. And it may be safely affirmed, that although no actor ever fancies himself Othello or any actress Calista, yet emotions excited by the action must constitute a great part of the charm which distinguishes on the stage *excellence* from *mediocrity*.—CROKER.

² Johnson's dislike to players in early life was nothing more than a general resentment of the superior celebrity which actors obtained over scholars, and some especial jealousy of Garrick's sudden elevation. After his own success in the world, and particularly after Garrick's retirement he began "to think more favourably of them."—CROKER.

³ This is the first letter in which we perceive a serious coldness towards Mrs. Thrale, but it is clear from the letter of the 26th April, *ante*, that it had existed some time prior to this date.—CROKER.

had brought me into difficulties for want of money, with an invitation to send to him for what occasion required. I shall write this night to thank him, having no need to borrow."

And afterwards, in a letter to Mrs. Thrale:

"Since you cannot guess, I will tell you, that the generous man was Gerard Hamilton. I returned him a very thankful and respectful letter."
— *Letters.*

I applied to Mr. Hamilton, by a common friend, and he has been so obliging as to let me have Johnson's letter to him upon this occasion, to adorn my collection.

JOHNSON TO HAMILTON.

"Nov. 19. 1783.

"DEAR SIR, — Your kind inquiries after my affairs, and your generous offers, have been communicated to me by Dr. Brocklesby. I return thanks with great sincerity, having lived long enough to know what gratitude is due to such friendship; and entreat that my refusal may not be imputed to sullenness or pride. I am, indeed, in no want. Sickness is, by the generosity of my physicians, of little expense to me. But if any unexpected exigence should press me, you shall see, dear Sir, how cheerfully I can be obliged to so much liberality. I am, Sir, your, &c.,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

I find in this, as in former years, notices of his kind attention to Mrs. Gardiner, who, though in the humble station of a tallow-chandler upon Snow Hill, was a woman of excellent good sense, pious, and charitable.¹ She told me she had been introduced to him by Mrs. Masters², the poetess, whose volumes he revised, and, it is said, illuminated here and there with a ray of his own genius. Mrs. Gardiner was very zealous for the support of the Ladies' Charity School, in the parish of St. Sepulchre. It is confined to females; and, I am told, it afforded a hint for the story of "Betty Broom" in "The Idler." Johnson this year, I find, obtained for it a sermon from the late Bishop of St. Asaph, Dr. Shipley, whom he, in one of his letters to Mrs. Thrale, characterises as "knowing and conversable;" and whom all who knew his lordship, even those who differed from him in politics, remember with much respect.

The Earl of Carlisle having written a tragedy, entitled "The Father's Revenge," some of his lordship's friends applied to Mrs. Chapone, to prevail on Dr. Johnson to read and give his opinion of it, which he accordingly did, in a letter to that lady. Sir Joshua Reynolds having informed me that this letter was in Lord Carlisle's possession, though I was

not fortunate enough to have the honour of being known to his lordship, trusting to the general courtesy of literature, I wrote to him, requesting the favour of a copy of it, and to be permitted to insert it in my Life of Dr. Johnson. His lordship was so good as to comply with my request, and has thus enabled me to enrich my work with a very fine piece of writing, which displays both the critical skill and politeness of my illustrious friend; and perhaps the curiosity which it will excite may induce the noble and elegant author to gratify the world by the publication³ of a performance of which Dr. Johnson has spoken in such terms.

JOHNSON TO MRS. CHAPONE.

"Nov. 28. 1783.

"MADAM, — By sending the tragedy to me a second time⁴, I think that a very honourable distinction has been shown me; and I did not delay the perusal, of which I am now to tell the effect.

"The construction of the play is not completely regular: the stage is too often vacant, and the scenes are not sufficiently connected. This, however, would be called by Dryden only a mechanical defect; which takes away little from the power of the poem, and which is seen rather than felt.

"A rigid examiner of the diction might, perhaps, wish some words changed, and some lines more vigorously terminated. But from such petty imperfections what writer was ever free?

"The general form and force of the dialogue is of more importance. It seems to want that quickness of reciprocation which characterises the English drama, and is not always sufficiently fervid or animated.

"Of the sentiments, I remember not one that I wished omitted. In the imagery I cannot forbear to distinguish the comparison of joy succeeding grief to light rushing on the eye accustomed to darkness.⁵ It seems to have all that can be desired to make it please. It is new, just, and delightful.

"With the characters, either as conceived or preserved, I have no fault to find; but was much inclined to congratulate a writer, who, in defiance of prejudice and fashion, made the archbishop a good man, and scorned all thoughtless applause, which a vicious churchman would have brought him.

"The catastrophe is affecting. The father and daughter both culpable, both wretched, and both penitent, divide between them our pity and our sorrow.

"Thus, Madam, I have performed what I did not willingly undertake, and could not decently refuse. The noble writer will be pleased to remember that sincere criticism ought to raise no resentment, because judgment is not under the control of will; but involuntary criticism, as it has

¹ In his will Dr. Johnson left her a book "at her election, to keep as a token of remembrance." — MALONE. She was one of his oldest friends (*anté*, p. 78.), attended him in his last illness, and she herself died in 1789, æt. 74. — CROKER.

² See *anté*, p. 78. — C.

³ A few copies only of this tragedy have been printed, and given to the author's friends. — BOSWELL.

⁴ Dr. Johnson having been very ill when the tragedy was

first sent to him, had declined the consideration of it. — BOSWELL.

⁵ "I could have borne my woes; that stranger, Joy,
Wounds while it smiles: — the long imprison'd wretch,
Emerging from the night of his damp cell, [flings
Shrinks from the sun's bright beams; and that which
Gladness o'er ail, to him is agony." — BOSWELL.

still less of choice, ought to be more remote from possibility of offence. I am, &c.,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

[JOHNSON TO MRS. PORTER.]

"London, Nov. 29. 1783.

"DEAR MADAM, — You may perhaps think me negligent that I have not written to you again upon the loss of your brother; but condolences and consolations are such common and such useless things, that the omission of them is no great crime; and my own diseases occupy my mind and engage my care. My nights are miserably restless, and my days, therefore, are heavy. I try, however, to hold up my head as high as I can.

"I am sorry that your health is impaired: perhaps the spring and the summer may, in some degree, restore it; but if not, we must submit to the inconveniences of time, as to the other dispensations of Eternal Goodness. Pray for me, and write to me, or let Mr. Pearson write for you. I am, &c., — Pearson MSS.

"SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO MISS REYNOLDS.

"December 23. 1783.

"DEAREST MADAM, — You shall doubtless be very welcome to me on Christmas day. I shall not dine alone, but the company will all be people whom we can stay with or leave. I will expect you at three, if I hear no more. I am this day a little better. I am, dear Madam, your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

"I mean, do not be later than three; for as I am afraid I shall not be at church, you cannot come too soon."]

— Reynolds MSS.

I consulted him on two questions of a very different nature: one, Whether the unconstitutional influence exercised by the peers of Scotland in the election of the representatives of the commons, by means of fictitious qualifications, ought not to be resisted; the other, What in propriety and humanity should be done with old horses unable to labour. I gave him some account of my life at Auchinleck; and expressed my satisfaction that the gentlemen of the county had, at two public meetings, elected me their *præses* or chairman.

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"London, Dec. 24. 1783.

"DEAR SIR, — Like all other men who have great friends, you begin to feel the pangs of neglected merit; and all the comfort that I can give you is, by telling you that you have probably more pangs to feel, and more neglect to suffer. You have, indeed, begun to complain too soon; and I hope I am the only confidant of your discontent. Your friends have not yet had leisure to gratify personal kindness; they have hitherto been busy in strengthening their ministerial interest. If a vacancy happens in Scotland, give them early intelligence: and as you can serve government as powerfully as any of your probable competitors, you may make in some sort a warrantable claim.

"Of the exaltations and depressions of your mind

you delight to talk, and I hate to hear. Drive all such fancies from you.

"On the day when I received your letter, I think, the foregoing page was written; to which one disease or another has hindered me from making any additions. I am now a little better. But sickness and solitude press me very heavily. I could bear sickness better, if I were relieved from solitude.

"The present dreadful confusion of the public ought to make you wrap yourself up in your hereditary possessions, which, though less than you may wish, are more than you can want; and in an hour of religious retirement return thanks to God, who has exempted you from any strong temptation to faction, treachery, plunder, and disloyalty.

"As your neighbours distinguish you by such honours as they can bestow, content yourself with your station, without neglecting your profession. Your estate and the courts will find you full employment, and your mind well occupied will be quiet.

"The usurpation of the nobility, for they apparently usurp all the influence they gain by fraud and misrepresentation, I think it certainly lawful, perhaps your duty, to resist. What is not their own, they have only by robbery.

"Your question about the horses gives me more perplexity. I know not well what advice to give you. I can only recommend a rule which you do not want: give as little pain as you can. I suppose that we have a right to their service while their strength lasts; what we can do with them afterwards, I cannot so easily determine. But let us consider. Nobody denies that man has a right, first to milk the cow, and to shear the sheep, and then to kill them for his table. May he not, by parity of reason, first work a horse, and then kill him the easiest way, that he may have the means of another horse, or food for cows and sheep? Man is influenced in both cases by different motives of self-interest. He that rejects the one must reject the other. I am, &c., SAM. JOHNSON."

"A happy and pious Christmas; and many happy years to you, your lady, and children."

The late ingenious Mr. Mickle, some time before his death, wrote me a letter concerning Dr. Johnson, in which he mentions, —

"I was upwards of twelve years acquainted with him, was frequently in his company, always talked with ease to him, and can truly say, that I never received from him one rough word."

In this letter he relates his having, while engaged in translating the *Lusiad*, had a dispute of considerable length with Johnson, who, as usual, declaimed upon the misery and corruption of a sea life, and used this expression: — "It had been happy for the world, Sir, if your hero, Gama, Prince Henry of Portugal, and Columbus, had never been born, or that their schemes had never gone farther than their own imaginations."

"This sentiment," says Mr. Mickle, "which is to be found in his 'Introduction to the World Displayed,' I, in my Dissertation prefixed to the *Lusiad*, have controverted; and though authors are said to be bad judges of their own works, I am no

ashamed to own to a friend, that that dissertation is my favourite above all that I ever attempted in prose. Next year, when the *Lusiad* was published, I waited on Dr. Johnson, who addressed me with one of his good-humoured smiles: — ‘Well, you have remembered our dispute about Prince Henry, and have cited me too. You have done your part very well indeed: you have made the best of your argument; but I am not convinced yet.’

“Before publishing the *Lusiad*, I sent Mr. Hoole a proof of that part of the introduction in which I make mention of Dr. Johnson, yourself, and other well-wishers to the work, begging it might be shown to Dr. Johnson. This was accordingly done; and in place of the simple mention of him which I had made, he dictated to Mr. Hoole the sentence as it now stands.

“Dr. Johnson told me in 1772, that, about twenty years before that time, he himself had a design to translate the *Lusiad*, of the merit of which he spoke highly, but had been prevented by a number of other engagements.”

Mr. Mickle reminds me in this letter of a conversation at dinner one day at Mr. Hoole's with Dr. Johnson, when Mr. Nicol, the king's bookseller, and I, attempted to controvert the maxim, “Better that ten guilty should escape, than one innocent person suffer,” and were answered by Dr. Johnson with great power of reasoning and eloquence. I am very sorry that I have no record of that day: but I well recollect my illustrious friend's having ably shown, that unless civil institutions ensure protection to the innocent, all the confidence which mankind should have in them would be lost.

I shall here mention what, in strict chronological arrangement, should have appeared in my account of last year; but may more properly be introduced here, the controversy having not been closed till this. The Reverend Mr. Shaw, [p. 528.] a native of one of the Hebrides, having entertained doubts of the authenticity of the poems ascribed to Ossian, divested himself of national bigotry; and having travelled in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, and also in Ireland, in order to furnish himself with materials for a Gaelic Dictionary, which he afterwards compiled, was so fully satisfied that Dr. Johnson was in the right upon the question, that he candidly published a pamphlet, stating his conviction, and the proofs and reasons on which it was founded. A person at Edinburgh, of the name of Clark, answered this pamphlet with much zeal, and much abuse of its author. Johnson took Mr. Shaw under his protection, and gave him his assistance in writing a reply, which has been admired by the best judges, and by many been considered as conclusive. A few paragraphs, which sufficiently mark their great author, shall be selected: —

“My assertions are, for the most part, purely negative: I deny the existence of Fingal, because in a long and curious peregrination through the Gaelic regions I have never been able to find it.

What I could not see myself, I suspect to be equally invisible to others; and I suspect with the more reason, as among all those who have seen it no man can show it.

“Mr. Clark compares the obstinacy of those who disbelieve the genuineness of Ossian to a blind man who should dispute the reality of colours, and deny that the British troops are clothed in red. The blind man's doubt would be rational, if he did not know by experience that others have a power which he himself wants: but what perspicacity has Mr. Clark which Nature has withheld from me or the rest of mankind?

“The true state of the parallel must be this: — Suppose a man, with eyes like his neighbours, was told by a boasting corporal, that the troops, indeed, wore red clothes for their ordinary dress, but that every soldier had likewise a suit of black velvet, which he puts on when the king reviews them. This he thinks strange, and desires to see the fine clothes, but finds nobody in forty thousand men that can produce either coat or waistcoat. One, indeed, has left them in his chest at Port Mahon; another has always heard that he ought to have velvet clothes somewhere; and a third has heard somebody say that soldiers ought to wear velvet. Can the inquirer be blamed if he goes away believing that a soldier's red coat is all that he has?

“But the most obdurate incredulity may be shamed or silenced by facts. To overpower contradictions, let the soldier show his velvet coat, and the Fingalist the original of Ossian.

“The difference between us and the blind man is this: the blind man is unconvinced, because he cannot see: and we because, though we can see, we find nothing that can be shown.”

Notwithstanding the complication of disorders under which Johnson now laboured, he did not resign himself to despondency and discontent, but with wisdom and spirit endeavoured to console and amuse his mind with as many innocent enjoyments as he could procure. Sir John Hawkins has mentioned the cordiality with which he insisted that such of the members of the old club in Ivy Lane as survived should meet again and dine together, which they did, twice at a tavern, and once at his house.

[JOHNSON TO HAWKINS.

“Bolt Court, Nov. 22. 1783.

“DEAR SIR, — As Mr. Ryland was talking with me of old friends and past times, we warmed ourselves into a wish, that all who remained of the Club should meet and dine at the house which once was Horseman's, in Ivy-lane. I have undertaken to solicit you, and therefore desire you to tell on what day next week you can conveniently meet your old friends. I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.”

JOHNSON TO HAWKINS.

“December 3. 1783.

“DEAR SIR, — In perambulating Ivy-lane, Mr. Ryland found neither our landlord Horseman nor his successor. The old house is shut up, and he liked not the appearance of any near it: he there-

fore bespoke our dinner at the Queen's Arms, in St. Paul's Churchyard, where, at half an hour after three, your company will be desired to-day by those who remain of our former society. Your humble servant,
SAM. JOHNSON."¹

JOHNSON TO MRS. THRALE.

(Extract.)

"London, 19th December, 1783. — I dined about a fortnight ago with three old friends. We had not met together for thirty years, and one of us thought the others grown very old. In the thirty years two of our set have died. Our meeting may be supposed to be somewhat tender."] — *Letters*.

In order to ensure himself society in the evening for three days in the week, he instituted a club at the Essex Head, in Essex Street, then kept by Samuel Greaves, an old servant of Mr. Thrale's.

JOHNSON TO REYNOLDS.

"December 4. 1783.

"DEAR SIR, — It is inconvenient to me to come out; I should else have waited on you with an account of a little evening club which we are establishing in Essex Street, in the Strand, and of which you are desired to be one. It will be held at the Essex Head, now kept by an old servant of Thrale's. The company is numerous, and, as you will see by the list, miscellaneous. The terms are lax, and the

expenses light. Mr. Barry was adopted by Dr. Brocklesby, who joined with me in forming the plan. We meet thrice a week, and he who misses forfeits twopence. If you are willing to become a member, draw a line under your name. Return the list. We meet for the first time on Monday, at eight. I am, &c.,
SAM. JOHNSON."

It did not suit Sir Joshua² to be one of this club. But when I mention only Mr. Daines Barrington, Dr. Brocklesby, Mr. Murphy, Mr. John Nichols, Mr. Cooke³, Mr. Joddrell, Mr. Paradise, Dr. Horsey, Mr. Windham⁴, I shall sufficiently obviate the misrepresentation of it by Sir John Hawkins, as if it had been a low alehouse association⁵, by which Johnson was degraded. Johnson himself, like his namesake Old Ben, composed the rules of his club.⁶

In the end of this year he was seized with a spasmodic asthma of such violence, that he was confined to the house in great pain, being sometimes obliged to sit all night in his chair, a recumbent posture being so hurtful to his respiration, that he could not endure lying in bed; and there came upon him at the same time that oppressive and fatal disease, a dropsy. It was a very severe winter, which probably aggravated his complaints; and the solitude in which Mr. Levett and Mrs. Williams had left him rendered his life very gloomy. Mrs. Desmoulins, who still lived, was herself so

¹ "With this invitation," says Hawkins, "I cheerfully complied, and met, at the time and place appointed, all who could be mustered of our society, namely, Johnson, Mr. Ryland, and Mr. Payne of the Bank. When we were collected, the thought that we were so few occasioned some melancholy reflections, and I could not but compare our meeting, at such an advanced period of life as it was to us all, to that of the four old men in the 'Senile Colloquium' of Erasmus. We dined, and in the evening regaled with coffee. At ten we broke up, much to the regret of Johnson, who proposed staying; but finding us inclined to separate, he left us, with a sigh that seemed to come from his heart, lamenting that he was retiring to solitude and cheerless meditation. "Johnson had proposed a meeting like this once a month, and we had one more; but, the time approaching for a third, he began to feel a return of some of his complaints, and signified a wish that we would dine with him at his own house; and accordingly we met there, and were very cheerfully entertained by him." — *Life*, p. 562. — CROKER.

² Johnson himself, by the mention of *Barry* the painter, seems to have anticipated (as he very naturally might) some reluctance on the part of Sir Joshua. Indeed, the violence of *Barry's* temper, and the absurdity of his conduct, rendered him no very agreeable companion; but towards Sir Joshua, his behaviour had been particularly offensive. — CROKER.

³ A biographical notice of Mr. Cooke, who died April 3. 1824, will be found in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for that month; and some account of Mr. Joddrell is given in *Nichols's Lit. Anec.* vol. viii. — CROKER.

⁴ I was in Scotland when this club was founded, and during all the winter. Johnson, however, declared I should be a member, and invented a word upon the occasion: "Boswell," said he, "is a very *clubbable* man." When I came to town I was proposed by Mr. Barrington, and chosen. I believe there are few societies where there is better conversation or more decorum. Several of us resolved to continue it after our great founder was removed by death. Other members were added; and now, about eight years since that loss, we go on happily. — BOSWELL. Johnson had already invented *unclubbable* for Sir J. Hawkins. See *antiq.* p. 164, n. 1. — CROKER, 1847.

⁵ Miss Hawkins candidly says, "Boswell was well justified in his resentment of my father's designation of this as a *star-penny club* at an *alehouse*. I am sorry my father permitted himself to be so pettish on the subject. Honestly speaking, I dare say he did not like being passed over." — *Memo.* vol. ii. p. 104. — CROKER.

6

"RULES.

"To-day deep thoughts with me resolve to drench
In mirth, which after no repenting draws." — MILTON.

"The club shall consist of four and twenty.

"The meetings shall be on the Monday, Thursday, and Saturday of every week; but in the week before Easter there shall be no meeting.

"Every member is at liberty to introduce a friend once a week, but not oftener.

"Two members shall oblige themselves to attend in their turn every night from eight to ten, or procure two to attend in their room.

"Every member present at the club shall spend at least sixpence; and every member who stays away shall forfeit threepence. (*sic*.)

"The master of the house shall keep an account of the absent members; and deliver to the president of the night a list of the forfeits incurred.

"When any member returns after absence, he shall immediately lay down his forfeits; which if he omits to do, the president shall require.

"There shall be no general reckoning, but every man shall adjust his own expenses.

"The night of indispensable attendance will come to every member once a month. Whoever shall for three months together omit to attend himself, or by substitution, nor shall make any apology in the fourth month, shall be considered as having abdicated the club.

"When a vacancy is to be filled, the name of the candidate, and of the member recommending him, shall stand in the club-room three nights. On the fourth he may be chosen by ballot; six members at least being present, and two-thirds of the ballot being in his favour; or the majority, should the numbers not be divisible by three.

"The master of the house shall give notice, six days before, to each of those members whose turn of necessary attendance is come.

"The notice may be in these words: — 'Sir, On — the — of —, will be your turn of presiding at the Essex Head. Your company is therefore earnestly requested.'

"One penny shall be left by each member for the waiter."

Johnson's definition of a club, in this sense, in his Dictionary, is, "An assembly of good fellows, meeting under certain conditions." — BOSWELL.

very ill, that she could contribute very little to his relief. He, however, had none of that unsocial shyness which we commonly see in people afflicted with sickness. He did not hide his head from the world, in solitary abstraction; he did not deny himself to the visits of his friends and acquaintances; but at all times when he was not overcome by sleep, was as ready for conversation as in his best days.¹

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

1784.

Burton's Books. — Alderman Clark. — Correspondence. — Dr. Gillespie. — Drs. Cullen, Hope, and Monro. — Divine Interposition. — Lord Monbodo. — Dr. Ross. — George Stevens. — Mrs. Montagu. — Burke's Conversation. — Foote. — The Empress of Russia. — Mrs. Thrale. — Ecclesiastical Discipline. — Fear of Death. — Capel Lofft. — Thomas à Kempis. — Dr. Douglas. — Editions of Horace. — Charles Fox.

AND NOW I am arrived at the last year of the life of SAMUEL JOHNSON; a year in which, although passed in severe indisposition, he nevertheless gave many evidences of the continuance of those wondrous powers of mind which raised him so high in the intellectual world. His conversation and his letters of this year were in no respect inferior to those of former years. The following is a remarkable proof of his being alive to the most minute curiosities of literature.

JOHNSON TO MR. DILLY,

Bookseller, in the Poultry.

"Jan 6. 1784.

"SIR, — There is in the world a set of books which used to be sold by the booksellers on the bridge², and which I must entreat you to procure me. They are called *Burton's Books*³; the title of one is 'Admirable Curiosities, Rarities, and Wonders in England.' I believe there are about five or six of them; they seem very proper to allure backward readers; be so kind as to get them for me, and send me them with the best printed edition of 'Baxter's Call to the Unconverted.' I am, &c.,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO PERKINS.

"Jan. 21. 1784.

"DEAR SIR, — I was very sorry not to see you when you were so kind as to call on me; but to dis-

appoint friends, and if they are not very good-natured, to disoblige them, is one of the evils of sickness. If you will please to let me know which of the afternoons in this week I shall be favoured with another visit by you and Mrs. Perkins, and the young people, I will take all the measures that I can to be pretty well at that time. I am, &c.,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

His attention to the Essex Head Club appears from the following letter to Mr. Alderman Clark, a gentleman for whom he deservedly entertained a great regard.⁴

JOHNSON TO CLARK.

"Jan 27. 1784.

"DEAR SIR, — You will receive a requisition, according to the rules of the club, to be at the house as president of the night. This turn comes once a month, and the member is obliged to attend, or send another in his place. You were inrolled in the club by my invitation, and I ought to introduce you; but as I am hindered by sickness, Mr. Hoole will very properly supply my place as introducer, or yours as president. I hope in milder weather to be a very constant attendant. I am, Sir, &c.,

SAM. JOHNSON.

"You ought to be informed that the forfeits began with the year, and that every night of non-attendance incurs the mulct of threepence, that is, ninepence a-week."

On the 8th of January I wrote to him, anxiously inquiring as to his health, and enclosing my "Letter to the People of Scotland on the Present State of the Nation." "I trust," said I, "that you will be liberal enough to make allowance for my differing from you on two points, [the Middlesex election and the American war,] when my general principles of government are according to your own heart, and when, at a crisis of doubtful event, I stand forth with honest zeal as an ancient and faithful Briton. My reason for introducing those two points was, that as my opinions with regard to them had been declared at the periods when they were least favourable, I might have the credit of a man who is not a worshipper of ministerial power."

[BOSWELL TO REYNOLDS.

"Edinburgh, 6th February, 1784.

"MY DEAR SIR, — I long exceedingly to hear from you. Sir William Forbes brought me good accounts of you, and Mr. Temple sent me very pleasing intelligence concerning the fair Palmeria⁵. But a line or two from yourself is the next thing to seeing you.

"My anxiety about Dr. Johnson is truly great.

¹ On the 30th Dec., Dr. and Miss Fanny Burney visited him. On parting he grasped her hand and said, "The blister I have tried for my breath has betrayed some very bad tokens, but I will not terrify myself by talking of them. *Ah, priez Dieu pour moi.*" This was the only time he ever addressed her in French, and she thought he did so that some other persons who were in the room might not hear this injunction. — *Life of Burney*, i. 363. — CROKER, 1847.

² Old London Bridge, once covered on both hands with shops and houses over them. — CROKER, 1847.

³ These books are much more numerous than Johnson supposed. — MALONE. Mr. Malone adds a list of 29 of them. — CROKER, 1847.

⁴ My venerable friend Mr. Clark, who had contributed some information to my first edition, died at Chertsey, Jan. 16. 1831, æt. 93. — CROKER.

⁵ No doubt Miss Palmer, afterwards Lady Thomond, Sir Joshua's niece. — CROKER.

I had a letter from him within these six weeks, written with his usual acuteness and vigour of mind. But he complained sadly of the state of his health; and I have been informed since that he is worse. I intend to be in London next month, chiefly to attend upon him with respectful affection. But, in the mean time, it will be a great favour done me, if you, who know him so well, will be kind enough to let me know particularly how he is.

"I hope Mr. Dilly conveyed to you my Letter on the State of the Nation, *from the Author*. I know your political principles, and indeed your settled system of thinking upon civil society and subordination, to be according to my own heart; and therefore I doubt not you will approve of my honest zeal. But what monstrous effects of party do we now see! I am really vexed at the conduct of some of our friends.¹

"Amidst the conflict our friend of Port Eliot is with much propriety created a peer. But why, O why did he not obtain the title of Baron Mahogany? (p. 680.) Genealogists and heralds would have had curious work of it to explain and illustrate that title. I ever am, with sincere regard, my dear Sir, your affectionate humble servant,
— Reynolds MSS. "JAMES BOSWELL."]

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"Feb. 11. 1784.

"DEAR SIR, — I hear of many inquiries which your kindness has disposed you to make after me. I have long intended you a long letter, which perhaps the imagination of its length hindered me from beginning. I will, therefore, content myself with a shorter.

"Having promoted the institution of a new club in the neighbourhood, at the house of an old servant of Thrale's, I went thither to meet the company, and was seized with a spasmodic asthma, so violent, that with difficulty I got to my own house, in which I have been confined eight or nine weeks, and from which I know not when I shall be able to go even to church. The asthma, however, is not the worst. A dropsy gains ground upon me; my legs and thighs are very much swollen with water, which I should be content if I could keep there; but I am afraid that it will soon be higher. My nights are very sleepless and very tedious, and yet I am extremely afraid of dying.

"My physicians try to make me hope that much of my malady is the effect of cold, and that some degree at least of recovery is to be expected from vernal breezes and summer suns. If my life is prolonged to autumn, I should be glad to try a warmer climate; though how to travel with a diseased body, without a companion to conduct me, and with very little money, I do not well see. Ramsay has recovered his limbs in Italy; and

Fielding was sent to Lisbon, where, indeed, he died; but he was, I believe, past hope when he went. Think for me what I can do.

"I received your pamphlet, and when I write again may perhaps tell you some opinion about it; but you will forgive a man struggling with disease his neglect of disputes, politics, and pamphlets. Let me have your prayers. My compliments to your lady and young ones. Ask your physicians about my case: and desire Sir Alexander Dick to write me his opinion. I am, dear Sir, &c.,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO MRS. PORTER.

"Feb. 23. 1784.

"MY DEAREST LOVE, — I have been extremely ill of an asthma and dropsy, but received by the mercy of God sudden and unexpected relief last Thursday², by the discharge of twenty pints of water. Whether I shall continue free, or shall fill again, cannot be told. Pray for me. Death, my dear, is very dreadful; let us think nothing worth our care but how to prepare for it: what we know amiss in ourselves let us make haste to amend, and put our trust in the mercy of God and the intercession of our Saviour. I am, &c.,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"London, Feb. 27. 1784.

"DEAR SIR, — I have just advanced so far towards recovery as to read a pamphlet; and you may reasonably suppose that the first pamphlet which I read was yours. I am very much of your opinion, and, like you, feel great indignation at the indecency with which the king is every day treated. Your paper contains very considerable knowledge of history and of the constitution, very properly produced and applied. It will certainly raise your character³, though perhaps it may not make you a minister of state.

I desire you to see Mrs. Stewart once again, and tell her, that in the letter-case was a letter relating to me, for which I will give her, if she is willing to give it me, another guinea.⁴ The letter is of consequence only to me. I am, dear Sir, &c.,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

In consequence of Johnson's request that I should ask our physicians about his case, and desire Sir Alexander Dick to send his opinion, I transmitted him a letter from that very amiable baronet, then in his eighty-first year, with his faculties as entire as ever, and mentioned his expressions to me in the note accompanying it, — "With my most affectionate wishes for Dr. Johnson's recovery, in which his friends, his country, and all mankind have so deep a stake;" and at the same time a full

¹ Messrs. Fox and Burke. — CROKER.

² See *post*, p. 753. Mr. Boswell's statement of this extraordinary relief: Hawkins's is still more circumstantial and curious. — *Life*, 563. — CROKER, 1847.

³ "Letter to the People of Scotland on the present State of the Nation." I sent it to Mr. Pitt, with a letter, in which I thus expressed myself: — "My principles may appear to you too monarchical; but I know and am persuaded they are not inconsistent with the true principles of liberty. Be this as it may, you, Sir, are now the prime minister, called by the

sovereign to maintain the rights of the crown, as well as those of the people, against a violent faction. As such, you are entitled to the warmest support of every good subject in every department." He answered, "I am extremely obliged to you for the sentiments you do me the honour to express, and have observed with great pleasure the *zealous and able support* given to the cause of the public in the work you were so good to transmit to me." — BOSWELL.

⁴ See *anté*, p. 641., and the Appendix. — CROKER.

opinion upon his case by Dr. Gillespie, who, like Dr. Cullen, had the advantage of having passed through the gradations of surgery and pharmacy, and by study and practice had attained to such skill, that my father settled on him two hundred pounds a year for five years, and fifty pounds a year during his life, as an *honorarium* to secure his particular attendance. The opinion was conveyed in a letter to me, beginning, "I am sincerely sorry for the bad state of health your very learned and illustrious friend, Dr. Johnson, labours under at present."

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"London, March 2. 1784.

"DEAR SIR, — Presently after I had sent away my last letter, I received your kind medical packet. I am very much obliged both to you and to your physicians for your kind attention to my disease. Dr. Gillespie has sent me an excellent *consilium medicum*, all solid practical experimental knowledge. I am at present, in the opinion of my physicians (Dr. Heberden and Dr. Brocklesby), as well as my own, going on very hopefully. I have just begun to take vinegar of squills. The powder hurt my stomach so much that it could not be continued.

"Return Sir Alexander Dick my sincere thanks for his kind letter; and bring with you the rhubarb¹ which he so tenderly offers me. I hope dear Mrs. Boswell is now quite well, and that no evil, either real or imaginary, now disturbs you. I am, &c.,
SAM. JOHNSON."

I also applied to three of the eminent physicians who had chairs in our celebrated school of medicine at Edinburgh, Doctors Cullen, Hope, and Monro, to each of whom I sent the following letter: —

"March 7. 1784.

"DEAR SIR, — Dr. Johnson has been very ill for some time; and in a letter of anxious apprehension he writes to me, 'Ask your physicians about my case.'

"This, you see, is not authority for a regular consultation: but I have no doubt of your readiness to give your advice to a man so eminent, and who in his *Life of Garth*, has paid your profession a just and elegant compliment: 'I believe every man has found in physicians great liberality and dignity of sentiment, very prompt effusions of beneficence, and willingness to exert a lucrative art where there is no hope of lucre.'

"Dr. Johnson is aged seventy-four. Last summer he had a stroke of the palsy, from which he recovered almost entirely. He had, before that, been troubled with a catarrhus cough. This winter he was seized with a spasmodic asthma, by which he has been confined to his house for about three months. Dr. Brocklesby writes to me, that upon the least admission of cold, there is such a constriction upon his breast, that he cannot lie down in his bed, but is obliged to sit up all night, and gets rest, and sometimes sleep, only by means of lau-

danum and syrup of poppies; and that there are oedematous tumours in his legs and thighs. Dr. Brocklesby trusts a good deal to the return of mild weather. Dr. Johnson says that a dropsy gains ground upon him: and he seems to think that a warmer climate would do him good. I understand he is now rather better, and is using vinegar of squills. I am, &c.,
JAMES BOSWELL."

All of them paid the most polite attention to my letter and its venerable object. Dr. Cullen's words concerning him were, "It would give me the greatest pleasure to be of any service to a man whom the public properly esteem, and whom I esteem and respect as much as I do Dr. Johnson." Dr. Hope's, "Few people have a better claim on me than your friend, as hardly a day passes that I do not ask his opinion about this or that word." Dr. Monro's, "I most sincerely join you in sympathising with that very worthy and ingenious character, from whom his country has derived much instruction and entertainment."

Dr. Hope corresponded with his friend Dr. Brocklesby. Doctors Cullen and Monro wrote their opinions and prescriptions to me, which I afterwards carried with me to London, and, so far as they were encouraging, communicated to Johnson. The liberality on one hand, and grateful sense of it on the other, I have great satisfaction in recording.

[JOHNSON TO MRS. PORTER.

"Bolt-court, 10th March, 1784.

"MY DEAREST LOVE, — I will not suppose that it is for want of kindness that you did not answer my last letter; and I therefore write again to tell you that I have, by God's great mercy, still continued to grow better. My asthma is seldom troublesome, and my dropsy has ran itself almost away, in a manner which my physician says is very uncommon.

"I have been confined from the 14th of December, and shall not soon venture abroad; but I have this day dressed myself as I was before my sickness.

"If it be inconvenient to you to write, desire Mr. Pearson to let me know how you do, and how you have passed this long winter. I am now not without hopes that we shall once more see one another.

"Make my compliments to Mrs. Cobb and Miss Adey, and to all my friends, particularly to Mr. Pearson. I am, my dear, your most humble servant,
SAM. JOHNSON."

— Pearson MSS.

JOHNSON TO MRS. GASTRELL AND MISS ASTON.

"Bolt-court, 11th March, 1784.

"DEAR LADIES, — The kind and speedy answer with which you favoured me to my last letter encourages me to hope that you will be glad to hear again that my recovery advances. My disorders are an asthma and dropsy. The asthma gives me

¹ From his garden at Prestonfield, where he cultivated that plant with such success, that he was presented with a

gold medal by the Society of London for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce. — Boswell.

no great trouble when I am not in motion, and the water of the dropsy has passed away in so happy a manner, by the goodness of God, as Dr. Heberden declares himself not to have known more than four times in all his practice. I have been confined to the house from December the 14th, and shall not venture out till the weather is settled; but I have this day dressed myself as before I became ill. Join with me in returning thanks, and pray for me that the time now granted me may not be ill spent.

"Let me now, dear ladies, have some account of you. Tell me how you have endured this long and sharp winter, and give me hopes that we may all meet again with kindness and cheerfulness. I am, dear ladies, your most humble servant,
— *Pemb. MSS.* SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"London, March 18. 1784.

"DEAR SIR, — I am too much pleased with the attention which you and your dear lady¹ show to my welfare, not to be diligent in letting you know the progress which I make towards health. The dropsy, by God's blessing, has now run almost totally away by natural evacuation: and the asthma, if not irritated by cold, gives me little trouble. While I am writing this I have not any sensation of debility or disease. But I do not yet venture out, having been confined to the house from the 13th of December, now a quarter of a year.

"When it will be fit for me to travel as far as Auchinleck I am not able to guess; but such a letter as Mrs. Boswell's might draw any man not wholly motionless a great way. Pray tell the dear lady how much her civility and kindness have touched and gratified me.

"Our parliamentary tumults have now begun to subside, and the king's authority is in some measure re-established. Mr. Pitt will have great power²; but you must remember that what he has to give must, at least for some time, be given to those who gave, and those who preserve his power. A new minister can sacrifice little to esteem or friendship: he must, till he is settled, think only of extending his interest.

"If you come hither through Edinburgh, send for Mrs. Stewart [p. 641.], and give from me another guinea for the letter in the old case, to which I shall not be satisfied with my claim till she gives it me. Please to bring with you Baxter's Anacreon; and if you procure heads of Hector Boece, the historian, and Arthur Johnston³, the poet, I will put them in my room; or any other of the fathers of Scottish literature.

"I wish you an easy and happy journey, and hope I need not tell you that you will be welcome to, dear Sir, your, &c., SAM. JOHNSON."

[JOHNSON TO MRS. THRALE.⁵

"London, 20th March, 1784.

"MADAM, — Your last letter had something of

tenderness. The accounts which you have had of my danger and distress were I suppose not aggravated. I have been confined ten weeks with an asthma and dropsy. But I am now better. God has in his mercy granted me a reprieve; for how much time his mercy must determine.

"Write to me no more about *dying with a grace*. When you feel what I have felt in approaching eternity — in fear of soon hearing the sentence of which there is no revocation — you will know the folly: my wish is that you may know it sooner. The distance between the grave and the remotest part of human longevity is but a very little; and of that little no path is certain. You know all this, and I thought that I knew it too; but I know it now with a new conviction. May that new conviction not be vain!

"I am now cheerful. I hope this approach to recovery is a token of the Divine mercy. My friends continue their kindness. I give a dinner to-morrow. I am, Madam, your, &c.,
— *Letters.* SAM. JOHNSON.]"

I wrote to him, March 28., from York, informing him that I had a high gratification in the triumph of monarchical principles over aristocratical influence, in that great county, in an address to the king; that I was thus far on my way to him, but that news of the dissolution of parliament having arrived, I was to hasten back to my own county, where I had carried an address to his majesty by a great majority, and had some intention of being a candidate to represent the county in parliament.

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"London, March 30. 1784.

"DEAR SIR, — You could do nothing so proper as to hasten back when you found the parliament dissolved. With the influence which your address must have gained you, it may reasonably be expected that your presence will be of importance, and your activity of effect.

"Your solicitude for me gives me that pleasure which every man feels from the kindness of such a friend; and it is with delight I relieve it by telling that Dr. Brocklesby's account is true, and that I am, by the blessing of God, wonderfully relieved.

"You are entering upon a transaction which requires much prudence. You must endeavour to oppose without exasperating; to practise temporary hostility, without producing enemies for life. This is, perhaps, hard to be done; yet it has been done by many, and seems most likely to be effected by opposing merely upon general principles, without descending to personal or particular censures or objections. One thing I must enjoin you, which is seldom observed in the conduct of elections; I must entreat you to be scrupulous in the use of strong liquors. One night's drunkenness may defeat the labours of forty days well employed. Be firm,

¹ Who had written him a very kind letter. — CROKER.

² Mr. Boswell does not give us *his* letter, to which this is an answer; but it is clear that he expressed some too sanguine hopes of preferment from Mr. Pitt, whose favour, as we have just seen, he had endeavoured to propitiate. — CROKER.

⁴ See *anté*, pp. 156. 294. — CROKER.

⁵ I think it necessary to Johnson's personal history to continue extracts of his correspondence with Mrs. Thrale to its conclusion. — CROKER.

but not clamorous; be active, but not malicious; and you may form such an interest, as may not only exalt yourself, but dignify your family.

"We are, as you may suppose, all busy here. Mr. Fox resolutely stands for Westminster, and his friends say will carry the election.¹ However that be, he will certainly have a seat. Mr. Hoole has just told me, that the city leans towards the king.

"Let me hear, from time to time, how you are employed, and what progress you make. Make dear Mrs. Boswell, and all the young Boswells, the sincere compliments of, Sir, your affectionate humble servant, &c., SAM. JOHNSON."

To Mr. Langton he wrote with that cordiality which was suitable to the long friendship which had subsisted between him and that gentleman.

JOHNSON TO LANGTON.

(Extracts.)

"March 27. Since you left me I have continued, in my own opinion, and in Dr. Brocklesby's, to grow better, with respect to all my formidable and dangerous distempers; though, to a body battered and shaken as mine has lately been, it is to be feared that weak attacks may be sometimes mischievous. I have, indeed, by standing carelessly at an open window, got a very troublesome cough, which it has been necessary to appease by opium, in larger quantities than I like to take, and I have not found it give way so readily as I expected: its obstinacy, however, seems at last disposed to submit to the remedy, and I know not whether I should then have a right to complain of any morbid sensation. My asthma is, I am afraid, constitutional and incurable; but it is only occasional, and, unless it be excited by labour or by cold, gives me no molestation, nor does it lay very close siege to life; for Sir John Floyer, whom the physical race consider as author of one of the best books upon it, panted on to ninety, as was supposed. And why were we content with supposing a fact so interesting of a man so conspicuous? Because he corrupted, at perhaps seventy or eighty, the register, that he might pass for younger than he was. He was not much less than eighty, when to a man of rank, who modestly asked his age, he answered, 'Go look;' though he was in general a man of civility and elegance. The ladies, I find, are at your house all well, except Miss Langton, who will probably soon recover her health by light suppers. Let her eat at dinner as she will, but not take a full stomach to bed. Pay my sincere respects to dear Miss Langton in Lincolnshire; let her know that I

mean not to break our league of friendship, and that I have a set of Lives for her, when I have the means of sending it."

"April 8. I am still disturbed by my cough; but what thanks have I not to pay, when my cough is the most painful sensation that I feel? and from that I expect hardly to be released, while winter continues to gripe us with so much pertinacity. The year has now advanced eighteen days beyond the equinox, and still there is very little remission of the cold. When warm weather comes, which surely must come at last, I hope it will help both me and your young lady. The man so busy about addresses is neither more nor less than our own Boswell, who had come as far as York towards London, but turned back on the dissolution, and is said now to stand for some place. Whether to wish him success his best friends hesitate. Let me have your prayers for the completion of my recovery. I am now better than I ever expected to have been. May God add to his mercies the grace that may enable me to use them according to his will. My compliments to all."

"April 13. I had this evening a note from Lord Portmore² desiring that I would give you an account of my health. You might have had it with less circumduction. I am, by God's blessing, I believe, free from all morbid sensations, except a cough, which is only troublesome. But I am still weak, and can have no great hope of strength till the weather shall be softer. The summer, if it be kindly, will, I hope, enable me to support the winter. God, who has so wonderfully restored me, can preserve me in all seasons. Let me inquire in my turn after the state of your family, great and little. I hope Lady Rothes and Miss Langton are both well. That is a good basis of content. Then how goes George on with his studies? How does Miss Mary? And how does my own Jenny? I think I owe Jenny a letter, which I will take care to pay. In the mean time tell her that I acknowledge the debt. Be pleased to make my compliments to the ladies. If Mrs. Langton comes to London, she will favour me with a visit, for I am not well enough to go out."

JOHNSON TO OZIAS HUMPHRY.³

"April 5. 1784.

"Sir, — Mr. Hoole has told me with what benevolence you listened to a request which I was almost afraid to make, of leave to a young painter⁴ to attend you from time to time in your painting-room, to see your operations, and receive your instructions. The young man has perhaps good parts, but has been without a regular education.

¹ Mr. Fox was returned for Westminster, after a sharp election and a tedious scrutiny. — CROKER.

² To which Johnson returned this answer: —

"Dr. Johnson acknowledges with great respect the honour of Lord Portmore's notice. He is better than he was; and will, as his Lordship directs, write to Mr. Langton." — BOSWELL.

³ The eminent painter, representative of the ancient family of Hoinfrey (now Humphry) in the west of England; who, as appears from their arms which they have invariably used, have been (as I have seen authenticated by the best authority) one of those among the knights and esquires of honour, who are represented by Holmshed as having issued from the

Tower of London on coursers appalled for the Justes, accompanied by ladies of honour, leading every one a knight, with a chain of gold, passing through the streets of London into Smithfield, on Sunday, at three o'clock in the afternoon, being the first Sunday after Michaelmas, in the fourteenth year of King Richard the Second. This family once enjoyed large possessions, but, like others, have lost them in the progress of ages. Their blood, however, remains to them well ascertained; and they may hope, in the resolution of events, to recover that rank in society for which, in modern times, fortune seems to be an indispensable requisite. — BOSWELL. Mr. Humphry died in 1810, at 68. His eminence as a painter was a good-natured error of Boswell's. — CROKER.

⁴ Son of Mr. Samuel Paterson, *anté*, p. 238. n. 2. — CROKER.

He is my godson, and therefore I interest myself in his progress and success, and shall think myself much favoured if I receive from you a permission to send him.

"My health is, by God's blessing, much restored, but I am not yet allowed by my physicians to go abroad; nor, indeed, do I think myself yet able to endure the weather. I am, Sir, &c.,

SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO HUMPHRY.

"April 10. 1784.

"SIR,—The bearer is my godson, whom I take the liberty of recommending to your kindness; which I hope he will deserve by his respect to your excellence, and his gratitude for your favours. I am, Sir, &c.,

SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO HUMPHRY.

"May 31. 1784.

"SIR,—I am very much obliged by your civilities to my godson, but must beg of you to add to them the favour of permitting him to see you paint, that he may know how a picture is begun, advanced, and completed. If he may attend you in a few of your operations, I hope he will show that the benefit has been properly conferred, both by his proficiency and his gratitude. At least I shall consider you as enlarging your kindness to, Sir, &c.,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO TAYLOR,

Ashbourne.

"London, Easter Monday, April 12. 1784.

"DEAR SIR,—What can be the reason that I hear nothing from you? I hope nothing disables you from writing. What I have seen, and what I have felt, gives me reason to fear every thing. Do not omit giving me the comfort of knowing, that after all my losses, I have yet a friend left.

"I want every comfort. My life is very solitary and very cheerless. Though it has pleased God wonderfully to deliver me from the dropsy, I am yet very weak, and have not passed the door since the 13th of December. I hope for some help from warm weather, which will surely come in time.

"I could not have the consent of the physicians to go to church yesterday; I therefore received the holy sacrament at home, in the room where I communicated with dear Mrs. Williams, a little before her death. O my friend, the approach of death is very dreadful! I am afraid to think on that which I know I cannot avoid. It is vain to look round and round for that help which cannot be had. Yet we hope and hope, and fancy that he who has lived to-day may live to-morrow. But let us learn to derive our hope only from God.

"In the mean time, let us be kind to one another. I have no friend now living but you¹ and Mr. Hector, that was the friend of my youth. Do not neglect, dear Sir, yours affectionately,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO MRS. THRALE.

(Extract.)

"London, 15th April, 1784. — Yesterday I had the pleasure of giving another dinner to the remainder of the old club. We used to meet weekly about the year 1750, and we were as cheerful as in former times: only I could not make quite so much noise; for since the paralytic affliction, my voice is sometimes weak.

"Metcalf [p. 710.] and Crutchley², without knowing each other, are both members of Parliament for Horsham. Mr. Cator [p. 767.] is chosen for Ipswich.

"But a sick man's thoughts soon turn back upon himself. I am still very weak, though my appetite is keen, and my digestion potent; and I gratify myself more at table than ever I did at my own cost before. I have now an inclination to luxury, which even your table did not excite; for till now my talk was more about the dishes than my thoughts. I remember you commended me for seeming pleased with my dinners when you had reduced your table. I am able to tell you with great veracity that I never knew when the reduction began, nor should have known that it was made had not you told me. I now think and consult to-day what I shall eat to-morrow. This disease will likewise, I hope, be cured. For there are other things—how different! which ought to predominate in the mind of such a man as I: but in this world the body will have its part; and my hope is, that it shall have no more—my hope, but not my confidence; I have only the timidity of a Christian to determine, not the wisdom of a Stoic to secure me."

"April 19. — I received this morning your magnificent fish, and in the afternoon your apology for not sending it. I have invited the Hooles and Miss Burney to dine upon it to-morrow.

"The club which has been lately instituted is at Sam's; and there was I when I was last out of the house. But the people whom I mentioned in my letter are the remnant of a little club that used to meet in Ivy-lane about three and thirty years ago, out of which we have lost Hawkesworth and Dyer—the rest are yet on this side the grave."

"London, 21st April, 1784. — I make haste to send you intelligence, which, if I do not flatter myself, you will not receive without some degree of pleasure. After a confinement of one hundred and twenty-nine days, more than the third part of a year, and no inconsiderable part of human life, I this day returned thanks to God in St. Clement's church for my recovery; a recovery, in my seventy-fifth year, from a distemper which few in the vigour of youth are known to surmount; a recovery, of which neither myself, my friends, nor my physicians, had any hope; for though they flattered me with some continuance of life, they never supposed that I could cease to be dropsical. The dropsy, however, is quite vanished; and the asthma so much mitigated, that I walked to-day with a more easy respiration than I have known, I think, for perhaps two years past. I hope the mercy that lightens my days will assist me to use them well.

"The Hooles, Miss Burney, and Mrs. Hall (Wesley's sister) feasted yesterday with me very

¹ Taylor died February 19. 1788, and Hector, 2d Sept. 1794, æt. 85. — MALONE.

² Jeremiah Crutchley, Esq., had been one of the intimates

at Streatham, and was one of Mr. Thrale's executors. He continued in the House of Commons till 1802. — CROKER, 1847.

cheerfully on your noble salmon. Mr. Allen could not come, and I sent him a piece, and a great tail is still left.

"Dr. Brocklesby forbids the club [*Sam's*] at present, not caring to venture the chillness of the evening; but I purpose to show myself on Saturday at the Academy's feast.¹ I cannot publish my return to the world more effectually; for, as the Frenchman says, *tout le monde s'y trouvera*.

"For this occasion I ordered some clothes; and was told by the tailor, that when he brought me a sick dress, he never expected to make me any thing of any other kind. My recovery is indeed wonderful."

"London, 26th April, 1784. — On Saturday I showed myself again to the living world at the Exhibition: much and splendid was the company, but, like the Doge of Genoa at Paris, I admired nothing but myself. I went up all the stairs to the pictures without stopping to rest or to breathe,

'In all the madness of superfluous health.'

The Prince of Wales had promised to be there; but when we had waited an hour and a half, sent us word that he could not come.

Mrs. Davenant² called to pay me a guinea, but I gave two for you. Whatever reasons you have for frugality, it is not worth while to save a guinea a year by withdrawing it from a public charity.

"Mr. Howard called on me a few days ago, and gave me the new edition, much enlarged, of his Account of Prisons. He has been to survey the prisons on the continent; and in Spain he tried to penetrate the dungeons of the Inquisition, but his curiosity was very imperfectly gratified. At Madrid, they shut him quite out; at Valladolid, they showed him some public rooms."

JOHNSON TO MRS. PORTER.

"London, April 26, 1784.

"MY DEAR, — I write to you now, to tell you that I am so far recovered that on the 21st I went to church to return thanks, after a confinement of more than four long months.

"My recovery is such as neither myself nor the physicians at all expected, and is such as that very few examples have been known of the like. Join with me, my dear love, in returning thanks to God.

Dr. Vyse has been with (me) this evening; he tells me that you likewise have been much disordered, but that you are now better. I hope that we shall some time have a cheerful interview. In the mean time let us pray for one another. I am, Madam, your humble servant, SAM. JOHNSON."

[DR. JOHNSON TO MISS REYNOLDS.

"Bolt-court, 30th April, 1784.

"DEAR MADAM, — Mr. Allen has looked over the papers³, and thinks that one hundred copies will come to five pounds.

"Fifty will cost 4*l.* 10*s.*, and five and twenty will

cost 4*l.* 5*s.* It seems therefore scarcely worth while to print fewer than a hundred.

"Suppose you printed two hundred and fifty at 6*l.* 10*s.*, and, without my name, tried the sale, which may be secretly done. You would then see the opinion of the public without hazard, if nobody knows but I. If any body else is in the secret, you shall not have my consent to venture. I am, dear Madam, your most affectionate and most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."]

— *Reyn. MSS.*

What follows is a beautiful specimen of his gentleness and complacency to a young lady, his godchild, one of the daughters of his friend Mr. Langton, then, I think, in her seventh year. He took the trouble to write it in a large round hand, nearly resembling printed characters, that she might have the satisfaction of reading it herself. The original lies before me, but shall be faithfully restored to her; and I dare say will be preserved by her as a jewel, as long as she lives.⁴

JOHNSON TO MISS JANE LANGTON,

In Rochester, Kent.

"May 10, 1781.

"MY DEAREST MISS JENNY, — I am sorry that your pretty letter has been so long without being answered; but, when I am not pretty well, I do not always write plain enough for young ladies. I am glad, my dear, to see that you write so well, and hope that you mind your pen, your book, and your needle, for they are all necessary. Your books will give you knowledge, and make you respected; and your needle will find you useful employment when you do not care to read. When you are a little older, I hope you will be very diligent in learning arithmetic; and, above all, that through your whole life you will carefully say your prayers and read your Bible. I am, my dear, &c.,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

On Wednesday, May 5., I arrived in London, and next morning had the pleasure to find Dr. Johnson greatly recovered. I but just saw him; for a coach was waiting to carry him to Islington, to the house of his friend the Reverend Mr. Strahan, where he went sometimes for the benefit of good air, which, notwithstanding his having formerly laughed at the general opinion upon the subject, he now acknowledged was conducive to health.

One morning afterwards, when I found him alone, he communicated to me, with solemn earnestness, the very remarkable circumstance which had happened in the course of his illness, when he was much distressed by the dropsy. He had shut himself up, and employed a day in particular exercises of religion, fasting, humiliation, and prayer. On a sudden he ob-

¹ The Exhibition dinner of the Royal Academy, then given in the upper rooms in Somerset House. — CROKER.

² A cousin of Mrs. Thrale's, Hester Lynch Salusbury Cotton, married to Mr. Davenant, who afterwards assumed the name of Corbet, and was created a baronet. — CROKER.

³ Perhaps Miss Reynolds's "Essay on Taste." See *ante*, pp. 697–706. Malone was misled by the inaccurate copy of

the letter in p. 697. Into thinking it had been then printed. Northcote (ii. 115.), adopts this error. — CROKER.

⁴ It is so. I have seen it very lately, framed and glazed, in the possession of the respectable and amiable lady to whom it was addressed. It is written in a large hand, very fair and legible; Miss Langton was then seven years old. See *ante*, p. 565. n. 2. — CROKER, 1847.

tained extraordinary relief, for which he looked up to Heaven with grateful devotion. He made no direct inference from this fact; but from his manner of telling it, I could perceive that it appeared to him as something more than an incident in the common course of events. For my own part, I have no difficulty to avow that cast of thinking, which, by many modern pretenders to wisdom, is called *superstitious*. But here I think even men of dry rationality may believe, that there was an intermediate¹ interposition of Divine Providence, and that the "fervent prayer of this righteous man" availed.²

On Sunday, May 9., I found Colonel Vallancy³, the celebrated antiquary and engineer of Ireland, with him. On Monday, the 10th, I dined with him at Mr. Paradise's, where was a large company; Mr. Bryant, Mr. Joddrel⁴, Mr. Hawkins Browne, &c. On Thursday, the 13th, I dined with him at Mr. Joddrel's, with another large company; the Bishop of Exeter [Dr. Ross], Lord Monboddo, Mr. Murphy, &c. I was sorry to observe Lord Monboddo avoid any communication with Dr. Johnson. I flattered myself that I had made them very good friends; but unhappily his lordship had resumed and cherished a violent prejudice against my illustrious friend, to whom I must do the justice to say, there was on his part not the least anger, but a good-humoured sportiveness. Nay, though he knew of his lordship's indisposition towards him, he was even kindly; as appeared from his inquiring of me after him, by an abbreviation of his name, "Well, how does *Monny*?"

On Saturday, May 15., I dined with him at Dr. Brocklesby's, where were Colonel Vallancy, Mr. Murphy, and that ever-cheerful companion, Mr. Devaynes, apothecary to his majesty.⁵ Of these days, and others on which I saw him, I have no memorials, except the general recollection of his being able and animated in conversation, and appearing to relish society as much as the youngest man. I find only these three small particulars: When a person was mentioned, who said, "I have lived fifty-one years in this world without having had ten minutes of uneasiness;" he exclaimed, "The man who says so lies: he attempts to impose on human

credulity." The Bishop of Exeter in vain observed, that men were very different. His lordship's manner was not impressive; and I learnt afterwards, that Johnson did not find out that the person who talked to him was a prelate; if he had, I doubt not that he would have treated him with more respect; for, once talking of George Psalmanazar, whom he revered for his piety, he said, "I should as soon think of contradicting a bishop." One of the company provoked him greatly by doing what he could least of all bear, which was, quoting something of his own writing, against what he then maintained. "What, Sir," cried the gentleman, "do you say to—

"The busy day, the peaceful night,
Unfelt, uncounted, glided by?"⁷

Johnson, finding himself thus presented as giving an instance of a man who had lived without uneasiness, was much offended, for he looked upon such a quotation as unfair: his anger burst out in an unjustifiable retort insinuating that the gentleman's remark was a sally of ebriety: "Sir, there is one passion I would advise you to command; when you have drunk out that glass, don't drink another." Here was exemplified what Goldsmith said of him, with the aid of a very witty image from one of Cibber's comedies: "There is no arguing with Johnson: for if his pistol misses fire, he knocks you down with the butt end of it."

Another was this: when a gentleman⁸ of eminence in the literary world was violently censured for attacking people by anonymous paragraphs in newspapers, he, from the spirit of contradiction, as I thought, took up his defence, and said, "Come, come, this is not so terrible a crime; he means only to vex them a little. I do not say that I should do it; but there is a great difference between him and me: what is fit for Hephæstion is not fit for Alexander." Another, when I told him that a young and handsome countess had said to me, "I should think that to be praised by Dr. Johnson would make one a fool all one's life;" and that I answered, "Madam, I shall make him a fool to-day, by repeating this to him;" he said, "I am too old to be made a fool: but if you say I am made a fool, I shall

¹ So in all the editions, though the meaning of the term *intermediate* does not seem quite clear. Perhaps Mr. Boswell may have meant *immediate*. — CROKER.

² Upon this subject there is a very fair and judicious remark in the Life of Dr. Abernethy, in the first edition of the *Biographia Britannica*, which I should have been glad to see in his Life, which has been written for the second edition of that valuable work. "To deny the exercise of a particular providence in the Deity's government of the world is certainly impious, yet nothing serves the cause of the scorner more than incautious forward zeal in determining the particular instances of it." In confirmation of my sentiments, I am also happy to quote that sensible and elegant writer, Mr. Melmoth, in Letter VIII. of his collection, published under the name of Fitzosborne, "We may safely assert, that the belief of a particular Providence is founded upon such probable reasons as may well justify our assent. It would scarce, therefore, be wise to renounce an opinion which affords so firm a support to the soul in those seasons wherein she stands in most need of assistance, merely because it is

not possible, in questions of this kind, to solve every difficult which attends them." — BOSWELL.

³ Afterwards General Vallancy; an ingenious man, but somewhat of a visionary on Irish antiquities. He died 1812, et. 92. — CROKER.

⁴ Richard Paul Joddrel, Esq., formerly M.P. for Seaford died Jan. 26. 1831, aged 86. He was the last survivor of Johnson's Essex Street club. — CROKER.

⁵ Indeed his friends seem to have, as it were, celebrated his recovery by a round of dinners, for he wrote on the 13. to Mrs. Thrale:—"Now I am broken loose, my friends see willing enough to see me. On Monday I dined with Paradise; Tuesday, Hoole; Wednesday, Dr. Taylor; to-day with Joddrel; Friday, Mrs. Garrick; Saturday, Dr. Brocklesby; next Monday, Dilly." — CROKER.

⁶ Most probably Mr. Boswell himself, who has more than once applied the same quotation on similar occasions. — CROKER.

⁷ Verses on the death of Mr. Levett. — BOSWELL.

⁸ George Steevens. — CROKER.

not deny it. I am much pleased with a compliment, especially from a pretty woman."

On the evening of Saturday, May 15., he was in fine spirits at our Essex Head Club. He told us, "I dined yesterday at Mrs. Garrick's with Mrs. Carter¹, Miss Hannah More, and Fanny Burney. Three such women are not to be found: I know not where I could find a fourth, except Mrs. Lennox, who is superior to them all." BOSWELL. "What! had you them all to yourself, Sir?" JOHNSON.

"I had them all, as much as they were had; but it might have been better had there been more company there." BOSWELL. "Might not Mrs. Montagu have been a fourth?" JOHNSON.

"Sir, Mrs. Montagu does not make a trade of her wit: but Mrs. Montagu is a very extraordinary woman: she has a constant stream of conversation, and it is always impregnated; it has always meaning." BOSWELL. "Mr. Burke has a constant stream of conversation."

JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir; if a man were to go by chance at the same time with Burke under a hedge to shun a shower, he would say, 'this is an extraordinary man.' If Burke should go into a stable to see his horse dressed, the ostler would say, 'we have had an extraordinary man here.'" BOSWELL. "Foote was a man who never failed in conversation. If he had gone into a stable—" JOHNSON. "Sir, if he had gone into a stable, the ostler would have said, 'here has been a comical fellow; but he would not have respected him.'" BOSWELL.

"And, Sir, the ostler would have answered him,—would have given him as good as he brought, as the common saying is." JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir; and Foote would have answered the ostler. When Burke does not descend to be merry, his conversation is very superior indeed. There is no proportion between the powers which he shows in serious talk and in jocularity. When he lets himself down to that he is in the kennel." I have in another place [p. 273.] opposed, and I hope with success, Dr. Johnson's very singular and erroneous notion as to Mr. Burke's pleasantry.

Mr. Windham now said low to me, that he differed from our great friend in this observation; for that Mr. Burke was often very happy in his merriment. It would not have been right for either of us to have contradicted Johnson at this time, in a society all of whom did not know and value Mr. Burke as much as we did. It might have occasioned some-

thing more rough, and at any rate would probably have checked the flow of Johnson's good humour. He called to us with a sudden air of exultation, as the thought started into his mind, "O! Gentlemen, I must tell you a very great thing. The Empress of Russia has ordered the 'Rambler' to be translated into the Russian language²; so I shall be read on the banks of the Wolga. Horace boasts that his fame would extend as far as the banks of the Rhone; now the Wolga is farther from me than the Rhone was from Horace." BOSWELL. "You must certainly be pleased with this, Sir." JOHNSON. "I am pleased, Sir, to be sure. A man is pleased to find he has succeeded in that which he has endeavoured to do."

One of the company mentioned his having seen a noble person driving in his carriage, and looking exceedingly well, notwithstanding his great age. JOHNSON. "Ah, Sir, that is nothing. Bacon observes, that a stout healthy old-man is like a tower undermined."

On Sunday, May 16., I found him alone: he talked of Mrs. Thrale with much concern, saying, "Sir, she has done every thing wrong since Thrale's bridle was off her neck;" and was proceeding to mention some circumstances which have since been the subject of public discussion³, when he was interrupted by the arrival of Dr. Douglas, now Bishop of Salisbury.

Dr. Douglas, upon this occasion, refuted a mistaken notion which is very common in Scotland, that the ecclesiastical discipline⁴ of the Church of England, though duly enforced, is insufficient to preserve the morals of the clergy, inasmuch as all delinquents may be screened by appealing to the convocation, which being never authorised by the king to sit for the despatch of business, the appeal never can be heard. Dr. Douglas observed, that this was founded upon ignorance; for that the bishops have sufficient power to maintain discipline, and that the sitting of the convocation was wholly immaterial in this respect, it being not a court of judicature, but like a parliament, to make canons and regulations as times may require.

Johnson, talking of the fear of death, said, "Some people are not afraid, because they look upon salvation as the effect of an absolute decree, and think they feel in themselves the marks of sanctification. Others, and those the most rational in my opinion, look upon salvation as conditional; and as they never can be

¹ This learned and excellent lady, so often mentioned in his volume, died at her house in Clarges Street, Feb. 19. 1806, in her eighty-ninth year.—MALONE. The letters of these three ladies, posthumously published, have confirmed, and, indeed, increased the reputation of Mrs. Carter and Hannah More, while they have wholly extinguished that of Madame D'Arlay; but this indeed had been waning ever since her two first novels, which, clever as they were, owed a great deal of their extraordinary success to the strange misrepresentation, that had been somehow made, of the author's being ten years younger than she really was. *Ante*, 732. n. 3.—CROKER, 1847.

² I have since heard that the report was not well founded;

but the elation discovered by Johnson, in the belief that it was true, showed a noble ardour for literary fame.—BOSWELL.

³ See *ante*, p. 510. n. 3.—CROKER.

⁴ Since the abolition of the High Commission Court in 1640, proceedings against clergymen for ecclesiastical offences (happily, in this country, of rare occurrence, when compared with the number of the clergy) have been conducted by the same rules as are observed in other criminal cases in the spiritual courts. That inconveniences have attended their application to such suits is not a recent complaint, but some modern cases show the necessity of some early and effectual remedy.—MARKLAND.

sure that they have complied with the conditions, they are afraid."

In one of his little manuscript diaries about this time I find a short notice, which marks his amiable disposition more certainly than a thousand studied declarations. "Afternoon spent cheerfully and elegantly, I hope without offence to God or man; though in no holy duty, yet in the general exercise and cultivation of benevolence."

On Monday, May 17., I dined with him at Mr. Dilly's, where were Colonel Vallancy, the Reverend Dr. Gibbons, and Mr. Capel Lofft, who, though a most zealous Whig, has a mind so full of learning and knowledge, and so much exercised in various departments, and withal so much liberality, that the stupendous powers of the literary Goliath, though they did not frighten this little David of popular spirit, could not but excite his admiration. There was also Mr. Braithwaite of the Post-office, that amiable and friendly man, who, with modest and unassuming manners, has associated with many of the wits of the age. Johnson was very quiescent¹ to-day. Perhaps, too, I was indolent. I find nothing more of him in my notes, but that when I mentioned that I had seen in the king's library sixty-three editions of my favourite Thomas à Kempis,—amongst which it was in eight languages, Latin, German, French, Italian, Spanish, English, Arabic, and Armenian,—he said he thought it unnecessary to collect many editions of a book, which were all the same, except as to the paper and print; he would have the original, and all the translations, and all the editions which had any variations in the text. He approved of the famous collection of editions of Horace by Douglas², mentioned by Pope, who is said to have had a closet filled with them; and he added, "every man should try to collect one book in that manner, and present it to a public library."

On Tuesday, May 18., I saw him for a short time in the morning. I told him that the mob had called out, as the king passed³, "No Fox, no Fox!" which I did not like. He said, "They were right, Sir." I said, I thought not; for it seemed to be making Mr. Fox the king's competitor. There being no audience, so that there could be no triumph in a victory, he fairly agreed with me. I said it

might do very well, if explained thus: "Let us have no Fox," understanding it as a prayer to his Majesty not to appoint that gentleman minister.

CHAPTER LXXIX.

1784.

Departed Friends. — Argument. — Testimony. — Helen Maria Williams. — Knotting. — Oxford — Newton on the Prophecies. — Nonjurors. — Infidel Writers. — Church of Rome. — Whig and Tory. — Miss Adams. — Fox and Pitt. — Radcliffe's Travelling Fellowships. — Prayer. — Jeremy Taylor. — Ifley. — Dr. Nowell. — Rev. Henry Bate. — John Henderson. — Balance of Misery.

On Wednesday, May 19., I sat a part of the evening with him, by ourselves. I observed that the death of our friends might be a consolation against the fear of our own dissolution because we might have more friends in the other world than in this. He perhaps felt this as a reflection upon his apprehension as to death, and said, with heat, "How can a man know *where* his departed friends are, or whether they will be his friends in the other world? How many friendships have you known formed upon principles of virtue? Most friendships are formed by caprice or by chance—mere confederacies in vice or league in folly."

We talked of our worthy friend Mr. Langton. He said, "I know not who will go to heaven if Langton does not. Sir, I could almost say *Sit anima mea cum Langtono*." I mentioned a very eminent friend as a virtuous man. JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir; but ——— has not the evangelical virtue of Langton ———, I am afraid, would not scruple to pick up a wench."⁴

He however charged Mr. Langton with what he thought want of judgment upon an interesting occasion. "When I was ill," said he, "I desired he would tell me sincerely what he thought my life was faulty. Sir, I brought me a sheet of paper, on which he has written down several texts of Scripture re-

¹ He was probably not at his ease under the disputatious whiggism of Capel Lofft, with which his state of health indisposed him to combat. — CROKER, 1847.

² The mention by Pope is in the following lines of the *Dunciad*, and the subjoined note:—

"Bid me with Pollio sup, as well as dine,
There all the learned shall at the labour stand,
And Douglas lend his soft obstetric hand.

"*Douglas*, a physician of great learning and no less taste; above all, curious in what related to Horace; of whom he collected every edition, translation, and comment, to the number of several hundred volumes." — *Dunciad*, b. iv. l. 392. Dr. James Douglas was born in Scotland in 1675, and died in London in 1742. He published some medical works. — CROKER.

³ To open parliament. The Westminster election had concluded only the day before in favour of Mr. Fox, who return, however, was delayed by the requisition for scrutiny. — CROKER.

⁴ As Boswell has seldom, if ever, applied the term "*eminent friend*," except to Mr. Burke or Sir Joshua Reynolds, it may not be unnecessary to remind the reader that this time Mr. Burke was fifty-four, and Sir Joshua sixty-two years of age, and that the good taste and moral propriety both forbid our believing that there could have been a ground for so offensive a supposition against either: but particularly as against Mr. Burke—a married man, of exemplary piety, and, as Boswell admits, and all the world knows, remarkable for the most "*orderly and amiable domestic habits*," *Ante*, p. 626. We shall see by and by (*post*, Dec. 2, 1784) still more culpable instance of Boswell's indecency and indiscretion in dealing with such matters. — CROKER, 1831—47.

commending Christian charity. And when I questioned him what occasion I had given for such an animadversion, all that he could say amounted to this, — that I sometimes contradicted people in conversation. Now what harm does it do to any man to be contradicted?" BOSWELL. "I suppose he meant the *manner* of doing it; roughly and harshly." JOHNSON. "And who is the worse for that?" BOSWELL. "It hurts people of weaker nerves." JOHNSON. "I know no such weak-nerved people." Mr. Burke, to whom I related this conference, said, "It is well if, when a man comes to die, he has nothing heavier upon his conscience than having been a little rough in conversation."

Johnson, at the time when the paper was presented to him, though at first pleased with the attention of his friend, whom he thanked in an earnest manner, soon exclaimed in a loud and angry tone, "What is your drift, Sir?" Sir Joshua Reynolds pleasantly observed, that it was a scene for a comedy, to see a penitent get into a violent passion and belabour his confessor.¹

I have preserved no more of his conversation at the times when I saw him during the rest of this month, till Sunday, the 30th of May, when I met him in the evening at Mr. Hoole's, where there was a large company both of ladies and gentlemen. Sir James Johnston happened to say that he paid no regard to the arguments of counsel at the bar of the House of Commons, because they were paid for speaking. JOHNSON. "Nay, Sir, argument is argument. You cannot help paying regard to their arguments if they are good. If it were testimony, you might disregard it, if you knew that it were purchased. There is a beautiful image in Bacon² upon this subject. Testimony is like an arrow shot from a long-bow; the force of it depends on the strength of the hand that draws it. Argument is like an arrow from a cross-bow,

which has equal force though shot by a child."³

He had dined that day at Mr. Hoole's, and Miss Helen Maria Williams being expected in the evening, Mr. Hoole put into his hands her beautiful "Ode on the Peace."⁴ Johnson read it over, and when this elegant and accomplished young lady⁵ was presented to him, he took her by the hand in the most courteous manner, and repeated the finest stanza of her poem. This was the most delicate and pleasing compliment he could pay. Her respectable friend, Dr. Kippis, from whom I had this anecdote, was standing by, and was not a little gratified.

Miss Williams told me, that the only other time she was fortunate enough to be in Dr. Johnson's company, he asked her to sit down by him, which she did; and upon her inquiring how he was, he answered, "I am very ill indeed, Madam. I am very ill even when you are near me; what should I be were you at a distance?"

["JOHNSON TO MISS REYNOLDS.

"May 28. 1784.

"MADAM, — You do me wrong by imputing my omission to any captious punctilioousness. I have not yet seen Sir Joshua, and, when I do see him, I know not how to serve you. When I spoke upon your affairs⁶ to him, at Christmas, I received no encouragement to speak again.

"But we shall never do business by letters. We must see one another.

"I have returned your papers, [pp. 697. 706.] and am glad that you laid aside the thought of printing them. I am, Madam, your most humble servant,
— REYN. MSS. "SAM. JOHNSON."]

JOHNSON TO DR. HAMILTON.⁷

"Bolt Court, June 4. 1783.

"REVEREND SIR, — Be pleased to excuse this application from a stranger in favour of one who has very little ability to speak for herself. The

¹ After all, I cannot but be of opinion, that as Mr. Langton was seriously requested by Dr. Johnson to mention what appeared to him erroneous in the character of his friend, he was bound as an honest man to intimate what he really thought, which he certainly did in the most delicate manner; so that Johnson himself, when in a quiet frame of mind, was pleased with it. The texts suggested are now before me, and I shall quote a few of them. "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth." — *Matt. v. 5.* "I therefore, the prisoner of the Lord, beseech you that ye walk worthily of the vocation wherewith ye are called, with all lowliness and meekness, with long-suffering forbearing one another in love." — *Ephes. v. 1, 2.* "And above all these things, put on charity, which is the bond of perfectness." — *Col. iii. 14.* "Charity suffereth long, and is kind; charity envieth not; charity vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, doth not behave itself unseemly, is not easily provoked." — *1 Cor. xiii. 4, 5.* — B SWELL.

² Dr. Johnson's memory deceived him. The passage referred to is not Bacon's, but Boyle's, and may be found, with a slight variation, in Johnson's Dictionary, under the word *Crossbow*. — So happily selected are the greater part of the examples in that incomparable work, that if the most striking passages found in it were collected by one of our modern bookmakers, under the title of "The Beauties of Johnson's Dictionary," they would form a very pleasing and popular volume. — MALONE.

³ Dr. Moore, in his *Life of Smollett*, professes to relate this circumstance (at which he was present) with more "precision" than Boswell; but it is satisfactory to find that his

statement proves the accuracy of Boswell's narration, as well as the superiority of his style of reporting. — CROKER.

⁴ The peace made by that very able statesman the Earl of Shelburne, now Marquis of Lansdowne, which may fairly be considered as the foundation of all the prosperity of Great Britain since that time. — BOSWELL.

⁵ In the first edition of my work, the epithet *amiable* was given. I was sorry to be obliged to strike it out; but I could not in justice suffer it to remain, after this young lady had not only written in favour of the savage anarchy with which France has been visited, but had (as I have been informed by good authority) walked, without horror, over the ground at the Tuilleries when it was strewn with the naked bodies of the faithful Swiss Guards, who were barbarously massacred for having bravely defended, against a crew of ruffians, the monarch whom they had taken an oath to defend. From Dr. Johnson she could now expect not endearment, but repulsion. — BOSWELL. Miss Williams, like many other early enthusiasts of the French revolution, had latterly altered her opinion very considerably. She died in 1828, æt. 65. — CROKER.

⁶ No doubt, pecuniary affairs, similar to those mentioned *ante*, p. 623, n. 1. I preserve all these notes as proofs of Johnson's active benevolence towards his friends, and the reliance they had on his kindness. — CROKER.

⁷ This and the following notes, addressed to the Rev. Dr. Hamilton, Vicar of St. Martin's in the Fields, are published from the originals, in the possession of his son; who observes, that "they are of no further interest, than as showing the

unhappy woman who waits on you with this, has been known to me many years. She is the daughter of a clergyman of Leicestershire, who by an unhappy marriage is reduced to solicit a refuge in the workhouse of your parish, to which she has a claim by her husband's settlement.

Her case admits of little deliberation; she is turned out of her lodging into the street. What my condition allows me to do for her I have already done, and having no friend, she can have recourse only to the parish. I am, reverend Sir, &c.,
— MSS. "SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO DR. HAMILTON.

"Bolt Court, Feb. 11. 1784.

"SIR, — My physicians endeavour to make me believe that I shall sometime be better qualified to receive visits from men of elegance and civility like yours.

"Mrs. Pellè shall wait upon you, and you will judge what will be proper for you to do. I once more return you my thanks, and am, Sir, &c.,
— MSS. "SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO DR. HAMILTON.

June 2. 1784.

"SIR, — You do every thing that is liberal and kind. Mrs. Pellè is a bad manager for herself, but I will employ a more skilful agent, one Mrs. Gardiner, who will wait on you and employ Pellè's money to the best advantage. Mrs. Gardiner will wait on you.

"I return you, Sir, sincere thanks for your attention to me. I am ill, but hope to come back better¹, and to be made better still by your conversation. I am, Sir, &c., SAM. JOHNSON."]
— MSS.

He had now a great desire to go to Oxford, as his first jaunt after his illness. We talked of it for some days, and I had promised to accompany him. He was impatient and fretful to-night, because I did not at once agree to go with him on Thursday. When I considered how ill he had been, and what allowance should be made for the influence of sickness upon his temper, I resolved to indulge him, though with some inconvenience to myself, as I wished to attend the musical meeting in honour of Handel, in Westminster Abbey, on the following Saturday.

In the midst of his own diseases and pains, he was ever compassionate to the distresses of others, and actively earnest in procuring them aid, as appears from a note to Sir Joshua Reynolds, of June, in these words: —

goodness of Johnson's heart, and the spirit with which he entered into the cause and interests of an individual in distress, when he was almost on the bed of sickness and death himself." — WRIGHT.

¹ Dr. Johnson left town on the following morning, with Boswell, for Oxford. — WRIGHT.

² The following note from Miss Reynolds shows that he was not a solicitor for the poor of his own acquaintance only. It seems to have been given to some poor woman as an introduction to Dr. Johnson: —

"Dover Street, July 9.

"MY GOOD SIR, — I could not forbear to communicate to the poor woman the hope you had given me of using your

JOHNSON TO REYNOLDS.

"I am ashamed to ask for some relief for a poor man, to whom I hope I have given what I can be expected to spare. The man importunes me, and the blow goes round. I am going to try another air on Thursday."³

On Thursday, June 3., the Oxford post coach took us up in the morning at Bolt Court. The other two passengers were Mrs. Beresford and her daughter, two very agreeable ladies from America; they were going to Worcestershire, where they then resided. Frank had been sent by his master the day before to take places for us; and I found from the way-bill that Dr. Johnson had made our names be put down. Mrs. Beresford, who had read it, whispered me, "Is this the great Dr. Johnson?" I told her it was; so she was then prepared to listen. As she soon happened to mention, in a voice so low that Johnson did not hear it, that her husband had been a member of the American Congress, I cautioned her to beware of introducing that subject, as she must know how very violent Johnson was against the people of that country. He talked a great deal; but I am sorry I have preserved little of the conversation. Miss Beresford was so much charmed, that she said to me aside, "How he does talk! Every sentence is an essay." She amused herself in the coach with knotting. He would scarcely allow this species of employment any merit. "Next to mere idleness," said he, "I think knotting is to be reckoned in the scale of insignificance; though I once attempted to learn knotting: Dempster's sister (looking to me) endeavoured to teach me it, but I made no progress."

I was surprised at his talking without reserve in the public post coach of the state of his affairs: "I have," said he, "about the world, I think, above a thousand pounds, which I intend shall afford Frank an annuity of seventy pounds a year." Indeed, his openness with people at a first interview was remarkable. He said once to Mr. Langton, "I think I am like Squire Richard³ in 'The Journey to London,' *I'm never strange in a strange place*. He was truly social. He strongly censured what is much too common in England among persons of condition, — maintaining an absolute silence when unknown to each other; as, for instance, when occasionally brought together in a room before the master or mistress of the

interest with your friends to raise her a little sum to enable her to see her native country again; nor could I refuse to write a line to procure her the pleasure of the confirmation of that hope.

"I am, and always have been, very troublesome to you, but you are, and always have been, very good to your obliged humble servant,
"FRANCES REYNOLDS."

³ The remark is made by Miss Jenny, and not by her brother. From its smartness it would have been ill suited to one who was originally described in the dramatic person as "a mere whelp." — MARKLAND.

house has appeared. "Sir, that is being so uncivilised as not to understand the common rights of humanity."

At the inn where we stopped he was exceedingly dissatisfied with some roast mutton which we had for dinner. The ladies, I saw, wondered to see the great philosopher, whose wisdom and wit they had been admiring all the way, get into ill-humour from such a cause. He scolded the waiter, saying, "It is as bad as bad can be: it is ill-fed, ill-killed, ill-kept, and ill-drest."

He bore the journey very well, and seemed to feel himself elevated as he approached Oxford, that magnificent and venerable seat of learning, orthodoxy, and Toryism. Frank came in the heavy coach, in readiness to attend him; and we were received with the most polite hospitality at the house of his old friend Dr. Adams, Master of Pembroke College, who had given us a kind invitation. Before we were set down, I communicated to Johnson my having engaged to return to London directly for the reason I have mentioned, but that I would hasten back to him again. He was pleased that I had made this journey merely to keep him company. He was easy and placid with Dr. Adams, Mrs. and Miss Adams, and Mrs. Kennicott, widow of the learned Hebræan, who was here on a visit. He soon despatched the inquiries that were made about his illness and recovery by a short and distinct narrative, and then assuming a gay air, repeated from Swift, —

"Nor think on our approaching ills,
And talk of spectacles and pills."

Dr. Newton, the Bishop of Bristol, having been mentioned, Johnson, recollecting the manner in which he had been censured by that prelate¹, thus retaliated: — "Tom knew he should be dead before what he has said of

me would appear. He durst not have printed it while he was alive." Dr. ADAMS. "I believe his 'Dissertations on the Prophecies' is his great work." JOHNSON. "Why, Sir, it is Tom's great work; but how far it is great, or how much of it is Tom's, are other questions. I fancy a considerable part of it was borrowed." Dr. ADAMS. "He was a very successful man." JOHNSON. "I don't think so, Sir. He did not get very high. He was late in getting what he did get; and he did not get it by the best means. I believe he was a gross flatterer."

I fulfilled my intention by going to London, and returned to Oxford on Wednesday the 9th of June, when I was happy to find myself again in the same agreeable circle at Pembroke College, with the comfortable prospect of making some stay. Johnson welcomed my return with more than ordinary glee.

He talked with great regard of the Honourable Archibald Campbell, whose character he had given at the Duke of Argyll's table when we were at Inverary, and at this time wrote out for me, in his own hand, a fuller account of that learned and venerable writer, which I have published in its proper place. [p. 389.] Johnson made a remark this evening which struck me a good deal. "I never," said he, "knew a nonjuror who could reason."² Surely he did not mean to deny that faculty to many of their writers — to Hickeys, Bretts, and other eminent divines of that persuasion; and did not recollect that the seven bishops, so justly celebrated for their magnanimous resistance of arbitrary power, were yet nonjurors³ to the new government. The nonjuring clergy of Scotland, indeed, who, excepting a few, have lately, by a sudden stroke, cut off all ties of allegiance to the house of Stuart, and resolved to pray for our present lawful sovereign by name, may be thought to have confirmed this

¹ Dr. Newton, in his account of his own Life, after inadvertently upon Mr. Gibbon's History, says, —

"Dr. Johnson's 'Lives of the Poets' afforded more amusement; but candour was much hurt and offended at the malevolence that predominates in every part. Some passages, it must be allowed, are judicious and well written, but make not sufficient compensation for so much spleen and ill-humour. Never was any biographer more sparing of his praise, or more abundant in his censures. He seemingly delights more in exposing blemishes, than in recommending beauties; slightly passes over excellences, enlarges upon imperfections, and, not content with his own severe reflections, revives old scandal, and produces large quotations from the forgotten works of former critics. His reputation was so high in the republic of letters, that it wanted not to be raised upon the ruins of others. But these essays, instead of raising a higher idea than was before entertained of his understanding, have certainly given the world a worse opinion of his temper. The bishop was therefore the more surprised and concerned for his townsman, for he respected him not only for his genius and learning, but valued him much for the more amiable part of his character — his humanity and clarity, his morality and religion."

The last sentence we may consider as the general and permanent opinion of Bishop Newton; the remarks which precede it must, by all who have read Johnson's admirable work, be imputed to the disgust and peevishness of old age. I wish they had not appeared, and that Dr. Johnson had not been provoked by them to express himself not in respectful terms of a prelate whose labours were certainly of considerable advantage both to literature and religion. — BOSWELL.

² The Rev. Mr. Agutter has favoured me with a note of a dialogue between Mr. John Henderson (*post*, p. 763.) and Dr. Johnson on this topic, as related by Mr. Henderson, and it is evidently so authentic that I shall here insert it: — HENDERSON. "What do you think, Sir, of William Law?" JOHNSON. "William Law, Sir, wrote the best piece of pantheistic divinity; but William Law was no reasoner." HENDERSON. "Jeremy Collier, Sir?" JOHNSON. "Jeremy Collier fought without a rival, and therefore could not claim the victory." Mr. Henderson mentioned Ken and Kettlewell; but some objections were made; at last he said, "But, Sir, what do you think of Lesley?" JOHNSON. "Charles Lesley I had forgotten. Lesley was a reasoner, and a reasoner who was not to be reasoned against." BOSWELL. Charles was the son of Dr. John Leslie, Bishop of Clogher in Ireland. He was educated at Trinity College, Dublin. Though zealous against popery and King James's popish measures, he could not reconcile his conscience to the oaths to William and Mary, and so became a nonjuror, of which party he was one of the chief literary and theological supports and ornaments. After many years of exile, he returned to his native country, and died in 1722, at his own house at Glasgow, in the county of Monaghan, where his descendants have continued to reside. The present possessor, Mr. Charles Powell Leslie, his great grandson, has represented that county in several parliaments. — CROKER, 1831.

³ Mr. Boswell is mistaken: two of the seven bishops, viz. Lloyd, of St. Asaph's, and Trelawney, of Bristol, transferred after the Revolution to Exeter and Winchester, were not nonjurors. — CROKER.

remark; as it may be said, that the divine indefeasible hereditary right which they professed to believe, if ever true, must be equally true still. Many of my readers will be surprised when I mention that Johnson assured me he had never in his life been in a nonjuring meeting-house.

Next morning at breakfast, he pointed out a passage in Savage's "Wanderer," saying, "These are fine verses." "If," said he, "I had written with hostility of Warburton in my Shakspeare, I should have quoted this couplet:—

'Here Learning, blinded first, and then beguiled,
Looks dark as Ignorance, as Frenzy wild.'

You see they'd have fitted him to a *T*," (smiling.) Dr. ADAMS. "But you did not write against Warburton." JOHNSON. "No, Sir, I treated him with great respect, both in my preface and in my notes."¹

Mrs. Kennicott spoke of her brother, the Reverend Mr. Chamberlayne, who had given up great prospects in the Church of England² on his conversion to the Roman Catholic faith. Johnson, who warmly admired every man who acted from a conscientious regard to principle, erroneous or not, exclaimed fervently, "God bless him."

Mrs. Kennicott, in confirmation of Dr. Johnson's opinion that the present was not worse than former ages, mentioned that her brother assured her there was now less infidelity on the continent than there had been³; Voltaire and Rousseau were less read. I asserted, from good authority, that Hume's infidelity was certainly less read. JOHNSON. "All infidel writers drop into oblivion when personal connexions and the floridness of novelty are gone; though now and then a foolish fellow, who thinks he can be witty upon them, may bring them again into notice. There will sometimes start up a college joker, who does not consider that what is a joke in a college will not do in the world. To

such defenders of religion I would apply a stanza of a poem which I remember to have seen in some old collection:—

'Henceforth be quiet and agree,
Each kiss his empty brother:
Religion scorns a foe like thee,
But dreads a friend like t'other.'

The point is well, though the expression is not correct: *one*, and not *thee*, should be opposed to *t'other*.⁴

On the Roman Catholic religion he said, "If you join the papists externally, they will not interrogate you strictly as to your belief in their tenets. No reasoning papist believes every article of their faith. There is one side on which a good man might be persuaded to embrace it. A good man of a timorous disposition, in great doubt of his acceptance with God, and pretty credulous, may be glad to be of a church where there are so many helps to get to heaven.⁵ I would be a papist if I could. I have fear enough; but an obstinate rationality prevents me. I shall never be a papist, unless on the near approach of death, of which I have a very great terror. I wonder that women are not all papists." BOSWELL. "They are not more afraid of death than men are." JOHNSON. "Because they are less wicked." Dr. ADAMS. "They are more pious." JOHNSON. "No, hang 'em, they are not more pious. A wicked fellow is the most pious when he takes to it. He'll beat you all at piety."

He argued in defence of some of the peculiar tenets of the church of Rome. As to the giving the bread only to the laity, he said, "They may think, that in what is merely ritual⁶, deviations from the primitive mode may be admitted on the ground of convenience; and I think they are as well warranted to make this alteration, as we are to substitute sprinkling in the room of the ancient baptism.⁷ As to the invocation of saints, he said, "Though I do not think it

¹ See *anté*, p. 54.—C.

² Mr. Hallam informs me that there is here an inaccuracy. Mr. George Chamberlayne was a clerk in the Treasury, and never was in the Church of England. He became a Romish priest, and died in London within the last twenty years. The catastrophe of his elder brother, Edward Chamberlayne (see *anté*, p. 686. n. 4) makes me suspect something of mental aberration in this case, as there certainly has been in numerous similar conversions.—CROKER, 1835—47.

³ The Revolution would seem to negative this opinion, but I incline to believe that it was true. Infidelity may have been on the decrease, when the political hurricane arose and swept all into the chaos of anarchy and atheism.—CROKER, 1831—47.

⁴ I have inserted the stanza as Johnson repeated it from memory; but I have since found the poem itself, in "The Foundling Hospital for Wit," printed at London, 1749. It is as follows:—

"EPICRAM, occasioned by a religious dispute at Bath.

"On reason, faith, and mystery high,
Two wits harangue the table;
B—y believes he knows not why,
N— swears 'tis all a fable.

Peace, coxcombs, peace! and both agree!

N—, kiss thy empty brother;

Religion laughs at foes like thee;

And dreads a friend like t'other."—BOSWELL.

The disputants alluded to in this epigram are supposed to have been Beau Nash and Bentley, the son of the doctor and the friend of Walpole, who, however, was a man of considerable, though desultory, abilities.—CROKER.

⁵ This facility however, it may in their last moments delude the timorous and credulous, is, as Jeremy Taylor observes, proportionably injurious if previously calculated upon. When addressing a convert to the Romish church, he says, "If I had a mind to live an *end* life, and yet hope for heaven at last, I would be of your religion above any in the world."—*Works*, vol. xi. p. 190.—CROKER.

⁶ Bishop Elrington very justly observed that the sacrament is not *merely ritual*. Had it been an institution of the church of Rome, they might have modified it; but it was a solemn and specific ordinance of our Saviour himself, which no church could justifiably alter.—CROKER.

⁷ I do not recollect any scriptural authority that primitive baptism should necessarily be by immersion. From the Acts, ii. 41., it may be inferred that 3000 persons were baptized in Jerusalem in one day, and the jailor of Philippi and his family were baptized hastily at night, and, as it would seem, within the purlieus of the prison (Acts, xvi. 33.)

authorised, it appears to me, that 'the communion of saints' in the Creed means the communion with the saints in heaven, as connected with 'the holy catholic church.'¹ He admitted the influence of evil spirits upon our minds, and said, "Nobody who believes the New Testament can deny it."

I brought a volume of Dr. Hurd the Bishop of Worcester's Sermons, and read to the company some passages from one of them, upon this text, "*Resist the Devil, and he will flee from you.*" James, iv. 7. I was happy to produce so judicious and elegant a supporter² of a doctrine which, I know not why, should, in this world of imperfect knowledge, and therefore of wonder and mystery in a thousand instances, be contested by some with an unthinking assurance and flippancy.

After dinner, when one of us talked of there being a great enmity between Whig and Tory: — JOHNSON. "Why, not so much, I think, unless when they come into competition with each other. There is none when they are only common acquaintance, none when they are of different sexes. A Tory will marry into a Whig family, and a Whig into a Tory family, without any reluctance. But, indeed, in a matter of much more concern than political tenets, and that is religion, men and women do not concern themselves much about difference of opinion; and ladies set no value on the moral character of men who pay their addresses to them: the greatest profligate will be as well received as the man of the greatest virtue, and this by a very good woman, by a woman who says her prayers three times a day." Our ladies endeavoured to defend their sex from this charge; but he roared them down! "No, no, a lady will take Jonathan Wild as readily as St. Austin, if he has threepence more; and, what is worse, her parents will give her to him. Women have a perpetual envy of our vices: they are less vicious than we, not from choice, but because

we restrict them; they are the slaves of order and fashion; their virtue is of more consequence to us than our own, so far as concerns this world."

Miss Adams mentioned a gentleman of licentious character, and said, "Suppose I had a mind to marry that gentleman, would my parents consent?" JOHNSON. "Yes, they'd consent, and you'd go. You'd go, though they did not consent." Miss ADAMS. "Perhaps their opposing might make me go." JOHNSON. "Oh, very well; you'd take one whom you think a bad man, to have the pleasure of vexing your parents. You put me in mind of Dr. Barrowby³, the physician, who was very fond of swine's flesh. One day, when he was eating it, he said, 'I wish I was a Jew.' — 'Why so?' said somebody; 'the Jews are not allowed to eat your favourite meat.' — 'Because,' said he, I should then have the gust of eating it, with the pleasure of sinning." — JOHNSON then proceeded in his declamation.

Miss Adams soon afterwards made an observation that I do not recollect, which pleased him much: he said with a good-humoured smile, "That there should be so much excellence united with so much depravity, is strange."

Indeed this lady's good qualities, merit, and accomplishments, and her constant attention to Dr. Johnson, were not lost upon him. She happened to tell him that a little coffee-pot, in which she had made him coffee, was the only thing she could call her own. He turned to her with a complacent gallantry: — "Don't say so, my dear: I hope you don't reckon my heart as nothing."⁴

I asked him if it was true, as reported, that he had said lately, "I am for the King against Fox; but I am for Fox against Pitt." JOHNSON. "Yes, Sir; the King is my master; but I do not know Pitt; and Fox is my friend."

"Fox," added he, "is a most extraordinary man: here is a man (describing him in strong

These baptisms could hardly have been by immersion. — CROKER.

¹ Waller, in his "Divine Poesie," canto first, has the same thought finely expressed: —

"The church triumphant and the church below
In songs of praise their present union show;
Their joys are full, our expectation long;
In life we differ, but we join in song:
Angels and we, assisted by this art,
May sing together, though we dwell apart."

— BOSWELL.

² The sermon thus opens: —

"That there are angels and spirits good and bad; that at the head of these last there is one more considerable and malignant than the rest, who in the form or under the name of a serpent was deeply concerned in the fall of man, and whose head, as the prophetic language is, the Son of Man was one day to bruise; that this evil spirit, though that prophecy be in part completed, has not yet received his death's wound, but is still permitted, for ends unsearchable to us, and in ways which we cannot particularly explain, to have a certain degree of power in this world hostile to its virtue and happiness, and sometimes exerted with too much success: all this is so clear from Scripture, that no believer, unless he be first of all spoiled by philosophy and vain deceit, can possibly entertain a doubt of it."

Having treated of *possessions*, his lordship says, —

"As I have no authority to affirm that there are now any

such, so neither may I presume to say with confidence that there are not any." "But then, with regard to the influence of evil spirits at this day upon the souls of men, I shall take leave to be a great deal more peremptory. (Then, having stated the various proofs, he adds), All this, I say, is so manifest to every one who reads the Scriptures, that, if we respect their authority, the question concerning the reality of the demoniac influence upon the minds of men is clearly determined."

Let it be remembered, that these are not the words of an antiquated or obscure enthusiast, but of a learned and polite prelate, now alive; and were spoken not to a vulgar congregation, but to the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn. His lordship in this sermon explains the words "deliver us from evil," in the Lord's Prayer, as signifying a request to be protected from "the evil one," that is, the Devil. This is well illustrated in a short but excellent Commentary by my late worthy friend the Reverend Dr. Lort, of whom it may truly be said, *Multis ille bonis ædificis occidit*. It is remarkable that Waller, in his "Reflections on the several Petitions in that sacred Form of Devotion," has understood this in the same sense: —

"Guard us from all temptations of the FOE." — BOSWELL.

³ Dr. Barrowby died in 1758, the senior member of the college of physicians. — CROKER.

⁴ Miss Adams married, in July, 1788, Benjamin Hyett, Esq., of Painswick, Gloucestershire. — HALL. — CROKER.

terms of objection in some respects according as he apprehended, but which exalted his abilities the more) who has divided the kingdom with Cæsar: so that it was a doubt whether the nation should be ruled by the sceptre of George the Third, or the tongue of Fox."

Dr. Wall, physician at Oxford, drank tea with us. Johnson had in general a peculiar pleasure in the company of physicians, which was certainly not abated by the conversation of this learned, ingenious, and pleasing gentleman. Johnson said, "It is wonderful how little good Radcliffe's travelling fellowships have done. I know nothing that has been imported by them; yet many additions to our medical knowledge might be got in foreign countries. Inoculation, for instance, has saved more lives than war destroys; and the cures performed by the Peruvian bark are innumerable. But it is in vain to send our travelling physicians to France and Italy and Germany, for all that is known there is known here. I'd send them out of Christendom; I'd send them among barbarous nations."

On Friday, June 11, we talked at breakfast of forms of prayer. JOHNSON. "I know of no good prayers but those in the 'Book of Common Prayer.'" DR. ADAMS (in a very earnest manner.) "I wish, Sir, you would compose some family prayers." JOHNSON. "I will not compose prayers for you, Sir, because you can do it for yourself. But I have thought of getting together all the books of prayers which I could, selecting those which should appear to me the best, putting out some, inserting others, adding some prayers of my own, and prefixing a discourse on prayer." We all now gathered about him, and two or three of us at a time joined in pressing him to execute this plan. He seemed to be a little displeased at the manner of our importunity, and in great agitation called out, "Do not talk thus of what is so awful. I know not what time God will allow me in this world. There are many things which I wish to do." Some of us persisted, and Dr. Adams said, "I never was more serious about any thing in my life." JOHNSON. "Let me alone—let me alone—I am overpowered." And then he put his hands before his face, and reclined for some time upon the table.¹

I mentioned Jeremy Taylor's using, in his forms of prayer, "I am the chief of sinners," and other such self-condemning expressions.² "Now," said I, "this cannot be said with truth by every man, and therefore is improper for a general printed form. I myself cannot say

that I am the worst of men; I will not say so." JOHNSON. "A man may know, that physically, that is, in the real state of things, he is not the worst man; but that morally he may be so. Law [p. 15.] observes, 'that every man knows something worse of himself, than he is sure of in others.' You may not have committed such crimes as some men have done; but you do not know against what degree of light they have sinned. Besides, Sir, 'the chief of sinners' is a mode of expression for 'I am a great sinner.' So St. Paul, speaking of our SAVIOUR's having died to save sinners, says, 'of whom I am the chief:' yet he certainly did not think himself so bad as Judas Iscariot." BOSWELL. "But, Sir, Taylor means it literally, for he founds a conceit upon it. When praying for the conversion of sinners, and of himself in particular, he says, 'LORD, thou wilt not leave thy chief work undone.'" JOHNSON. "I do not approve of figurative expressions in addressing the Supreme Being; and I never use them. Taylor gives a very good advice: 'Never lie in your prayers; never confess more than you really believe; never promise more than you mean to perform.'" I recollected this precept in his 'Golden Grove;' but his example for prayer contradicts his precept.

Dr. Johnson and I went in Dr. Adams's coach to dine with Dr. Nowell, Principal of St. Mary Hall, at his villa at Ifley, on the banks of the Isis, about two miles from Oxford. While we were upon the road, I had the resolution to ask Johnson whether he thought that the roughness of his manner had been an advantage or not, and if he would not have done more good if he had been more gentle. I proceeded to answer myself thus: "Perhaps it has been of advantage, as it has given weight to what you said; you could not, perhaps, have talked with such authority without it." JOHNSON. "No, Sir; I have done more good as I am. Obscenity and impiety have always been repressed in my company." BOSWELL. "True, Sir; and that is more than can be said of every bishop. Greater liberties have been taken in the presence of a bishop, though a very good man, from his being milder, and therefore not commanding such awe. Yet, Sir, many people who might have been benefited by your conversation have been frightened away. A worthy friend of ours has told me, that he has often been afraid to talk to you." JOHNSON. "Sir, he need not have been afraid, if he had any thing rational to say.⁴ If he had not, it was better he did not talk."

Dr. Nowell is celebrated for having preached

¹ Yet he had at this time composed all the prayers (except one) which Dr. Strahan afterwards published, as he—I am satisfied unwarrantably—stated, by Dr. Johnson's express desire. See post, p. 792.—CROKER.

² This expression is undoubtedly to be found in a prayer of Bishop Taylor's (see his Works, xv. p. 302.); but the spirit of such expressions is not, as Boswell would lead us to suppose, a characteristic of Taylor's prayers.—MARKLAND.

³ Boswell probably quoted from memory, and the quotation may not be perfectly accurate. If Taylor, somewhere

in his voluminous works, has employed the expression "God's chief work," did he not mean to apply it either to mankind in general, or to the redemption? In confirmation of the last supposition, we may refer to the following passage in one of his prayers:—"I beg of thee by all the parts of our redemption, and thy infinite mercy, in which thou pleassest thyself above all the works of the creation." (iv. 485.)—MARKLAND.

⁴ The words of Erasmus may be applied to Johnson: "Qui ingenium, sensum, dictionem hominis noverant, multis non

a sermon before the House of Commons, on the 30th of January, 1772, full of high Tory sentiments, for which he was thanked as usual, and printed it at their request; but, in the midst of that turbulence and faction which disgraced a part of the present reign, the thanks were afterwards ordered to be expunged. This strange conduct sufficiently exposes itself; and Dr. Nowell will ever have the honour which is due to a lofty friend of our monarchical constitution. Dr. Johnson said to me, "Sir, the court will be very much to blame if he is not promoted."¹ I told this to Dr. Nowell; and asserting my humbler, though not less zealous, exertions in the same cause, I suggested, that whatever return we might receive, we should still have the consolation of being, like Butler's steady and generous royalist,—

"True as the dial to the sun,
Although it be not shone upon."

We were well entertained and very happy at Dr. Nowell's, where was a very agreeable company; and we drank "Church and King" after dinner, with true Tory cordiality.

We talked of a certain clergyman² of extraordinary character, who, by exerting his talents in writing on temporary topics, and displaying uncommon intrepidity, had raised himself to affluence. I maintained that we ought not to be indignant at his success; for merit of every sort was entitled to reward. JOHNSON. "Sir, I will not allow this man to have merit. No, Sir; what he has is rather the contrary: I will, indeed, allow him courage; and on this account we so far give him credit. We have more respect for a man who robs boldly on the highway, than for a fellow who jumps out of a ditch, and knocks you down behind your back. Courage is a quality so necessary for maintaining virtue, that it is always respected, even when it is associated with vice."

I censured the coarse invectives which were become fashionable in the House of Commons, and said, that if members of parliament must attack each other personally in the heat

of debate, it should be done more genteelly. JOHNSON. "No, Sir; that would be much worse. Abuse is not so dangerous when there is no vehicle of wit and delicacy, no subtle conveyance. The difference between coarse and refined abuse is as the difference between being bruised by a club, and wounded by a poisoned arrow."—I have since observed his position elegantly expressed by Dr. Young:—

"As the soft plume gives swiftness to the dart,
Good breeding sends the satire to the heart."³

On Saturday, June 12., there drank tea with us at Dr. Adams's, Mr. John Henderson, student of Pembroke College, celebrated for his wonderful acquirements in alchymy, judicial astrology, and other abstruse and curious learning⁴—and the Reverend Herbert Croft, who, I am afraid, was somewhat mortified by Dr. Johnson's not being highly pleased with some "Family Discourses" which he had printed; they were in too familiar a style to be approved of by so many a mind. I have no note of this evening's conversation, except a single fragment. When I mentioned Thomas Lord Lyttelton's vision, the prediction of the time of his death, and its exact fulfilment:—JOHNSON. "It is the most extraordinary thing that has happened in my day. I heard it with my own ears, from his uncle, Lord Westcote. I am so glad to have every evidence of the spiritual world, that I am willing to believe it." Dr. ADAMS. "You have evidence enough; good evidence, which needs not such support." JOHNSON. "I like to have more."⁵

Mr. Henderson, with whom I had sauntered in the venerable walks of Merton College, and found him a very learned and pious man, supped with us. Dr. Johnson surprised him not a little, by acknowledging with a look of horror, that he was much oppressed by the fear of death. The amiable Dr. Adams suggested that God was infinitely good:—JOHNSON. "That he is infinitely good, as far as the perfection of his nature will allow, I certainly believe; but it is necessary for good upon the

offenduntur, quibus graviter erant offendendi, qui hæc ignorarunt." [Those who should know the genius, sense, and phraseology of the man would not be offended by many things; which might grievously offend those who were ignorant of those circumstances.] — KEARNEY.

¹ See *anté*, p. 229. Dr. Nowell died 1801, æt. 73, in St. Mary Hall, of which he had been thirty-seven years principal, without having received any preferment. — CROKER, 1847.

² The Rev. Henry Bate, who, in 1784, took the name of Dudley, was created a baronet in 1816, and died in 1824, without issue. He became first known to the world for a rather unclerical exhibition of personal prowess in a Vauxhall squabble (see *Lond. Mag.* for 1773, p. 461.); he was afterwards actively connected with the public press; and in consequence of something that appeared in the *Morning Post*, of which he was the proprietor, and was supposed to reflect on Lady Strathmore, he was involved in a duel (or pretended duel, *Gent. Mag.* 1810, p. 183. 1823, p. 496.) with Mr. Robinson Stoney, who soon after married the lady, and took the name of Bowes. He afterwards quarrelled with his co-proprietors in the *Post*, one of whom, Joseph Richardson, he wounded in another duel, and set up the *Morning Herald*. He subsequently obtained considerable church preferment, became an active and respectable magistrate, and the latter portion of his life was amiable and decorous. — CROKER.

³ The feather does not give *swiftness*, but only serves to *guide* the arrow; so that Young's allusion is incorrect. — CROKER.

⁴ See an account of him, in a sermon by the Rev. Mr. Agutter. — BOSWELL. He was a young man of extraordinary abilities, but of strange habits and manners. He was supposed to be well read in books which no one else reads. He took his bachelor's degree, but never got out into the world, having died in college in 1788. — *Hall*. It appears (Hannah More's *Life*, vol. i. p. 194.) that Henderson was sent to college by Dean Tucker, aided by a subscription. — CROKER.

⁵ A correct account of Lord Lyttelton's supposed vision may be found in Nash's "History of Worcestershire." — MALONE. There were two supposed appearances, one of a spectre to Lord Lyttelton announcing his death three days before the event, and another of Lord Lyttelton himself to his friend Mr. Miles Peter Andrews, (then at his partner Mr. Pigou's at Dartford,) about the hour that his lordship died in London. The whole story is told in the *Gent. Mag.* 1818, i. 537., with details which substantially agree with what I have heard Mr. Andrews himself relate more than once — but always reluctantly, and with an evidently solemn conviction of its truth. See also *Gent. Mag.* 1816, ii. 422. — CROKER, 1847.

whole, that individuals should be punished. As to an *individual*, therefore, he is not infinitely good; and as I cannot be *sure* that I have fulfilled the conditions on which salvation is granted, I am afraid I may be one of those who shall be damned." (Looking dismally.)

Dr. ADAMS. "What do you mean by damned?"

JOHNSON (passionately and loudly). "Sent to hell, Sir, and punished everlastingly. Dr.

ADAMS. "I don't believe that doctrine." JOHNSON. "Hold, Sir: do you believe that some will be punished at all?"

Dr. ADAMS. "Being excluded from heaven will be a punishment; yet there may be no great positive suffering."

JOHNSON. "Well, Sir, but if you admit any degree of punishment, there is an end of your argument for infinite goodness simply considered; for infinite goodness would inflict no punishment whatever. There is not infinite goodness physically considered: morally there is."

BOSWELL. "But may not a man attain to such a degree of hope as not to be uneasy from the fear of death?"

JOHNSON. "A man may have such a degree of hope as to keep him quiet. You see I am not quiet, from the vehemence with which I talk; but I do not despair." Mrs. ADAMS. "You seem, Sir, to forget the merits of our Redeemer."

JOHNSON. "Madam, I do not forget the merits of my Redeemer; but my Redeemer has said that he will set some on his right hand and some on his left."—He was in gloomy agitation, and said "I'll have no more on't."—If what has now been stated should be urged by the enemies of Christianity,

as if its influence on the mind were not benignant, let it be remembered, that Johnson's temperament was melancholy, of which such direful apprehensions of futurity are often a common effect. We shall presently see, that when he approached nearer to his awful change, his mind became tranquil, and he exhibited as much fortitude as becomes a thinking man in that situation.

From the subject of death we passed to discourse of life, whether it was upon the whole more happy or miserable. Johnson was decidedly for the balance of misery: in confirmation of which I maintained that no man would choose to lead over again the life which he had experienced. Johnson acceded to that opinion in the strongest terms. This is an inquiry often made: and its being a subject of disquisition is a proof that much misery presses

upon human feelings; for those who are conscious of a felicity of existence would never hesitate to accept of a repetition of it. I have met with very few who would. I have heard Mr. Burke make use of a very ingenious and plausible argument on this subject: "Every man," said he, "would lead his life over again; for every man is willing to go on and take an addition to his life, which, as he grows older, he has no reason to think will be better, or even so good as what has preceded." I imagine, however, the truth is, that there is a deceitful hope that the next part of life will be free from the pains, and anxieties, and sorrows, which we have already felt. We are for wise purposes "condemned to Hope's delusive mine," as Johnson finely says; and I may also quote the celebrated lines of Dryden, equally philosophical and poetical:—

"When I consider life, 't is all a cheat,
Yet, fool'd with hope, men favour the deceit —
Trust on, and think to-morrow will repay:
To-morrow's falser than the former day;
Lies worse; and, while it says we shall be blest
With some new joys, cuts off what we possess.
Strange cozenage! none would live past years
again;
Yet all hope pleasure in what yet remain;
And from the dregs of life think to receive
What the first sprightly running could not give."¹

It was observed to Dr. Johnson, that it seemed strange that he, who has so often delighted his company by his lively and brilliant conversation, should say he was miserable.

JOHNSON. "Alas! it is all outside; I may be cracking my joke, and cursing the sun. *Sun, how I hate thy beams!*" I knew not well what to think of this declaration; whether to hold it as a genuine picture of his mind², or as the effect of his persuading himself, contrary to fact, that the position which he had assumed as to human unhappiness was true. We may apply to him a sentence in Mr. Greville's "Maxims, Characters, and Reflections;"³ a book which is entitled to much more praise than it has received: "Aristarchus is charming; how full of knowledge, of sense, of sentiment. You get him with difficulty to your supper; and after having delighted every body and himself for a few hours, he is obliged to return home; he is finishing his treatise, to prove that unhappiness is the portion of man."⁴

¹ *Aurengzebe*, act iv. sc. 1. BOSWELL. *Ante*, p. 218. — C.

² Yet there is no doubt that a man may appear very gay in company, who is sad at heart. His merriment is like the sound of drums and trumpets in a battle, to drown the groans of the wounded and dying. — BOSWELL.

³ Fulke Greville, Esq., of Welbury, in Wilts, the husband of the authoress of the "Ode to Indifference." — MARKLAND.

⁴ Here followed a very long note, or rather dissertation, by the Rev. Mr. Churton, on the subject of Johnson's opinion of the misery of human life, which I have thought will be read most conveniently in the Appendix; and, indeed, I only insert it there that my readers may have all Boswell. — CROKER.

CHAPTER LXXX.

1784.

Milton. — *Anonymous Writings*. — Pope. — *David Lewis*. — *Sackville Parker*. — *Cook's Voyages*. — *Barristers*. — *Lord Hale*. — *Attornies*. — *Puns*. — "Tommy Townshend." — "The Rehearsal." — *Painting*. — *Cross Readings*. — *Last Dinner at the Club*. — *Italy*. — *Free Will*. — *Miss Seward*. — *Lord Chesterfield*. — *Carleton's Memoirs*. — *Intuition and Sagacity*. — *Lord Thurlow*. — *Country Life*. — *Mrs. Piozzi's "Anecdotes."*

On Sunday, 13th June, our philosopher was calm at breakfast. There was something exceedingly pleasing in our leading a college life, without restraint and with superior elegance, in consequence of our living in the master's house, and having the company of ladies. Mrs. Kennicott related, in his presence, a lively saying of Dr. Johnson to Miss Hannah More, who had expressed a wonder that the poet who had written "Paradise Lost," should write such poor sonnets: "Milton, Madam, was a genius that could cut a Colossus from a rock, but could not carve heads upon cherry-stones."

We talked of the casuistical question, "Whether it was allowable at any time to depart from truth?" JOHNSON. "The general rule is, that truth should never be violated, because it is of the utmost importance to the comfort of life that we should have a full security by mutual faith; and occasional inconveniences should be willingly suffered, that we may preserve it. There must, however, be some exceptions. If, for instance, a murderer should ask you which way a man is gone, you may tell him what is not true, because you are under a previous obligation not to betray a man to a murderer." BOSWELL. "Supposing the person who wrote *Junius* were asked whether he was the author, might he deny it?" JOHNSON. "I don't know what to say to this. If you were *sure* that he wrote *Junius*, would you, if he denied it, think as well of him afterwards? Yet it may be urged that what a man has no right to ask, you may refuse to communicate; and there is no other effectual mode of preserving a secret, and an important secret, the discovery of which may be very hurtful to you, but a flat denial; for if you are silent, or hesitate, or evade, it will be held equivalent to a confession. But stay, Sir, here is another case. Supposing the author had told me confidentially that he had written *Junius*, and I were asked if he had, I should hold myself at liberty

to deny it, as being under a previous promise, express or implied, to conceal it. Now what I ought to do for the author, may I not do for myself? But I deny the lawfulness of telling a lie to a sick man, for fear of alarming him.¹ You have no business with consequences; you are to tell the truth. Besides, you are not sure what effect your telling him that he is in danger may have. It may bring his distemper to a crisis, and that may cure him. Of all lying, I have the greatest abhorrence of this, because I believe it has been frequently practised on myself."

I cannot help thinking that there is much weight in the opinion of those who have held that truth, as an eternal and immutable principle, ought upon no account whatever to be violated, from supposed previous or superior obligations, of which every man being to judge for himself, there is great danger that we too often, from partial motives, persuade ourselves that they exist; and probably, whatever extraordinary instances may sometimes occur, where some evil may be prevented by violating this noble principle, it would be found that human happiness would, upon the whole, be more perfect were truth universally preserved.

In the notes to the "Dunciad," we find the following verses addressed to Pope²:

- "While malice, Pope, denies thy page
Its own celestial fire;
While critics, and while bards in rage,
Admiring, won't admire:
- "While wayward pens thy worth assail,
And envious tongues decry;
These times, though many a friend bewail,
These times bewail not I.
- "But when the world's loud praise is thine,
And spleen no more shall blame;
When with thy Homer thou shalt shine
In one establish'd fame —
- "When none shall rail, and every lay
Devote a wreath to thee;
That day (for come it will) that day
Shall I lament to see."

It is surely not a little remarkable that they should appear without a name. Miss Seward, knowing Dr. Johnson's almost universal and minute literary information, signified a desire that I should ask him who was the author. He was prompt with his answer:—"Why, Sir, they were written by one Lewis, who was either under-master or an usher of Westminster-school and published a Miscellany, in which 'Grongar Hill' first came out."³ John-

¹ See on this point, Sir Henry Hallford's Essays, p. 79., and Archbishop Secker's Sermons, vol. v. 153. — MARKLAND.

² The annotator calls them "amiable verses." — BOSWELL. The annotator was Pope himself. — CROKER.

³ Lewis's verses addressed to Pope (as Mr. Bindley suggests to me) were first published in a collection of Pieces in verse and prose on occasion of "The Dunciad," 8vo. 1729. They are there called an Epigram. In that miscellany the beau-

tiful poem "Away, let nought to love displeasing," (reprinted in Percy's *Reliques*, i. iii. 14.) first appeared; and is there said to be a translation from the Ancient British. Lewis was author of "Philip of Macedon," a tragedy, published in 1727, and dedicated to Pope; and in 1730 he published a second volume of miscellaneous poems. As Dr. Johnson settled in London not long after the verses addressed to Pope first appeared, he probably then obtained some information concern-

son praised them highly, and repeated them with a noble animation. In the twelfth line, instead of "one established fame," he repeated "one unclouded flame," which he thought was the reading in former editions; but I believe was a flash of his own genius. It is much more poetical than the other.

On Monday, 14th June, and Tuesday, 15th, Dr. Johnson and I dined, on one of them, I forget which, with Mr. Mickley, translator of the "Lusiad," at Wheatley, a very pretty country place a few miles from Oxford; and on the other with Dr. Wetherell, Master of University College. From Dr. Wetherell's he went to visit Mr. Sackville Parker, the bookseller; and when he returned to us gave the following account of his visit, saying, "I have been to see my old friend, Sack. Parker; I find he has married his maid; he has done right. She had lived with him many years in great confidence, and they had mingled minds; I do not think he could have found any wife that would have made him so happy. The woman was very attentive and civil to me; she pressed me to fix a day for dining with them, and to say what I liked, and she would be sure to get it for me. Poor Sack! he is very ill indeed.¹ We parted as never to meet again. It has quite broken me down." This pathetic narrative was strangely diversified with the grave and earnest defence of a man's having married his maid. I could not but feel it as in some degree ludicrous.

In the morning of Tuesday, 15th of June, while we sat at Dr. Adams's, we talked of a printed letter from the Reverend Herbert Croft, to a young gentleman who had been his pupil, in which he advised him to read to the end of whatever books he should begin to read. JOHNSON. "This is surely a strange advice; you may as well resolve that whatever men you happen to get acquainted with, you are to keep to them for life. A book may be good for nothing; or there may be only one thing in it worth knowing; are we to read it all through? These Voyages, (pointing to the three large volumes of 'Voyages to the South Sea'² which were just come out) *who* will read them through? A man had better work his way before the mast than read them through; they will be eaten by rats and mice, before they are read through. There can be little entertainment in such books; one set of savages is like another." BOSWELL. "I do not think the people of Otaheite can be reckoned savages."

ing their author, David Lewis, whom he has described as an usher of Westminster-school; yet the Dean of Westminster, who has been pleased to make some inquiry on this subject, has not found any vestige of his having ever been employed in this situation. A late writer ("Environ's of London," iv. 171.) supposed that the following inscription in the churchyard of the church of Low Leyton, in Essex, was intended to commemorate this poet: "*Sacred to the memory of David Lewis, Esq., who died the 8th day of April, 1760, aged 77 years; a great favourite of the Muses, as his many excellent pieces in poetry sufficiently testify.*"

¹ Inspired verse may on this marble live,
But can no honour to thy ashes give."

JOHNSON. "Don't cant in defence of savages." BOSWELL. "They have the art of navigation." JOHNSON. "A dog or cat can swim." BOSWELL. "They carve very ingeniously." JOHNSON. "A cat can scratch, and a child with a nail can scratch." I perceived this was none of the *mollia tempora fandi*; so desisted.

Upon his mentioning that when he came to college he wrote his first exercise twice over, but never did so afterwards:—MISS ADAMS. "I suppose, Sir, you could not make them better?" JOHNSON. "Yes, Madam, to be sure, I could make them better. Thought is better than no thought." MISS ADAMS. "Do you think, Sir, you could make your Ramblers better?" JOHNSON. "Certainly I could." BOSWELL. "I'll lay a bet, Sir, you cannot." JOHNSON. "But I will, Sir, if I choose. I shall make the best of them you shall pick out, better." BOSWELL. "But you may add to them. I will not allow of that." JOHNSON. "Nay, Sir, there are three ways of making them better; putting out, adding, or correcting."

During our visit at Oxford, the following conversation passed between him and me on the subject of my trying my fortune at the English bar. Having asked whether a very extensive acquaintance in London, which was very valuable, and of great advantage to a man at large, might not be prejudicial to a lawyer, by preventing him from giving sufficient attention to his business? JOHNSON. "Sir, you will attend to business as business lays hold of you. When not actually employed, you may see your friends as much as you do now. You may dine at a club every day, and sup with one of the members every night; and you may be as much at public places as one who has seen them all would wish to be. But you must take care to attend constantly in Westminster Hall; both to mind your business, as it is almost all learnt there (for nobody reads now), and to show that you want to have business. And you must not be too often seen at public places, that competitors may not have it to say, 'He is always at the playhouse or at Ranelagh, and never to be found at his chambers.' And, Sir, there must be a kind of solemnity in the manner of a professional man. I have nothing particular to say to *you* on the subject. All this I should say to any one; I should have said it to Lord Thurlow twenty years ago."

The profession may probably think this re-

But it appears to me improbable that this monument was erected for the author of the verses to Pope, and of the tragedy already mentioned: the language both of the dedication prefixed to that piece, and of the dedication addressed to the Earl of Shaftesbury, and prefixed to the *Miscellanies*, 1730, denoting a person who moved in a lower sphere than this Essex squire seems to have done. — MALONE. The addition of *Esquire* in this inscription is surely no evidence that Lewis was what is called a country *Squire*. — CROKER, 1847

¹ Parker, however, survived Johnson twelve years, dying at Oxford in his eighty-ninth year, Dec. 10. 1796. — MALONE.

² Cook's Voyages. — CROKER.

presentation of what is required in a barrister who would hope for success, to be much too indulgent; but certain it is, that as

"The wits of Charles found easier ways to fame,"

some of the lawyers of this age who have risen high have by no means thought it absolutely necessary to submit to that long and painful course of study which a Plowden, a Coke, and a Hale considered as requisite. My respected friend, Mr. Langton, has shown me, in the handwriting of his grandfather, a curious account of a conversation which he had with Lord Chief Justice Hale¹, in which that great man tells him, "That for two years after he came to the inn of court, he studied sixteen hours a day; however, his lordship added, that by this intense application he almost brought himself to his grave, though he were of a very strong constitution, and after reduced himself to eight hours; but that he would not advise any body to so much; that he thought six hours a day, with attention and constancy, was sufficient; that a man must use his body as he would his horse, and his stomach; not tire him at once, but rise with an appetite."

On Wednesday, June 16., Dr. Johnson and I returned to London: he was not well to-day, and said very little, employing himself chiefly in reading Euripides. He expressed some displeasure at me for not observing sufficiently the various objects upon the road. "If I had your eyes, Sir," said he, "I should count the passengers." It was wonderful how accurate his observation of visual objects was, notwithstanding his imperfect eyesight, owing to a habit of attention. That he was much satisfied with the respect paid to him at Dr. Adams's is thus attested by himself: "I returned last night from Oxford, after a fortnight's abode with Dr. Adams, who treated me as well as I could expect or wish; and he that contents a sick man, a man whom it is impossible to please, has surely done his part well."²

After his return to London from this excursion, I saw him frequently, but have few memorandums; I shall therefore here insert some particulars which I collected at various times.

The Reverend Mr. Astle, of Ashbourne, in Derbyshire, brother to the learned and ingenious Thomas Astle, Esq., was from his early years known to Dr. Johnson, who obligingly advised him as to his studies, and recommended to him the following books, of which a list which he has been pleased to communicate lies before me, in Johnson's own handwriting:—

"Universal History (ancient)—Rollin's Ancient History—Puffendorf's Introduction to History—

Vertot's History of Knights of Malta—Vertot's Revolution of Portugal—Vertot's Revolution of Sweden—Carte's History of England—Present State of England—Geographical Grammar—Prideaux's Connexion—Nelson's Feasts and Fasts—Duty of Man—Gentleman's Religion—Clarendon's History—Watts's Improvement of the Mind—Watts's Logic—Nature Displayed—Lowth's English Grammar—Blackwall on the Classics—Sherlock's Sermons—Burnet's Life of Hale—Dupin's History of the Church—Shuckford's Connexions—Law's Serious Call—Walton's Complete Angler—Sandys's Travels—Sprat's History of the Royal Society—England's Gazetteer—Goldsmith's Roman History—Some Commentaries on the Bible."

It having been mentioned to Dr. Johnson that a gentleman who had a son whom he imagined to have an extreme degree of timidity, resolved to send him to a public school, that he might acquire confidence: "Sir," said Johnson, "this is a preposterous expedient for removing his infirmity; such a disposition should be cultivated in the shade. Placing him at a public school is forcing an owl upon day."

Speaking of a gentleman whose house was much frequented by low company: "Rags, Sir," said he, "will always make their appearance where they have a right to do it."

Of the same gentleman's mode of living, he said, "Sir, the servants, instead of doing what they are bid, stand round the table in idle clusters, gaping upon the guests; and seem as unfit to attend a company, as to steer a man of war."

A dull country magistrate gave Johnson a long, tedious account of his exercising his criminal jurisdiction, the result of which was his having sentenced four convicts to transportation. Johnson, in an agony of impatience to get rid of such a companion, exclaimed, "I heartily wish, Sir, that I were a fifth."

Johnson was present when a tragedy was read, in which there occurred this line:

"Who rules o'er freemen should himself be free."

The company having admired it much, "I cannot agree with you," said Johnson: "it might as well be said,

"Who drives fat oxen should himself be fat."

He was pleased with the kindness of Mr. Cator, who was joined with him in Mr. Thrale's important trust, and thus describes him: "There is much good in his character, and much usefulness in his knowledge." He found a cordial solace at that gentleman's seat at Beckenham, in Kent, which is indeed one of the finest places at which I ever was a guest; and

¹ This interesting conversation is given at length, in Seaward's "Anecdotes of distinguished Persons," vol. iv. p. 489. —MARKLAND.

² He adds, "I went in the common vehicle, with very little fatigue, and came back, I think, with less." —CROKER.

where I find more and more a hospitable welcome.

Johnson seldom encouraged general censure of any profession; but he was willing to allow a due share of merit to the various departments necessary in civilised life. In a splenetic, sarcastical, or jocular frame of mind, however, he would sometimes utter a pointed saying of that nature. One instance has been mentioned [p. 219.], where he gave a sudden satirical stroke to the character of an *attorney*. The too indiscriminate admission to that employment, which requires both abilities and integrity, has given rise to injurious reflections, which are totally inapplicable to many very respectable men who exercise it with reputation and honour.

Johnson having argued for some time with a pertinacious gentleman; his opponent, who had talked in a very puzzling manner, happened to say, "I don't understand you, Sir;" upon which Johnson observed, "Sir, I have found you an argument; but I am not obliged to find you an understanding."

Talking to me of *Horry Walpole* (as Horace, now Earl of Orford, was often called), Johnson allowed that he got together a great many curious little things, and told them in an elegant manner. Mr. Walpole thought Johnson a more amiable character after reading his *Letters to Mrs. Thrale*: but never was one of the true admirers of that great man.¹ We may suppose a prejudice conceived, if he ever heard Johnson's account to Sir George Staunton, that when he made speeches in parliament for the *Gentleman's Magazine*, "he always took care to put Sir Robert Walpole in the wrong, and to say every thing he could against the electorate of Hanover." The celebrated *Heroic Epistle*, in which Johnson is satirically introduced, has been ascribed both to Mr. Walpole and Mr. Mason. One day at Mr. Courtenay's, when a gentleman expressed his opinion that there was more energy in that poem than could be expected from Mr. Walpole; Mr. Warton, the late laureate, observed,

¹ In his *Posthumous Works* he has spoken of Johnson in the most contemptuous manner!—MALONE. In a letter to Mr. Cole, published since Mr. Malone's death, Walpole says, "I have no thirst to know the rest of my contemporaries, from the absurd bombast of Dr. Johnson down to the silly Dr. Goldsmith. Though the latter changeling has had bright gleams of parts, and the former had sense till he changed it for words and sold it for a pension."—27th April, 1773. The expression is smart and epigrammatic, but has, as relates to Johnson, little meaning. Johnson's *sense and verbosity* were contemporaneous. Indeed, his later works have fewer hard words than his first publications; so that at least he did not "change sense for words." As to the pension, it has been shown that Johnson did not sell his principles for it; but, at all events, he did not "sell his sense" in the meaning of *parting* with it. And the *Quarterly Review on Walpole's Memoirs* (March, 1822) proves that though he talked and wrote in strains of high disinterestedness, he was the last man who ought to have charged another with any *venal change* either of principles or language. As to Goldsmith, Walpole had before happily characterised him as an "inspired idiot." In his recently published *Memoirs of George III.*, in which he, according to his wont, abuses every body, he took occasion, on the subject of the pamphlet on the Falkland Islands, to draw the following caricature of Johnson:—

"It may have been written by Walpole, and *buckram'd* by Mason."²

He disapproved of Lord Hailes, for having modernised the language of the *ever memorable* John Hales of Eton³, in an edition which his lordship published of that writer's works. "An author's language, Sir," said he, "is a characteristic part of his composition, and is also characteristic of the age in which he writes. Besides, Sir, when the language is changed, we are not sure that the sense is the same. No, Sir: I am sorry Lord Hailes has done this."

Here it may be observed, that his frequent use of the expression, *No, Sir*, was not always to intimate contradiction: for he would say so when he was about to enforce an affirmative proposition which had not been denied, as in the instance last mentioned. I used to consider it as a kind of flag of defiance; as if he had said, "Any argument you may offer against this is not just. No, Sir, it is not." It was like Falstaff's "I deny your major."⁴

Sir Joshua Reynolds having said that he took the altitude of a man's taste by his stories and his wit, and of his understanding by the remarks which he repeated; being always sure that he must be a weak man who quotes common things with an emphasis as if they were oracles;—Johnson agreed with him; and Sir Joshua having also observed that the real character of a man was found out by his amusements, Johnson added, "Yes, Sir; no man is a hypocrite in his pleasures."

I have mentioned Johnson's general aversion to a pun. He once, however, endured one of mine. When we were talking of a numerous company in which he had distinguished himself highly, I said, "Sir, you were a cod surrounded by smelts. Is not this enough for you? at a time too when you were not *fishing* for a compliment?" He laughed at this with a complacent approbation. Old Mr. Sheridan observed, upon my mentioning it to him, "He liked your compliment so well, he was willing to take it with *pun sauce*." For my own part, I think no in-

"With a lumber of learning and some strong parts, Johnson was an odious and mean character. By principle a Jacobite arrogant, self-sufficient, and overbearing by nature; ungrateful through pride, and of feminine bigotry; he had prostituted his pen to party even in a dictionary, and had afterwards, for a pension, contradicted his own definitions. His manners were sordid, supercilious, and brutal; his style ridiculously bombastic and vicious; and, in one word with all the pedantry he had all the gigantic littleness of a country schoolmaster."—*Memoirs*, iv. 297.—CROKER.

² I have already said, *ante*, p. 325. n. 4, that my opinion is rather that Walpole supplied the *points*, and Mason the poetry.—CROKER.

³ John Hales, fellow of Eton, was an eminent scholar and divine, and a suffering loyalist under the Commonwealth; but I think he owes the title of *ever memorable*, by which he is distinguished, to his being, by the partiality of a friend, editor, Bishop Pearson, so styled in the title-page to his *Golden Remains*, published in 1659.—CROKER.

⁴ Sir James Mackintosh remembers that while spending the Christmas of 1793 at Beaconsfield, Mr. Burke said to him "Johnson showed more powers of mind in company than I his writings; but he argued only for victory; and when I had neither a paradox to defend, nor an antagonist to crush he would preface his *assent* with *Why, no, Sir*."—CROKER.

nocent species of wit or pleasantry should be suppressed; and that a good pun may be admitted among the smaller excellencies of lively conversation.

Had Johnson treated at large *De Claris Oratoribus*, he might have given us an admirable work. When the Duke of Bedford attacked the ministry as vehemently as he could, for having taken upon them to extend the time for the importation of corn, Lord Chatham, in his first speech in the House of Lords, boldly avowed himself to be an adviser of that measure. "My colleagues," said he, "as I was confined by indisposition, did me the signal honour of coming to the bedside of a sick man, to ask his opinion. But, had they not thus condescended, I should have *taken up my bed and walked*, in order to have delivered that opinion at the Council-board." Mr. Langston, who was present, mentioned this to Johnson, who observed, "Now, Sir, we see that he took these words as he found them, without considering, that though the expression in Scripture, *Take up thy bed and walk*, strictly suited the instance of the sick man restored to health and strength, who would of course be supposed to carry his bed with him, it could not be proper in the case of a man who was lying in a state of feebleness, and who certainly would not add to the difficulty of moving at all, that of carrying his bed."¹

When I pointed out to him in the newspaper one of Mr. Grattan's animated and glowing speeches in favour of the freedom of Ireland, in which this expression occurred (I know not if accurately taken): "We will persevere, till there is not one link of the English chain left to clank upon the rags of the meanest beggar in Ireland:"—"Nay, Sir," said Johnson, "don't you perceive that *one* link cannot clank?"

Mrs. Thrale has published, as Johnson's, a kind of parody or counterpart of a fine poetical passage in one of Mr. Burke's speeches on American taxation. It is vigorously but somewhat coarsely executed; and, I am inclined to suppose, is not quite correctly exhibited. I hope he did not use the words "*vile agents*" for the Americans in the House of Parliament; and if he did so, in an extempore effusion, I wish the lady had not committed it to writing.

Mr. Burke uniformly showed Johnson the greatest respect; and—when Mr. Townshend, now Lord Sydney, at a period when he was conspicuous in opposition, threw out some reflection in parliament upon the grant of a pension to a man of such political principles as Johnson—Mr. Burke, though then of the same party with Mr. Townshend, stood warmly forth in defence of his friend, to whom, he justly ob-

served, the pension was granted solely on account of his eminent literary merit. I am well assured, that Mr. Townshend's attack upon Johnson was the occasion of his "*hitching in a rhyme*;" for that in the original copy of Goldsmith's character of Mr. Burke, in his "*Retaliation*," another person's name stood in the couplet where Mr. Townshend is now introduced:

"Though fraught with all learning yet straining
his throat,
To persuade Tommy Townshend to lend him a
vote."²

It may be worth remarking, among the *minutiae* of my collection, that Johnson was once drawn to serve in the militia, the trained bands of the city of London, and that Mr. Rackstrow, of the museum in Fleet Street, was his colonel. It may be believed he did not serve in person; but the idea, with all its circumstances, is certainly laughable. He upon that occasion provided himself with a musket, and with a sword and belt, which I have seen hanging in his closet.

He was very constant to those whom he once employed, if they gave him no reason to be displeased. When somebody talked of being imposed on in the purchase of tea and sugar, and such articles: "That will not be the case," said he, "if you go to a *stately shop*, as I always do. In such a shop it is not worth their while to take a petty advantage."

An author of most anxious and restless vanity³ being mentioned;—"Sir," said he, "there is not a young sapling upon Parnassus more severely blown about by every wind of criticism than that poor fellow."

The difference, he observed, between a well-bred and an ill-bred man is this: "One immediately attracts your liking, the other your aversion. You love the one till you find reason to hate him; you hate the other till you find reason to love him."

The wife of one of his acquaintance had fraudulently made a purse for herself out of her husband's fortune. Feeling a proper compunction in her last moments, she confessed how much she had secreted; but before she could tell where it was placed, she was seized with a convulsive fit and expired. Her husband said, he was more hurt by her want of confidence in him, than by the loss of his money. "I told him," said Johnson, "that he should console himself; for *perhaps* the money might be *found*, and he was *sure* that his wife was *gone*."⁴

A foppish physician once reminded Johnson of his having been in company with him on a

¹ Lord Chatham may have meant to say, in his strong hyperbolical style, that his desire to do that great duty would have operated a *miracle* on him; so that Johnson's remark seems hypercritical. — CROKER.

² I rather believe that it was in consequence of his persisting in clearing the gallery of the House of Commons, in spite

of the earnest remonstrances of Burke and Fox, one evening when Garrick was present. — Mackintosh. — CROKER.

³ Probably Mr. Perceval Stockdale. See *ante*, p. 213. — CROKER.

⁴ Lady Knight tells this story in the European Mag. 1799, but does not call the lady the wife of one of his acquaintance. — CROKER.

former occasion: "I do not remember it, Sir." The physician still insisted; adding that he that day wore so fine a coat that it must have attracted his notice. "Sir," said Johnson, "had you been dipped in Pactolus, I should not have noticed you."

He seemed to take a pleasure in speaking in his own style; for when he had carelessly missed it, he would repeat the thought translated into it. Talking of the comedy of "The Rehearsal," he said, "It has not wit enough to keep it sweet." This was easy;—he therefore caught himself, and pronounced a more round sentence: "It has not vitality enough to preserve it from putrefaction."

He censured a writer of entertaining travels for assuming a feigned character, saying (in his sense of the word), "He carries out one lie; we know not how many he brings back."¹ At another time, talking of the same person, he observed, "Sir, your assent to a man whom you have never known to falsify is a debt; but after you have known a man to falsify, your assent to him then is a favour."

Though he had no taste for painting, he admired much the manner in which Sir Joshua Reynolds treated of his art, in his "Discourses to the Royal Academy." He observed one day of a passage in them, "I think I might as well have said this myself;" and once when Mr. Langton was sitting by him, he read one of them very eagerly, and expressed himself thus: "Very well, Master Reynolds; very well, indeed. But it will not be understood."

When I observed to him that Painting was so far inferior to Poetry, that the story or even emblem which it communicates must be previously known, and mentioned as a natural and laughable instance of this, that a little miss, on seeing a picture of Justice with the scales, had exclaimed to me, "See, there's a woman selling sweetmeats;" he said, "Painting, Sir, can illustrate, but cannot inform."

No man was more ready to make an apology when he had censured unjustly than Johnson. When a proof-sheet of one of his works was brought to him, he found fault with the mode in which a part of it was arranged, refused to read it, and in a passion, desired that the compositor² might be sent to him. The compositor was Mr. Manning, a decent sensible man, who had composed about one half of his "Dictionary," when in Mr. Strahan's printing-house; and a great part of his "Lives of the Poets," when in that of Mr. Nichols; and who

(in his seventy-seventh year) when in Mr. Baldwin's printing-house, composed a part of the first edition of this work concerning him. By producing the manuscript, he at once satisfied Dr. Johnson that he was not to blame. Upon which Johnson candidly and earnestly said to him, "Mr. Compositor, I ask your pardon; Mr. Compositor, I ask your pardon, again and again."

His generous humanity to the miserable was almost beyond example. The following instance is well attested: coming home late one night, he found a poor woman lying in the street, so much exhausted that she could not walk; he took her upon his back and carried her to his house, where he discovered that she was one of those wretched females who had fallen into the lowest state of vice, poverty, and disease. Instead of harshly upbraiding her, he had her taken care of with all tenderness for a long time, at a considerable expense, till she was restored to health, and endeavoured to put her into a virtuous way of living.³

He thought Mr. Caleb Whitefoord singularly happy in hitting on the signature of *Papyrius Cursor* to his ingenious and diverting *Cross Readings* of the newspapers⁴; it being a real name of an ancient Roman, and clearly expressive of the thing done in this lively conceit.

He once in his life was known to have uttered what is called a *bull*: Sir Joshua Reynolds, when they were riding together in Devonshire complained that he had a very bad horse, for that even when going down hill he moved slowly step by step. "Ay," said Johnson, "and when he goes up hill he stands still."

He had a great aversion to gesticulating in company. He called once to a gentleman who offended him in that point, "Don't *attitudinise*." And when another gentleman thought he was giving additional force to what he uttered by expressive movements of his hand Johnson fairly seized them, and held them down.

An author of considerable eminence⁵ having engrossed a good share of the conversation in the company of Johnson, and having said nothing but what was trifling and insignificant, Johnson, when he was gone, observed to us "It is wonderful what a difference there sometimes is between a man's powers of writing and of talking. — writes with great spirit, but is a poor talker: had he held his tongue, we might have supposed him to have been restrained by modesty; but he has spoken

¹ I suppose the Reverend Martin Sherlock, an Irish clergyman, who published, in 1781, *his own travels* under the title of "Letters of an English Traveller, translated from the French," which Johnson calls a *lie*. — CROKER, 1847.

² Compositor in the printing-house means, the person who adjusts the types in the order in which they are to stand for printing; and arranges what is called the *form*, from which an impression is taken. — BOSWELL.

³ The circumstance therefore alluded to in Mr. Courtenay's "Poetical Character" of him is strictly true. My informer was Mrs. Desmoullins, who lived many years in Dr. Johnson's house. — BOSWELL.

⁴ He followed his *Cross Readings* by a still more witty paper on the *Errors of the Press*. These two laughable essays are preserved in the "Foundling Hospital for Wit." — CROKER.

⁵ This was Sir Richard Musgrave, an Irish Baronet, author of a History of the Rebellion of 1798, whom I knew intimately, and who had, it must be confessed, a great eagerness of manner. One day, when Sir Richard was urging me with singular warmth to write the lives of the prose writers and getting up to enforce his suit, Johnson coldly replied "Sit down, Sir." — Piozzi, p. 225. — CROKER.

⁶ Probably Dr. Robertson. *Anté*, p. 611. n. 2. — CROKER.

great deal to-day, and you have heard what stuff it was."

A gentleman having said that a *congé d'élire* was not, perhaps, the force of a command, but may be considered only as a strong recommendation:—"Sir," replied Johnson, who overheard him, "it is such a recommendation, as if I should throw you out of a two-pair-of-stairs window, and recommend to you to fall off."¹

Mr. Steevens, who passed many a social hour with him during their long acquaintance, which commenced when they both lived in the Temple, has preserved a good number of particulars concerning him, most of which are to be found in the department of Apophthegms², &c. in the collection of "Johnson's Works." But he has been pleased to favour me with the following, which are original:—

"One evening, previous to the trial of Baretty, consultation of his friends was held at the house of Mr. Cox, the solicitor, in Southampton Buildings, Chancery Lane. Among others present were Mr. Burke and Dr. Johnson, who differed in sentiments concerning the tendency of some part of the defence the prisoner was to make. When the meeting was over, Mr. Steevens observed that the question between him and his friend had been agitated with their too much warmth. 'It may be so, Sir,' replied the doctor, 'for Burke and I should have been of one opinion if we had had no audience.'"

"Dr. Johnson once assumed a character in which perhaps even Mr. Boswell never saw him. His vivacity having been excited by the praises bestowed on the celebrated Torré's fireworks at Marybone Gardens, he desired Mr. Steevens to accompany him thither. The evening had proved showery, and soon after the few people present were assembled, public notice was given that the conductors of the wheels, suns, stars, &c. were so thoroughly watersoaked that it was impossible any part of the exhibition should be made. 'This is a mere excuse,' says the doctor, 'to save their crackers a more profitable company. Let us both hold our sticks and threaten to break those coloured raps that surround the orchestra, and we shall soon have our wishes gratified. The core of the fireworks cannot be injured; let the different pieces be touched in their respective centres, and they will do their offices as well as ever.' Some young men, who overheard him, immediately began the violence he had recommended, and an attempt was speedily made to fire some of the wheels which appeared to have received the smallest damage; but to little purpose were they lighted, for most of them completely failed. The author of 'The Rambler,' however, may be considered on this occasion as the

ring-leader of a successful riot, though not as a skilful pyrotechnist.

"It has been supposed that Dr. Johnson, so far as fashion was concerned, was careless of his appearance in public. But this is not altogether true, as the following slight instance may show:—Goldsmith's last comedy was to be represented during some court-mourning³, and Mr. Steevens appointed to call on Dr. Johnson, and carry him to the tavern where he was to dine with other of the poet's friends. The doctor was ready dressed, but in coloured clothes; yet being told that he would find every one else in black, received the intelligence with a profusion of thanks, hastened to change his attire, all the while repeating his gratitude for the information that had saved him from an appearance so improper in the front row of a front box. 'I would not,' added he, 'for ten pounds have seemed so retrograde to any general observance.'

"He would sometimes found his dislikes on very slender circumstances. Happening one day to mention Mr. Flexman, a dissenting minister, with some compliment to his exact memory in chronological matters; the doctor replied, 'Let me hear no more of him, Sir. That is the fellow who made the index to my *Ramblers*, and set down the name of Milton thus:—Milton, Mr. John.'

Mr. Steevens adds to this testimony:

"It is unfortunate, however, for Johnson, that his particularities and frailties can be more distinctly traced than his good and amiable exertions. Could the many bounties he studiously concealed, the many acts of humanity he performed in private, be displayed with equal circumstantiality, his defects would be so far lost in the blaze of his virtues, that the latter only would be regarded."

Though, from my very high admiration of Johnson, I have wondered that he was not courted by all the great and all the eminent persons of his time, it ought fairly to be considered, that no man of humble birth, who lived entirely by literature, in short, no author by profession, ever rose in this country into that personal notice which he did. In the course of this work a numerous variety of names has been mentioned, to which many might be added. I cannot omit Lord and Lady Lucan, at whose house he often enjoyed all that an elegant table and the best company can contribute to happiness: he found hospitality united with extraordinary accomplishments, and embellished with charms of which no man could be insensible.

On Tuesday, June 22., I dined with him at the Literary Club, the last time of his being in that respectable society. The other members present were the Bishop of St. Asaph, Lord Eliot,

¹ This has been printed in other publications "fall to the pound." But Johnson himself gave me the true expression, which he had used as above; meaning that the recommendation left as little choice in the one case as the other. — SWELL.

² This is Hawkins's collection of Anecdotes. Several of them I have already given in their proper places, and regret that I have not room for all. — CROKER, 1847.

³ What an extraordinary assertion, that in a matter in

which the life and death — nay, the ignominious death — of a friend was at stake, he still talked for victory! I have seen so much reason to distrust anecdotes told from memory, particularly by one in whom those who knew him best placed the least confidence, (*ante*, p. 590. 717.), that I hesitate to give implicit credit to this story. Dr. Johnson, no doubt, too often talked for victory, but not, it is to be hoped, on so serious an occasion. — CROKER.

⁴ "She Sleeps to Conquer," first acted in March, 1773, during a court-mourning for the king of Sardinia. — CROKER.

Lord Palmerston, Dr. Fordyce, and Mr. Malone. He looked ill, but had such a manly fortitude, that he did not trouble the company with melancholy complaints. They all showed evident marks of kind concern about him, with which he was much pleased, and he exerted himself to be as entertaining as his indisposition allowed him.

The anxiety of his friends to preserve so estimable a life as long as human means might be supposed to have influence, made them plan for him a retreat from the severity of a British winter to the mild climate of Italy. This scheme was at last brought to a serious resolution at General Paoli's, where I had often talked of it. One essential matter, however, I understood, was necessary to be previously settled, which was obtaining such an addition to his income as would be sufficient to enable him to defray the expense in a manner becoming the first literary character of a great nation, and, independent of all his other merits, the author of the "Dictionary of the English Language." The person to whom I above all others thought I should apply to negotiate this business was the Lord Chancellor, because I knew that he highly valued Johnson, and that Johnson highly valued his lordship, so that it was no degradation of my illustrious friend to solicit for him the favour of such a man. I have mentioned [p. 717.] what Johnson said of him to me when he was at the bar; and after his lordship was advanced to the seals, he said of him, "I would prepare myself for no man in England but Lord Thurlow. When I am to meet with him, I should wish to know a day before." How he would have prepared himself, I cannot conjecture. Would he have selected certain topics, and considered them in every view, so as to be in readiness to argue them at all points? And what may we suppose those topics to have been? I once started the curious inquiry to the great man who was the subject of this compliment: he smiled, but did not pursue it.¹

I first consulted with Sir Joshua Reynolds, who perfectly coincided in opinion with me; and I therefore, though personally very little known to his lordship, wrote to him, stating the case, and requesting his good offices for Dr. Johnson. I mentioned that I was obliged to set out for Scotland early in the following week, so that if his lordship should have any commands for me as to this pious negotiation, he would be pleased to send them before that

time, otherwise Sir Joshua Reynolds would give all attention to it."²

[BOSWELL TO LORD THURLOW.]

"General Paoli's, Upper Seymour Street, Portman Square, June 24. 1784.

"MY LORD,—Dr. Samuel Johnson, though wonderfully recovered from a complication of dangerous illness, is by no means well, and I have reason to think that his valuable life cannot be preserved long without the benignant influence of a southern climate.

"It would therefore be of very great moment were he to go to Italy before winter sets in; and know he wishes it much. But the objection is that his pension of three hundred pounds a year would not be sufficient to defray his expense, or make it convenient for M. Sastrès, an ingenious and worthy native of that country, and a teacher Italian here, to accompany him.

"As I am well assured of your lordship's regard for Dr. Johnson, I presume, without his knowledge, so far to indulge my anxious concern for him, as to intrude upon your lordship with the suggestion, being persuaded that if a representation of the matter were made to his majesty by proper authority, the royal bounty would be extended in a suitable manner.

"Your lordship, I cannot doubt, will forgive me for taking this liberty. I even flatter myself you will approve of it. I am to set out for Scotland on Monday morning, so that if your lordship should have any commands for me as to this pious negotiation, you will be pleased to send them before that time. But Sir Joshua Reynolds, to whom I have consulted, will be here, and will gladly give all attention to it. I am, &c.,
—Reyn. MSS. "JAMES BOSWELL."

This application was made not only without any suggestion on the part of Johnson himself but was utterly unknown to him, nor had the smallest suspicion of it. Any insinuation therefore, which since his death have been thrown out, as if he had stooped to ask what was superfluous, are without any foundation. But, had he asked it, it would not have been superfluous; for though the money he saved proved to be more than his friends imagined, or than I believe he himself, in his carelessness concerning worldly matters, knew it to be, had he travelled upon the continent, an augmentation of his income would by no means have been unnecessary.

—On Wednesday, June 23., I visited him the morning, after having been present at the shocking sight³ of fifteen men executed before

¹ As this was not said to Mr. Boswell himself, I venture to disbelieve that it was said at all. It is very nearly nonsense, and the kind of nonsense the least like any thing that Dr. Johnson could say. Mr. Boswell, it seems, repeated the story to Lord Thurlow, and his Lordship "smiled"—perhaps at so direct and awkward an attempt at flattery. —CROKER.

² It is strange that Sir John Hawkins should have related that the application was made by Sir Joshua Reynolds, when he could so easily have been informed of the truth by inquiring of Sir Joshua. Sir John's carelessness to ascertain facts is very remarkable. —BOSWELL. Mr. Boswell is, as usual, unjust towards Hawkins. Johnson's own letter of thanks to

Lord Thurlow mentions Sir Joshua as the channel of communication on the subject, and does not allude to Boswell, so that Hawkins had no reason to suspect that Boswell had any thing to do with it; and we shall see, by and by, the reason to suspect that Sir Joshua did not wish that Boswell's name should appear in the transaction. I cannot guess by Mr. Boswell did not print his own letter to Lord Thurlow, which is now given from a copy in his hand, in the *Reynolds Papers*. —CROKER.

³ A shocking sight indeed! —but Mr. Boswell was indeed of enjoying those shocking sights, which yet, he said, "cleared his mind." —CROKER.

Newgate. I said to him, I was sure that human life was not machinery, that is to say, a chain of fatality planned and directed by the Supreme Being, as it had in it so much wickedness and misery, so many instances of both, as that by which my mind was now clouded. Were it machinery, it would be better than it is in these respects, though less noble, as not being a system of moral government. He agreed with me now, as he always did, upon the great question of the liberty of the human will, which has been in all ages perplexed with so much sophistry: "But, Sir, as to the doctrine of necessity, no man believes it. If a man should give me arguments that I do not see, though I could not answer them, should I believe that I do not see?" It will be observed, that Johnson at all times made the just distinction between doctrines *contrary* to reason, and doctrines *above* reason.

Talking of the religious discipline proper for unhappy convicts, he said, "Sir, one of our regular clergy will probably not impress their minds sufficiently: they should be attended by a methodist preacher¹, or a popish priest." Let me however observe, in justice to the Reverend Mr. Vilette, who has been ordinary of Newgate for no less than eighteen years, in the course of which he has attended many hundreds of wretched criminals, that his earnest and humane exhortations have been very effectual. His extraordinary diligence is highly praiseworthy, and merits a distinguished reward.²

On Thursday, June 24., I dined with him at Mr. Dilly's, where were the Rev. Mr. (now Dr.) Knox, master of Tunbridge School, Mr. Smith, vicar of Southill, Dr. Beattie, Mr. Pinkerton, author of various literary performances³, and the Rev. Dr. Mayo. At my desire old Mr. Sheridan was invited, as I was earnest to have Johnson and him brought together again by chance, that a reconciliation might be effected. Mr. Sheridan happened to come early, and having learnt that Dr. Johnson was to be there, went away; so I found, with sincere regret, that my friendly intentions were hopeless.⁴ I recollect nothing that passed this day, except Johnson's quickness, who, when Dr. Beattie observed, as something remarkable which had happened to him, that he had chanced to see both No. 1. and No. 1000. of the hackney-coaches, the first and the last —

"Why, Sir," said Johnson, "there is an equal chance for one's seeing those two numbers as any other two." He was clearly right; yet the seeing of the two extremes, each of which is in some degree more conspicuous than the rest, could not but strike one in a stronger manner than the sight of any other two numbers. — Though I have neglected to preserve his conversation, it was perhaps at this interview that Dr. Knox formed the notion of which he has exhibited in his "Winter Evenings."

On Friday, June 25., I dined with him at General Paoli's, where, he says in one of his letters to Mrs. Thrale, "I love to dine." There was a variety of dishes much to his taste, of all which he seemed to me to eat so much, that I was afraid he might be hurt by it; and I whispered to the General my fear, and begged he might not press him. "Alas!" said the General, "see how very ill he looks; he can live but a very short time. Would you refuse any slight gratifications to a man under sentence of death? There is a humane custom in Italy, by which persons in that melancholy situation are indulged with having whatever they like best to eat and drink, even with expensive delicacies."

I showed him some verses on Lichfield by Miss Seward, which I had that day received from her, and had the pleasure to hear him approve of them. He confirmed to me the truth of a high compliment which I had been told he had paid to that lady, when she mentioned to him "The Columbiade," an epic poem by Madame du Bocceage:—"Madam, there is not any thing equal to your description of the sea round the North Pole, in your Ode on the Death of Captain Cook."

[I have thus quoted a compliment paid by Dr. Johnson to one of this lady's poetical pieces, and I have withheld his opinion of herself, thinking that she might not like it. I am afraid that it has reached her by some other means, and thus we may account for the various attacks made by her on her venerable townsman since his decease; some avowed, and with her own name — others, I believe, in various forms and under several signatures. What are we to think of the scraps of letters between her and Mr. Hayley, impotently attempting to undermine the noble pedestal on which public opinion has placed Dr. Johnson?⁵]

¹ A friend of mine happened to be passing by a *field congregation* in the environs of London, when a methodist preacher quoted this passage with triumph. — BOSWELL.

² I trust that the City of London, now happily in unison with the court, will have the justice and generosity to obtain preferment for this reverend gentleman, now a worthy old servant of that magnificent corporation. — BOSWELL. This wish was not gratified. Mr. Vilette died in April, 1799, having been nearly thirty years chaplain of Newgate. — CROKER.

³ The well-known John Pinkerton, who died in 1826, and whose Correspondence has since been published. — CROKER.
⁴ Perhaps Boswell's intentions were friendly, though I doubt whether he did not wish to be witness of a contest; he certainly appears to have contributed, at least by his indiscretions, to keep up the animosity. — CROKER.

⁵ This passage is an extract from Mr. Boswell's controversy with Miss Seward. — *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1793, p. 191., and the following specimens of these strange scraps will amuse the reader, and more than justify Mr. Boswell's censure of Miss Seward.

"MISS SEWARD TO MR. HAYLEY.

"1782.

"You have seen Dr. Johnson's 'Lives of the Poets;' they have excited your generous indignation; a heart like Mr. Hayley's would shrink back astonished to perceive a mind so enriched with the power of genius, capable of such cool malignity. Yet the *Gentleman's Magazine* praised these unworthy efforts to blight the laurels of undoubted fame. O that the venom may fall where it ought! — that the breath of public contempt may blow it from the beautiful wreaths,"

[JOHNSON TO MRS. THRALE.

(Extract.)

"London, June 26. 1784.

"A message came to me yesterday to tell me that Macbean is dead, after three days of illness. He was one of those who, as Swift says, *stood as a screen between me and death*. He has, I hope, made a good exchange. He was very pious; he was very innocent; he did no ill; and of doing good a continual tenour of distress allowed him few opportunities; he was very highly esteemed in the [Charter] house."

— Letters.

On Sunday, June 27., I found him rather better. I mentioned to him a young man who was going to Jamaica with his wife and children, in expectation of being provided for by two of her brothers settled in that island, one a clergyman and the other a physician. JOHNSON. "It is a wild scheme, Sir, unless he has a positive and deliberate invitation. There was a poor girl, who used to come about me, who had a cousin in Barbadoes, that, in a letter to her, expressed a wish she should come out to that island, and expatiated on the comforts and happiness of her situation. The poor girl went out: her cousin was much surprised, and asked her how she could think of coming. 'Because,' said she, 'you invited me.'—'Not I,' answered the cousin. The letter was then produced. 'I see it is true,' said she, 'that I did invite you: but I did not think you would come.' They lodged her in an out-house, where she passed her time miserably; and as soon as she had an opportunity she returned to England. Always tell this when you hear of people going abroad to relations upon a notion of being well received. In the case which you mention, it is probable the clergyman spends all he gets, and the physician does not know how much he is to get."

We this day dined at Sir Joshua Reynolds's, with General Paoli, Lord Eliot (formerly Mr. Eliot, of Port Eliot), Dr. Beattie, and some other company. Talking of Lord Chesterfield;—JOHNSON. "His manner was ex-

quisitely elegant, and he had more knowledge than I expected." BOSWELL. "Did you find, Sir, his conversation to be of a superior style?" JOHNSON. "Sir, in the conversation which I had with him I had the best right to superiority, for it was upon philology and literature." Lord Eliot, who had travelled at the same time with Mr. Stanhope, Lord Chesterfield's natural son, justly observed, that it was strange to a man who showed he had so much affection for his son as Lord Chesterfield did, by writing so many long and anxious letters to him, almost all of them when he was secretary of state, which certainly was a proof of great goodness of disposition, should endeavour to make his son a rascal. His Lordship told that Foote had intended to bring on the stage a father who had thus tutored his son, and to show the son an honest man to every one else, but justifying his father's maxims upon him, and cheating him. JOHNSON. "I am much pleased with this design; but I think there was no occasion to make the son honest at all. No; he should be a consummate rogue: the contrast between honesty and knavery would be the stronger. It should be contrived so that the father should be the only sufferer by the son's villainy, and thus there would be poetical justice."

He put Lord Eliot in mind of Dr. Warburton. "I know," said he, "Harte was your Lordship's tutor, and he was also tutor to the Peterborough family. Pray, my lord, do you recollect any particulars that he told you of Lord Peterborough? He is a favourite of mine³, and is not enough known; his character has been only ventilated in party pamphlets." Lord Eliot said, if Dr. Johnson would be so good as to ask him any questions, he would tell what he could recollect. Accordingly some things were mentioned. "Boswell," said his Lordship, "the best account of Lord Peterborough that I have happened to read with is in 'Captain Carleton's Memoirs.' Carleton was descended of an ancestor⁴ who distinguished himself at the siege of Derry. He was an officer; and, what was rare at that time, had some knowledge of engineering. Johnson said, he had never heard of the book."

&c. &c. "I turn from this comet in literature (Dr. Johnson) to its SON, — Mr. Hayley!"

"MR. HAYLEY TO MISS SEWARD.

"5th August.

"I have read the 'Lives of the Poets,' with as much indignation as you can give me credit for — with a strange mixture of detestation and delight. As his language, to give the devil his due, is frequently sublime and enriched with certain diabolical graces of his own, I continue to listen to him, whenever he speaks, with an equal mixture of admiration and abhorrence."

Hayley seems to have been puzzled between his real admiration of Johnson and his wish to appear to share the indignation of his fair correspondent, who evidently did not like the expression of "delight" and "admiration" with which Hayley had qualified his censure. She therefore artfully enough seeks to enlist him more thoroughly in her cause by insinuating that Johnson, who was then at Lichfield, and whom, after Churchill, she calls "*Immane Pomposo*," had spoken coldly of Hayley's poetry, while she "*kept an indignant silence*." This partly succeeds, and Hayley's reply is a little more satisfactory to the ireful lady.

"October 25. Your account of *Pomposo* delights me — that noble levitation which lashes the troubled waters to a sublime but mischievous storm of turbulence and mud."

But she was still dissatisfied: — "I am dubious," she says, "about the epithet *noble*;" and then she proceeds in a long see-saw *galimatias* of praise and dispraise concerning charity and genius on the one hand, and of his acrimony, envy, malignity, bigotry, and superstition, on the other.

Mr. Hayley attempted to ridicule Johnson in the character of *Rumble* in one of his dull rhyming comedies, and a Dialogue of the Dead, which was dead-born. — CROKER.

¹ Johnson said that he had once seen Mr. Stanhope, and Chesterfield's son, at Dodsley's shop, and was so much shocked with his awkward manner and appearance, that he could not help asking Mr. Dodsley who he was. — *Hawk Apology*. — CROKER.

² See *ante*, p. 217. n. 2. — C.

³ See *ante*, p. 670. n. 3; his observation on Pope's biographers. — CROKER.

⁴ This is an anachronism. Carleton himself was in 1688. James's sea-fights long prior to the siege of Derry. His amusing *Memoirs* were republished in 1808, in a 3rd volume. — CROKER, 1835.

Lord Eliot had it at Port Eliot; but, after a good deal of inquiry, procured a copy in London, and sent it to Johnson, who told Sir Joshua Reynolds that he was going to bed when it came, but was so much pleased with it, that he sat up till he had read it through, and found in it such an air of truth, that he could not doubt of its authenticity; adding, with a smile (in allusion to Lord Eliot's having recently been raised to the peerage), "I did not think a *young lord* could have mentioned to me a book in the English history that was not known to me."

An addition to our company came after we went up to the drawing-room; Dr Johnson seemed to rise in spirits as his audience increased. He said, he wished Lord Orford's pictures¹ and Sir Ashton Lever's museum² might be purchased by the public, because both the money, and the pictures, and the curiosities would remain in the country; whereas if they were sold into another kingdom, the nation would indeed get some money, but would lose the pictures and curiosities, which it would be desirable we should have for improvement in taste and natural history. The only question was, as the nation was much in want of money, whether it would not be better to take a large price from a foreign state?

He entered upon a curious discussion of the difference between intuition and sagacity; one being immediate in its effect, the other requiring a circuitous process; one, he observed, was the *eye* of the mind, the other the *nose* of the mind.³

A young gentleman⁴ present took up the argument against him, and maintained that no man ever thinks of the *nose of the mind*, not adverting that though that figurative sense seems strange to us, as very unusual, it is truly not more forced than Hamlet's "In my *mind's eye*, Horatio." He persisted much too long, and appeared to Johnson as putting himself forward as his antagonist with too much presumption; upon which he called to him in a loud tone, "What is it you are contending for, if you be contending?" — And afterwards, imagining that the gentleman retorted upon him with a kind of smart drollery, he said, "Mr. *****, it does not become you to talk so to me. Besides, ridicule is not your talent; you have *there* neither intuition nor sagacity." — The gentleman protested that he intended no improper freedom, but had the greatest respect for Dr. Johnson. After a short pause, during which we were somewhat

uneasy; — JOHNSON. "Give me your hand, Sir. You were too tedious, and I was too short." Mr. *****. "Sir, I am honoured by your attention in any way." JOHNSON. "Come, Sir, let's have no more of it. We offended one another by our contention; let us not offend the company by our compliments."

He now said, he wished much to go to Italy, and that he dreaded passing the winter in England. I said nothing; but enjoyed a secret satisfaction in thinking that I had taken the most effectual measures to make such a scheme practicable.

On Monday, June 28, I had the honour to receive from the Lord Chancellor the following letter:

LORD THURLOW TO MR. BOSWELL.

"SIR, — I should have answered your letter immediately, if (being much engaged when I received it) I had not put it in my pocket, and forgot to open it till this morning.

"I am much obliged to you for the suggestion; and I will adopt and press it as far as I can. The best argument, I am sure, and I hope it is not likely to fail, is Dr. Johnson's merit. But it will be necessary, if I should be so unfortunate as to miss seeing you, to converse with Sir Joshua on the sum it will be proper to ask, — in short, upon the means of setting him out. It would be a reflection on us all if such a man should perish for want of the means to take care of his health. Yours, &c.,
"THURLOW."

This letter gave me very high satisfaction; I next day went and showed it to Sir Joshua Reynolds, who was exceedingly pleased with it. He thought that I should now communicate the negotiation to Dr. Johnson, who might afterwards complain if the attention with which he had been honoured should be too long concealed from him. I intended to set out for Scotland next morning; but Sir Joshua cordially insisted that I should stay another day, that Johnson and I might dine with him, that we three might talk of his Italian tour, and, as Sir Joshua expressed himself, "have it all out."

I hastened to Johnson, and was told by him that he was rather better to-day. BOSWELL. "I am very anxious about you, Sir, and particularly that you should go to Italy for the winter, which I believe is your own wish." JOHNSON. "It is, Sir." BOSWELL. "You have no objection, I presume, but the money it would require." JOHNSON. "Why, no, Sir." Upon which I gave him a particular

¹ The fine Houghton collection, which was sold to the Empress. — CROKER.

² Sir Ashton Lever was knighted by George the Third. He died in 1788. His celebrated museum (valued before a committee of the House of Commons at 53,000*l*) was disposed of, in 1784, by a private lottery, to Mr. Parkinson, who removed it to Albion-place, Blackfriars-bridge, where it was for many years open as an exhibition. The several articles

of which it was composed were afterwards sold separately by auction. — CROKER.

³ These illustrations were probably suggested by the radical meaning of the words; *intuition*, in Latin, properly belongs to *sight*, and *sagacity* to *smell*. — CROKER.

⁴ The epithet "*young*" was added after the two first editions, and the ***** substituted instead of a dash —, which makes it pretty clear that young Mr. Burke was meant. — CROKER.

account of what had been done, and read to him the Lord Chancellor's letter. He listened with much attention; then warmly said, "This is taking prodigious pains about a man." "O, Sir," said I, with most sincere affection, "your friends would do every thing for you." He paused, — grew more and more agitated, — till tears started into his eyes, and he exclaimed with fervent emotion, "God bless you all!" I was so affected that I also shed tears. After a short silence, he renewed and extended his grateful benediction, "God bless you all, for JESUS CHRIST's sake." We both remained for some time unable to speak. He rose suddenly and quitted the room, quite melted in tenderness. He staid but a short time, till he had recovered his firmness; soon after he returned I left him, having first engaged him to dine at Sir Joshua Reynolds's next day.

I never was again under that roof which I had so long revered.

On Wednesday, June 30., the friendly confidential dinner with Sir Joshua Reynolds took place, no other company being present. Had I known that this was the last time that I should enjoy in this world the conversation of a friend whom I so much respected, and from whom I derived so much instruction and entertainment, I should have been deeply affected. When I now look back to it, I am vexed that a single word should have been forgotten.

Both Sir Joshua and I were so sanguine in our expectations, that we expatiated with confidence on the liberal provision which we were sure would be made for him, conjecturing whether munificence would be displayed in one large donation, or in an ample increase of his pension. He himself caught so much of our enthusiasm as to allow himself to suppose it not impossible that our hopes might in one way or other be realised. He said that he would rather have his pension doubled than a grant of a thousand pounds. "For," said he, "though probably I may not live to receive as much as a thousand pounds, a man would have the consciousness that he should pass the remainder of his life in splendour, how long soever it might be." Considering what a moderate proportion an income of six hundred pounds a-year bears to innumerable fortunes in this country, it is worthy of remark, that a man so truly great should think it splendour.

As an instance of extraordinary liberality of friendship, he told us that Dr. Brocklesby had upon this occasion offered him a hundred a

year for his life.¹ A grateful tear started into his eye, as he spoke this in a faltering tone.

Sir Joshua and I endeavoured to flatter his imagination with agreeable prospects of happiness in Italy. "Nay," said he, "I must not expect much of that; when a man goes to Italy merely to feel how he breathes the air he can enjoy very little."

Our conversation turned upon living in the country, which Johnson, whose melancholy mind required the dissipation of quick successive variety, had habituated himself to consider as a kind of mental imprisonment. "Yet, Sir," said I, "there are many people who are content to live in the country." JOHNSON. "Sir, it is in the intellectual world as in the physical world; we are told by natural philosophers that a body is at rest in the place that is fit for it: they who are content to live in the country are *fit* for the country."

Talking of various enjoyments, I argued that a refinement of taste was a disadvantage as they who have attained to it must be seldomer pleased than those who have no nice discrimination, and are therefore satisfied with every thing that comes in their way. JOHNSON. "Nay, Sir, that is a paltry notion. Endeavour to be as perfect as you can in every respect."

I accompanied him in Sir Joshua Reynolds's coach to the entry of Bolt Court. He asked me whether I would not go with him to his house; I declined it, from an apprehension that my spirits would sink. We bade adieu to each other affectionately in the carriage. When he had got down upon the foot pavement he called out, "Fare you well!" and, without looking back, sprang away with a kind of pathetic briskness, if I may use that expression: which seemed to indicate a struggle to conceal uneasiness, and impressed me with a foreboding of our long, long separation.

I remained one day more in town, to have the chance of talking over my negotiations with the Lord Chancellor; but the multiplicity of his lordship's important engagements did not allow of it; so I left the management of the business in the hands of Sir Joshua Reynolds.

Soon after this time Dr. Johnson had the mortification of being informed by Mrs. Thral that "what she supposed he never believed was true: namely, that she was actually going to marry Signor Piozzi, an Italian music-master."

¹ It should be recollected that the amiable and accomplished man who made this generous offer to the *Tory* champion was a keen *Whig*; and it is stated in the *Biographical Dictionary*, that he pressed Johnson in his last illness to remove to his house for the more immediate convenience of medical advice. Dr. Brocklesby died in 1797, æt. 76. He was a very intimate friend of the celebrated Charles Townshend, as well as of Mr. Burke, to whom he had bequeathed 1000*l.* in his will; but recollecting that he might outlive his friend, or that the legacy might fall when

Mr. Burke did not want it, he requested him to accept from his living hand, "*ut pignus amicitie*," Doctor Brocklesby's name was the subject of one of Mr. Burke's play-puns. There was, cotermporary with him, in London, a quack who called himself *Doctor Rock*. One day Mr. Burke called Brocklesby *Doctor Rock*, and on his taking so offence at this disreputable appellation, Burke undertook to prove *algebraically* that Rock was his proper name, that "*Brock = b = Rock*," or "*Brock less b, makes Rock*." Q.E. — CROKER.



Portrait of the Honorable Mrs. B. B. B.

Engraved by J. B. B.

THE END OF THE FIRST VOLUME

PRINTED BY J. B. B.

[“MRS. PIOZZI TO JOHNSON.

“Bath, June 30. 1784.

“MY DEAR SIR,—The enclosed is a circular letter, which I have sent to all the guardians; but our friendship demands somewhat more: it requires that I should beg your pardon for concealing from you a connexion which you must have heard of by many, but I suppose never believed. Indeed, my dear Sir, it was concealed only to save us both needless pain. I could not have borne to reject that counsel it would have killed me to take, and I only tell it you now because all is irrevocably settled, and out of your power to prevent. I will say, however, that the dread of your disapprobation has given me some anxious moments, and though, perhaps, I am become by many privations the most independent woman in the world, I feel as if acting without a parent's consent till you write kindly to your faithful servant,
H. L. P.”
—*Letters.*

He endeavoured to prevent it, but in vain.

[“JOHNSON TO MRS. PIOZZI.

“London, July 8. 1784.

“DEAR MADAM,—What you have done, however I may lament it, I have no pretence to resent, as it has not been injurious to me; I therefore breathe out one sigh more of tenderness, perhaps useless, but at least sincere.

“I wish that God may grant you every blessing, that you may be happy in this world for its short continuance, and eternally happy in a better state; and whatever I can contribute to your happiness I am very ready to repay, for that kindness which soothed twenty years of a life radically wretched.

“Do not think slightly of the advice which I now presume to offer. Prevail upon M. Piozzi to settle in England: you may live here with more dignity than in Italy, and with more security: your rank will be higher, and your fortune more under your own eye. I desire not to detail all my reasons, but every argument of prudence and interest is for England, and only some phantoms of imagination seduce you to Italy.

“I am afraid, however, that my counsel is vain; yet I have eased my heart by giving it.

“When Queen Mary took the resolution of sheltering herself in England, the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, attempting to dissuade her, attended on her journey; and when they came to the irre-movable stream that separated the two kingdoms, walked by her side into the water, in the middle of which he seized her bridle, and with earnestness proportioned to her danger and his own affection pressed her to return. The queen went forward. If the parallel reaches thus far, may it go no farther. The tears stand in my eyes.

“I am going into Derbyshire, and hope to be followed by your good wishes, for I am, with great affection, your, &c.,
SAM. JOHNSON.

“Any letters that come for me hither will be sent me.”
—*Letters.*

If she would publish the whole of the correspondence that passed between Dr. Johnson and her on the subject, we should have a full view of his real sentiments. As it is, our judgment must be biassed by that characteristic specimen which Sir John Hawkins has given us.²

[“About the middle of 1784, he was, to appearance, so well, that both himself and his friends hoped that he had some years to live. He had recovered from the paralytic stroke of the last year to such a degree, that, saving a little difficulty in his articulation, he had no remains of it; he had also undergone a slight fit of the gout, and conquered an oppression on his lungs, so as to be able, as himself told me, to run up the whole staircase of the Royal Academy, on the day of the annual dinner there. In short, to such a degree of health was he restored, that he forgot all his complaints: he resumed sitting to Opie for his picture, which had been begun the year before, but, I believe, was never finished, and accepted an invitation to the house of a friend at Ashbourne in Derbyshire, proposing to stay there till towards the end of the summer, and, in his return, to visit Mrs. Porter, his daughter-in-law, and others of his friends, at Lichfield.

“A few weeks before his setting out, he was made uneasy by a report that the widow of his friend Mr. Thrale was about to dispose of herself in marriage to a foreigner, a singer by profession, and with him to quit the kingdom. Upon this occasion, he took the alarm, and to prevent a degradation of herself, and, what as executor of her husband was more his concern, the desertion of her children, wrote to her, she then being at Bath, a letter, of which the following spurious copy was inserted in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for December, 1784:—

“MADAM,—If you are already ignominiously married, you are lost beyond all redemption;—if you are not, permit me one hour's conversation, to convince you that such a marriage must not take place. If, after a whole hour's reasoning, you should not be convinced, you will still be at liberty to act as you think proper. I have been extremely ill, and am still ill; but if you grant me the audience I ask, I will instantly take a post-chaise and attend you at Bath. Pray do not refuse this favour to a man who hath so many years loved and honoured you.”

“That this letter is spurious, as to the language, I have Johnson's own authority for saying; but, in respect of the sentiments, he avowed it, in a declaration to me, that not a sentence of it was his, but yet that it was an *adumbration* of one that he wrote upon the occasion. It may therefore be suspected,

not how to account for this but by supposing that Mrs. Piozzi, to avoid Johnson's importunities, wished him to understand as *done* that which was only *settled* to be done. Any reader who is curious about this miserable *mésalliance* will find it most acrimoniously discussed in Baret's *Strictures* in the European Magazine for 1788. — CROKER.

² Boswell had given but the last sentence of the following extract. I give the whole passage. — CROKER.

¹ In the lady's own publication of the correspondence, this letter is given as from Mrs. Piozzi, and is signed with the initial of her new name; Dr. Johnson's answer is also addressed to Mrs. Piozzi, and both the letters allude to the matter as past—here as “*settled*,” his as “*done* ;” yet it appears by the periodical publications of the day, that the marriage did not take place until the 25th July, and Madame D'Arbly dates it “*at the end of July*.” I know

that some one who had heard him repeat the contents of the letter had given it to the public in the form in which it appeared.

"What answer was returned to his friendly monition I know not, but it seems that it was succeeded by a letter¹ of greater length, written, as it afterwards appeared, too late to do any good, in which he expressed an opinion, that the person to whom it was addressed had forfeited her fame. The answer to this I have seen: it is written from Bath, and contains an indignant vindication as well of her conduct as her fame, an inhibition of Johnson from following her to Bath, and a farewell, concluding — 'Till you have changed your opinion of [Piozzi] let us converse no more.'

"From the style of the letter, a conclusion was to be drawn that baffled all the powers of reasoning and persuasion:

"One argument she summ'd up all in,
The thing was done and past recalling;"

which being the case, he contented himself with reflecting on what he had done to prevent that which he thought one of the greatest evils that could befall the progeny of his friend, the alienation of the affections of their mother. He looked upon the desertion of children by their parents, and the withdrawing from them that protection, that mental nutriment, which, in their youth, they are capable of receiving, the exposing them to the snares and temptations of the world, and the solicitations and deceits of the artful and designing, as most unnatural; and in a letter on the subject to me, written from Ashbourne, thus delivered his sentiments:]

"'Poor Thrale! I thought that either her virtue or her vice,' (meaning, as I understood, by the former, the love of her children, and by the latter, her pride,) 'would have restrained her from such a marriage. She is now become a subject for her enemies to exult over, and for her friends, if she has any left, to forget or pity.'"

It must be admitted that Johnson derived a considerable portion of happiness from the comforts and elegancies which he enjoyed in Mr. Thrale's family; but Mrs. Thrale assures us he was indebted for these to her husband alone, who certainly respected him sincerely. Her words are, "*Veneration for his virtue, reverence for his talents, delight in his conversation, and habitual endurance of a yoke my husband first put upon me, and of which he contentedly bore his share for sixteen or seventeen years, made me go on so long with Mr. Johnson; but the perpetual confinement I will own to have been terrifying in the first years of*

our friendship, and irksome in the last; nor could I pretend to support it without help, when my coadjutor was no more." Alas! how different is this from the declarations which I have heard Mrs. Thrale make in his lifetime, without a single murmur against any peculiarities, or against any one circumstance which attended their intimacy!

As a sincere friend of the great man whose life I am writing, I think it necessary to guard my readers against the mistaken notion of Dr. Johnson's character, which this Lady's "Anecdotes" of him suggest; for, from the very nature and form of her book, "it lends deception lighter wings to fly."

"Let it be remembered," says an eminent critic², "that she has comprised in a small volume all that she could recollect of Dr. Johnson in *twenty years*, during which period, doubtless, some severe things were said by him: and they who read the book in *two hours* naturally enough suppose that his whole conversation was of this complexion. But the fact is, I have been often in his company, and never once heard him say a severe thing to any one; and many others can attest the same. When he did say a severe thing, it was generally extorted by ignorance pretending to knowledge, or by extreme vanity or affectation.

"Two instances of inaccuracy," adds he, "are peculiarly worthy of notice.

"It is said, '*that natural roughness of his manner so often mentioned would, notwithstanding the regularity of his notions, burst through them all from time to time; and he once bade a very celebrated lady [Hannah More], who praised him with too much zeal perhaps, or perhaps too strong an emphasis (which always offended him), consider what her flattery was worth before she choked him with it.*'

"Now let the genuine anecdote be contrasted with this. — The person thus represented as being harshly treated, though a very celebrated lady, was then just come to London from an obscure situation in the country. At Sir Joshua Reynolds's one evening, she met Dr. Johnson. She very soon began to pay her court to him in the most fulsome strain. 'Spare me, I beseech you, dear Madam,' was his reply. She still *laid it on*. 'Pray, Madam,' let us have no more of this,' he rejoined. Not paying any attention to these warnings, she continued still her eulogy. At length, provoked by this indelicate and *vain* obtrusion of compliments, he exclaimed, 'Dearest Lady, consider with yourself what your flattery is worth, before you bestow it so freely.'

"How different does this story appear, when accompanied with all those circumstances which

¹ It appears as if Hawkins (who had not had the advantage of seeing the correspondence published by Mrs. Piozzi) had made some confusion about these letters. It is clear that the *first* of the series must have been, not Johnson's remonstrance, but her announcement, dated Bath, June 30., which we have just seen. To that Johnson may have replied by the letter, the contents of which are *adumbrated* in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. To this she probably rejoined by the letter which Hawkins says that he saw, to which Johnson's of the 8th of July, given above, may have been the reply. Hawkins thinks that there were *three* letters from Dr. Johnson, whereas it seems probable that there were but *two*, of which one only is preserved. — CROKER.

² Pope and Swift's Miscellanies, "Phyllis, or the Progress of Love." — BOSWELL.

³ Who has been pleased to furnish me with his remarks. — BOSWELL.

This "critic" is no doubt Mr. Malone, whose MS. notes on Mrs. Piozzi's "Anecdotes" contain the *germs* of these criticisms. Several of his similar animadversions have been already noticed, with my reasons for differing essentially from both Boswell and Malone in their estimate of Mrs. Piozzi's work. Mr. Malone's notes were communicated to me by Mr. Markland, who purchased the volume at the sale of the library of the late James Boswell, junior, in 1825. — CROKER.

really belong to it, but which Mrs. Thrale either did not know, or has suppressed!

"She says, in another place, '*One gentleman, however, who dined at a nobleman's house in his company, and that of Mr. Thrale, to whom I was obliged for the anecdote, was willing to enter the lists in defence of King William's character; and having opposed and contradicted Johnson two or three times, petulantly enough, the master of the house began to feel uneasy, and expect disagreeable consequences; to avoid which he said, loud enough for the doctor to hear, 'Our friend has no meaning now in all this, except just to relate at club to-morrow how he teased Johnson at dinner to-day; this is all to do himself honour.'*" — '*No, upon my word,*' replied the other, '*I see no honour in it, whatever you may do.*'" — '*Well, Sir,*' returned Mr. Johnson sternly, '*if you do not see the honour, I am sure I feel the disgrace.*'"

"This is all sophisticated. Mr. Thrale was not in the company, though he might have related the story to Mrs. Thrale. A friend, from whom I had the story, was present; and it was not at the house of a nobleman. On the observation being made by the master of the house on a gentleman's contradicting Johnson, that he had talked for the honour, &c., the gentleman muttered in a low voice, '*I see no honour in it;*' and Dr. Johnson said nothing; so all the rest (though *bien trouvé*) is mere garnish."

I have had occasion several times, in the course of this work, to point out the incorrectness of Mrs. Thrale as to particulars which consisted with my own knowledge. But indeed she has, in flippant terms enough, expressed her disapprobation of that anxious desire of authenticity which prompts a person who is to record conversations to write them down at the moment. Unquestionably, if they are to be recorded at all, the sooner it is done the better. This lady herself says,

"To recollect, however, and to repeat the sayings of Dr. Johnson, is almost all that can be done by the writers of his life; as his life, at least since my acquaintance with him, consisted in little else than talking, when he was not employed in some serious piece of work."

She boasts of her having kept a commonplace book; and we find she noted, at one time or other, in a very lively manner, specimens of the conversation of Dr. Johnson, and of those who talked with him; but had she done it recently, they probably would have been less erroneous, and we should have been relieved from those disagreeable doubts of their authenticity with which we must now pursue them.

She says of him, —

¹ Mrs. Piozzi may have been right or wrong as to the degree in which Dr. Johnson's indolence operated on those occasions; but at least she was sincere, for she did not conceal from Johnson himself that she thought him negligent in doing small favours: and Mr. Boswell's own work affords several instances in which Johnson exhibits and avows the contradictions in his character which are here imputed to Mrs. Piozzi as total misrepresentations. The truth seems to be that to all the little idle matters about which Mrs. Piozzi teased him, probably too often, he was very indifferent; and she describes him as she found him. — CROKER.

"He was the most charitable of mortals, without being what we call an active friend. Admirable at giving counsel, no man saw his way so clearly: but he would not stir a finger for the assistance of those to whom he was willing enough to give advice. And again, on the same page, '*If you wanted a slight favour, you must apply to people of other dispositions; for not a step would Johnson move to obtain a man a vote in a society, to repay a compliment which might be useful or pleasing, to write a letter of request, &c., or to obtain a hundred pounds a year more for a friend who perhaps had already two or three. No force could urge him to diligence, no importunity could conquer his resolution to stand still.*'"

It is amazing that one who had such opportunities of knowing Dr. Johnson should appear so little acquainted with his real character. I am sorry this lady does not advert, that she herself contradicts the assertion of his being obstinately defective in the *petites morales*, in the little endearing charities of social life in conferring smaller favours; for she says,

"Dr. Johnson was liberal enough in granting literary assistance to others, I think; and innumerable are the prefaces, sermons, lectures, and dedications which he used to make for people who begged of him."

I am certain that a more active friend has rarely been found in any age. This work, which I fondly hope will rescue his memory from obloquy, contains a thousand instances of his benevolent exertions in almost every way that can be conceived; and particularly in employing his pen with a generous readiness for those to whom its aid could be useful. Indeed his obliging activity in doing little offices of kindness, both by letters and personal application, was one of the most remarkable features in his character; and for the truth of this I can appeal to a number of his respectable friends: Sir Joshua Reynolds, Mr. Langton, Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Burke, Mr. Windham, Mr. Malone, the Bishop of Dromore, Sir William Scott, Sir Robert Chambers. And can Mrs. Thrale forget the advertisements which he wrote for her husband at the time of his election contest; the epitaphs on him and her mother; the playful and even trifling verses for the amusement of her and her daughters, his corresponding with her children, and entering into their minute concerns, which shows him in the most amiable light? ¹

She relates —

"That Mr. Cholmondeley ² unexpectedly rode up to Mr. Thrale's carriage, in which Mr. Thrale,

² George James Cholmondeley, Esq., grandson of George, third Earl of Cholmondeley, and one of the commissioners of excise; a gentleman respected for his abilities and elegance of manners. — BOSWELL. He was the son of the Mrs. Cholmondeley (p. 349, n. 2.) so often mentioned. When I spoke to him a few years before his death upon this point, I found him very sore at being made the topic of such a debate, and very unwilling to remember any thing about either the offence or the apology. He died in Feb. 1831, ætat. 79. — CROKER, 1847.

and she, and Dr. Johnson were travelling; that he paid them all his proper compliments; but observing that Dr. Johnson, who was reading, did not see him, 'tapped him gently on the shoulder.' 'Tis Mr. Cholmondeley,' says my husband, 'Well, Sir—and what if it is Mr. Cholmondeley?' says the other, sternly, just lifting his eyes a moment from his book, and returning to it again with renewed avidity."

This surely conveys a notion of Johnson, as if he had been grossly rude to Mr. Cholmondeley, a gentleman whom he always loved and esteemed. If, therefore, there was an absolute necessity for mentioning the story at all, it might have been thought that her tenderness for Dr. Johnson's character would have disposed her to state any thing that could soften it. Why then is there a total silence as to what Mr. Cholmondeley told her?—that Johnson, who had known him from his earliest years, having been made sensible of what had doubtless a strange appearance, took occasion, when he afterwards met him, to make a very courteous and kind apology. There is another little circumstance which I cannot but remark. Her book was published in 1785; she had then in her possession a letter from Dr. Johnson, dated in 1777, which begins thus: "Cholmondeley's story shocks me, if it be true, which I can hardly think, for I am utterly unconscious of it: I am very sorry, and very much ashamed." Why then publish the anecdote? Or, if she did, why not add the circumstances, with which she was well acquainted?

In his social intercourse she thus describes him:—

"Ever musing till he was called out to converse, and conversing till the fatigue of his friends, or the promptitude of his own temper to take offence, consigned him back again to silent meditation."

Yet in the same book she tells us,—

"He was, however, seldom inclined to be silent when any moral or literary question was started; and it was on such occasions that, like the sage in 'Rasselas,' he spoke, and attention watched his lips; he reasoned, and conviction closed his periods."

His conversation, indeed, was so far from ever *fatiguing* his friends, that they regretted when it was interrupted or ceased, and could exclaim in Milton's language,

"With thee conversing, I forget all time."

I certainly, then, do not claim too much in behalf of my illustrious friend in saying, that however smart and entertaining Mrs. Thrale's "Anecdotes" are, they must not be held as good evidence against him; for wherever an instance of harshness and severity is told, I beg leave to doubt its perfect authenticity; for though there may have been *some* foundation for it, yet, like that of his reproof to the "very celebrated lady," it may be so exhibited in the narration as to be very unlike the real fact.

The evident tendency of the following anecdote is to represent Dr. Johnson as extremely deficient in affection, tenderness, or even common civility.

"When I one day lamented the loss of a first cousin killed in America, — Prithee, my dear (said he), have done with canting; how would the world be the worse for it, I may ask, if all your relations were at once spitted like larks, and roasted for Presto's supper?—Presto was the dog that lay under the table while we talked."

I suspect this too of exaggeration and distortion. I allow that he made her an angry speech; but let the circumstances fairly appear, as told by Mr. Baretti¹, who was present:—

"Mrs. Thrale, while supping very heartily upon larks, laid down her knife and fork, and abruptly exclaimed, 'O, my dear Johnson! do you know what has happened? The last letters from abroad have brought us an account that our poor cousin's head was taken off by a cannon-ball.' Johnson, who was shocked both at the fact and her light unfeeling manner of mentioning it, replied, 'Madam, it would give you very little concern if all your relations were spitted like those larks, and dressed for Presto's supper.'"²

It is with concern that I find myself obliged to animadvert on the inaccuracies of Mrs. Piozzi's "Anecdotes," and perhaps I may be thought to have dwelt too long upon her little collection. But as from Johnson's long residence under Mr. Thrale's roof, and his intimacy with her, the account which she has given of him may have made an unfavourable and unjust impression, my duty, as a faithful biographer, has obliged me reluctantly to perform this unpleasant task.³

¹ Baretti's evidence is worth nothing against Mrs. Piozzi. — CROKER.

² Upon mentioning this to my friend Mr. Wilkes, he, with his usual readiness, pleasantly matched it with the following *sentimental anecdote*. He was invited by a young man of fashion at Paris to sup with him and a lady, who had been for some time his mistress, but with whom he was going to part. He said to Mr. Wilkes that he really felt very much for her, she was in such distress, and that he meant to make her a present of two hundred louis-d'ors. Mr. Wilkes observed the behaviour of mademoiselle, who sighed, indeed, very piteously, and assumed every pathetic air of grief, but ate no less than three French pigeons, which are as large as English partridges, besides other things. Mr. Wilkes whispered the gentleman, "We often say in England, ex-

cessive sorrow is exceeding dry, but I never heard excessive sorrow is exceeding hungry. Perhaps one hundred will do." The gentleman took the hint. — BOSWELL.

³ Instead of answering *seriatim* (as I had done in my first edition) Boswell's objections to Mrs. Piozzi's anecdotes, I will here finally state my opinion that, although after her deplorable marriage, she had lost much of her reverence and all her affection for her guide, philosopher, and friend, and was therefore disposed to give a harsh unfavourable colour to his character, and though her reports are rambling, slipshod, and often inaccurate in expressions and details, they are never, I believe, intentionally nor substantially untrue, nor at all liable to the sweeping imputations that Boswell and Malone make against them. — CROKER, 1847.

CHAPTER LXXXI.

1784.

Projected Tour to Italy. — Reynolds. — Thurlow. — Rev. Mr. Bagshaw. — Excursion to Staffordshire and Derbyshire. — Correspondence. — Air Balloons. — Last Visit to Lichfield. — Uttoxeter. — The Learned Pig. — Last Visit to Oxford. — Return to London. — Ancient Universal History. — Imitations of Johnson's Style.

HAVING left the *pious negotiation*, as I called it, in the best hands, I shall here insert what relates to it. Johnson wrote to Sir Joshua Reynolds on July 6. as follows : —

"I am going, I hope, in a few days, to try the air of Derbyshire, but hope to see you before I go. Let me, however, mention to you what I have much at heart. If the Chancellor should continue his attention to Mr. Boswell's request, and confer with you on the means of relieving my languid state, I am very desirous to avoid the appearance of asking money upon false pretences. I desire you to represent to his lordship, what, as soon as it is suggested, he will perceive to be reasonable,—that, if I grow much worse, I shall be afraid to leave my physicians, to suffer the inconveniences of travel, and pine in the solitude of a foreign country;—that, if I grow much better, of which indeed there is now little appearance, I shall not wish to leave my friends and my domestic comforts, for I do not travel for pleasure or curiosity; yet if I should recover, curiosity would revive. In my present state I am desirous to make a struggle for a little longer life, and hope to obtain some help from a softer climate. Do for me what you can."

He wrote to me July 26. :—

"I wish your affairs could have permitted a longer and continued exertion of your zeal and kindness. They that have your kindness may want your ardour. In the meantime I am very feeble and very dejected."

By a letter from Sir Joshua Reynolds I was informed that the Lord Chancellor had called on him, and acquainted him that the application had not been successful; but that his lordship, after speaking highly in praise of Johnson, as a man who was an honour to his country, desired Sir Joshua to let him know, that on granting a mortgage¹ of his pension, he should draw on his lordship to the amount of five or six hundred pounds, and that his

lordship explained the meaning of the mortgage to be, that he wished the business to be conducted in such a manner, that Dr. Johnson should appear to be under the least possible obligation. Sir Joshua mentioned that he had by the same post communicated all this to Dr. Johnson.

How Johnson was affected upon the occasion will appear from what he wrote to Sir Joshua Reynolds:—

" Ashbourne, Sept. 9.

“Many words I hope are not necessary between you and me, to convince you what gratitude is excited in my heart by the Chancellor’s liberality, and your kind offices. I have enclosed a letter to the Chancellor, which, when you have read it, you will be pleased to seal with a head, or any other general seal, and convey it to him : had I sent it directly to him, I should have seemed to overlook the favour of your intervention.”

TO THE LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR.²

" September, 1784.

“ MY LORD,—After a long and not inattentive observation of mankind, the generosity of your lordship’s offer raises in me not less wonder than gratitude. Bounty, so liberally bestowed, I should gladly receive, if my condition made it necessary for, to such a mind, who would not be proud to own his obligations? But it has pleased God to restore me to so great a measure of health, that if I should now appropriate so much of a fortune destined to do good, I could not escape from myself the charge of advancing a false claim. My journey to the Continent, though I once thought it necessary, was never much encouraged by my physicians; and I was very desirous that your lordship should be told of it by Sir Joshua Reynolds as an event very uncertain; for if I grew much better, I should not be willing, if much worse, not able, to migrate. Your lordship was first solicited without my knowledge; but, when I was told that you were pleased to honour me with your patronage, I did not expect to hear of a refusal; yet, as I have had no long time to brood hope, and have not rioted in imaginary opulence, this cold reception has been scarce a disappointment; and, from your lordship’s kindness, I have received a benefit, which only men like you are able to bestow. I shall now live *michi carior*, with a higher opinion of my own merit. I am, my Lord, &c.,

SAM. JOHNSON."

Upon this unexpected failure I abstain from presuming to make any remarks, or to offer any conjectures.³

1 "This offer has in the first view of it the appearance rather of a commercial than a gratuitous transaction; but Sir Joshua clearly understood at the making it that Lord Thurlow designedly put it in that form. He was fearful that Johnson's high spirit would induce him to reject it as a donation, but thought that in the way of loan it might be accepted." — *Hawkins's Life*, p. 571. — CROKER.

2 Sir Joshua Reynolds, on account of the excellence both of the sentiment and expression of this letter, took a copy of it, which he showed to some of his friends: one of whom [*Lady Lucan, it is said.*—C.], who admired it, being allowed to peruse it leisurely at home, a copy was made, and found its way into the newspapers and magazines. It was transcribed with some inaccuracies. I print it from

the original draft in Johnson's own handwriting. — BOSWELL.

On this affair soon became a topic of conversation, and it was stated that the cause of the failure was the *refusal of the King himself*; but from the following letter it appears that the *matter was never mentioned to his Majesty*; that, as I have pressed, Lord Thurlow proposed the before-mentioned arrangement as from himself — running the risk of obtaining the King's subsequent approbation when he should have an opportunity of mentioning it to his Majesty. This affords some, and yet not a satisfactory, explanation of the device suggested by Lord Thurlow of Johnson's giving him a *mortgage on his pension*. But it still seems very strange that Boswell, who evidently was much pained at the idea that the

Having, after repeated reasonings, brought Dr. Johnson to agree to my removing to London, and even to furnish me with arguments in favour of what he had opposed; I wrote to him, requesting he would write them for me. He was so good as to comply, and I shall extract that part of his letter to me, as a proof how well he could exhibit a cautious yet encouraging view of it.

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

"June 11. 1784.

"I remember, and entreat you to remember, that *virtus est vitium fugere*, the first approach to riches is security from poverty. The condition upon which you have my consent to settle in London is, that your expense never exceeds your annual income. Fixing this basis of security, you cannot be hurt, and you may be very much advanced. The loss of your Scottish business, which is all that you can lose, is not to be reckoned as any equivalent to the hopes and possibilities that open here upon you. If you succeed, the question of prudence is at an end; every body will think that done right which ends happily; and though your expectations, of which I would not advise you to talk too much, should not be totally answered, you can hardly fail to get friends who will do for you all that your present situation allows you to hope; and if, after a few years, you should return to Scotland, you will return with a mind supplied by various conversation, and many opportunities of inquiry, with much knowledge, and materials for reflection and instruction."

[JOHNSON TO DR. ADAMS.

"London, 11th June (July), 1784.

"DEAR SIR, — I am going into Staffordshire and Derbyshire in quest of some relief, of which my need is not less than when I was treated at your house with so much tenderness.

"I have now received the collations for Xenophon, which I have sent you with the letters that relate to them. I cannot at present take any part in the work, but I would rather pay for a collation of Oppian than see it neglected; for the French-

King had been the obstacle, should have been kept in ignorance of the real state of the case, as by the following letter, which I found in the Reynolds papers, it appears he was.

"LORD THURLOW TO SIR J. REYNOLDS.

"Thursday, Nov. 18. 1784.

"DEAR SIR, — My choice, if that had been left me, would certainly have been that the matter should not have been talked of at all. The only object I regarded was my own pleasure, in contributing to the health and comfort of a man whom I revere sincerely and highly for every part, without exception, of his exalted character. This you know I proposed to do, as it might be without any expense—in all events at a rate infinitely below the satisfaction I proposed to myself. It would have suited the purpose better if nobody had heard of it, except Dr. Johnson, you, and J. Boswell. But the chief objection to the rumour is, that his Majesty is supposed to have refused it. Had that been so, I should not have communicated the circumstance. It was impossible for me to take the King's pleasure on the suggestion I presumed to move. I am an untoward solicitor. The time seemed to press, and I chose rather to take on myself the risk of his Majesty's concurrence than delay a journey which might conduce to Dr. Johnson's health and comfort.

"But these are all trifles, and scarce deserve even this cursory explanation. The only question of any worth is whether Dr. Johnson has any wish to go abroad, or other occasion for my assistance. Indeed he should give me credit

men act with great liberality. Let us not fall below them.

"I know not in what state Dr. Edwards left his book.¹ Some of his emendations seemed to me to (be) irrefragably certain, and such, therefore, as ought not to be lost. His rule was not (to) change the text; and, therefore, I suppose he has left notes to be subjoined. As the book is posthumous, some account of the editor ought to be given.

"You have now the whole process of the correspondence before you. When the prior is answered, let some apology be made for me.²

"I was forced to divide the collation, but as it is paged, you will easily put every part in its proper place.

"Be pleased to convey my respects to Mrs. and Miss Adams. I am, Sir, your most humble servant,
"SAM. JOHNSON."

Let us now contemplate Johnson thirty years after the death of his wife, still retaining for her all the tenderness of affection.

JOHNSON TO THE REV. MR. BAGSHAW,

At Bromley.

"July 12. 1784.

"SIR, — Perhaps you may remember, that in the year 1753 you committed to the ground my dear wife. I now entreat your permission to lay a stone upon her; and have sent the inscription, that, if you find it proper, you may signify your allowance.

"You will do me a great favour by showing the place where she lies, that the stone may protect her remains.

"Mr. Ryland³ will wait on you for the inscription [p. 77. n. 4], and procure it to be engraved. You will easily believe that I shrink from this mournful office. When it is done, if I have strength remaining, I will visit Bromley once again, and pay you part of the respect to which you have a right from, reverend Sir, your most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

On the same day he wrote to Mr. Langton:—

"I cannot but think that in my languid and

for perfect simplicity, when I treat this as merely a pleasure afforded me, and accept it accordingly; any reluctance, if he examines himself thoroughly, will certainly be found to rest, in some part or other, upon a doubt of the disposition with which I offer it.

I am, &c.

"THURLOW."

That this letter was kept from Boswell's knowledge is certain, by his obvious vexation at thinking that the refusal had come from the King—that it was *designedly* kept from him is rendered probable by the following curious circumstance. On the face of the original letter his name has been obliterated with so much care that but for the different colour of the ink and some other small circumstances, it would not have been discoverable; it is artfully done, and the sentence appears to run, "*except Dr. Johnson, you, and I*"—"Boswell" being erased. This looks like an uncandid trick, to defraud Boswell of his merit in this matter: but by whom the obliteration was made I cannot guess.—CROKER.

¹ His Xenophon. See *anté*, p. 621.—C.

² I suppose the prior of the Benedictines in Paris (*anté*, p. 460. n. 2.), who seem to have made, at Johnson's request, a collation of Xenophon with some copy of their own, and to have proposed a collation of Oppian, but for what precise purpose does not appear.—CROKER, 1847.

³ Mr. Ryland was one of his oldest friends, and had probably been an acquaintance of his wife's. (See *anté*, pp. 78.) Mr. Ryland died July 24. 1798, *ætat.* 81.—CROKER.

anxious state, I have some reason to complain that I receive from you neither inquiry nor consolation. You know how much I value your friendship, and with what confidence I expect your kindness, if I wanted any act of tenderness that you could perform; at least, if you do not know it, I think your ignorance is your own fault. Yet how long is it that I have lived almost in your neighbourhood without the least notice?—I do not, however, consider this neglect as particularly shown to me; I hear two of your most valuable friends make the same complaint. But why are all thus overlooked? You are not oppressed by sickness, you are not distracted by business; if you are sick, you are sick of leisure:—and allow yourself to be told, that no disease is more to be dreaded or avoided. Rather to do nothing than to do good, is the lowest state of a degraded mind. Boileau says to his pupil,

‘Que les vers ne soient pas votre eternal emploi,
Cultivez vos amis.’ —

That voluntary debility which modern language is content to term indolence will, if it is not counteracted by resolution, render in time the strongest faculties lifeless, and turn the flame to the smoke of virtue. — I do not expect or desire to see you, because I am much pleased to find that your mother stays so long with you, and I should think you neither elegant nor grateful if you did not study her gratification. You will pay my respects to both the ladies, and to all the young people. — I am going northward for a while, to try what help the country can give me; but if you write, the letter will come after me.”

Next day he set out on a jaunt to Staffordshire and Derbyshire, flattering himself that he might be in some degree relieved.

During his absence from London he kept up a correspondence with several of his friends, from which I shall select what appears to me proper for publication, without attending nicely to chronological order.

To DR. BROCKLESBY he writes, —

“Ashbourne, July 20.

“The kind attention which you have so long shown to my health and happiness makes it as much a debt of gratitude as a call of interest to give you an account of what befalls me, when accident removes me from your immediate care. The journey of the first day was performed with very little sense of fatigue: the second day brought me to Lichfield without much lassitude; but I am afraid that I could not have borne such violent agitation for many days together. Tell Dr. Heberden, that in the coach I read ‘Ciceronianus,’ which I concluded as I entered Lichfield. My affection and understanding went along with Erasmus, except that once or twice he somewhat unskillfully entangles Cicero’s civil or moral with his rhetorical character. — I staid five days at Lichfield, but, being unable to walk, had no great pleasure; and yesterday (19th) I came hither, where I am to try what air and attention can perform. — Of any improvement in my health I cannot yet

please myself with the perception.
The asthma has no abatement. Opiates stop the fit, so as that I can sit and sometimes lie easy, but they do not now procure me the power of motion; and I am afraid that my general strength of body does not increase. The weather indeed is not benign: but how low is he sunk whose strength depends upon the weather! I am now looking into Floyer¹, who lived with his asthma to almost his ninetieth year. His book, by want of order, is obscure; and his asthma, I think, not of the same kind with mine. Something, however, I may perhaps learn. — My appetite still continues keen enough; and what I consider as a symptom of radical health, I have a voracious delight in raw summer fruit, of which I was less eager a few years ago. — You will be pleased to communicate this account to Dr. Heberden, and if any thing is to be done, let me have your joint opinion. — Now — *abite, cura!* — let me inquire after the club.”²

“July 31st. — Not recollecting that Dr. Heberden might be at Windsor, I thought your letter long in coming. But you know *nocturna petuntur*, the letter which I so much desired tells me that I have lost one of my best and tenderest friends.³ My comfort is, that he appeared to live like a man that had always before his eyes the fragility of our present existence, and was therefore, I hope, not unprepared to meet his Judge. — Your attention, dear Sir, and that of Dr. Heberden, to my health, is extremely kind. I am loth to think that I grow worse; and cannot fairly prove even to my own partiality that I grow much better.”

“Aug. 5. — I return you thanks, dear Sir, for your unwearied attention both medicinal and friendly, and hope to prove the effect of your care by living to acknowledge it.”

“Aug. 12. — Pray be so kind as to have me in your thoughts, and mention my case to others as you have opportunity. I seem to myself neither to gain nor lose strength. I have lately tried milk, but have yet found no advantage, and am afraid of it merely as a liquid. My appetite is still good, which I know is dear Dr. Heberden’s criterion of the *vis vitæ*. — As we cannot now see each other, do not omit to write, for you cannot think with what warmth of expectation I reckon the hours of a post day.”

“Aug. 14. — I have hitherto sent you only melancholy letters: you will be glad to hear some better account. Yesterday the asthma remitted, perceptibly remitted, and I moved with more ease than I have enjoyed for many weeks. May God continue his mercy! This account I would not delay, because I am not a lover of complaints or complainers; and yet I have, since we parted, uttered nothing till now but terror and sorrow. Write to me, dear Sir.”

“Aug. 16. — Better, I hope, and better. My respiration gets more and more ease and liberty. I went to church yesterday, after a very liberal dinner, without any inconvenience; it is indeed no long walk, but I never walked it without difficulty, since I came, before. The intention was only to overpower the seeming *vis inertie* of the pectoral and pulmonary muscles. — I am

¹ Sir John Floyer, M.D. See *anté*, p. 7. — CROKER.

² *Sam’s*, at the Essex Head, Essex Street. — BOSWELL.

³ Mr. Allen, the printer. — BOSWELL.

favoured with a degree of ease that very much delights me, and do not despair of another race up the stairs of the Academy. — If I were, however, of a humour to see, or to show, the state of my body, on the dark side, I might say,

‘Quid te exempta juvat spinis de pluribus una?’

The nights are still sleepless, and the water rises, though it does not rise very fast. Let us, however, rejoice in all the good that we have. The remission of one disease will enable nature to combat the rest. — The squills I have not neglected; for I have taken more than a hundred drops a day, and one day took two hundred and fifty, which, according to the popular equivalent of a drop to a grain, is more than half an ounce. I thank you, dear Sir, for your attention in ordering the medicines; your attention to me has never failed. If the virtue of medicines could be enforced by the benevolence of the prescriber, how soon should I be well!”

“August 19. — The relaxation of the asthma still continues, yet I do not trust it wholly to itself, but soothe it now and then with an opiate. I not only perform the act of respiration with less labour, but I can walk with fewer intervals of rest, and with greater freedom of motion. I never thought well of Dr. James’s compounded medicines; his ingredients appear to me sometimes inefficacious and trifling, and sometimes heterogeneous and destructive of each other. This prescription exhibits a composition of about three hundred and thirty grains, in which there are four grains of emetic tartar, and six drops [of] thebaic tincture. He that writes thus surely writes for show. The basis of his medicine is the gum ammoniacum, which dear Dr. Lawrence used to give, but of which I never saw any effect. We will, if you please, let this medicine alone. The squills have every suffrage, and in the squills we will rest for the present.”

“Aug. 21. — The kindness which you show by having me in your thoughts upon all occasions will, I hope, always fill my heart with gratitude. Be pleased to return my thanks to Sir George Baker¹, for the consideration which he has bestowed upon me. Is this the balloon that has been so long expected, this balloon² to which I subscribed, but without payment? It is pity that philosophers have been disappointed, and shame that they have been cheated; but I know not well how to prevent either. Of this experiment I have read nothing: where was it exhibited? and who was the man that ran away with so much money? Continue, dear Sir, to write often, and more at a time; for none of your prescriptions operate to their proper uses more certainly than your letters operate as cordials.”

“August 26. — I suffered you to escape last post without a letter, but you are not to expect such indulgence very often; for I write not so much because I have any thing to say, as because I hope for an answer; and the vacancy of my life

here makes a letter of great value. I have here little company and little amusement; and, thus abandoned to the contemplation of my own miseries, I am something gloomy and depressed: this too I resist as I can, and find opium, I think, useful; but I seldom take more than one grain. Is not this strange weather? Winter absorbed the spring, and now autumn is come before we have had summer. But let not our kindness for each other imitate the inconstancy of the seasons.”

“Sept. 2. — Mr. Windham has been here to see me; he came, I think, forty miles out of his way, and staid about a day and a half; perhaps I make the time shorter than it was. Such conversation I shall not have again till I come back to the regions of literature; and there Windham is *inter stellas*³ *Luna minores*.”

He then mentions the effects of certain medicines, as taken, and adds, —

“Nature is recovering its original powers, and the functions returning to their proper state. God continue his mercies, and grant me to use them rightly!”

“Sept. 9. — Do you know the Duke and Duchess of Devonshire? And have you ever seen Chatsworth? I was at Chatsworth on Monday: I had seen it before, but never when its owners were at home; I was very kindly received, and honestly pressed to stay; but I told them that a sick man is not a fit inmate of a great house. But I hope to go again some time.”

“Sept. 11. — I think nothing grows worse, but all rather better, except sleep, and that of late has been at its old pranks. Last evening, I felt what I had not known for a long time, an inclination to walk for amusement; I took a short walk, and came back again neither breathless nor fatigued. This has been a gloomy, frigid, ungenial summer; but of late it seems to mend; I hear the heat sometimes mentioned, but I do not feel it:

‘Præterea minimus gelido jam in corpore sanguis
Febre calet solâ.’⁴

I hope, however, with good help, to find means of supporting a winter at home, and to hear and tell at the Club what is doing, and what ought to be doing, in the world. I have no company here, and shall naturally come home hungry for conversation. To wish you, dear Sir, more leisure, would not be kind; but what leisure you have, you must bestow upon me.”

“Sept. 16. — I have now let you alone for a long time, having indeed little to say. You charge me somewhat unjustly with luxury. At Chatsworth, you should remember that I have eaten but once; and the doctor, with whom I live, follows a milk diet. I grow no fatter, though my stomach, if it be not disturbed by physic, never fails me. I now grow weary of solitude, and think of removing next week to Lichfield, a place of more society, but otherwise of less convenience. When I am settled, I shall write again. Of the hot weather that you

¹ The eminent physician, who was created a Baronet in 1776, and died June 1809, ætæ 88. — CROKER.

² Does Dr. Johnson here allude to the unsuccessful attempt made, in 1784, by De Morct, who was determined to anticipate Lunardi in his first experiment in England? “Morcet attempted to inflate his balloon with rarefied air, but by some accident in the process it sunk upon the fire; and the populace, who regarded the whole as an imposture,

rushing in, completely destroyed the machine.” — *Brayley’s Londiniana*, vol. ii. p. 162. *note*. — MARKLAND.

³ It is remarkable that so good a Latin scholar as Johnson should have been so inattentive to the metre, as by mistake have written *stellas* instead of *ignes*. — BOSWELL.

⁴ “Add that a fever only warms his veins,
And thaws the little blood which yet remains.”

Juv. Sat. x. 217. Gifford. — C.

mentioned, we have [not] had in Derbyshire very much; and for myself I seldom feel heat, and suppose that my frigidity is the effect of my disposition — a supposition which naturally leads me to hope that a hotter climate may be useful. But I hope to stand another English winter."

"Lichfield, Sept. 29. — On one day I had three letters about the air-balloon¹: yours was far the best, and has enabled me to impart to my friends in the country an idea of this species of amusement. In amusement, mere amusement, I am afraid it must end, for I do not find that its course can be directed so as that it should serve any purposes of communication; and it can give no new intelligence of the state of the air at different heights, till they have ascended above the height of mountains, which they seem never likely to do. I came hither on the 27th. How long I shall stay, I have not determined. My dropsy is gone, and my asthma is much remitted, but I have felt myself a little declining these two days, or at least to-day; but such vicissitudes must be expected. One day may be worse than another; but this last month is far better than the former: if the next should be as much better than this, I shall run about the town on my own legs."

"Oct. 6. — The fate of the balloon I do not much lament: to make new balloons is to repeat the jest again. We now know a method of mounting into the air, and, I think, are not likely to know more. The vehicles can serve no use till we can guide them; and they can gratify no curiosity till we mount with them to greater heights than we can reach without; till we rise above the tops of the highest mountains, which we have yet not done. We know the state of the air in all its regions, to the top of Teneriffe, and therefore learn nothing from those who navigate a balloon below the clouds. The first experiment, however, was bold, and deserved applause and reward: but since it has been performed, and its event is known, I had rather now find a medicine that can ease an asthma."

"Oct. 25. — You write to me with a zeal that animates and a tenderness that melts me. I am not afraid either of a journey to London, or a residence in it. I came down with little fatigue, and am now not weaker. In the smoky atmosphere I was delivered from the dropsy, which I consider as the original and radical disease. The town is my element²: there are my friends, there are my books, to which I have not yet bid farewell, and there are my amusements. Sir Joshua told me long ago, that my vocation was to public life; and I hope still to keep my station, till God shall bid me *Go in peace*."

¹ Lunardi had ascended from the Artillery Ground on the 15th of this month; and as it was the first ascent in a balloon which had been witnessed in England, it was not surprising that very general interest was excited by the spectacle, and that so many allusions should be made to it by Johnson and his correspondents. The late Lord Tenterden, whilst a student at Oxford, obtained a prize in this year, for his Latin verses entitled *Globus Ærostaticus*. — MARKLAND.

² His love of London continually appears. In a letter from him to Mrs. Smart, wife of his friend the poet, which is published in a well-written life of him, prefixed to an edition of his poems, in 1791, there is the following sentence: "To one that has passed so many years in the pleasures and opulence of London, there are few places that can give much delight." Once upon reading that line in the curious epitaph quoted in "The Spectator," —

JOHNSON TO MR. HOOLE.

"Ashbourne, Aug. 7.

"Since I was here, I have two little letters from you, and have not had the gratitude to write. But every man is most free with his best friends, because he does not suppose that they can suspect him of intentional incivility. One reason for my omission is, that being in a place to which you are wholly a stranger, I have no topics of correspondence. If you had any knowledge of Ashbourne, I could tell you of two Ashbourne men, who, being last week condemned at Derby to be hanged for robbery, went and hanged themselves in their cell. But this, however it may supply us with talk, is nothing to you. Your kindness, I know, would make you glad to hear some good of me, but I have not much good to tell: if I grow not worse, it is all that I can say. I hope Mrs. Hoole receives more help from her migration. Make her my compliments, and write again to, dear Sir, your affectionate servant."

"Aug. 13. — I thank you for your affectionate letter. I hope we shall both be the better for each other's friendship, and I hope we shall not very quickly be parted. Tell Mr. Nichols that I shall be glad of his correspondence when his business allows him a little remission; though to wish him less business, that I may have more pleasure, would be too selfish. To pay for seats at the balloon is not very necessary, because in less than a minute they who gaze at a mile's distance will see all that can be seen. About the wings, I am of your mind: they cannot at all assist it, nor I think regulate its motion. I am now grown somewhat easier in my body, but my mind is sometimes depressed. About the Club I am in no great pain. The forfeitures go on, and the house, I hear, is improved for our future meetings. I hope we shall meet often and sit long."

"Sept. 4. — Your letter was indeed long in coming, but it was very welcome. Our acquaintance has now subsisted long, and our recollection of each other involves a great space, and many little occurrences which melt the thoughts to tenderness. Write to me, therefore, as frequently as you can. I hear from Dr. Brocklesby and Mr. Ryland that the Club is not crowded. I hope we shall enliven it when winter brings us together."

JOHNSON TO DR. BURNEY.

"August 2.

"The weather, you know, has not been balmy. I am now reduced to think, and am at least content to talk, of the weather. Pride must have a fall.³ I have lost dear Mr. Allen; and wherever

"Born in New England, died in London die," —

he laughed, and said, "I do not wonder at this. It would have been strange if, born in London, he had died in New England." — BOSWELL.

³ There was no information for which Dr. Johnson was less grateful than for that which concerned the weather. It was in allusion to his impatience with those who were reduced to keep conversation alive by observations on the weather, that he applied the old proverb to himself. If any one of his intimate acquaintance told him it was hot or cold, wet or dry, windy or calm, he would stop them by saying, "Poh! poh! you are telling us that of which none but men in a mine or a dungeon can be ignorant. Let us bear with patience, or enjoy in quiet, elementary changes, whether for the better or the worse, as they are never secrets." — BURNEY.

I turn, the dead or the dying meet my notice, and force my attention upon misery and mortality. Mrs. Burney's escape from so much danger, and her ease after so much pain, throws, however, some radiance of hope upon the gloomy prospect. May her recovery be perfect, and her continuance long! I struggle hard for life. I take physic and take air: my friend's chariot is always ready. We have run this morning twenty-four miles, and could run forty-eight more. *But who can run the race with death?*"

"Sept. 4." — [Concerning a private transaction, in which his opinion was asked, and after giving it, he makes the following reflections, which are applicable on other occasions.] "Nothing deserves more compassion than wrong conduct with good meaning; than loss or obloquy suffered by one who, as he is conscious only of good intentions, wonders why he loses that kindness which he wishes to preserve; and not knowing his own fault — if, as may sometimes happen, nobody will tell him — goes on to offend by his endeavours to please. I am delighted by finding that our opinions are the same. You will do me a real kindness by continuing to write. A post-day has now been long a day of recreation."

"Nov. 1. — Our correspondence paused for want of topics. I had said what I had to say on the matter proposed to my consideration, and nothing remained but to tell you that I waked or slept, that I was more or less sick. I drew my thoughts in upon myself, and supposed yours employed upon your book. That your book has been delayed I am glad, since you have gained an opportunity of being more exact. Of the caution necessary in adjusting narratives there is no end. Some tell what they do not know, that they may not seem ignorant, and others from mere indifference about truth. All truth is not, indeed, of equal importance; but if little violations are allowed, every violation will in time be thought little; and a writer should keep himself vigilantly on his guard against the first temptations to negligence or supineness. I had ceased to write, because respecting you I had no more to say, and respecting myself could say little good. I cannot boast of advancement; and in case of convalescence it may be said, with few exceptions, *Non progredi est regredi*. I hope I may be excepted. My great difficulty was with my sweet Fanny¹, who, by her artifice of inserting her letter in yours, had given me a precept of frugality which I was not at liberty to neglect; and I know not who were in town under whose cover I could send my letter. I rejoice to hear that you are so well, and have a delight particularly sympathetic in the recovery of Mrs. Burney."

JOHNSON TO LANGTON.

"August 25.

"The kindness of your last letter, and my omission to answer it, begin to give you, even in my opinion, a right to recriminate, and to charge me with forgetfulness for the absent. I will therefore

delay no longer to give an account of myself, and wish I could relate what would please either myself or my friend. On July 13. I left London, partly in hope of help from new air and change of place, and partly excited by the sick man's impatience of the present. I got to Lichfield in a stage vehicle, with very little fatigue, in two days, and had the consolation² to find that since my last visit my three old acquaintances are all dead. — July 20. I went to Ashbourne, where I have been till now. The house in which we live is repairing. I live in too much solitude, and am often deeply dejected. I wish we were nearer, and rejoice in your removal to London. A friend at once cheerful and serious is a great acquisition. Let us not neglect one another for the little time which Providence allows us to hope. Of my health I cannot tell you, what my wishes persuaded me to expect, that it is much improved by the season or by remedies. I am sleepless; my legs grow weary with a very few steps, and the water breaks its boundaries in some degree. The asthma, however, has remitted: my breath is still much obstructed, but is more free than it was. Nights of watchfulness produce torpid days. I read very little, though I am alone; for I am tempted to supply in the day what I lost in bed. This is my history; like all other histories, a narrative of misery. Yet I am so much better than in the beginning of the year, that I ought to be ashamed of complaining. I now sit and write with very little sensibility of pain or weakness; but when I rise, I shall find my legs betraying me. Of the money which you mentioned I have no immediate need: keep it, however, for me, unless some exigence requires it. Your papers I will show you certainly when you would see them; but I am a little angry at you for not keeping minutes of your own *acceptum et expensum*, and think a little time might be spared from Aristophanes for the *res familiares*. Forgive me, for I mean well. I hope, dear Sir, that you and Lady Rothes and all the young people, too many to enumerate, are well and happy. God bless you all."

JOHNSON TO WINDHAM.

August.

"The tenderness with which you have been pleased to treat me through my long illness, neither health nor sickness can, I hope, make me forget; and you are not to suppose that after we parted you were no longer in my mind. But what can a sick man say, but that he is sick? His thoughts are necessarily concentrated in himself: he neither receives nor can give delight; his inquiries are after alleviations of pain, and his efforts are to catch some momentary comfort. Though I am now in the neighbourhood of the Peak, you must expect no account of its wonders, of its hills, its waters, its caverns, or its mines; but I will tell you, dear Sir, what I hope you will not hear with less satisfaction, that, for about a week past, my asthma has been less afflictive."

"Lichfield, Oct. 2.³ — I believe you had been

He says "pride must have a fall," in allusion to his own former assertions, that the weather had no effect on human health. See *Idler*, No. 11., and *anté*, p. 111. and 146. — CROKER.

¹ The celebrated Miss Fanny Burney. — BOSWELL.

² Mr. Malone thought that consolation was not the proper word, or that some epithet like *sad* or *mournful* was wanted before it: but I rather think that Johnson used the expression in sad irony. — CROKER, 1847.

³ Between these two letters Mr. Windham had visited him at Ashbourn. — CROKER, 1847.

long enough acquainted with the *phenomena* of sickness not to be surprised that a sick man wishes to be where he is not, and where it appears to every body but himself that he might easily be, without having the resolution to remove. I thought Ashbourne a solitary place, but did not come hither till last Monday. I have here more company, but my health has for this last week not advanced; and in the languor of disease how little can be done! Whither or when I shall make my next remove, I cannot tell; but I entreat you, dear Sir, to let me know from time to time where you may be found, for your residence is a very powerful attractive to, Sir, your most humble servant."

JOHNSON TO PERKINS.

"Lichfield, Oct. 4.

"I cannot but flatter myself that your kindness for me will make you glad to know where I am, and in what state. I have been struggling very hard with my diseases. My breath has been very much obstructed, and the water has attempted to enroach upon me again. I passed the first part of the summer at Oxford, afterwards I went to Lichfield, thence to Ashbourne in Derbyshire, and a week ago I returned to Lichfield. My breath is now much easier, and the water is in a great measure run away, so that I hope to see you again before winter. Please make my compliments to Mrs. Perkins, and to Mr. and Mrs. Barclay. I am, &c."

JOHNSON TO G. W. HAMILTON.

"Lichfield, Oct. 20.

"Considering what reason¹ you gave me in the spring to conclude that you took part in whatever good or evil might befall me, I ought not to have omitted so long the account which I am now about to give you. My diseases are an asthma and a dropsy, and what is less curable, seventy-five. Of the dropsy, in the beginning of the summer, or in the spring, I recovered to a degree which struck with wonder both me and my physicians: the asthma now is likewise for a time very much relieved. I went to Oxford, where the asthma was very tyrannical, and the dropsy began again to threaten me; but reasonable physic stopped the inundation: I then returned to London, and in July took a resolution to visit Staffordshire and Derbyshire, where I am yet struggling with my disease. The dropsy made another attack, and was not easily ejected, but at last gave way. The asthma suddenly remitted in bed on the 13th of August, and though now very oppressive, is, I think, still something gentler than it was before the remission. My limbs are miserably debilitated, and my nights are sleepless and tedious. When you read this, dear Sir, you are not sorry that I wrote no sooner. I will not prolong my complaints. I hope still to see you in a happier hour, to talk over what we have often talked, and perhaps to find new topics of merriment, or new incitements to curiosity. I am, &c."

¹ No doubt Mr. Hamilton's generous offer, *anté*, p. 742., though Johnson mentions as of the *spring*, what really happened in November. — CROKER.

JOHNSON TO PARADISE.

"Lichfield, Oct. 27.

"Though in all my summer's excursion I have given you no account of myself, I hope you think better of me than to imagine it possible for me to forget you, whose kindness to me has been too great and too constant not to have made its impression on a harder breast than mine. Silence is not very culpable, when nothing pleasing is suppressed. It would have alleviated none of your complaints to have read my vicissitudes of evil. I have struggled hard with very formidable and obstinate maladies; and though I cannot talk of health, think all praise due to my Creator and Preserver for the continuance of my life. The dropsy has made two attacks, and has given way to medicine; the asthma is very oppressive, but that has likewise once remitted. I am very weak and very sleepless; but it is time to conclude the tale of misery. I hope, dear Sir, that you grow better, for you have likewise your share of human evil, and that your lady and the young charmers are well."

JOHNSON TO GEORGE NICOL.²

"Ashbourne, August 19.

"Since we parted, I have been much oppressed by my asthma, but it has lately been less laborious. When I sit I am almost at ease; and I can walk, though yet very little, with less difficulty for this week past than before. I hope I shall again enjoy my friends, and that you and I shall have a little more literary conversation. Where I now am, every thing is very liberally provided for me but conversation. My friend is sick himself, and the reciprocation of complaints and groans affords not much of either pleasure or instruction. What we have not at home this town does not supply; and I shall be glad of a little imported intelligence, and hope that you will bestow, now and then, a little time on the relief and entertainment of, Sir, yours, &c."

JOHNSON TO CRUIKSHANK.

"Ashbourne, Sept. 4.

"Do not suppose that I forget you: I hope I shall never be accused of forgetting my benefactors. I had, till lately, nothing to write but complaints upon complaints of miseries upon miseries; but within this fortnight I have received great relief. Have your lectures any vacation? If you are released from the necessity of daily study, you may find time for a letter to me. — [In this letter he states the particulars of his case.] — In return for this account of my health, let me have a good account of yours, and of your prosperity in all your undertakings."

JOHNSON TO T. DAVIES.

"August 14.

"The tenderness with which you always treat me makes me culpable in my own eyes for having omitted to write in so long a separation. I had, indeed, nothing to say that you could wish to hear. All has been hitherto misery accumulated upon

² Bookseller to his Majesty. — BOSWELL.

misery, disease corroborating disease, till yesterday my asthma was perceptibly and unexpectedly mitigated. I am much comforted with this short relief, and am willing to flatter myself that it may continue and improve. I have at present such a degree of ease as not only may admit the comforts but the duties of life. Make my compliments to Mrs. Davies. — Poor dear Allen! — he was a good man."

JOHNSON TO REYNOLDS.

"Ashbourne, July 12.

"The tenderness with which I am treated by my friends makes it reasonable to suppose that they are desirous to know the state of my health, and a desire so benevolent ought to be gratified. — I came to Lichfield in two days without any painful fatigue, and on Monday came hither, where I purpose to stay and try what air and regularity will effect. I cannot yet persuade myself that I have made much progress in recovery. My sleep is little, my breath is very much encumbered, and my legs are very weak. The water has increased a little, but has again run off. The most distressing symptom is want of sleep."

"Aug. 19. — Having had since our separation little to say that could please you or myself by saying, I have not been lavish of useless letters; but I flatter myself that you will partake of the pleasure with which I can now tell you that, about a week ago, I felt suddenly a sensible remission of my asthma, and consequently a greater lightness of action and motion. — Of this grateful alleviation I know not the cause, nor dare depend upon its continuance; but while it lasts I endeavour to enjoy it, and am desirous of communicating, while it lasts, my pleasure to my friends. — Hitherto, dear Sir, I had written before the post, which stays in this town but a little while, brought me your letter. Mr. Davies seems to have represented my little tendency to recover in terms too splendid. I am still restless, still weak, still watery, but the asthma is less oppressive. — Poor Ramsay!¹ On which side soever I turn, mortality presents its formidable frown. I left three old friends at Lichfield when I was last there, and now found them all dead. I no sooner lost sight of dear Allan, than I am told that I shall see him no more. That we must all die, we always knew; I wish I had sooner remembered it. Do not think me intrusive or importunate, if I now call, dear Sir, on you to remember it."

"Sept. 2. — I am glad that a little favour from the court has intercepted your furious purposes.² I could not in any case have approved such public violence of resentment, and should have considered any who encouraged it as rather seeking sport for themselves than honour for you. Resentment gratifies him who intended an injury, and pains him unjustly who did not intend it. But all this is now superfluous. — I still continue, by God's

mercy, to mend. My breath is easier, my nights are quieter, and my legs are less in bulk and stronger in use. I have, however, yet a great deal to overcome before I can yet attain even an old man's health. — Write, do write to me now and then. We are now old acquaintance, and perhaps few people have lived so much and so long together with less cause of complaint on either side. The retrospection of this is very pleasant, and I hope we shall never think on each other with less kindness."

"Sept. 9. — I could not answer your letter before this day, because I went on the sixth to Chatsworth, and did not come back till the post was gone. Many words, I hope, are not necessary between you and me to convince you what gratitude is excited in my heart by the chancellor's liberality and your kind offices. I did not indeed expect that what was asked by the chancellor would have been refused³; but since it has, we will not tell that any thing has been asked. — I have enclosed a letter to the chancellor, which, when you have read it, you will be pleased to seal with a head or other general seal, and convey it to him. Had I sent it directly to him, I should have seemed to overlook the favour of your intervention. — My last letter told you of my advance in health, which, I think, in the whole still continues. Of the hydropic tumour there is now very little appearance: the asthma is much less troublesome, and seems to remit something day after day. I do not despair of supporting an English winter. — At Chatsworth, I met young Mr. Burke, who led me very commodiously into conversation with the duke and duchess. We had a very good morning. The dinner was public."

"Sept. 18. — I flattered myself that this week would have given me a letter from you, but none has come. Write to me now and then, but direct your next to Lichfield. — I think, and I hope am sure, that I still grow better. I have sometimes good nights, but am still in my legs weak, but so much mended, that I go to Lichfield in hope of being able to pay my visits on foot, for there are no coaches. — I have three letters this day, all about the balloon: I could have been content with one. Do not write about the balloon, whatever else you may think proper to say."

"Oct. 2. — I am always proud of your approbation, and therefore was much pleased that you liked my letter [*anté*, p. 781.]. When you copied it, you invaded the chancellor's right rather than mine. — The refusal I did not expect, but I had never thought much about it, for I doubted whether the chancellor had so much tenderness for me as to ask. He, being keeper of the king's conscience, ought not to be supposed capable of an improper petition. — All is not gold that glitters, as we have often been told; and the adage is verified in your place and my favour⁴; but if what happens does not make us richer, we must bid it welcome if it

¹ Ramsay, who died August 10. 1784, æt. 71. — BOSWELL. *Anté*, p. 579, n. 3. — C.

² This no doubt refers to the intention of Sir Joshua to resign the chair of the Academy: a purpose which, though at this time abandoned, he executed in Feb. 1790; but he resumed the chair again within a month. — CROKER.

³ See *anté*, p. 772. *et seq.* There is much obscurity in this matter. It appears that Sir Joshua understood Lord Thurlow in his verbal communication (*anté*, p. 780.) to have repre-

sented his request as *rejected*, though in the letter of the 18th of November he says the contrary. Perhaps the solution may be, that Lord Thurlow happened at the moment to be as he often was, on bad terms with Mr. Pitt, in whose specific department the increase of a pension would be, and that he did not like to speak to him on the subject. — CROKER.

⁴ Johnson seems to have imagined, as Boswell did, that the objection was from the King, which we have seen was not the fact. — CROKER.

makes us wiser. — I do not at present grow better, nor much worse. My hopes, however, are somewhat abated, and a very great loss is the loss of hope; but I struggle with it as I can."

[JOHNSON TO DR. HEBERDEN]

" Lichfield, 13th October, 1784.

" Though I doubt not but Dr. Brocklesby would communicate to you any incident in the variation of my health which appeared either curious or important, yet I think it time to give you some account of myself.

" Not long after the first great efflux of the water, I attained as much vigour of limbs and freedom of breath, that without rest or intermission, I went with Dr. Brocklesby to the top of the painters' Academy. This was the greatest degree of health that I have obtained, and this, if it could continue, were perhaps sufficient; but my breath soon failed, and my body grew weak.

" At Oxford (in June) I was much distressed by shortness of breath, so much that I never attempted to scale the Library: the water gained upon me, but by the use of squills was in a great measure driven away.

" In July I went to Lichfield, and performed the journey with very little fatigue in the common vehicle, but found no help from my native air. I then removed to Ashbourne, in Derbyshire, where for some time I was oppressed very heavily by the asthma; and the dropsy had advanced so far, that I could not without great difficulty button me at my knees. * * *

" No hydropical humour has been lately visible. The relaxation of my breath has not continued as it was at first, but neither do I breathe with the same *angustia* and distress as before the remission. The summary of my state is this:

" I am deprived, by weakness and the asthma, of the power of walking beyond a very short space.

" I draw my breath with difficulty upon the least effort, but not with suffocation or pain.

" The dropsy still threatens, but gives way to medicine.

" The summer has passed without giving me any strength.

" My appetite is, I think, less keen than it was, but not so abated as that its decline can be observed by any but myself.

" Be pleased to think on me sometimes. I am, Sir, your most obliged and most humble servant,
— MS. "SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO JOHN NICHOLS.¹

" Lichfield, Oct. 20.

" When you were here, you were pleased, as I am told, to think my absence an inconvenience. I

should certainly have been very glad to give so skilful a lover of antiquities any information about my native place, of which, however, I know not much, and have reason to believe that not much is known. — Though I have not given you any amusement, I have received amusement from you. At Ashbourne, where I had very little company, I had the luck to borrow 'Mr. Bowyer's Life,' a book so full of contemporary history, that a literary man must find some of his old friends. I thought that I could, now and then, have told you some hints worth your notice; and perhaps we may talk a life over. I hope we shall be much together; you must now be to me what you were before, and what dear Mr. Allen was besides. He was taken unexpectedly away; but I think he was a very good man. — I have made little progress in recovery. I am very weak and very sleepless; but I live on and hope."

[JOHNSON TO HAWKINS.]

" Lichfield, 7th November, 1784.

" I am relapsing into the dropsy very fast, and shall make such haste to town that it will be useless to write to me; but when I come, let me have the benefit of your advice, and the consolation of your company."]
— Life.

This various mass of correspondence, which I have thus brought together, is valuable, both as an addition to the store which the public already has of Johnson's writings, and as exhibiting a genuine and noble specimen of vigour and vivacity of mind, which neither age nor sickness could impair or diminish.

It may be observed, that his writing in every way, whether for the public or privately to his friends, was by fits and starts; for we see frequently that many letters are written on the same day. When he had once overcome his aversion to begin, he was, I suppose, desirous to go on, in order to relieve his mind from the uneasy reflection of delaying what he ought to do.

While in the country, notwithstanding the accumulation of illness which he endured, his mind did not lose its powers. He translated an ode of Horace [lib. iv. ode vii.], which is printed in his works, and composed several prayers. I shall insert one of them, which is so wise and energetic, so philosophical and so pious, that I doubt not of its affording consolation to many a sincere Christian, when in a state of mind to which I believe the best are sometimes liable.

" *Against inquisitive and perplexing Thoughts.*

" O Lord, my maker and protector, who hast

¹ Communicated to me by Dr. Heberden, jun. — CROKER. " Dr. Johnson being asked in his last illness what physician he had sent for — 'Dr. Heberden,' replied he, '*ultimus Romanorum* — the last of our learned physicians.'" — *Nichols's Anec.* vol. vi. 598. — MARKLAND. I do not believe this anecdote. Mr. Nichols does not give any authority, nor is it stated to whom nor when exactly it was said; and I cannot think that Johnson could have thus insulted the other eminent medical friends who crowded to his bedside, whom he gratefully called his "benefactors," and particularly the learned as well as generous Brocklesby. — CROKER, 1847.

² This very respectable man, who contributed so largely to

the literary and topographical history of his country, died in 1826, at the advanced age of eighty-two. "His long life," as his friend and biographer, Mr. Alexander Chalmers, has truly observed, "was spent in the promotion of useful knowledge." The *Life of Bowyer*, to which Johnson refers, was republished in 1812-15, with large additions, in nine vols. 8vo., under the title of "Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century." It is a storehouse of facts and dates, and every man interested in literary biography must own the vast obligations which are due to its indefatigable compiler. — MARKLAND. The last six volumes are of comparatively little value for want of an index. — CROKER, 1847.

graciously sent me into this world to work out my salvation, enable me to drive from me all such unquiet and perplexing thoughts as may mislead or hinder me in the practice of those duties which thou hast required. When I behold the works of thy hands, and consider the course of thy providence, give me grace always to remember that thy thoughts are not my thoughts, nor thy ways my ways. And while it shall please thee to continue me in this world, where much is to be done and little to be known, teach me, by thy Holy Spirit, to withdraw my mind from unprofitable and dangerous inquiries, from difficulties vainly curious, and doubts impossible to be solved. Let me rejoice in the light which thou hast imparted; let me serve thee with active zeal and humble confidence, and wait with patient expectation for the time in which the soul which thou receivest shall be satisfied with knowledge. Grant this, O Lord, for Jesus Christ's sake. Amen."

And here I am enabled fully to refute a very unjust reflection, by Sir John Hawkins, both against Dr. Johnson and his faithful servant Mr. Francis Barber; as if both of them had been guilty of culpable neglect towards a person of the name of Heely, whom Sir John chooses to call a *relation* of Dr. Johnson's. The fact is, that Mr. Heely was not his relation: he had indeed been married to one of his cousins, but she had died without having children, and he had married another woman; so that even the slight connection which there once had been by *alliance* was dissolved. Dr. Johnson, who had shown very great liberality to this man while his first wife was alive, as has appeared in a former part of this work [p. 183.], was humane and charitable enough to continue his bounty to him occasionally; but surely there was no strong call of duty upon him or upon his legatee to do more. The following letter, obligingly communicated to me by Mr. Andrew Strahan, will confirm what I have stated:—

JOHNSON TO HEELY,

No. 5. in *Pye-Street, Westminster.*

"Ashbourne, Aug. 12. 1784.

"SIR, — As necessity obliges you to call so soon again upon me, you should at least have told the smallest sum that will supply your present want: you cannot suppose that I have much to spare. Two guineas is as much as you ought to be behind with your creditor. If you wait on Mr. Strahan, in New-Street, Fetter-Lane, or, in his absence, on Mr. Andrew Strahan, show this, by which they are entreated to advance you two guineas, and to keep this as a voucher. I am, Sir, your humble servant,
"SAM. JOHNSON."

¹ This surely is over-stated. There are many proofs that Johnson was slovenly in such matters, but no one ever thought it an imputation of so grave a nature as Boswell here represents it. — CROKER.

² The following circumstance, mutually to the honour of Johnson and the corporation of his native city, has been communicated to me by the Rev. Dr. Vyse from the town clerk:—

Indeed it is very necessary to keep in mind that Sir John Hawkins has unaccountably viewed Johnson's character and conduct in almost every particular with an unhappy prejudice. I shall add one instance only to those which I have thought it incumbent on me to point out. Talking of Mr. Garrick's having signified his willingness to let Johnson have the loan of any of his books to assist him in his edition of Shakspeare, Sir John says (p. 444.), "Mr. Garrick knew not what risk he ran by this offer. Johnson had so strange a forgetfulness of obligations of this sort, that few who lent him books ever saw them again." This surely conveys a most unfavourable insinuation, and has been so understood.¹ Sir John mentions the single case of a curious edition of Politian, which he tells us appeared to belong to Pembroke College, which probably has been considered by Johnson as his own for upwards of fifty years. Would it not be fairer to consider this as an inadvertence, and draw no general inference? The truth is, that Johnson was so attentive, that in one of his manuscripts in my possession he has marked in two columns books borrowed and books lent.

In Sir John Hawkins's compilation there are, however, some passages concerning Johnson which have unquestionable merit. One of them I shall transcribe, in justice to a writer whom I have had too much occasion to censure, and to show my fairness as the biographer of my illustrious friend: "There was wanting in his conduct and behaviour that dignity which results from a regular and orderly course of action, and by an irresistible power commands esteem. He could not be said to be a staid man, nor so to have adjusted in his mind the balance of reason and passion, as to give occasion to say, what may be observed, of some men, that all they do is just, fit, and right." Yet a judicious friend well suggests, "It might, however, have been added, that such men are often merely just, and rigidly correct, while their hearts are cold and unfeeling: and that Johnson's virtues were of a much higher tone than those of the *staid orderly man* here described."

We now behold Johnson for the last time in his native city, for which he ever retained a warm affection, and which by a sudden apostrophe, under the word *Lich*, he introduces with reverence into his immortal work, "The English Dictionary:"—"Salve magna patriens!"² While here, he felt a revival of all the tenderness of filial affection, an instance of which appeared in his ordering the grave-

"Mr. Simpson has now before him a record of the respect and veneration which the corporation of Lichfield, in the year 1767, had for the merits and learning of Dr. Johnson. His father built the corner house in the market-place, the two fronts of which, towards Market and Broad-market Street, stood upon waste land of the corporation, under a forty years' lease, which was then expired. On the 15th of August, 1767, at a common-hall of the bailiffs and citizens, it

stones and inscription over Elizabeth Blaney (see p. 5.) to be substantially and carefully renewed.

To Mr. Henry White¹, a young clergyman, with whom he now formed an intimacy, so as to talk to him with great freedom, he mentioned that he could not in general accuse himself of having been an undutiful son. "Once, indeed," said he, "I was disobedient: I refused to attend my father to Uttoxeter market. Pride was the source of that refusal, and the remembrance of it was painful. A few years ago I desired to atone for this fault. I went to Uttoxeter in very bad weather, and stood for a considerable time bare-headed in the rain, on the spot where my father's stall used to stand. In contrition I stood, and I hope the penance was expiatory."²

"I told him," says Miss Seward, "in one of my latest visits to him, of a wonderful learned pig which I had seen at Nottingham; and which did all that we have observed exhibited by dogs and horses. The subject amused him. 'Then,' said he, 'the pigs are a race unjustly calumniated. Pig has, it seems, not been wanting to *man*, but *man* to pig. We do not allow time for his education; we kill him at a year old.' Mr. Henry White, who was present, observed that if this instance had happened in or before Pope's time, he would not have been justified in instancing the swine as the lowest degree of grovelling instinct. Dr. Johnson seemed pleased with the observation, while the person who made it proceeded to remark, that great torture must have been employed, ere the indocility of the animal could have been subdued. — 'Certainly,' said the Doctor; 'but,' turning to me, 'how old is your pig?' I told him, three years old. 'Then,' said he, 'the pig has no cause to complain; he would have been killed the first year if he had not been *educated*, and protracted existence is a good recompence for very considerable degrees of torture.'"

As Johnson had now very faint hopes of recovery, and as Mrs. Thrale was no longer devoted to him, it might have been supposed

that he would naturally have chosen to remain in the comfortable house of his beloved wife's daughter, and end his life where he began it. But there was in him an animated and lofty spirit³; and however complicated diseases might depress ordinary mortals, all who saw him beheld and acknowledged the *invictum animus Catonis*.⁴ Such was his intellectual ardour even at this time, that he said to one friend, "Sir, I look upon every day to be lost in which I do not make a new acquaintance;" and to another, when talking of his illness, "I will be conquered; I will not capitulate." And such was his love of London, so high a relish had he of its magnificent extent and variety of intellectual entertainment, that he languished when absent from it, his mind having become quite luxurious from the long habit of enjoying the metropolis; and, therefore, although at Lichfield, surrounded with friends who loved and revered him, and for whom he had a very sincere affection, he still found that such conversation as London affords could be found nowhere else. These feelings, joined probably to some flattering hopes of aid from the eminent physicians and surgeons in London, who kindly and generously attended him without accepting fees, made him resolve to return to the capital.

From Lichfield he came to Birmingham, where he passed a few days with his worthy old schoolfellow, Mr. Hector, who thus writes to me:

"He was very solicitous with me to recollect some of our most early transactions, and transmit them to him, for I perceived nothing gave him greater pleasure than calling to mind those days of our innocence. I complied with his request, and he only received them a few days before his death. I have transcribed for your inspection exactly the minutes I wrote to him."

This paper having been found in his repositories after his death, Sir John Hawkins has inserted it entire, and I have made occasional use of it and other communications from Mr. Hector⁵ in the course of this work. I have

was ordered (and that without any solicitation), that a lease should be granted to Samuel Johnson, Doctor of Laws, of the encroachments at his house, for the term of ninety-nine years, at the old rent, which was five shillings: of which, as town clerk, Mr. Simpson had the honour and pleasure of informing him, and that he was desired to accept it without paying any fine on the occasion; which lease was afterwards granted, and the doctor died possessed of this property." — BOSWELL. I disbelieve the lease was only of the *encroachment*, made by a shop window jutting out into the street. — CROKER.

¹ Sacrist and one of the vicars of Lichfield Cathedral, 1831. — MARKLAND.

² This story is told in more detail in Warner's "Tour through the Northern Counties of England," 1802. — CROKER.

³ Mr. Burke suggested to me, as applicable to Johnson, what Cicero, in his "Cato Major," says of Appius: "Intantum enim animus, tanquam arcum, habebat, nec languescens succumbebat senectuti;" (His mind was strung like a bow, nor did he yield to the languor of old age); repeating at the same time, the following noble words in the same passage: "Ita enim senectus honesta est, si seipsa defendit, si jus suum retinet, si nemini emancipata est, si usque ad extre-

mum vitæ spiritum vindictæ jus suum;" [Old age is honourable if it defends itself; if it maintains its rights; if it does not surrender itself; if to the last breath of life it vindicates its rights.] — BOSWELL.

⁴ [The *stubborn* mind of Cato.] *Atrocem animus Catonis* are Horace's words, and it may be doubted whether *atrox* is used by any other original writer in the same sense. *Stubborn* is perhaps the most correct translation of this epithet. — MALONE.

⁵ It is a most agreeable circumstance attending the publication of this work, that Mr. Hector has survived his illustrious schoolfellow so many years; that he still retains his health and spirits; and has gratified me with the following acknowledgment: "I thank you, most sincerely thank you, for the great and long-continued entertainment your Life of Dr. Johnson has afforded me, and others of my particular friends." Mr. Hector, besides setting me right as to the verses on a Sprig of Myrtle (see *anté*, p. 24. n. 1.), has favoured me with two English odes, written by Dr. Johnson at an early period of his life, which will appear in my edition of his poems. — BOSWELL. This early and worthy friend of JOHNSON died at Birmingham, 2d of September, 1794. — MALONE.

both visited and corresponded with him since Dr. Johnson's death, and by my inquiries concerning a great variety of particulars, have obtained additional information. I followed the same mode with the Reverend Dr. Taylor, in whose presence I wrote down a good deal of what he could tell; and he, at my request, signed his name, to give it authenticity. It is very rare to find any person who is able to give a distinct account of the life even of one whom he has known intimately, without questions being put to them. My friend Dr. Kippis has told me, that on this account it is a practice with him to draw out a biographical catechism.

Johnson then proceeded to Oxford, where he was again kindly received by Dr. Adams¹, who was pleased to give me the following account in one of his letters (Feb. 17th, 1785):—

"His last visit was, I believe, to my house, which he left, after a stay of four or five days. We had much serious talk together, for which I ought to be the better as long as I live. You will remember some discourse which we had in the summer upon the subject of prayer, and the difficulty of this sort of composition. He reminded me of this, and of my having wished him to try his hand, and to give us a specimen of his style and manner

¹ This amiable and excellent man survived Dr. Johnson about four years, having died in January, 1789, at Gloucester, aged 82. A very just character of Dr. Adams may be found in the *Gent. Mag.* for 1789, vol. lix. p. 214. — MALONE.

² It appears, however, that in the interval between these two visits to Oxford, and indeed within a few days of the last, Johnson had made some preparatory notes towards this purpose. In Mr. Anderson's MSS. I found the following notes:—

"PRECES.

- "— Against the incursion of evil thoughts.
- "— Repentance and pardon. — *Laud.*
- "— In disease.
- "— On the loss of friends — by death; by his own fault or friend's.
- "— On the unexpected notice of the death of others.

- "Prayer generally commendatory;
- "To understand their prayers;
- "Under dread of death;
- "Prayer commonly considered as a stated and temporary duty — performed and forgotten — without any effect on the following day.
- "Prayer — a vow. — *Taylor.*

"SCEPTICISM CAUSED BY

- "1. Indifference about opinions.
- "2. Supposition that things disputed are disputable.
- "3. Demand of unsuitable evidence.
- "4. False judgment of evidence.
- "5. Complaint of the obscurity of Scripture.
- "6. Contempt of fathers and of authority.
- "7. Absurd method of learning objections first.
- "8. Study not for truth, but vanity.
- "9. Sensuality and a vicious life.
- "10. False honour, false shame.
- "11. Omission of prayer and religious exercises.

Oct. 31. 1784."

The first part of these notes seems to be a classification of prayers; the two latter, hints for the *discourse* on prayer which he intended to prefix. The chief value of this sketch is as an additional proof that the prayers published by Dr. Strahan was not the methodised system of prayers which Dr. Adams and Johnson had talked of, and for which it seems, he had made the foregoing preparatory scheme. — CHOKER.

³ There are some errors in the foregoing statement relative

to that he approved. He added that he was now in a right frame of mind; and as he could not possibly employ his time better, he would in earnest set about it. But I find upon inquiry that no papers of this sort were left behind him, except a few short ejaculatory forms suitable to his present situation."²

Dr. Adams had not then received accurate information on this subject: for it has since appeared that various prayers had been composed by him at different periods, which, intermingled with pious resolutions and some short notes of his life, were entitled by him "Prayers and Meditations," and have, in pursuance of his earnest requisition, in the hopes of doing good, been published, with a judicious well-written preface, by the Reverend Mr. Strahan, to whom he delivered them. This admirable collection, to which I have frequently referred in the course of this work, evinces, beyond all his compositions for the public, and all the eulogies of his friends and admirers, the sincere virtue and piety of Johnson. It proves with unquestionable authenticity, that, amidst all his constitutional infirmities, his earnestness to conform his practice to the precepts of Christianity was unceasing, and that he habitually endeavoured to refer every transaction of his life to the will of the Supreme Being.³

to the *Prayers and Meditations*, which, — considering the effect of that publication on Dr. Johnson's character, and Boswell's zealous claims to accuracy in all such matters — are rather strange. Indeed, it seems as if Boswell had read either too hastily, or not at all, the preface to Dr. Strahan's book. In the first place, the collection was not made, as Mr. Boswell seems to suppose, by Dr. Johnson himself; nor did he give it the designation of "*Prayers and Meditations*;" nor do the original papers bear any appearance of being intended for the press — quite the contrary! Dr. Strahan's preface is not so clear on this point as it ought to have been; but even from it we learn that whatever Johnson's intentions may have been, as to revising and collecting for publication his own prayers, or (as the extract just quoted rather proves) *composing a system of prayer*; he in fact did nothing of the kind; but at first placed (*inter moriendum*) a confused mass of papers in Dr. Strahan's hands; and from the inspection of the papers themselves it is quite evident that Dr. Strahan thought proper to weave into one work materials that were never intended to come together, and were not and never could have been intended for publication. This consideration is important, because (as has been before observed, but cannot be too often repeated) the prayers are mixed up with notices and memoranda of Dr. Johnson's conduct and thoughts (called by Dr. Strahan, "*Meditations*"), which — affecting and edifying as they may be when read as the secret effusions of a good man's conscience — would have a very different character if they could be supposed to be left behind him ostentatiously prepared for publication. Mr. Courtenay in his "*Review of Dr. Johnson's character*," plainly expressed his disbelief of Dr. Strahan's statement, and the following letter from Dr. Adams to the *Gentleman's Magazine* sufficiently indicates his opinion of the publication.

"Oxford, 22d Oct. 1785.

"MR. URBAN. — In your last month's review of books, you have asserted, that the publication of Dr. Johnson's '*Prayers and Meditations*' appears to have been at the instance of Dr. Adams, Master of Pembroke College, Oxford. This, I think, is more than you are warranted by the editor's preface to say; and is so far from being true, that Dr. Adams never saw a line of these compositions before they appeared in print, nor ever heard from Dr. Johnson, or the editor, that any such existed. Had he been consulted about the publication, he would certainly have given his voice against it; and he therefore hopes that you will clear him, in as public a manner as you can, from being any way accessory to it.

"WM. ADAMS." — COURTENAY.

Dr. Strahan's conduct in this whole affair seems to me to have been disingenuous and even culpable in the highest degree. — CHOKER.

He arrived in London on the 16th of November, and next day sent to Dr. Burney the following note, which I insert as the last token of his remembrance of that ingenious and amiable man, and as another of the many proofs of the tenderness and benignity of his heart :—

“Mr. Johnson, who came home last night, sends his respects to dear Dr. Burney and all the dear Burneys, little and great.”

JOHNSON TO HECTOR,

In Birmingham.

“London, Nov. 17. 1784.

“DEAR SIR,—I did not reach Oxford until Friday morning, and then I sent Francis to see the balloon fly, but could not go myself. I staid at Oxford till Tuesday, and then came in the common vehicle easily to London. I am as I was, and having seen Dr. Brocklesby, am to ply the squills; but, whatever be their efficacy, this world must soon pass away. Let us think seriously on our duty. I send my kindest respects to dear Mrs. Careless: let me have the prayers of both. We have all lived long, and must soon part. God have mercy on us, for the sake of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen. I am, &c., SAM. JOHNSON.”

His correspondence with me, after his letter on the subject of my settling in London, shall now, so far as is proper, be produced in one series. July 26. he wrote to me from Ashbourne :—

“On the 14th, I came to Lichfield, and found every body glad enough to see me. On the 20th I came hither, and found a house half-built, of very uncomfortable appearance; but my own room has not been altered. That a man worn with diseases, in his seventy-second or third year, should condemn part of his remaining life to pass among ruins and rubbish, and that no inconsiderable part, appears to me very strange. I know that your kindness makes you impatient to know the state of my health, in which I cannot boast of much improvement. I came through the journey without much inconvenience, but when I attempt self-motion I find my legs weak, and my breath very short: this day I have been much disordered. I have no company; the doctor [Taylor] is busy in his fields, and goes to bed at nine, and his whole system is so different from mine, that we seem formed for different elements; I have, therefore, all my amusement to seek within myself.”

Having written to him in bad spirits a letter filled with dejection and fretfulness¹, and at the same time expressing anxious apprehensions concerning him, on account of a dream which had disturbed me; his answer was chiefly in terms of reproach, for a supposed charge of “affecting discontent, and indulging the vanity of complaint.” It, however, proceeded :—

“Write to me often, and write like a man. I consider your fidelity and tenderness as a great part of the comforts which are yet left me, and sincerely wish we could be nearer to each other.

* * * My dear friend, life is very short and very uncertain; let us spend it as well as we can. My worthy neighbour, Allen, is dead. Love me as well as you can. Pay my respects to dear Mrs. Boswell. Nothing ailed me at that time; let your superstition at last have an end.”

Feeling very soon that the manner in which he had written might hurt me, he, two days afterwards (July 28.), wrote to me again, giving me an account of his sufferings; after which he thus proceeds :—

“Before this letter you will have had one which I hope you will not take amiss; for it contains only truth, and that truth kindly intended. *Spartam quam nactus es orna*; make the most and best of your lot, and compare yourself not with the few that are above you, but with the multitudes which are below you. Go steadily forwards with lawful business or honest diversions. ‘Be, as Temple says of the Dutchmen, ‘well when you are not ill, and pleased when you are not angry.’ This may seem but an ill return for your tenderness; but I mean it well, for I love you with great ardour and sincerity. Pay my respects to dear Mrs. Boswell, and teach the young ones to love me.”

I unfortunately was so much indisposed during a considerable part of the year, that it was not, or at least I thought it was not, in my power to write to my illustrious friend as formerly, or without expressing such complaints as offended him. Having conjured him not to do me the injustice of charging me with affectation, I was with much regret long silent. His last letter to me then came, and affected me very tenderly :—

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL.

“Lichfield, Nov. 5. 1784.

“DEAR SIR,—I have this summer sometimes amended, and sometimes relapsed, but, upon the whole, have lost ground very much. My legs are extremely weak, and my breath very short, and the water is now increasing upon me. In this uncomfortable state your letters used to relieve; what is the reason that I have them no longer? Are you sick, or are you sullen? Whatever be the reason, if it be less than necessity, drive it away; and of the short life that we have, make the best use for yourself and for your friends. * * * I am sometimes afraid that your omission to write has some real cause, and shall be glad to know that you are not sick, and that nothing ill has befallen dear Mrs. Boswell, or any of your family. I am, &c., SAM. JOHNSON.”

¹ Dr. Johnson and others of Mr. Boswell's friends used to disbelieve and therefore ridicule his mental iniquities—that “*Jenny Boswell*” should be afflicted with *melancholy*, was what none of his acquaintance could imagine; and as he seemed sometimes to make a parade of these miseries, they thought he was aping Dr. Johnson, who was admitted to be

really a sufferer, though he endeavoured to conceal it. But after all, there can be no doubt that Boswell was liable to great inequalities of spirits, which will account for many of the peculiarities of his character, and should induce us to pity what his contemporaries laughed at.—CROKER.

Yet it was not a little painful to me to find that in a paragraph of this letter, which I have omitted, he still persevered in arraigning me as before, which was strange in him who had so much experience of what I suffered. I, however, wrote to him two as kind letters as I could; the last of which came too late to be read by him, for his illness increased more rapidly upon him than I had apprehended; but I had the consolation of being informed that he spoke of me on his death-bed with affection, and I look forward with humble hope of renewing our friendship in a better world.

I now relieve the readers of this work from any farther personal notice of its author; who, if he should be thought to have obtruded himself too much upon their attention, requests them to consider the peculiar plan of his biographical undertaking.

Soon after Johnson's return to the metropolis, both the asthma and dropsy became more violent and distressful. He had for some time kept a journal in Latin of the state of his illness, and the remedies which he used, under the title of *Ægri Ephemeris*, which he began on the 6th of July, but continued it no longer than the 8th of November; finding, I suppose, that it was a mournful and unavailing register. It is in my possession; and is written with great care and accuracy.

Still his love of literature¹ did not fail. A very few days before his death he transmitted to his friend, Mr. John Nichols, a list of the authors of the Universal History, mentioning their several shares in that work.² It has, according to his direction, been deposited in the British Museum, and is printed in the Gentleman's Magazine for December, 1784.

As the letter accompanying this list (which fully supports the above observation) was written but a week before Dr. Johnson's death, the reader may not be displeased to find it here preserved:—

JOHNSON TO NICHOLS.

"December 6. 1784.

"The late learned Mr. Swinton, having one day remarked that one man, meaning, I suppose, no

man but himself, could assign all the parts of the Ancient Universal History to their proper authors, at the request of Sir Robert Chambers, or of myself, gave the account which I now transmit to you in his own hand; being willing that of so great a work the history should be known, and that each writer should receive his due proportion of praise from posterity.

"I recommend to you to preserve this scrap of literary intelligence in Mr. Swinton's own hand, or to deposit it in the Museum, that the veracity of this account may never be doubted. I am, Sir, your most humble servant, SAM. JOHNSON."

Mr. [Swinton.]

The History of the	The History of the
Carthaginians.	Cyrenaica.
Numidians.	Marmarica.
Mauritanians.	Regio Syrtica.
Gætulians.	Turks, Tartars, and
Garamanthes.	Moguls.
Melano Gætulians.	Indians.
Nigritæ.	Chinese.

Dissertation on the Peopling of America.

Independency of the Arabs.

The Cosmogony, and a small part of the History immediately following; by Mr. Sale.

To the birth of Abraham; chiefly by Mr. Shelveock.

History of the Jews, Gauls, and Spaniards; by Mr. Psalmanazar.

Xenophon's Retreat; by the same.

History of the Persians and the Constantinopolitan Empire; by Dr. Campbell.

History of the Romans; by Mr. Bower.

During his sleepless nights he amused himself by translating into Latin verse, from the Greek, many of the epigrams in the "Anthologia." These translations, with some other poems by him in Latin, he gave to his friend Mr. Langton, who, having added a few notes, sold them to the booksellers for a small sum to be given to some of Johnson's relations, which was accordingly done; and they are printed in the collection of his works.

A very erroneous notion had circulated as to Johnson's deficiency in the knowledge of the Greek language, partly owing to the modesty³ with which, from knowing how much there was

¹ It is truly wonderful to consider the extent and constancy of Johnson's literary ardour, notwithstanding the melancholy which clouded and embittered his existence. Besides the numerous and various works which he executed, he had, at different times, formed schemes of a great many more, of which the following catalogue [see Appendix] was given by him to Mr. Langton, and by that gentleman presented to his Majesty.

—BOSWELL. This catalogue, as Mr. Boswell calls it, is, by Dr. Johnson himself, intitled "DESIGNS," and is written in a few pages of a small duodecimo note-book bound in rough calf. It seems, from the hand, that it was written early in life: from the marginal dates it appears that some portions were added in 1752 and 1753. In the first page of this little volume, his late Majesty King George III. wrote with his own hand:—"Original Manuscripts of Dr. Samuel Johnson, presented by his friend, — Langton, Esq. April 16th, 1785. G. R." —CROKER.

² History of the Romans: by Mr. Bower. — BOSWELL. — Bishop Warburton, in a letter to Jortin, in 1749, speaks with great contempt of this work as "miserable trash," and "the infamous rhapsody called the Universal History." *Nich. Anec.* vol. ii. p. 173. But Mr. Gibbon's more favourable opinion of this work will, as Mr. Markland observes, claim

as much attention as the "decrees" of Warburton, who has not improperly been termed by the former "the dictator and tyrant of the world of literature." Gibbon speaks of the "excellence of the first part of the Universal History as generally admitted." The History of the Macedonians, he also observes, "is executed with much erudition, taste, and judgment." This history would be invaluable were all its parts of the same merit. — *Miscel. Works*, v. 411, 428. Some curious facts relating to this work, and especially those of it committed to himself, will be found in Psalmanazar's *Memoirs*, p. 291. — CROKER.

³ On the subject of Dr. Johnson's skill in Greek, I have great pleasure in quoting an anecdote told by my late friend, Mr. Gifford, in his life of Ford:—

"My friend the late Lord Grosvenor had a house at Salt Hill, where I usually spent a part of the summer, and thus became acquainted with that great and good man, Jacob Bryant. Here the conversation turned one morning on a Greek criticism by Dr. Johnson in some volume lying on the table, which I ventured (*for I was then young*) to deem incorrect, and pointed it out to him. I could not help thinking that he was something of my opinion, but he was cautious and reserved. 'But, Sir,' said I, willing to overcome his

to be learnt, he used to mention his own comparative acquisitions. When Mr. Cumberland¹ talked to him of the Greek fragments which are so well illustrated in "The Observer," and of the Greek dramatists in general, he candidly acknowledged his insufficiency in that particular branch of Greek literature. Yet it may be said, that though not a great, he was a good Greek scholar. Dr. Charles Burney, the younger, who is universally acknowledged by the best judges to be one of the few men of this age who are very eminent for their skill in that noble language, has assured me, that Johnson could give a Greek word for almost every English one; and that, although not sufficiently conversant in the niceties of the language, he, upon some occasions, discovered, even in these, a considerable degree of critical acumen. Mr. Dalzel, professor of Greek at Edinburgh, whose skill is unquestionable, mentioned to me, in very liberal terms, the impression which was made upon him by Johnson, in a conversation which they had in London concerning that language. As Johnson, therefore, was undoubtedly one of the first Latin scholars in modern times, let us not deny to his fame some additional splendour from Greek.²

I shall now fulfil my promise of exhibiting specimens of various sorts of imitation of Johnson's style.

In the "Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, 1787," there is an "Essay on the Style of Dr. Samuel Johnson," by the Reverend Robert Burrowes, whose respect for the great object of his criticism³ is thus evinced in the concluding paragraph: "I have singled him out from the whole body of English writers, because his universally-acknowledged beauties would be most apt to induce imitation: and I have treated rather on his faults, than his perfections, because an essay might comprise all the observations I could make upon his faults, while volumes would not be sufficient for a treatise on his perfections."

scruples, 'Dr. Johnson himself admitted that he was not a good Greek scholar.' 'Sir,' he replied, with a serious and impressive air, 'it is not easy for us to say what such a man as Johnson would call a good Greek scholar.' I hope that I profited by that lesson—certainly I never forgot it."—*Gifford's Works of Ford*, vol. i. p. lxxi. — CROKER.

¹ Mr. Cumberland assures me that he was always treated with great courtesy by Dr. Johnson, who, in his "Letters to Mrs. Thrale," vol. ii. p. 68., thus speaks of that learned, ingenious, and accomplished gentleman: "The want of company is an inconvenience, but Mr. Cumberland is a million." — BOSWELL.

² Johnson professed not to be deeply skilled in Greek, but was not much pleased if his profession was believed. Mrs. Piozzi tells us that when the King of Denmark was in England [in 1768], one of his noblemen was brought by Mr. Colman to see Dr. Johnson at Mr. Thrale's country-house; and having heard, he said, that he was not famous for Greek literature, attacked him on the weak side; politely adding, that he chose that conversation on purpose to favour himself. Dr. Johnson, however, displayed so copious a knowledge of authors, books, and every branch of learning in that language, that the gentleman appeared astonished. When he was gone, Johnson said, "Now for all this triumph I may thank Thrale's Xenophon here, as, I think, excepting that one, I have not looked in a Greek book these ten years; but see what haste my dear friends were all in," continued he, "to tell this poor innocent foreigner that I knew nothing of

Mr. Burrowes has analysed the composition of Johnson, and pointed out its peculiarities with much acuteness; and I would recommend a careful perusal of his Essay to those who being captivated by the union of perspicuity and splendour which the writings of Johnson contain, without having a sufficient portion of his vigour of mind, may be in danger of becoming bad copyists of his manner. I, however, cannot but observe, and I observe it to his credit, that this learned gentleman has himself caught no mean degree of the expansion and harmony which, independent of all other circumstances, characterise the sentences of Johnson. Thus, in the preface to the volume in which the Essay appears, we find, —

"If it be said, that in societies of this sort too much attention is frequently bestowed on subjects barren and speculative, it may be answered, that no one science is so little connected with the rest as not to afford many principles whose use may extend considerably beyond the science to which they primarily belong, and that no proposition is so purely theoretical as to be totally incapable of being applied to practical purposes. There is no apparent connection between duration and the cycloidal arch, the properties of which duly attended to have furnished us with our best regulated methods of measuring time: and he who had made himself master of the nature and affections of the logarithmic curve is not aware that he has advanced considerably towards ascertaining the proportionable density of the air at its various distances from the surface of the earth."

The ludicrous imitators of Johnson's style are innumerable. Their general method is to accumulate hard words, without considering, that, although he was fond of introducing them occasionally, there is not a single sentence in all his writings where they are crowded together, as in the first verse of the following imaginary Ode by him to Mrs. Thrale⁴, which appeared in the newspapers: —

Greek! Oh no! he knows nothing of Greek!" with a loud burst of laughter. It has been said that Dr. Johnson never exerted such steady application as he did for the last ten years of his life in the study of Greek; but frequent passages in his diaries and letters contradict this statement. — CROKER.

³ We must smile at a little inaccuracy of metaphor in the preface to the Transactions, which is written by Mr. Burrowes. The critic of the style of Johnson having, with a just zeal for literature, observed, that the whole nation are called on to exert themselves, afterwards says, "They are called on by every *tye* which can have laudable influence on the heart of man." — BOSWELL. — See *anté*, p. 69. n. 1. — CROKER.

⁴ Johnson's wishing to unite himself with this rich widow was much talked of, but I believe without foundation. The report, however, gave occasion to a poem, not without characteristic merit, entitled "Ode to Mrs. Thrale, by Samuel Johnson, LL.D., on their supposed approaching nuptials:" printed for Mr. Faulder in Bond Street. I shall quote as a specimen the first three stanzas: —

"If e'er my fingers touch'd the lyre,
In satire fierce, in pleasure gay,
Shall not my Thralia's smiles inspire?
Shall Sam refuse the sportive lay?"

"My dearest lady! view your slave,
Behold him as your very *Scrub*;
Eager to write as author grave,
Or govern well — the brewing-tub.

"*Cervical coctor's viduate dame,
Opins't thou this gigantic frame,
Procumb'g at thy shrine,
Shall, catenated by thy charms,
A captive in thy ambient arms,
Perennially be thine?*"

This and a thousand other such attempts are totally unlike the original, which the writers imagined they were turning into ridicule. There is not similarity enough for burlesque, or even for caricature.

Mr. Colman, in his "Prose on several Occasions," has "A Letter from Lexiphanes, containing proposals for a *Glossary*, or *Vocabulary of the Vulgar Tongue*; intended as a Supplement to a larger Dictionary." It is evidently meant as a sportive sally of ridicule on Johnson, whose style is thus imitated, without being grossly overcharged:—

"It is easy to foresee that the idle and illiterate will complain that I have increased their labours by endeavouring to diminish them; and that I have explained what is more easy by what is more difficult—*ignotum per ignotius*. I expect, on the other hand, the liberal acknowledgments of the learned. He who is buried in scholastic retirement, secluded from the assemblies of the gay, and remote from the circles of the polite, will at once comprehend the definitions, and be grateful for such a seasonable and necessary elucidation of his mother-tongue."

Annexed to this letter is the following short specimen of the work, thrown together in a vague and desultory manner, not even adhering to alphabetical concatenation.

"HIGGLEDY PIGGLEDY,—Conglomeration and confusion.

"HODGE-PODGE,—A culinary mixture of heterogeneous ingredients; applied metaphorically to all discordant combinations.

"TIT FOR TAT,—Adequate retaliation.

"SHILLY SHALLY,—Hesitation and irresolution.

"FEE! FA! FUM! — Gigantic intonations.

"RIGMAROLE,—Discourse, incoherent and rhapsodical.

"CRINCUM-CRANCUM,—Lines of irregularity and involution.

"DING-DONG,—Tintinnabulary chimes, used metaphorically to signify despatch and vehemence."

The serious imitators of Johnson's style, whether intentionally or by the imperceptible effect of its strength and animation, are, as I have had already occasion to observe, so many,

that I might introduce quotations from a numerous body of writers in our language, since he appeared in the literary world. I shall point out the following:—

WILLIAM ROBERTSON, D.D.

"In other parts of the globe, man, in his rudest state, appears as lord of the creation, giving law to various tribes of animals which he has tamed and reduced to subjection. The Tartar follows his prey on the horse which he has reared, or tends his numerous herds which furnish him both with food and clothing; the Arab has rendered the camel docile, and avails himself of its persevering strength; the Laplander has formed the reindeer to be subservient to his will; and even the people of Kamschatka have trained their dogs to labour. This command over the inferior creatures is one of the noblest prerogatives of man, and among the greatest efforts of his wisdom and power. Without this, his dominion is incomplete. He is a monarch who has no subjects; a master without servants; and must perform every operation by the strength of his own arm."—*History of America*, vol. i. 4to, p. 332.

EDWARD GIBBON, ESQ.

"Of all our passions and appetites, the love of power is of the most imperious and unsocial nature, since the pride of one man requires the submission of the multitude. In the tumult of civil discord the laws of society lose their force, and their place is seldom supplied by those of humanity. The ardour of contention, the pride of victory, the despair of success, the memory of past injuries, and the fear of future dangers, all contribute to inflame the mind, and to silence the voice of pity."—*Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. i. chap. 4.

MISS BURNEY.

"My family, mistaking ambition for honour, and rank for dignity, have long planned a splendid connection for me, to which, though my invariable repugnance has stopped any advances, their wishes and their views immovably adhere. I am but too certain they will now listen to no other. I dread, therefore, to make a trial where I despair of success; I know not how to risk a prayer with those who may silence me by a command."—*Cecilia*, book vii. chap. 1.

REVEREND MR. NARES.¹

"In an enlightened and improving age, much perhaps is not to be apprehended from the inroads

¹ To rich felicity thus raised,
My bosom glows with amorous fire,
Porter no longer shall be praised;
'Tis I myself am *Thrale's Entire*." — BOSWELL.

Mrs. Carter, in one of her letters to Mrs. Montagu, says, "I once saw him (*Dr. Johnson*) very *indigné* when somebody jests about Mrs. Thrale's marrying himself. The choice would, no doubt, have been singular, but much less exceptionable than that which she has made." — *Letters*, vol. iii. p. 221. Mr. Alexander Chalmers, who knew all the parties, says that the report was certainly unfounded. — CROKER.

¹ On the original publication of Mr. Boswell's own work, the press teemed with parodies, or imitations of his style of reporting Dr. Johnson's conversation: but they are now all deservedly forgotten, except one by Mr. Alexander Chalmers, which is executed with so much liveliness and pleasantries, and is, in fact, so just a criticism on the lighter portions of this work, that the reader will be, I believe, much pleased to find it preserved. See Appendix, "*Lesson in Biography; or, How to write the Life of one's Friend*." — CROKER.

² The passage which I quote is taken from that gentleman's "Elements of Orthoëpy; containing a distinct View of the whole Analogy of the English Language, so far as relates to Pronunciation, Accent, and Quantity;" London, 1784. I beg

of mere caprice; at such a period it will generally be perceived that needless irregularity is the worst of all deformities, and that nothing is so truly elegant in language as the simplicity of unviolated analogy. Rules will, therefore, be observed, so far as they are known and acknowledged: but at the same time, the desire of improvement having been once excited will not remain inactive; and its efforts, unless assisted by knowledge as much as they are prompted by zeal, will not unfrequently be found pernicious; so that the very persons whose intention it is to perfect the instrument of reason will deprave and disorder it unknowingly. At such a time, then, it becomes peculiarly necessary that the analogy of language should be fully examined and understood; that its rules should be carefully laid down; and that it should be clearly known how much it contains which, being already right, should be defended from change and violation; how much it has that demands amendment; and how much that, for fear of greater inconveniences, must, perhaps, be left unaltered, though irregular."

A distinguished author in "The Mirror¹," a periodical paper published at Edinburgh, has imitated Johnson very closely. Thus, in No. 16.:—

"The effects of the return of spring have been frequently remarked, as well in relation to the human mind as to the animal and vegetable world. The reviving power of this season has been traced from the fields to the herds that inhabit them, and from the lower classes of beings up to man. Gladness and joy are described as prevailing through universal nature, animating the low of the cattle, the carol of the birds, and the pipe of the shepherd."

The Reverend Dr. Knox, master of Tunbridge school, appears to have the *imitari avoco* of Johnson's style perpetually in his mind; and to his assiduous, though not servile, study of it, we may partly ascribe the extensive popularity of his writings.²

leave to offer my particular acknowledgments to the author of a work of uncommon merit and great utility. I know no book which contains, in the same compass, more learning, polite literature, sound sense, accuracy of arrangement, and perspicuity of expression.—BOSWELL.

¹ That collection was presented to Dr. Johnson, I believe, by its authors; and I heard him speak very well of it.—BOSWELL.

² It were to be wished that he had imitated that great man in every respect, and had not followed the example of Dr. Adam Smith, in ungraciously attacking his venerable *Alma Mater*, Oxford. It must, however, be observed, that he is much less to blame than Smith: he only objects to certain particulars; Smith, to the whole institution; though indebted for much of his learning to an exhibition which he enjoyed for many years at Balliol College. Neither of them, however, will do any hurt to the noblest university in the world. While I aimed at what appears to me exceptional in some of the works of Dr. Knox, I cannot refuse due praise to others of his productions; particularly his sermons, and to the spirit with which he maintains, against presumptuous heretics, the consolatory doctrines peculiar to the Christian Revelation. This he has done in a manner equally strenuous and conciliating. Neither ought I to omit mentioning a remarkable instance of his candour. Notwithstanding the wide difference of our opinions upon the important subject of university education, in a letter to me concerning this work he thus expresses himself: "I thank you for the very great enter-

In his "Essays, Moral and Literary," No. 3., we find the following passage:—

"The polish of external grace may indeed be deferred till the approach of manhood. When solidity is obtained by pursuing the modes prescribed by our forefathers, then may the file be used. The firm substance will bear attrition, and the lustre then acquired will be durable."

There is, however, one in No. 11. which is blown up into such tumidity as to be truly ludicrous. The writer means to tell us, that members of Parliament who have run in debt by extravagance will sell their votes to avoid an arrest³, which he thus expresses:—

"They who build houses and collect costly pictures and furniture with the money of an honest artisan or mechanic will be very glad of emancipation from the hands of a bailiff by a sale of their senatorial suffrage."

But I think the most perfect imitation of Johnson is a professed one, entitled "A Criticism on Gray's Elegy in a Country Churchyard," said to be written by Mr. Young, professor of Greek, at Glasgow, and of which let him have the credit, unless a better title can be shown. It has not only the particularities of Johnson's style, but that very species of literary discussion and illustration for which he was eminent. Having already quoted so much from others, I shall refer the curious to this performance, with an assurance of much entertainment.⁴

Yet, whatever merit there may be in any imitations of Johnson's style, every good judge must see that they are obviously different from the original; for all of them are either deficient in its force, or overloaded with its peculiarities; and the powerful sentiment to which it is suited is not to be found.

Johnson's affection for his departed relations seemed to grow warmer as he approached nearer to the time when he might hope to see

tainment your Life of Johnson gives me. It is a most valuable work. Yours is a new species of biography. Happy for Johnson that he had so able a recorder of his wit and wisdom.—BOSWELL.

³ Dr. Knox, in his "Moral and Literary" abstraction, may be excused for not knowing the political regulations of his country. No senator can be in the hands of a bailiff.—BOSWELL. Their houses and goods might be seized under an execution. It was said, and I believe truly, that Sheridan once (or more than once) gave a dinner under those circumstances, and that the bailiffs waited at table.—CROKER, 1847.

⁴ It seems to me to be one of the most insipid and unmeaning volumes ever published. I cannot make out whether it was meant for jest or earnest; but it fails either way, for it has neither pleasantry nor sense. Johnson saw this work, and thus writes of it:—"Of the imitation of my style, in a criticism on Gray's Churchyard, I forgot to make mention. The author is, I believe, utterly unknown, for Mr. Stevens cannot hunt him out. I know little of it, for though it was sent me, I never cut the leaves open. I had a letter with it, representing it to me as my own work; in such an account to the public there may be humour, but to myself it was neither serious nor comical. I suspect the writer to be wrong-headed. As to the noise which it makes, I never heard it, and am inclined to believe that few attacks either of ridicule or invective make much noise but by the help of those that they provoke."—*Letters*, July 5. 1783.—CROKER.

them again. It probably appeared to him that he should upbraid himself with unkind inattention, were he to leave the world without having paid a tribute of respect to their memory.

DR. JOHNSON TO MR. GREEN,

*Apothecary, at Lichfield.*¹

"December 2. 1784.

"DEAR SIR,—I have enclosed the epitaph for my father, mother, and brother, to be all engraven on the large size, and laid in the middle aisle in St. Michael's church, which I request the clergyman and churchwardens to permit.

"The first care must be to find the exact place of interment, that the stone may protect the bodies. Then let the stone be deep, massy, and hard; and do not let the difference of ten pounds, or more, defeat our purpose.

"I have enclosed ten pounds, and Mrs. Porter will pay you ten more, which I gave her for the same purpose. What more is wanted shall be sent; and I beg that all possible haste may be made, for I wish to have it done while I am yet alive.² Let me know, dear Sir, that you receive this. I am, &c.,

SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO LUCY PORTER.³

"December 2. 1784.

"DEAR MADAM,—I am very ill, and desire your prayers. I have sent Mr. Green the epitaph, and a power to call on you for ten pounds.

"I laid this summer a stone over Tetty, in the chapel of Bromley in Kent. The inscription is in Latin [p. 78.], of which this is the English. (Here a translation.) That this is done, I thought it fit that you should know. What care will be taken of us, who can tell? May God pardon and bless us, for Jesus Christ's sake. I am, &c.,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

¹ A relation of Dr. Johnson. See *anté*, p. 490.—CROKER.

² It was not done, Dr. Harwood tells us, till after Johnson's death; and when the church was new paved in 1796, the stone was removed, and, strange and shameful to say, is nowhere to be found. The following is the inscription:—

H. S. E.

MICHAEL JOHNSON,

Vir impavidus, constans, animosus, periculorum immemor, laborum patientissimus; fiducia christiana fortis, fervidusque, pater-familias apprime strenuus; bibliopola admodum peritus; mente et libris et negotiis exulta; animo ita firmo, ut, rebus adversis diu conficatus, nec sibi nec suis defuerit: lingua sic temperata, ut ei nihil quod aures, vel pias, vel castas læsisset, aut dolor, vel voluptas unquam expresserit.

Natus Cubleia, in agro Derbiensi, Anno 1656.

Obiit 1731.

Apposita est SARA, conjux.

Antiqua FORDORUM gente oriunda; quam domisedulam, foris paucis notam; nulli molestam, mentis acumine et judicii subtilitate præcellentem; aliis multum, sibi parum indulgentem: Æternitati semper attentam, omne fere virtutis nomen commendavit.

Nata Nortoniæ Regis, in agro Varvicensi, Anno 1669;

Obiit 1759.

Cum NATHANAELE illorum filio, qui natus 1712, cum vires et animi, et corporis multa pollicerentur, Anno 1737, vitam brevem pia morte finivit.—CROKER, 1831-47.

CHAPTER LXXXII.

1784.

Last Illness, and Death.—His Will, Funeral, and Burial.

MY readers are now, at last, to behold SAMUEL JOHNSON preparing himself for that doom, from which the most exalted powers afford no exemption to man. Death had always been to him an object of terror: so that, though by no means happy, he still clung to life with an eagerness at which many have wondered. At any time when he was ill, he was very much pleased to be told that he looked better. An ingenious member of the *Eumelian Club*⁴ informs me, that upon one occasion, when he said to him that he saw health returning to his cheek, Johnson seized him by the hand and exclaimed, "Sir, you are one of the kindest friends I ever had."

His own statement of his views of futurity will appear truly rational; and may, perhaps, impress the unthinking with seriousness.

"You know," says he to Mrs. Thrale, "I never thought confidence with respect to futurity any part of the character of a brave, a wise, or a good man. Bravery has no place where it can avail nothing; wisdom impresses strongly the consciousness of those faults, of which it is, perhaps, itself an aggravation; and goodness, always wishing to be better, and imputing every deficiency to criminal negligence, and every fault to voluntary corruption, never dares to suppose the condition of forgiveness fulfilled, nor what is wanting in the crime supplied by penitence."

"This is the state of the best; but what must be the condition of him whose heart will not suffer him to rank himself among the best, or among the good? Such must be his dread of the approaching trial, as will leave him little attention to the opinion of those whom he is leaving for ever; and the serenity that is not felt, it can be no virtue to feign."

His great fear of death⁵, and the strange dark

³ This lady survived Dr. Johnson just thirteen months. She died at Lichfield, in her seventy-first year, January 13. 1786, and bequeathed the principal part of her fortune to the Rev. Mr. Pearson, of Lichfield.—MALONE.

⁴ A club in London, founded by the learned and ingenious physician, Dr. Ash, in honour of whose name it was called *Eumelian*, from the Greek *Ευμαιας*: though it was warmly contended, and even put to a vote, that it should have the more obvious appellation of *Frazinean*, from the Latin.—BOSWELL.

⁵ Mrs. Carter, in one of her letters to Mrs. Montagu, says, "I see by the papers that Dr. Johnson is dead. In extent of learning, and exquisite purity of moral writing, he has left no superior, and I fear very few equals. His virtues and his piety were founded on the steadiest of Christian principles and faith. His faults, I firmly believe, arose from the irritations of a most suffering state of nervous constitution, which scarcely ever allowed him a moment's ease."

To this passage the editor of Mrs. Carter's Letters subjoins the following note:

"Mrs. Carter told the editor, that in one of the last conversations which she had with this eminent moralist, she told him that she had never known him say any thing contrary to the principles of the Christian religion. He seized her hand with great emotion, exclaiming, 'You know this, and bear witness to it when I am gone!'"—*Letters*, vol. iii. p. 234.—CHALMERS. "You wonder," she says in another place, "that an undoubted believer and a man of piety should be afraid of death;" but it is such characters who have ever

manner in which Sir John Hawkins¹ imparts the uneasiness which he expressed on account of offences with which he charged himself, may give occasion to injurious suspicions, as if there had been something of more than ordinary criminality weighing upon his conscience. On that account, therefore, as well as from the regard to truth which he inculcated², I am to mention (with all possible respect and delicacy, however), that his conduct, after he came to London, and had associated with Savage and others, was not so strictly virtuous, in one respect, as when he was a younger man. It was well known that his amorous inclinations were uncommonly strong and impetuous. He owed to many of his friends, that he used to take women of the town to taverns, and hear them relate their history. In short, it must not be concealed, that like many other good and pious men, among whom we may place the apostle Paul upon his own authority, Johnson was not free from propensities which were ever "warring against the law of his mind,"—and that in his combats with them, he was sometimes overcome.

Here let the profane and licentious pause; let them not thoughtlessly say that Johnson was an *hypocrite*, or that his *principles* were not firm, because his *practice* was not uniformly conformable to what he professed.

Let the question be considered independent of moral and religious associations; and no man will deny that thousands, in many instances, act against conviction. Is a prodigal, for example, an *hypocrite*, when he owns he is satisfied that his extravagance will bring him to ruin and misery? We are *sure* he *believes* it; but immediate inclination, strengthened by indulgence, prevails over that belief in influencing his conduct. Why then shall credit be refused to the *sincerity* of those who acknowledge their persuasion of moral and religious duty, yet sometimes fail of living as it requires? I heard Dr. Johnson once observe, "There is something noble in publishing truth, though it condemns one's self."³ And one who said in his presence, "he had no notion of people being in earnest in their good professions, whose practice was not suitable to them," was thus reprimanded by him:—"Sir, are you so grossly ignorant of human nature as not to know that a man may be very sincere in

good principles, without having good practice?" [p. 390.]

But let no man encourage or soothe himself in "presumptuous sin," from knowing that Johnson was sometimes hurried into indulgences which he thought criminal. I have exhibited this circumstance as a shade in so great a character, both from my sacred love of truth, and to show that he was not so weakly scrupulous as he has been represented by those who imagine that the sins, of which a deep sense was upon his mind, were merely such little venial trifles as pouring milk into his tea on Good-Friday. His understanding will be defended by my statement, if his consistency of conduct be in some degree impaired. But what wise man would, for momentary gratifications, deliberately subject himself to suffer such uneasiness as we find was experienced by Johnson in reviewing his conduct as compared with his notion of the ethics of the Gospel? Let the following passages be kept in remembrance:—

[1762.] "O God, giver and preserver of all life, by whose power I was created, and by whose providence I am sustained, look down upon me with tenderness and mercy; grant that I may not have been created to be finally destroyed; that I may not be preserved to add wickedness to wickedness." (*Pr. and Med.*, p. 47.)

[1766.] "O Lord, let me not sink into total depravity; look down upon me, and rescue me at last from the captivity of sin." (p. 68.)

[1769.] "Almighty and most merciful Father, who hath continued my life from year to year, grant that by longer life I may become less desirous of sinful pleasures, and more careful of eternal happiness." (p. 84.)

[1773.] "Let not my years be multiplied to increase my guilt; but as my age advances, let me become more pure in my thoughts, more regular in my desires, and more obedient to thy laws." (p. 120.)

[*No date.*] "Forgive, O merciful Lord, whatever I have done contrary to thy laws. Give me such a sense of my wickedness as may produce true contrition and effectual repentance: so that when I shall be called into another state, I may be received among the sinners to whom sorrow and reformation have obtained pardon, for Jesus Christ's sake. Amen." (p. 130.)

Such was the distress of mind, such the penitence of Johnson, in his hours of privacy, and

the deepest sense of their imperfections and deviations from the rule of duty, of which the very best must be conscious; and such a temper of mind as is struck with awe and humility at the prospect of the last solemn sentence appears much better suited to the wretched deficiencies of the best human performances than the thoughtless security that rushes undisturbed into eternity."—*Miss Carter's Life*, vol. ii. p. 166.

—CROKER.

¹ I must say that I can see nothing more *strange* or *dark* in Hawkins's expressions than in some of Johnson's own; and nothing half so bad as the (I was about to say malignant) observations which Boswell proceeds to make. — CROKER.

² See what he said to Mr. Malone, *ante*, p. 671. — BOSWELL. But surely Mr. Boswell might have been forgiven if he had not revived these stories, which, whether true or false originally, were near fifty years old. He had already said

(*ante*, p. 50.) quite enough, and perhaps more than he was justified in saying on this topic. The reader will recollect that it has been shown (*ante*, p. 35. n. 5, and p. 49. n. 3) that the duration, and probably the intensity, of Dr. Johnson's intimacy with Savage have been greatly exaggerated, and so, no doubt, have been the supposed consequences of that intimacy. — CROKER.

³ Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides (*ante*, p. 335.). On the same subject, in his letter to Mrs. Thrale, dated November 29, 1783, he makes the following just observation: "Life, to be worthy of a rational being, must be always in progression; we must always purpose to do more or better than in time past. The mind is enlarged and elevated by mere purposes, though they end as they began, by airy contemplation. We compare and judge, though we do not practise." — BOSWELL.

in his devout approaches to his Maker. His *sincerity*, therefore, must appear to every candid mind unquestionable.¹

It is of essential consequence to keep in view that there was in this excellent man's conduct no false principle of *commutation*, no *deliberate* indulgence in sin, in consideration of a counterbalance of duty. His offending and his repenting were distinct and separate²: and when we consider his almost unexampled attention to truth, his inflexible integrity, his constant piety, who will dare to "cast a stone at him?" Besides, let it never be forgotten that he cannot be charged with any offence indicating badness of *heart*, any thing dishonest, base, or malignant; but that, on the contrary, he was charitable in an extraordinary degree: so that even in one of his own rigid judgments of himself (Easter-eve, 1781), while he says, "I have corrected no external habits;" he is obliged to own, "I hope that since my last communion I have advanced, by pious reflections, in my submission to God, and my benevolence to man." (p. 192.)

I am conscious that this is the most difficult and dangerous part of my biographical work, and I cannot but be very anxious concerning it. I trust that I have got through it, preserving at once my regard to truth,—to my

¹ Boswell, with a disingenuousness which I am at a loss to account for, selects all these passages (suppressing the *dates*) and gives them, by his introductory observations, such a peculiar colouring, as to make it appear that Johnson accused himself of sensual licentiousness; whereas I will take upon myself to assert that the *entire* prayers from which Boswell has *garbled* these extracts, as well as the general context of the whole volume, if read fairly and candidly, do not afford the *slightest colour* for the special charge which Boswell makes. Why has Boswell suppressed other passages of corresponding dates which explain the comparatively innocent nature of the errors with which Johnson reproached himself? In 1759, he confesses "*idleness and neglect of worship*;" in 1760, amidst a long and minute list of self-accusations there is not a hint at criminal indulgences—nor in 1761—nor again in 1762: and during the whole period from which Boswell's extracts are made, it appears from Johnson's *specific* explanations of them, that his *most serious*, if not his only offences, were "*misspent time*," "*want of diligence*," "*time lost in idleness or misspent in unprofitable employments*," and the like; and that the only sensual indulgence is lying late in bed, and occasionally too much "*addition to meat and wine*." "*My chief deficiency*," he says (1774), "*has been, that my life is immemorial*." "*My reigning sin*," he says, 1776, "*is waste of time and sluggishness*." In the *Anderson MSS.* there is a note dated in 1784, recording a resolution "to endeavour to conquer *scruples*;" and in the *Rose MSS.* of a much earlier date, the following—

"PRAYER AGAINST SCRUPLES.

"O Lord, who wouldst that all men should be saved, and who knowest that without thy grace we can do nothing acceptable to thee, have mercy upon me. Enable me to break the chain of my sins, to reject sensuality in thought, and to overcome and suppress vain scruples; and to use such diligence in lawful employment as may enable me to support myself and do good to others. O Lord, forgive me the time lost in idleness; pardon the sins which I have committed, and grant that I may redeem the time misspent, and be reconciled to thee by true repentance, that I may live and die in peace, and be received to everlasting happiness. Take not from me, O Lord, thy Holy Spirit, but let me have support and comfort, for Jesus Christ's sake. Amen.

"*Transc.* June 25. 1768. *Of this prayer there is no date, nor can I conjecture when it was composed.*" — Johnson.

This prayer, written long before Boswell became acquainted with Johnson, seems to me a complete answer to the inferences extorted by Boswell from the garbled extracts

friend,—and to the interests of virtue and religion. Nor can I apprehend that more harm can ensue from the knowledge of the irregularities of Johnson, guarded as I have stated it, than from knowing that Addison and Parnell were intemperate in the use of wine; which he himself, in his *Lives* of those celebrated writers and pious men, has not forbore to record.³

It is not my intention to give a very minute detail of the particulars of Johnson's remaining days⁴, of whom it was now evident that the crisis was fast approaching, when he must "*die like men, and fall like one of the princes*." Yet it will be instructive, as well as gratifying to the curiosity of my readers, to record a few circumstances, on the authenticity of which they may perfectly rely, as I have been at the utmost pains to obtain an accurate account of his last illness, from the best authority.

Dr. Heberden, Dr. Brocklesby, Dr. Warren⁵, and Dr. Butter, physicians, generously attended him, without accepting any fees, as did Mr. Cruikshank, surgeon; and all that could be done from professional skill and ability was tried, to prolong a life so truly valuable. He himself, indeed, having, on account of his very bad constitution, been perpetually applying himself to medical inquiries, united his own efforts

of the later prayers. Can we suppose, that while thus reproaching himself with *indolence* and *scruples*, he was habitually guilty of sensual depravity? — CROKER.

² Dr. Johnson related, with very earnest approbation, a story of a gentleman, who, in an impulse of passion, overcame the virtue of a young woman. When she said to him, "I am afraid we have done wrong!" he answered, "Yes, we have done wrong;—for I would not *debauch her mind*." — BOSWELL.

³ This is a poor and disingenuous defence for a very grievous error. It is one thing to *repeat*—as Dr. Johnson did, *historically*, what all the world knew, and few were inclined to blame seriously—that Parnell and Addison loved a cheerful glass—

"Narratur et prisce Catonis
Sæpe mero caluisse virtus."

But it is quite another thing to insinuate oneself into a man's confidence, to follow him for twenty years like his shadow, to note his words and actions like a spy, to ransack his most secret papers, and scrutinize and garble even his conscientious confessions, and then, with all the sinister authority which such a show of friendship must confer, to accuse him of low and filthy guilt, *supposed* to have been committed a quarter of a century before the informer and his calumniated friend had ever met, and which, consequently, Boswell could only have had from hearsay or from guess, and which all personal testimony and all the documentary evidence seem to disprove. Boswell must have been actuated by some secret motive, or labouring under a morbid delusion, when he thus regarded these wanton, and I conscientiously believe, calumnious, slanders on his illustrious friend, as conducive to "the interest of *virtue* and *religion*," and, above all, "*of truth*." I entreat any reader who may at all question the validity of my charges against Boswell, and my defence of Dr. Johnson on this point, to refer to the volume of *Prayers and Meditations* itself, which I pledge myself will effectually refute all Boswell's extraordinary imputations. — CROKER.

⁴ The particulars which Mr. Boswell's absence, and the jealousy between him and some of Johnson's other friends, prevented his being able to give, I have supplied in the Appendix. — CROKER.

⁵ Mr. Green (p. 490.) related that when some of Johnson's friends desired that Dr. Warren should be called in, he said they might call in whom they pleased; and when Warren was called, at his going away Johnson said, "You have come in at the eleventh hour, but you shall be paid the same with your fellow-labourers. Francis, put into Dr. Warren's coach a copy of the *English Poets*." — CROKER.

with those of the gentlemen who attended him; and imagining that the dropsical collection of water which oppressed him might be drawn off by making incisions in his body, he, with his usual resolute defiance of pain, cut deep, when he thought that his surgeon had done it too tenderly.¹

About eight or ten days before his death, when Dr. Brocklesby paid him his morning visit, he seemed very low and desponding, and said, "I have been as a dying man all night." He then emphatically broke out in the words of Shakspeare —

"Canst thou not minister to a mind diseased;
Pluck from the memory a rooted sorrow;
Raze out the written troubles of the brain;
And with some sweet oblivious antidote,
Cleave the stuff'd bosom of that perilous stuff,
Which weighs upon the heart?"

To which Dr. Brocklesby readily answered from the same great poet, —

"————— Therein the patient
Must minister to himself."

Johnson expressed himself much satisfied with the application.

On another day after this, when talking on the subject of prayer, Dr. Brocklesby repeated from Juvenal, —

"Orandum est, ut sit mens sana in corpore sano,"

and so on to the end of the tenth satire; but in running it quickly over, he happened, in the line,

"Qui spatium vitæ extremum inter munera ponat,"²

to pronounce *supremum* for *extremum*; at which Johnson's critical ear instantly took offence, and discoursing vehemently on the unmetrical effect of such a lapse, he showed himself as full as ever of the spirit of the grammarian.

Having no other relations³, it had been for some time Johnson's intention to make a liberal provision for his faithful servant, Mr. Francis Barber, whom he looked upon as particularly under his protection, and whom he had all along treated truly as an humble friend.

¹ This bold experiment Sir John Hawkins has related in such a manner as to suggest a charge against Johnson of intentionally hastening his end; a charge so very inconsistent with his character in every respect, that it is injurious even to refute it, as Sir John has thought it necessary to do. It is evident, that what Johnson did in hopes of relief indicated an extraordinary eagerness to retard his dissolution.

— BOSWELL.
² Mr. Boswell has omitted to notice the line, for the sake of which Dr. Brocklesby probably introduced the quotation,

"Fortem posce animum et mortis terrore carentem!"

The whole passage is thus paraphrased by Dryden: —

"—— [Be thy prayers] confined
To health of body and content of mind;
A soul that can securely death defy,
And count it Nature's privilege to die;
Serene and manly, hardened to sustain
The load of life, and exercised in pain!"

Juvenal, Sat. 356. — CROKER, 1847.

³ The author in a former page has shown the injustice of Sir John Hawkins's charge against Johnson, with respect to a person of the name of Heely, whom he has inaccurately

Having asked Dr. Brocklesby what would be a proper annuity to a favourite servant, and being answered that it must depend on the circumstances of the master; and that in the case of a nobleman fifty pounds a year was considered as an adequate reward for many years' faithful service; — "Then," said Johnson, "shall I be *nobilissimus*, for I mean to leave Frank seventy pounds a year, and I desire you to tell him so." It is strange, however, to think, that Johnson was not free from that general weakness of being averse to execute a will, so that he delayed it from time to time; and had it not been for Sir John Hawkins's repeatedly urging it, I think it is probable that his kind resolution would not have been fulfilled. After making one, which, as Sir John Hawkins informs us, extended no further than the promised annuity, Johnson's final disposition of his property was established by a Will and Codicil, of which copies are subjoined.

"In the name of God. Amen. I, Samuel Johnson, being in full possession of my faculties, but fearing this night may put an end to my life, do ordain this my last will and testament. I bequeath to God a soul polluted by many sins, but I hope purified by Jesus Christ. I leave seven hundred and fifty pounds in the hands of Bennet Langton, Esq.; three hundred pounds in the hands of Mr. Barclay and Mr. Perkins, brewers; one hundred and fifty pounds in the hands of Dr. Percy, bishop of Dromore; one thousand pounds, three per cent. annuities in the public funds; and one hundred pounds now lying by me in ready money: all these before-mentioned sums and property I leave, I say, to Sir Joshua Reynolds, Sir John Hawkins, and Dr. William Scott, of Doctors' Commons, in trust, for the following uses: — That is to say, to pay to the representatives of the late William Innys, bookseller, in St. Paul's Churchyard, the sum of two hundred pounds; to Mrs. White, my female servant, one hundred pounds stock in the three per cent. annuities aforesaid. The rest of the aforesaid sums of money and property, together with my books, plate, and household furniture, I leave to the before-mentioned Sir Joshua Reynolds, Sir John Hawkins, and Dr. William Scott, also in trust, to be applied, after paying my debts, to the use of Francis Barber,

represented as a relation of Johnson's. (See p. 789.) That Johnson was anxious to discover whether any of his relations were living, is evinced by the following letter, written not long before he made his will: —

"JOHNSON TO THE REV. DR. VYSE,

"In Lambeth.

"Bolt Court, Nov. 29. 1784.

"SIR, — I am desirous to know whether Charles Scrimshaw, of Woodcase (I think), in your father's neighbourhood, be now living; what is his condition, and where he may be found. If you can conveniently make any inquiry about him, and can do it without delay, it will be an act of great kindness to me, he being very nearly related to me. I beg [you] to pardon this trouble. I am, &c., SAM. JOHNSON."

In conformity to the wish expressed in the preceding letter, an inquiry was made; but no descendants of Charles Scrimshaw or of his sisters were discovered to be living. Dr. Vyse informs me, that Dr. Johnson told him, "he was disappointed in the inquiries he had made after his relations." There is therefore no ground whatsoever for supposing that he was unmindful of them, or neglected them. — MALONE.

my man-servant, a negro, in such manner as they shall judge most fit and available to his benefit. And I appoint the aforesaid Sir Joshua Reynolds, Sir John Hawkins, and Dr. William Scott, sole executors of this my last will and testament, hereby revoking all former wills and testaments whatever. In witness whereof I hereunto subscribe my name, and affix my seal, this eighth day of December, 1784.

"SAM. JOHNSON, (L. S.)

"Signed, sealed, published, declared, and delivered, by the said testator, as his last will and testament, in the presence of us, the word two being first inserted in the opposite page.

"GEORGE STRAHAN.

"JOHN DESMOULINS."

"By way of codicil to my last will and testament, I, Samuel Johnson, give, devise, and bequeath, my messuage or tenement situate at Lichfield, in the county of Stafford, with the appurtenances, in the tenure and occupation of Mrs. Bond, of Lichfield, aforesaid, or of Mr. Hinchman, her under-tenant, to my executors, in trust, to sell and dispose of the same; and the money arising from such sale I give and bequeath as follows, viz. to Thomas and Benjamin, the sons of Fisher Johnson, late of Leicester, and ——— Whiting, daughter of Thomas Johnson, late of Coventry, and the grand-daughter of the said Thomas Johnson, one full and equal fourth part each; but in case there shall be more grand-daughters than one of the said Thomas Johnson living at the time of my decease, I give and bequeath the part or share of that one to and equally between such grand-daughters. I give and bequeath to the Rev. Mr. Rogers, of Berkley, near Froom, in the county of Somerset, the sum of one hundred pounds, requesting him to apply the same towards the maintenance of Elizabeth Herne, a lunatic.¹ I also give and bequeath to my god-children, the son and daughter of Mauritius Lowe, painter, each of them one hundred pounds of my stock in the three per cent. consolidated annuities, to be applied and disposed of by and at the discretion of my executors, in the education or settlement in the world of them my said legatees. Also I give and bequeath to Sir John Hawkins, one of my executors, the *Annales Ecclesiastici* of Baronius, and *Holinshed's* and *Stowe's* *Chronicles*, and also an octavo *Common Prayer-Book*. To Bennet Langton, Esq., I give and bequeath my *Polyglot Bible*. To Sir Joshua Reynolds, my great French Dictionary, by Martiniere; and my own copy of my folio English Dictionary, of the last revision. To Dr. William Scott, one of my executors, the *Dictionnaire de Commerce*, and *Lectius's* edition of the *Greek Poets*. To Mr. Windham, *Poetae Græci Heroici per Henricum Stephanum*. To the Rev. Mr. Strahan, vicar of Islington, in Middlesex, Mill's *Greek Testament*, *Beza's* *Greek Testament*, by Stephens, all my Latin Bibles, and my Greek Bible, by Wechlius. To Dr. Heberden, Dr. Brocklesby, Dr. Butler, and Mr. Cruikshank, the surgeon who attended me, Mr. Holder, my apothecary, Gerard

Hamilton, Esq., Mrs. Gardiner, of Snow-hill, Mrs. Frances Reynolds, Mr. Hoole, and the Reverend Mr. Hoole, his son, each a book at their election, to keep as a token of remembrance. I also give and bequeath to Mr. John Desmoulins, two hundred pounds consolidated three per cent. annuities; and to Mr. Sastres, the Italian master, the sum of five pounds, to be laid out in books of piety for his own use. And whereas the said Bennet Langton hath agreed, in consideration of the sum of seven hundred and fifty pounds, mentioned in my will to be in his hands, to grant and secure an annuity of seventy pounds payable during the life of me and my servant, Francis Barber, and the life of the survivor of us, to Mr. George Stubbs, in trust for us; my mind and will is, that in case of my decease before the said agreement shall be perfected, the said sum of seven hundred and fifty pounds, and the bond for securing the said sum, shall go to the said Francis Barber; and I hereby give and bequeath to him the same, in lieu of the bequest in his favour contained in my said will. And I hereby empower my executors to deduct and retain all expenses that shall or may be incurred in the execution of my said will, or of this codicil thereto, out of such estate and effects as I shall die possessed of. All the rest, residue, and remainder of my estate and effects I give and bequeath to my said executors, in trust for the said Francis Barber², his executors and administrators. Witness my hand and seal, this ninth day of December, 1784.

"SAM. JOHNSON, (L. S.)

"Signed, sealed, published, declared, and delivered, by the said Samuel Johnson, as and for a codicil to his last will and testament, in the presence of us, who, in his presence, and at his request, and also in the presence of each other, have hereto subscribed our names as witnesses.

"JOHN COPLEY.

"WILLIAM GIBSON.

"HENRY COLE."

Upon these testamentary deeds it is proper to make a few observations. His express declaration with his dying breath as a Christian, as it had been often practised in such solemn writings, was of real consequence from this great man, for the conviction of a mind equally acute and strong might well overbalance the doubts of others who were his contemporaries. The expression *polluted* may, to some, convey an impression of more than ordinary contamination; but that is not warranted by its genuine meaning, as appears from "The Rambler," No. 42.³ The same word is used in the will of Dr. Sanderson, Bishop of Lincoln, who was piety itself. His legacy of two hundred pounds to the representatives of Mr. Innys, bookseller, in St. Paul's Churchyard, proceeded from a very worthy motive. He told Sir John Hawkins that his father having

¹ She was his first cousin. — CROKER, 1847.

² Francis Barber, Dr. Johnson's principal legatee, died in the infirmary at Stafford, after undergoing a painful operation, February 13, 1801. — MALONE. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1793, p. 619., there are some anecdotes of Barber, in which it is said that he was then forty-eight years old. Mr. Chalmers thinks that he was about fifty-six when he died; but as he entered Johnson's service in 1752, and could scarcely have been then under ten or twelve years of age, it is probable that he was somewhat older. — CROKER.

³ The quotations from the Scriptures in Johnson's Dictionary sufficiently justify the use of this word; but it does not occur in No. 42. of the Rambler. In the Journey to the Hebrides he uses the word familiarly, and talks of "polluting the breakfast table with slices of cheese." Mr. Boswell may perhaps have meant the *Idler*, No. 82., when Johnson added to Sir Joshua Reynolds's paper the words, "and *pollute* his canvass with deformity." — CROKER.

become a bankrupt, Mr. Innys had assisted him with money or credit to continue his business. "This," said he, "I consider as an obligation on me to be grateful to his descendants." The amount of his property proved to be considerably more than he had supposed it to be. Sir John Hawkins estimates the bequest of Francis Barber at a sum little short of fifteen hundred pounds, including an annuity of seventy pounds to be paid to him by Mr. Langton, in consideration of seven hundred and fifty pounds which Johnson had lent to that gentleman. Sir John seems not a little angry at this bequest, and mutters "a caveat against ostentatious bounty and favour to negroes." But surely, when a man has money entirely of his own acquisition, especially when he has no near relations, he may, without blame, dispose of it as he pleases, and with great propriety to a faithful servant. Mr. Barber, by the recommendation of his master, retired to Lichfield, where he might pass the rest of his days in comfort. It has been objected that Johnson omitted many of his best friends, when leaving books to several as tokens of his last remembrance. The names of Dr. Adams, Dr. Taylor, Dr. Burney, Mr. Hector, Mr. Murphy, the author of this work, and others who were intimate with him, are not to be found in his will. This may be accounted for by considering, that as he was very near his dissolution at the time, he probably mentioned such as happened to occur to him; and that he may have recollected that he had formerly shown others such proofs of his regard, that it was not necessary to crowd his will with their names. Mrs. Lucy Porter was much displeased that nothing was left to her; but besides what I have now stated, she should have considered that she had left nothing to Johnson by her will, which was made during his lifetime, as appeared at her decease. His

enumerating several persons in one group, and leaving them "each a book at their election," might possibly have given occasion to a curious question as to the order of choice, had they not luckily fixed on different books. His library, though by no means handsome in its appearance, was sold by Mr. Christie for two hundred and forty-seven pounds nine shillings; many people being desirous to have a book which had belonged to Johnson.¹

The consideration of numerous papers of which he was possessed seems to have struck Johnson's mind with a sudden anxiety; and as they were in great confusion, it is much to be lamented that he had not intrusted some faithful and discreet person with the care and selection of them; instead of which he, in a precipitate manner, burnt large masses of them, with little regard, as I apprehend, to discrimination. Not that I suppose we have thus been deprived of any compositions which he had ever intended for the public eye; but from what escaped the flames I judge that many curious circumstances, relating both to himself and other literary characters, have perished.

Two very valuable articles, I am sure, we have lost, which were two quarto volumes², containing a full, fair, and most particular account of his own life, from his earliest recollection. I owned to him, that having accidentally seen them, I had read a great deal in them; and apologising for the liberty I had taken, asked him if I could help it. He placidly answered, "Why, Sir, I do not think you could have helped it." I said that I had, for once in my life, felt half an inclination to commit theft. It had come into my mind to carry off those two volumes, and never see him more. Upon my inquiring how this would have affected him, "Sir," said he, "I believe I should have gone mad."³

¹ In many of them he had written little notes: sometimes tender memorials of his departed wife; as, "This was dear Tetty's book:" sometimes occasional remarks of different sorts. Mr. Lyons, of Clifford's Inn, has favoured me with the two following: "In 'Holy Rules and Helps to Devotion,' by Bryan Duppa, Lord Bishop of Winton, 'Preces quidam videtur diligenter tractasse; spero non inauditus.' In 'The Rosicrucian infallible Axiomata, by John Heydon, Gent.,' prefixed to which are some verses addressed to the author, signed Ambr. Waters, A. M. Coll. Ex. Oxon., 'These Latin verses were written to Hobbes by Bathurst, upon his Treatise on Human Nature, and have no relation to the book.—An odd fraud.'"—BOSWELL. If, as has been stated, he had about 5000 volumes, they did not produce one shilling a volume. Mr. Windham bought Markland's Statius, and wrote in the first page, "*Fuit e libris clarissimi Sanctius Johnsoni.*" It now, by the favour of Mr. Jesse, who bought it at Mr. Windham's sale, belongs to me.—CROKER.

² There can be little doubt that these two quarto volumes were of the same kind as, if they were not actually transcripts of, various little diaries, some of which fell into the hands of Dr. Strahan and others; the strong expression that he would have "gone mad" had they been purloined, confirms my belief that Dr. Johnson never could have intended that these diaries should have been published. I am confident that they were given to Dr. Strahan inadvertently,—if indeed they were given at all, for which we have no evidence but Dr. Strahan's very obscure, contradictory, and improbable statement: and I cannot but suspect that it was by accident only they escaped destruction on the 1st of December. See ante, p. 792.—CROKER.

³ One of these volumes, Sir John Hawkins informs us, he put into his pocket; for which the excuse he states is, that he meant to preserve it from falling into the hands of a person whom he describes so as to make it sufficiently clear who is meant [Mr. George Stevens]: "having strong reasons," said he, "to suspect that this man might find and make an ill use of the book." Why Sir John should suppose that the gentleman alluded to would act in this manner, he has not thought fit to explain. But what he did was not approved of by Johnson; who, upon being acquainted of it without delay by a friend, expressed great indignation, and warmly insisted on the book being delivered up; and, afterwards, in the supposed taken, he said, "Sir, I should have gone out of the world distrusting half mankind." Sir John next day wrote a letter to Johnson, assigning reasons for his conduct; upon which Johnson observed to Mr. Langton, "Bishop Sanderson could not have dictated a better letter. I could almost say, *Melius est sic penitusse quam non erasse.*" The agitation into which Johnson was thrown by this incident probably made him hastily burn those precious records, which must ever be regretted.—BOSWELL. I cannot tell what Hawkins's apology to Johnson may have been, but the excuses which he alleges in his book are contemptible, and prove the *animus furandi*; but it is not certain that the volume which Hawkins took was one of these two quartos; and it is certain that a destruction of papers took place a day or two before that event. Johnson had really some reason for "distrusting mankind," when, of two dear friends, he found one half inclined to commit a theft, and another actually committing it. Bishop Sanderson was referred to because he was an eminent

During his last illness Johnson experienced the steady and kind attachment of his numerous friends. Mr. Hoole has drawn up a narrative¹ of what passed in the visits which he paid him during that time, from the 10th of November to the 13th of December, the day of his death, inclusive, and has favoured me with a perusal of it, with permission to make extracts, which I have done.

Nobody was more attentive to him than Mr. Langton², to whom he tenderly said, *Te teneam moriens deficiente manu*. And I think it highly to the honour of Mr. Windham, that his important occupations as an active statesman did not prevent him from paying assiduous respect to the dying sage whom he revered. Mr. Langton informs me, that "one day he found Mr. Burke and four or five more friends sitting with Johnson. Mr. Burke said to him, 'I am afraid, Sir, such a number of us may be oppressive to you.'—'No, Sir,' said Johnson, 'it is not so; and I must be in a wretched state indeed when your company would not be a delight to me.' Mr. Burke, in a tremulous voice, expressive of being very tenderly affected, replied, 'My dear Sir, you have always been too good to me.' Immediately afterwards he went away. This was the last circumstance in the acquaintance of these two eminent men."

The following particulars of his conversation within a few days of his death I give on the authority of Mr. John Nichols:—

"He said that the Parliamentary Debates were the only part of his writings which then gave him any compunction: but that at the time he wrote them he had no conception he was imposing upon the world, though they were frequently written from very slender materials, and often from none at all,—the mere coinage of his own imagination. He never wrote any part of his works with equal velocity. Three columns of the magazine in an hour was no uncommon effort, which was faster than most persons could have transcribed that quantity.

"Of his friend Cave he always spoke with great affection. 'Yet,' said he, 'Cave (who never looked out of his window but with a view to the Gentleman's Magazine) was a penurious paymaster; he would contract for lines by the hundred, and expect the long hundred; but he was a good man, and always delighted to have his friends at his table.'

"When talking of a regular edition of his own works, he said that he had power (from the booksellers) to print such an edition, if his health admitted it; but had no power to assign over any

edition, unless he could add notes, and so alter them as to make them new works; which his state of health forbade him to think of. 'I may possibly live,' said he, 'or rather breathe, three days, or perhaps three weeks; but find myself daily and gradually weaker.'

"He said at another time, three or four days only before his death, speaking of the little fear he had of undergoing a surgical operation, 'I would give one of these legs for a year more of life, I mean of comfortable life, not such as that which I now suffer;—and lamented much his inability to read during his hours of restlessness. 'I used formerly,' he added, 'when sleepless in bed, to read like a Turk.'

"Whilst confined by his last illness, it was his regular practice to have the church service read to him by some attentive and friendly divine. The Rev. Mr. Hoole performed this kind office in my presence for the last time, when, by his own desire, no more than the Litany was read; in which his responses were in the deep and sonorous voice which Mr. Boswell has occasionally noticed, and with the most profound devotion that can be imagined. His hearing not being quite perfect, he more than once interrupted Mr. Hoole with, 'Louder, my dear Sir, louder, I entreat you, or you pray in vain!—and, when the service was ended, he, with great earnestness, turned round to an excellent lady who was present, saying, 'I thank you, Madam, very heartily, for your kindness in joining me in this solemn exercise. Live well, I conjure you; and you will not feel the compunction at the last which I now feel.'³ So truly humble were the thoughts which this great and good man entertained of his own approaches to religious perfection.

"He was earnestly invited to publish a volume of *Devotional Exercises*; but this (though he listened to the proposal with much complacency, and a large sum of money was offered for it) he declined, from motives of the sincerest modesty.

"He seriously entertained the thought of translating *Thuanus*. He often talked to me on the subject; and once, in particular, when I was rather wishing that he would favour the world, and gratify his sovereign, by a *Life of Spenser* (which he said that he would readily have done had he been able to obtain any new materials for the purpose), he added, 'I have been thinking again, Sir, of *Thuanus*; it would not be the laborious task which you have supposed it. I should have no trouble but that of dictation, which would be performed as speedily as an amanuensis could write.'

On the same undoubted authority I give a few articles which should have been inserted in chronological order, but which, now that

casuist, and treated of cases of conscience. There can be no doubt that Barber detected and reported, as was his duty, Hawkins's attempt to perjure the volume; and hence, I suppose, arose Hawkins's malevolence against both Johnson and Barber, and his endeavour to set up Heeley as a rival to the latter. *Ante*, p. 183. n. 1., and p. 789. — CROKER.

¹ This Journal has been since printed at length in the *European Magazine* for September, 1799. As it is too long to be inserted here, I have placed it in the Appendix. It will be read with interest. — CROKER.

² Mr. Langton survived Johnson several years. He died at Southampton, December 18. 1801, aged sixty-five. — MALONE. Hannah More writes, March 8. 1784. "I am sure you will honour Mr. Langton when I tell you that he is come to town on purpose to stay with Dr. Johnson during his

illness. He has taken a little lodging in Fleet Street, in order to be near to devote himself to him." — CROKER, 1847.

³ There is a slight error in Mr. Nichols's account, as appears by the following communication to me from the Rev. Mr. Hoole himself, now (1831) rector of Poplar:—

"My mother was with us when I read prayers to Dr. Johnson, on Wednesday, December 8.; but not for the last time as it is stated by Mr. Nichols, for I attended him again on Friday, the 10th. I must here mention an incident which shows how ready Johnson was to make amends for any little incivility. When I called upon him, the morning after he had pressed me rather roughly to read *louder*, he said, 'I was peevish yesterday; you must forgive me: when you are as old and as sick as I am, perhaps you may be peevish too.' I have heard him make many apologies of this kind." — CROKER.

they are before me, I should be sorry to omit:—

"Among the early associates of Johnson, at St. John's Gate, was Samuel Boyse, well known by his ingenious productions; and not less noted for his imprudence. It was not unusual for Boyse to be a customer to the pawnbroker. On one of these occasions, Dr. Johnson collected a sum of money to redeem his friend's clothes, which in two days after were pawned again. 'The sum,' said Johnson, 'was collected by sixpences, at a time when to me sixpence was a serious consideration.'

"Speaking one day of a person¹ for whom he had a real friendship, but in whom vanity was somewhat too predominant, he observed, that 'Kelly was so fond of displaying on his sideboard the plate which he possessed, that he added to it his spurs. For my part,' said he, 'I never was master of a pair of spurs, but once; and they are now at the bottom of the ocean. By the carelessness of Boswell's servant, they were dropped from the end of the boat, on our return from the Isle of Sky.'"

The late Reverend Mr. Samuel Badcock² having been introduced to Dr. Johnson by Mr. Nichols, some years before his death, thus expressed himself in a letter to that gentleman:—

"How much I am obliged to you for the favour you did me in introducing me to Dr. Johnson! *Tantum vidi Virgilium.* But to have seen him, and to have received a testimony of respect from him, was enough. I recollect all the conversation, and shall never forget one of his expressions. Speaking of Dr. Priestley (whose writings, I saw, he estimated at a low rate), he said, 'You have proved him as deficient in *probity* as he is in learning.' I called him an '*Inlex Scholar*;' but he was not willing to allow him a claim even to that merit. He said, 'that he borrowed from those who had been borrowers themselves, and did not know that

the mistakes he adopted had been answered by others.' I often think of our short, but precious visit, to this great man. I shall consider it as a kind of an *era* in my life."

It is to the mutual credit of Johnson and divines of different communions, that although he was a steady Church of England man, there was, nevertheless, much agreeable intercourse between him and them. Let me particularly name the late Mr. La Trobe³ and Mr. Hutton, of the Moravian profession. His intimacy with the English Benedictines at Paris has been mentioned; and as an additional proof of the charity in which he lived with good men of the Romish church, I am happy in this opportunity of recording his friendship with the Rev. Thomas Hussey, D.D.⁴, his Catholic Majesty's chaplain of embassy at the court of London, that very respectable man, eminent not only for his powerful eloquence as a preacher, but for his various abilities and acquisitions. Nay, though Johnson loved a Presbyterian the least of all, this did not prevent his having a long and uninterrupted social connection with the Rev. Dr. James Fordyce, who, since his death, hath gratefully celebrated him in a warm strain of devotional composition.

Amidst the melancholy clouds which hung over the dying Johnson, his characteristic manner showed itself on different occasions.

When Dr. Warren, in his usual style, hoped that he was better, his answer was, "No, Sir; you cannot conceive with what acceleration I advance towards death."

A man whom he had never seen before was employed one night to sit up with him. Being asked next morning how he liked his attendant, his answer was, "Not at all, Sir; the fellow's

¹ Hugh Kelly, the dramatic author, who died in Gough Square in 1777, æt. 38. Kelly's first introduction to Johnson was not likely to have pleased a person of "predominant vanity." After having sat a short time, he got up to take his leave, saying, that he feared a longer visit might be troublesome. "Not in the least, Sir," Johnson is said to have replied; "I had forgotten that you were in the room."—CROKER.

² Chiefly known as a Monthly Reviewer, and for a controversy with Dr. Priestley, whose friend and admirer he had previously been. His assistance to Dr. White, in a celebrated Bampton Lecture, was also the subject of a smart controversy between that divine and Dr. Parr. He had been bred a dissenter, but conformed to the established church, and was ordained in 1787. He died soon after in May, 1788, æt. 41.—CROKER.

³ The son of Mr. La Trobe has published (in the Christian Observer for January, 1824), "in order," as he says, "that the tradition may not be lost," what he calls a corroboration of some remarks, which appeared in that work for the October and November preceding, on the last days of Dr. Johnson. Mr. La Trobe's statement tends, as far as it is entitled to credit, to confirm the opinion already, it is hoped, universally entertained, that Johnson's death was truly christian. But Mr. La Trobe had little to tell, and of that little unfortunately the prominent facts are indisputably erroneous. Mr. La Trobe states, that "Dr. Johnson had during his last illness sent every day to know when his father, who was then out of town, would come back. The moment he arrived he went to the doctor's house, but found him speechless, though sensible. Mr. La Trobe addressed to him some religious exhortation, which Johnson showed by pressing his hand, and other signs, that he understood, and was thankful for. He expired the next morning, and Mr. La Trobe always regretted not having been able to attend Dr. Johnson sooner,

according to his wish." The reader will see that the inference suggested by this statement is, that Dr. Johnson wished for the spiritual assistance of Mr. La Trobe, in addition (or it might even be inferred, in *preference*) to that of his near and dear friends, Mr. Hoole and Dr. Strahan, clergymen of the established church; and it may be seen that the anonymous (and why anonymous?) writer of a letter published among Hannah More's, v. i. p. 379., repeats the tale of Mr. La Trobe's conversation having had a beneficial effect on Dr. Johnson's mind. Now the facts of the case essentially contradict Mr. La Trobe's account, and any inferences which might be deducible from it. Dr. Johnson, as will be seen in the *Diaries* of Sir J. Hawkins and Mr. Windham, was not speechless the day before his death, nor did he die next morning (which seems mentioned as the reason why Mr. La Trobe's visit was not repeated), but in the evening. And, which is quite conclusive, it appears from Mr. Hoole's *Diary*, that Mr. La Trobe's visit to Dr. Johnson's residence (and his son admits there was but one) took place about eleven o'clock in the forenoon of the 10th, three days before Dr. Johnson's death; that Mr. La Trobe did not even see him; and that it was in the course of that very day that Mr. Hoole read prayers to him and a small congregation of friends. And I must add, that some further particulars stated, *with the same view*, in the anonymous letter—which the editor of Hannah More's ought not to have admitted without better authentication—are certainly and manifestly false. So little can anecdotes at second hand be trusted.—CROKER, 1831:47. But see Rev. P. La Trobe's reply to this at end of the Vol.

⁴ No doubt the gentleman who is so conspicuous in Mr. Cumberland's Memoirs. He was subsequently first master of the Roman Catholic college at Maynooth, and titular Bishop of Waterford in Ireland, in which latter capacity he published, in 1797, a pastoral charge, which excited a good deal of observation.—CROKER.

an idiot; he is as awkward as a turnspit when first put into the wheel, and as sleepy as a dormouse."

He repeated with great spirit a poem, consisting of several stanzas, in four lines, in alternate rhyme, which he said he had composed some years before, on occasion of a rich, extravagant young gentleman's¹ coming of age: saying he had never repeated it but once since he composed it, and had given but one copy of it. That copy was given to Mrs. Thrale, now Piozzi, who has published it in a book which she entitles "British Synonymy," but which is truly a collection of entertaining remarks and stories, no matter whether accurate or not. Being a piece of exquisite satire, conveyed in a strain of pointed vivacity and humour, and in a manner of which no other instance is to be found in Johnson's writings, I shall here insert it.

"Long-expected one-and-twenty,
Ling'ring year, at length is flown;
Pride and pleasure, pomp and plenty,
Great [Sir John], are now your own.

"Loosen'd from the minor's tether,
Free to mortgage or to sell,
Wild as wind, and light as feather,
Bid the sons of thrift farewell.

"Call the Betseys, Kates, and Jennies,
All the names that banish care;
Lavish of your grandsire's guineas,
Show the spirit of an heir.

"All that prey on vice and folly
Joy to see their quarry fly;
There the gamester, light and jolly,
There the lender, grave and sly.

"Wealth, my lad, was made to wander,
Let it wander as it will;
Call the jockey, call the pander,
Bid them come and take their fill.

"When the bonny blade carouses,
Pockets full, and spirits high—
What are acres? what are houses?
Only dirt, or wet or dry.

"Should the guardian friend or mother
Tell the woes of wilful waste:
Scorn their counsels, scorn their pother,
You can hang or drown at last."

As he opened a note which his servant brought to him, he said, "An odd thought strikes me:—we shall receive no letters in the grave."²

¹ Sir John Lade—the posthumous son of the fourth baronet by Mr. Thrale's sister. He entered eagerly into all the follies of the day; was a remarkable whip; and married a woman of the town.—CROKER. See Johnson's letter to Mrs. Thrale, August 8th, 1780. "You have heard in the papers how [Lade] is come to age. I have enclosed a short song of congratulation, which you must not show to any body. It is odd that it should come into any body's head. I hope you will read it with candour; it is, I believe, one of the author's first essays in that way of writing, and a beginner is always to be treated with tenderness."—MALONE.

He requested three things of Sir Joshua Reynolds:—To forgive him thirty pounds which he had borrowed of him;—to read the Bible;—and never to use his pencil on a Sunday. Sir Joshua readily acquiesced.³

Indeed he showed the greatest anxiety for the religious improvement of his friends, to whom he discoursed of its infinite consequence. He begged of Mr. Hoole to think of what he had said, and to commit it to writing; and, upon being afterwards assured that this was done, pressed his hands, and in an earnest tone thanked him. Dr. Brocklesby having attended him with the utmost assiduity and kindness as his physician and friend, he was peculiarly desirous that this gentleman should not entertain any loose speculative notions, but be confirmed in the truths of Christianity, and insisted on his writing down in his presence, as nearly as he could collect it, the import of what passed on the subject; and Dr. Brocklesby having complied with the request, he made him sign the paper, and urged him to keep it in his own custody as long as he lived.

Johnson, with that native fortitude which, amidst all his bodily distress and mental sufferings, never forsook him, asked Dr. Brocklesby, as a man in whom he had confidence, to tell him plainly whether he could recover. "Give me," said he, "a direct answer." The doctor, having first asked him if he could bear the whole truth, which way soever it might lead, and being answered that he could, declared that, in his opinion, he could not recover without a miracle. "Then," said Johnson, "I will take no more physic, not even my opiates; for I have prayed that I may render up my soul to God unclouded." In this resolution he persevered, and, at the same time, used only the weakest kinds of sustenance. Being pressed by Mr. Windham to take somewhat more generous nourishment, lest too low a diet should have the very effect which he dreaded, by debilitating his mind, he said, "I will take any thing but inebriating sustenance."

The Reverend Mr. Strahan, who was the son of his friend, and had been always one of his great favourites, had, during his last illness, the satisfaction of contributing to soothe and comfort him. That gentleman's house at Islington, of which he is vicar, afforded Johnson, occasionally and easily, an agreeable change of place and fresh air; and he attended also upon him in town in the discharge of the sacred offices of his profession.

² Madame de Maintenon somewhere said, *les morts n'écrivent pas*; and higher thoughts of the same class had struck Jeremy Taylor:—"What servants shall we have to wait on us in the grave? What friends to visit us? What officious people to cleanse away the moist and unwholesome cloud reflected on our faces from the sides of the weeping vaults, which are the longest weepers at our funeral!"—*Holy Dying*, chap. i. s. 2.—CROKER.

³ Hannah More says that on this last article Sir Joshua hesitated a little, but at last complied.—CROKER, 1847.

Mr. Strahan has given me the agreeable assurance, that after being in much agitation, Johnson became quite composed, and continued so till his death.

Dr. Brocklesby, who will not be suspected of fanaticism, obliged me with the following accounts:—

"For some time before his death, all his fears were calmed and absorbed by the prevalence of his faith, and his trust in the merits and *propitiation* of Jesus Christ.

"He talked often to me about the necessity of faith in the *sacrifice* of Jesus, as necessary beyond all good works whatever for the salvation of mankind.

"He pressed me to study Dr. Clarke and to read his sermons. I asked him why he pressed Dr. Clarke, an Arian.¹ 'Because,' said he, 'he is fullest on the *propitiatory sacrifice*.'"

Of his last moments, my brother, Thomas David, has furnished me with the following particulars:—

"The Doctor, from the time that he was certain his death was near, appeared to be perfectly resigned, was seldom or never fretful or out of temper, and often said to his faithful servant, who gave me this account, 'Attend, Francis, to the salvation of your soul, which is the object of greatest importance:' he also explained to him passages in the Scripture, and seemed to have pleasure in talking upon religious subjects.

"On Monday, the 13th of December, the day on which he died, a Miss Morris², daughter to a particular friend of his, called, and said to Francis, that she begged to be permitted to see the Doctor, that she might earnestly request him to give her his blessing. Francis went into the room, followed by the young lady, and delivered the message. The Doctor turned himself in the bed, and said, 'God bless you, my dear!' These were the last words he spoke. His difficulty of breathing increased till about seven o'clock in the evening, when Mr. Barber and Mrs. Desmoulins, who were sitting in the room, observing that the noise he had made in breathing had ceased, went to the bed, and found he was dead."³

About two days after his death, the following very agreeable account was communicated to Mr. Malone, in a letter by the Honourable John Byng, to whom I am much obliged for granting me permission to introduce it in my work:—

"DEAR SIR,—Since I saw you, I have had a long conversation with Cawston⁴, who sat up with Dr. Johnson, from nine o'clock on Sunday evening, till ten o'clock on Monday morning. And, from what I can gather from him, it should seem that Dr. Johnson was perfectly composed, steady in hope, and resigned to death. At the interval of each hour, they assisted him to sit up in his bed, and move his legs, which were in much pain; when he regularly addressed himself to fervent prayer; and though, sometimes, his voice failed him, his sense never did, during that time. The only sustenance he received was cider and water. He said his mind was prepared, and the time to his dissolution seemed long. At six in the morning, he inquired the hour, and, on being informed, said, that all went on regularly, and he felt that he had but a few hours to live.

"At ten o'clock in the morning, he parted from Cawston, saying, 'You should not detain Mr. Windham's servant:—I thank you; bear my remembrance to your master.' Cawston says, that no man could appear more collected, more devout, or less terrified at the thoughts of the approaching minute.

"This account, which is so much more agreeable than, and somewhat different from, yours, has given us the satisfaction of thinking that that great man died as he lived, full of resignation, strengthened in faith, and joyful in hope."

A few days before his death, he had asked Sir John Hawkins, as one of his executors, where he should be buried; and on being answered, "Doubtless, in Westminster Abbey," seemed to feel a satisfaction, very natural to a poet; and indeed in my opinion very natural to every man of any imagination, who has no family sepulchre in which he can be laid with his fathers. Accordingly, upon Monday, December 20., his remains [enclosed in a leaden coffin] were deposited in that noble and renowned edifice [in the south transept, near the foot of Shakspeare's monument, and close to the coffin of his friend Garrick]; and over his grave was placed a large blue flag-stone, with this inscription:—

"SAMUEL JOHNSON, LL. D.
Obiit xiii. die Decembris,
Anno Domini
M. DCC. LXXXIV.
Ætatis sue LXXV."

¹ The change of his sentiments with regard to Dr. Clarke is thus mentioned to me in a letter from the late Dr. Adams, master of Pembroke College, Oxford.—"The Doctor's prejudices were the strongest, and certainly in another sense the weakest, that ever possessed a sensible man. You know his extreme zeal for orthodoxy. But did you ever hear what he told me himself—that he had made it a rule not to admit Dr. Clarke's name in his Dictionary? This, however, wore off. At some distance of time he advised with me what books he should read in defence of the Christian religion. I recommended 'Clarke's Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion,' as the best of the kind; and I find in what is called his 'Prayers and Meditations,' that he was frequently employed in the latter part of his time in reading Clarke's Sermons."—BOSWELL. But as early as 1763, he recommended Dr. Clarke, *anté*, p. 135.—CROKER.

² She was the sister of a lady of the same name who appeared on the stage at Covent Garden as Juliet, in 1768, and died next year. She was a relation of Mr. Corbyn Morris, commissioner of the customs.—CROKER.

³ The following letter, now in my possession, written with

an agitated hand, from the very chamber of death, by the amiable Mr. Langton, and obviously interrupted by his feelings, will not unsightly close the story of so long a friendship. The letter is not addressed, but Mr. Langton's family believe it was intended for Mr. Boswell.

MY DEAR SIR,—After many conflicting hopes and fears respecting the event of this heavy return of illness which has assailed our honoured friend, Dr. Johnson, since his arrival from Lichfield, about four days ago the appearances grew more and more awful, and this afternoon at eight o'clock, when I arrived at his house to see how he should be going on, I was acquainted at the door, that about three quarters of an hour before, he breathed his last. I am now writing in the room where his venerable remains exhibit a spectacle, the interesting solemnity of which, difficult as it would be in any sort to find terms to express, so to you, my dear Sir, whose own sensations will paint it so strongly, it would be of all men the most superfluous to attempt to.—CROKER.

⁴ Servant to the Right Hon. William Windham.—BOSWELL.

His funeral was attended by a respectable number of his friends, particularly such of the members of The Literary Club as were in town; and was also honoured with the presence of several of the Reverend Chapter of Westminster. Mr. Burke, Sir Joseph Banks, Mr. Windham, Mr. Langton, Sir Charles Bunbury, and Mr. Colman bore his pall. His schoolfellow, Dr. Taylor, performed the mournful office of reading the burial service.¹

I trust I shall not be accused of affectation, when I declare, that I find myself unable to express all that I felt upon the loss of such a "guide, philosopher, and friend."² I shall, therefore, not say one word of my own, but adopt those of an eminent friend³, which he uttered with an abrupt felicity, superior to all studied compositions:—"He has made a chasm, which not only nothing can fill up, but which nothing has a tendency to fill up. Johnson is dead. Let us go to the next best: there is nobody; no man can be said to put you in mind of Johnson."

As Johnson had abundant homage paid to him during his life⁴, so no writer in this nation ever had such an accumulation of literary honours after his death. A sermon upon that event was preached in St. Mary's Church, Oxford, before the University, by the Rev. Mr. Agutter, of Magdalen College.⁵ The

¹ "It must be told, that a dissatisfaction was expressed in the public papers that he was not buried with all possible funeral rites and honours. In all processions and solemnities something will be forgotten or omitted. Here no disrespect was intended. The executors did not think themselves justified in doing more than they did; for only a little cathedral service, accompanied with lights and music, would have raised the price of interment. In this matter fees ran high; they could not be excused; and the expenses were to be paid from the property of the deceased. His funeral expenses amounted to more than two hundred pounds. Future monumental charges may be defrayed by the generosity of subscription."—*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1785, p. 911., probably by Mr. Tyers.

There was some hope that the fees would have been refunded, and Steevens made a suggestion to that effect in the *Gent. Mag.*, but they were not; and it is to be added, that all Dr. Johnson's friends, but especially Malone and Steevens, were indignant at the mean and selfish spirit which the dean and chapter exhibited on this occasion; but they were especially so against Dr. Taylor, not only for not having prevailed on his colleagues to show more respect to his old friend, but for the unfeeling manner in which he himself performed the burial service.—CROKER.

² On the subject of Johnson I may adopt the words of Sir John Harrington concerning his venerable tutor and diocesan, Dr. John Still, Bishop of Bath and Wells: "who hath given me some helps, more hopes, all encouragements in my best studies: to whom I never came but I grew more religious; from whom I never went, but I parted better instructed. Of him, therefore, my acquaintance, my friend, my instructor, if I speak much, it were not to be marvelled; if I speak frankly, it is not to be blamed; and though I speak partially, it were to be pardoned."—*Nuga Antiquæ*, vol. i. p. 136. There is one circumstance in Sir John's character of Bishop Still, which is peculiarly applicable to Johnson: "He became so famous a disputant, that the learnedest were even afraid to dispute with him; and he, finding his own strength, could not stick to warn them in their arguments to take heed to their answers, like a perfect fencer that will tell beforehand in which button he will give the venue, or like a cunning chess-player that will appoint beforehand with which pawn and in what place he will give the mate." *Ibid.*—BOSWELL.

³ The late Right Hon. William Gerard Hamilton, who had been intimately acquainted with Dr. Johnson near thirty years. He died in London, July 16. 1796, in his sixty-eighth year.—MALONE.

Lives, the Memoirs, the Essays, both in prose and verse, which have been published concerning him, would make many volumes. The numerous attacks too upon him I consider as part of his consequence, upon the principle which he himself so well knew and asserted. Many who trembled at his presence were forward in assault, when they no longer apprehended danger. When one of his little pragmatical foes was invidiously snarling at his fame at Sir Joshua Reynolds's table, the Reverend Dr. Parr exclaimed, with his usual bold animation, "Ay, now that the old lion is dead, every ass thinks he may kick at him."

A monument for him, in Westminster Abbey, was resolved upon soon after his death, and was supported by a most respectable contribution; but the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's having come to a resolution of admitting monuments there upon a liberal and magnificent plan, that cathedral was afterwards fixed on, as a place in which a cenotaph should be erected to his memory: and in the cathedral of his native city of Lichfield a smaller one is to be erected.⁶ To compose his epitaph, could not but excite the warmest competition of genius. If *laudari è laudato viro* be praise which is highly estimable, I should not forgive myself were I to omit the following sepulchral verses on the author of THE ENGLISH DICTIONARY, written by the Right Honourable Henry Flood⁷:—

⁴ Beside the Dedications to him by Dr. Goldsmith, the Rev. Dr. Franklin, and the Rev. Mr. Wilson, which I have mentioned according to their dates, there was one by a lady, of a versification of "Aningait and Ajut," and one by the ingenious Mr. Walker, of his "Rhetorical Grammar." I have introduced into this work several compliments paid to him in the writings of his contemporaries; but the number of them is so great, that we may fairly say that there was almost a general tribute. Let me not be forgetful of the honour done to him by Colonel Myddleton, of Gwynnynog, near Denbigh; who, on the banks of a rivulet in his park, where Johnson delighted to stand and repeat verses, erected an urn with the inscription given *antè*, p. 423. n. 4.—BOSWELL. Here followed an account of the various portraits of Dr. Johnson, which will be found at the end of the chapter.—CROKER.

⁵ It is not yet published. In a letter to me, Mr. Agutter says, "My sermon before the University was more engaged with Dr. Johnson's *moral* than his *intellectual* character. It particularly examined his fear of death, and suggested several reasons for the apprehensions of the good, and the indifference of the infidel, in their last hours; this was illustrated by contrasting the death of Dr. Johnson and Mr. Hume: the text was, Job, xxi. 22—26."—BOSWELL.

⁶ This monument has been since erected. It consists of a medallion, with a tablet beneath, on which is this inscription:—

The friends of SAMUEL JOHNSON, LL. D.

A native of Lichfield,
Erected this Monument,
As a tribute of respect

To the Memory of a man of extensive learning,
A distinguished moral writer, and a sincere Christian.
He died Dec. 13. 1784, aged 75.—MALONE.

⁷ To prevent any misconception on this subject, Mr. Malone, by whom these lines were obligingly communicated, requests me to add the following remark:—

"In justice to the late Mr. Flood, now himself wanting, and highly meriting an epitaph from his country, to which his transcendent talents did the highest honour, as well as the most important service, it should be observed, that these lines were by no means intended as a regular monumental inscription for Dr. Johnson. Had he undertaken to write an appropriate and discriminative epitaph for that excellent and

"No need of Latin or of Greek to grace
Our JOHNSON's memory, or inscribe his grave;
His native language claims this mournful space,
To pay the immortality he gave."¹

The Rev. Dr. Parr, on being requested to undertake Johnson's epitaph, thus expressed himself in a letter to William Seward, Esq.:

"I leave this mighty task to some hardier and some abler writer. The variety and splendour of Johnson's attainments, the peculiarities of his character, his private virtues, and his literary publications, fill me with confusion and dismay, when I reflect upon the confined and difficult species of composition, in which alone they can be expressed with propriety, upon this monument."

But I understand that this great scholar, and warm admirer of Johnson, has yielded to repeated solicitations, and executed the very difficult undertaking.

extraordinary man, those who knew Mr. Flood's vigour of mind will have no doubt that he would have produced one worthy of his illustrious subject. But the fact was merely this: in December, 1793, after a large subscription had been made for Dr. Johnson's monument, to which Mr. Flood liberally contributed, Mr. Malone happened to call on him at his house in Berners Street, and the conversation turning on the proposed monument, Mr. Malone maintained that the epitaph, by whosoever it should be written, ought to be in Latin. Mr. Flood thought differently. The next morning, in a postscript to a note on another subject, he mentioned that he continued of the same opinion as on the preceding day, and subjoined the lines above given." — BOSWELL.

¹ Dr. Johnson's monument, consisting of a colossal figure leaning against a column (but not very strongly resembling him), has since the death of Mr. Boswell been placed in St. Paul's Cathedral, having been first opened to public view, February 23, 1796. The epitaph was written by the Rev. Dr. Parr, and is as follows:—

A  Ω

SAMVELI · JOHNSON
GRAMMATICO · ET · CRITICO
SCRIPTURVM · ANGLICORVM · LITTERATE ·
PERITO

POETÆ · LVMINIBVS · SENTENTIARVM
ET · PONDERIBVS · VERBORVM · ADMIRABILI
MAGISTRO · VIRTVTIS · GRAVISSIMO
HOMINI · OPTIMO · ET · SINGVLARIS · EXEMPLI.

QVI VIXIT · ANN · LXXV · MENS · II · DIEB · XIII.
DECESSIT · IDIB · DECEMBER · ANN · CHRIST ·
CL · ICCC · LXXXIII · SEPVL · IN · AED · SANCT ·
PETR · WESTMONASTERIENS · XII · KAL ·
IANVAR · ANN · CHRIST · CL · ICCC · LXXXV.
AMICI · ET · SODALES · LITTERARII
PECVNIA · CONLATA
H · M · FACIEND · CVRAVER.

On a scroll in his hand are the following words:—
ENMAKAPESΣHONONANTAΞIOΣEIIHMOIBH.

On one side of the monument:—
FACIEBAT JOHANNES BACON, SCRIPTOR ANN. CHRIST.
M.D.CC.LXXXV.

The subscription for this monument, which cost eleven hundred guineas, was begun by the Literary Club, and completed by the aid of Johnson's other friends and admirers. — MALONE.

It is to be regretted that the committee for erecting this monument did not adhere to the principles of the *Round Robin*, on the subject of Goldsmith's epitaph, (*ante*, p. 521.), and insist on having the epitaph to Johnson written in the language to which he had been so great and so very peculiar a benefactor. The committee of subscribers, called *curators*, were Lord Stowell, Mr. Burke, Mr. Windham, Sir Joseph Banks, Mr. Metcalf, Mr. Boswell, and Mr. Malone; of whom, Mr. Metcalf, Mr. Burke, and Sir Joseph had signed the *Round Robin*; but it may be presumed that Dr. Johnson's pre-

CONCLUSION.

THE character of SAMUEL JOHNSON has, I trust, been so developed in the course of this work, that they who have honoured it with a perusal may be considered as well acquainted with him. As, however, it may be expected that I should collect into one view the capital and distinguishing features of this extraordinary man, I shall endeavour to acquit myself of that part of my biographical undertaking², however difficult it may be to do that which many of my readers will do better for themselves.

His figure was large and well formed, and his countenance of the cast of an ancient statue; yet his appearance was rendered strange and somewhat uncouth, by convulsive cramps, by the scars of that distemper which it was once

ference of a Latin epitaph, so *positively pronounced* on that occasion, operated on their minds as an expression of what his wishes would have been as to his own. It seems, however, to me, the height of bad taste and absurdity to exhibit Dr. Johnson in St. Paul's cathedral in the masquerade of a half-naked Roman, with such pedantic, and, to the passing public, unintelligible inscriptions as the above: of which the following is a close translation:—

Alpha  Omega.

TO SAMUEL JOHNSON,

A grammarian and critic
Of great skill in English literature:
A poet admirable for the light of his sentences
And the weight of his words;
A most effective teacher of virtue;
An excellent man, and of singular example,
Who lived 75 years, 2 months, 14 days.

He died in the ides of December, in the year of Christ,
MDCCLXXXIV.

Was buried in the church of St. Peter's, Westminster,
The 13th of the kalends of January, in the year of Christ
MDCCLXXXIV.

His literary friends and companions,
By a collection of money,
Caused this monument to be made.

The reader will not of course attribute to the original all the awkwardness of this nearly literal version; but he will not fail to observe the tedious and confused mode of marking the numerals, the unnecessary repetition of them, and the introduction of *nones* and *ides*, all of which are, even on the principles of the Lapidarian scholars themselves, clumsy, and on the principles of common sense, contemptible. Thirty-four letters and numerals (nearly a tenth part of the whole inscription) are, for instance, expended in letting posterity know that Dr. Johnson was *buried* in about a week after his *death*.

The Greek words, so pedantically jumbled together on the scroll, are an alteration by Dr. Parr of the concluding line of Dionysius, the geographer, with which Johnson had closed the Rambler. See *ante*, p. 71. It seems, that in deference to some apprehensions about the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's might think the *Αὐτῷ* *ἢ* *μακάρεσι* *ἀνταξίος* *ὅτι* *ἀμειβῶ*—*from the blessed [gods] may he receive his merited reward*—somewhat heathenish, Dr. Parr was persuaded to convert the line into 'Εν *μακάρεσι* *πᾶσι* *ἀνταξίος* *ὅτι* *ἀμειβῶ*—*may he receive amongst the blessed the merited reward of his labours*. The reader who is curious about the pompous inanities of literature will find at the end of the fourth volume of Dr. Parr's works, ed. 1828, a long correspondence between Parr, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Malone, and other friends of Dr. Johnson, on the subject of this epitaph. He will be amused at the burlesque importance which Parr attaches to epitaph-writing, the tenacity with which he endeavoured to describe Dr. Johnson, with reference to his poetical character, as *poeta probabilis*, and his candid avowal, that in the composition he was *winking* more of his own character than Dr. Johnson's. — CROKER.

² As I do not see any reason to give a different character of my illustrious friend now from what I formerly gave, the greatest part of the sketch of him in my "Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides" is here adopted. — BOSWELL.

imagined the royal touch could cure, and by a slovenly mode of dress. He had the use only of one eye; yet so much does mind govern, and even supply the deficiency of organs, that his visual perceptions, as far as they extended, were uncommonly quick and accurate. So morbid was his temperament, that he never knew the natural joy of a free and vigorous use of his limbs: when he walked, it was like the struggling gait of one in fetters; when he rode, he had no command or direction of his horse, but was carried as if in a balloon. That with his constitution and habits of life he should have lived seventy-five years, is a proof that an inherent *vivida vis* is a powerful preservative of the human frame.

Man is, in general, made up of contradictory qualities; and these will ever show themselves in strange succession, where a consistency in appearance at least, if not reality, has not been attained by long habits of philosophical discipline. In proportion to the native vigour of the mind, the contradictory qualities will be the more prominent, and more difficult to be adjusted; and, therefore, we are not to wonder that Johnson exhibited an eminent example of this remark which I have made upon human nature. At different times he seemed a different man in some respects; not, however, in any great or essential article, upon which he had fully employed his mind, and settled certain principles of duty, but only in his manners, and in the display of argument and fancy in his talk. He was prone to superstition, but not to credulity. Though his imagination might incline him to a belief of the marvellous and the mysterious, his vigorous reason examined the evidence with jealousy. He was a sincere and zealous Christian, of high Church of England and monarchical principles, which he would not tamely suffer to be questioned; and had, perhaps, at an early period, narrowed his mind somewhat too much, both as to religion and politics. His being impressed with the danger of extreme latitude in either, though he was of a very independent spirit, occasioned his appearing somewhat unfavourable to the prevalence of that noble freedom of sentiment which is the best possession of man. Nor can it be denied that he had many prejudices; which, however, frequently suggested many of his pointed sayings, that rather show a playfulness of fancy than any settled malignity. He was steady and inflexible in maintaining the obligations of religion and morality, both from a regard for the order of society and from a veneration for the Great Source of all order; correct, nay stern, in his taste; hard to please, and easily offended; impetuous and irritable in his temper, but of a most humane and benevolent heart¹, which

showed itself not only in a most liberal charity, as far as his circumstances would allow, but in a thousand instances of active benevolence. He was afflicted with a bodily disease, which made him often restless and fretful, and with a constitutional melancholy, the clouds of which darkened the brightness of his fancy, and gave a gloomy cast to his whole course of thinking; we, therefore, ought not to wonder at his sallies of impatience and passion at any time, especially when provoked by obtrusive ignorance or presuming petulance; and allowance must be made for his uttering hasty and satirical sallies even against his best friends. And, surely, when it is considered, that "amidst sickness and sorrow" he exerted his faculties in so many works for the benefit of mankind, and particularly that he achieved the great and admirable Dictionary of our language, we must be astonished at his resolution. The solemn text, "Of him to whom much is given much will be required," seems to have been ever present to his mind, in a rigorous sense, and to have made him dissatisfied with his labours and acts of goodness, however comparatively great; so that the unavoidable consciousness of his superiority was, in that respect, a cause of disquiet. He suffered so much from this, and from the gloom which perpetually haunted him, and made solitude frightful, that it may be said of him, "If in this life only he had hope, he was of all men most miserable." He loved praise when it was brought to him; but was too proud to seek for it. He was somewhat susceptible of flattery. As he was general and unconfined in his studies, he cannot be considered as master of any one particular science; but he had accumulated a vast and various collection of learning and knowledge, which was so arranged in his mind as to be ever in readiness to be brought forth. But his superiority over other learned men consisted chiefly in what may be called the art of thinking, the art of using his mind; a certain continual power of seizing the useful substance of all that he knew, and exhibiting it in a clear and forcible manner; so that knowledge, which we often see to be no better than lumber in men of dull understanding, was in him true, evident, and actual wisdom. His moral precepts are practical, for they are drawn from an intimate acquaintance with human nature. His maxims carry conviction; for they are founded on the basis of common sense, and a very attentive and minute survey of real life. His mind was so full of imagery that he might have been perpetually a poet; yet it is remarkable, that however rich his prose is in this respect, his poetical pieces in general have not much of that splendour, but are rather distinguished by strong sentiment and acute obser-

¹ In the "Olla Podrida," a collection of essays published at Oxford, there is an admirable paper upon the character of Johnson, written by the Rev. Dr. Horne, the late excellent Bishop of Norwich. The following passage is eminently

happy:—"To reject wisdom, because the person of him who communicates it is uncouth, and his manners are unpleasant; what is it, but to throw away a pine-apple, and assign for a reason the roughness of its coat?"—BOSWELL.

vation, conveyed in harmonious and energetic verse, particularly in heroic couplets. Though usually grave, and even awful in his deportment, he possessed uncommon and peculiar powers of wit and humour; he frequently indulged himself in colloquial pleasantry; and the heartiest merriment was often enjoyed in his company; with this great advantage, that, as it was entirely free from any poisonous tincture of vice or impiety, it was salutary to those who shared in it. He had accustomed himself to such accuracy in his common conversation¹, that he at all times expressed his thoughts with great force, and an elegant choice of language, the effect of which was aided by his having a loud voice, and a slow deliberate utterance. In him were united a most logical head with a most fertile imagination, which gave him an extraordinary advantage in arguing: for he could reason close or wide, as he saw best for the moment. Exulting in his intellectual strength and dexterity, he could,

when he pleased, be the greatest sophist that ever contended in the list of declamation; and, from a spirit of contradiction, and a delight in showing his powers, he would often maintain the wrong side with equal warmth and ingenuity; so that, when there was an audience, his real opinions could seldom be gathered from his talk; though when he was in company with a single friend, he would discuss a subject with genuine fairness; but he was too conscientious to make error permanent and pernicious, by deliberately writing it; and, in all his numerous works, he earnestly inculcated what appeared to him to be the truth; his piety being constant, and the ruling principle of all his conduct.

Such was SAMUEL JOHNSON²; a man whose talents, acquirements, and virtues, were so extraordinary, that the more his character is considered, the more he will be regarded by the present age, and by posterity, with admiration and reverence.

¹ Though a perfect resemblance of Johnson is not to be found in any age, parts of his character are admirably expressed by Clarendon, in drawing that of Lord Falkland, whom the noble and masterly historian describes at his seat near Oxford: "Such an immensity of wit, such a solidity of judgment, so infinite a fancy, bound in by a most logical ratiocination. His acquaintance was cultivated by the most polite and accurate men; so that his house was an university in less volume, whither they came, not so much for repose as study, and to examine and refine those grosser propositions which laziness and consent made current in conversation." Bayle's account of Menage may also be quoted as exceedingly applicable to the great subject of this work:—

"His illustrious friends erected a very glorious monument to him in the collection entitled 'Menagiana.' Those who judge of things right will confess that this collection is very proper to show the extent of genius and learning which was the character of Menage. And I may be bold to say, that the excellent works he published will not distinguish him from other learned men so advantageously as this. To publish books of great learning, to make Greek and Latin verses exceedingly well turned, is not a common talent, I own; neither is it extremely rare. It is incomparably more difficult to find men who can furnish discourse about an infinite number of things, and who can diversify them a hundred ways. How many authors are there who are admired for their works, on account of the vast learning that is displayed in them, who are not able to sustain a conversation. Those who know Menage only by his books might think he resembled those learned men; but if you show the 'Menagiana,' you distinguish him from them, and make him known by a talent which is given to very few learned men. There it appears that he was a man who spoke off-hand a thousand good things. His memory extended to what was ancient and modern; to the court and to the city; to the dead and to the living languages; to things serious and things jocose; in a word, to a thousand sorts of subjects. That which appeared a trifle to some readers of the 'Menagiana,' who did not consider circumstances, caused admiration in other readers, who minded the difference between what a man speaks without preparation and that which he prepares for the press. And, therefore, we cannot sufficiently commend the care which his illustrious friends took to erect a monument so capable of giving him immortal glory. They were not obliged to rectify what they had heard him say; for, in so doing, they had not been faithful historians of his conversation." — BOSWELL.

² As no inconsiderable circumstance of his fame, we must reckon the extraordinary zeal of the artists to extend and perpetuate his image. I can enumerate a bust by Mr. Nollekens, and the many casts which were made from it; (p. 568. n. 2.), several pictures by Sir Joshua Reynolds, from one of which, in the possession of the Duke of Dorset, Mr. Humphrey executed a beautiful miniature in enamel; one by Mrs. Frances Reynolds, Sir Joshua's sister; one by Mr. Zoffany; and one

by Mr. Opie; and the following engravings of his portrait:—1. By Cooke, from Sir Joshua, for the proprietors' edition of his folio Dictionary.—2. One from ditto, by ditto, for their quarto edition.—3. One from Opie, by Heath, for Harrison's edition of his Dictionary.—4. One from Nollekens' bust of him, by Bartolozzi, for Fielding's quarto edition of his Dictionary.—5. One small, from Sir Joshua, by Trotter, for his "Beauties."—6. One small, from Sir Joshua, by Trotter, for his "Lives of the Poets."—7. One small from Sir Joshua, by Hall, for "The Rambler."—8. One small from an original drawing, in the possession of Mr. John Simco, etched by Trotter, for another edition of his "Lives of the Poets."—9. One small, no painter's name, etched by Taylor, for his "Johnsoniana."—10. One folio, whole length, with his oak stick, as described in Boswell's "Tour," drawn and etched by Trotter.—11. One large Mezzotinto, from Sir Joshua, by Doughty.—12. One large Roman head, from Sir Joshua, by Marchi.—13. One octavo, holding a book to his eye, from Sir Joshua, by Hall, for his works.—14. One small, from a drawing from the life, and engraved by Trotter, for his life published by Kearsley.—15. One large, from Opie, by Mr. Townley (brother of Mr. Townley of the Commons), an ingenious artist, who resided some time at Berlin, and has the honour of being engraver to His Majesty the King of Prussia. This is one of the finest mezzotintos that ever was executed; and what renders it of extraordinary value, the plate was destroyed after four or five impressions only were taken off. One of them is in the possession of Sir William Scott. Mr. Townley has lately been prevailed with to execute and publish another of the same, that it may be more generally circulated amongst the admirers of Dr. Johnson.—16. One large, from Sir Joshua's first picture of him, by Heath, for this work, in quarto.—17. One octavo, by Baker, for the octavo edition.—18. And one for "Lavater's Essays on Physiognomy," in which Johnson's countenance is analysed upon the principles of that fanciful writer. There are also several seals with his head cut on them, particularly a very fine one by that eminent artist, Edward Burch, Esq., R.A., in the possession of the younger Dr. Charles Bury.

Let me add, as a proof of the popularity of his character, that there are copper pieces struck at Birmingham, with his head impressed on them, which pass current as half-pence there, and in the neighbouring parts of the country. — BOSWELL.

I had in my first edition, with the assistance of Mr. John Murray, enlarged Mr. Boswell's catalogue of pictures and engravings, but the latter have become too many for enumeration. I am, therefore, obliged to abide by Mr. Boswell's list, which comprises the best and most remarkable: adding only, that Dr. Harwood allowed me to engrave for my first edition a miniature (painter unknown), which had belonged to Mrs. Johnson, and was no doubt very like when he was about 30. — CROKER, 1847.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE EARLY LIFE OF DR. JOHNSON,

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

[See p. 4.]

FROM a little volume published in 1805, and now become scarce, entitled "An Account of the Life of Dr. Samuel Johnson, from his Birth to his Eleventh Year, written by himself: to which are added, Original Letters to Dr. Johnson, by Miss Hill Boothby; from the MSS. preserved by the Doctor, and now in possession of Richard Wright, Surgeon, of Lichfield."—"This volume (says this gentleman) was among that mass of papers which were ordered to be committed to the flames a few days before Dr. Johnson's death, thirty-two pages of which were torn out by himself, and destroyed. Francis Barber, his black servant, unwilling that all the MSS. of his illustrious master should be utterly lost, preserved these relics from the flames. By purchase they came into the possession of the Editor."—It seems strange that Mr. Boswell, who seems to have had access to all Barber's information, should not have heard of this. —CROKER.

ANNA LS.

I. 1709-10.

SEPT. 7.¹ 1709, I was born at Lichfield. My mother had a very difficult and dangerous labour, and was assisted by George Hector, a man-midwife of great reputation.² I was born almost dead³, and could not cry for some time. When he had me in his arms, he said, "Here is a brave boy."

In a few weeks an inflammation was discovered on my buttock, which was at first, I think, taken for a burn; but soon appeared to be a natural disorder. It swelled, broke, and healed.

My father being that year sheriff of Lichfield, and to ride the circuit of the county⁴ next day, which was a ceremony then performed with great pomp; he was asked by my mother, "Whom he would invite to the Riding?" and answered, "All the town now." He feasted the citizens with uncommon magnificence, and was the last but one that maintained the splendour of the Riding.

I was, by my father's persuasion, put to one Marclew, commonly called "Bellison's," the servant, or wife of a servant of my father, to be nursed in George Lane, where I used to call when I was a bigger boy, and eat fruit in the garden, which was full of trees. Here it was discovered that my eyes were bad; and an issue was cut in my left arm⁶, of which I took no great notice, as I think my mother has told me, having my little hand in a custard.

It is observable, that, having been told of this operation, I always imagined that I remembered it, but I laid the scene in the wrong house. Such confusions of memory I suspect to be common.

My mother visited me every day, and used to go different ways, that her assiduity might not expose her to ridicule; and often left her fan or glove behind her, that she might have a pretence to come back unexpected; but she never discovered any token of neglect. Dr. Swinfen told me, that the scrofulous sores which afflicted me proceeded from the bad humours of the nurse, whose son had the same distemper, and was likewise short-sighted, but both in a less degree. My mother thought my diseases derived from her family.⁷

In ten weeks I was taken home, a poor, diseased infant, almost blind.

I remember my aunt Nath. Ford told me, when I was about . . . years old, that she would not have picked such a poor creature up in the street.

In 1767, when I was at Lichfield, I went to look for my

nurse's house; and, inquiring somewhat obscurely, was told "this is the house in which you were nursed." I saw my nurse's son, to whose milk I succeeded, reading a large Bible, which my nurse had bought, as I was then told, some time before her death.

Dr. Swinfen used to say, that he never knew any child reared with so much difficulty.

II. 1710-11.

In the second year I knew not what happened to me. I believe it was then that my mother carried me to Trysil⁸, to consult Dr. Atwood, an oculist of Worcester. My father and Mrs. Harriots, I think, never had much kindness for each other. She was my mother's relation; and he had none so high to whom he could send any of his family. He saw her seldom himself, and willingly disgusted her, by sending his horses from home on Sunday; which she considered, and with reason, as a breach of duty. My father had much vanity, which his adversity hindered from being fully exerted. I remember, that, mentioning her legacy in the humility of distress, he called her *our good Cousin Harriots*. My mother had no value for his relations; those indeed whom we knew of were much lower than hers. This contempt began, I know not on which side, very early; but as my father was little at home, it had not much effect.

My father and mother had not much happiness from each other. They seldom conversed; for my father could not bear to talk of his affairs; and my mother, being unacquainted with books, cared not to talk of any thing else. Had my mother been more literate, they had been better companions. She might have sometimes introduced her unwelcome topic with more success, if she could have diversified her conversation. Of business she had no distinct conception; and therefore her discourse was composed only of complaint, fear, and suspicion. Neither of them ever tried to calculate the profits of trade, or the expenses of living. My mother concluded that we were poor, because we lost by some of our trades; but the truth was, that my father, having in the early part of his life contracted debts, never had trade sufficient to enable him to pay them, and maintain his family; he got something, but not enough.

It was not till about 1768, that I thought to calculate the returns of my father's trade, and by that estimate his probable profits. This, I believe, my parents never did.

III. 1711-12.

This year, in Lent—12, I was taken to London, to be touched for the evil by Queen Anne. My mother was at Nicholson's, the famous bookseller, in Little Britain.⁹ I always retained some memory of this journey, though I was then but thirty months old. I remembered a little dark room behind the kitchen, where the jack-weight fell through a hole in the floor, into which I once slipped my leg.¹⁰

I remember a boy crying at the palace when I went to be touched. Being asked, "on which side of the shop was the counter?" I answered, "on the left from the entrance," many years after, and spoke, not by guess, but by memory. We went in the stage-coach, and returned in the waggon, as my mother said, because my cough was violent. The hope of saving a few shillings was no slight motive; for she, not having been accustomed to money, was afraid of such expenses as now seem very small. She sewed two guineas in her petticoat, lest she should be robbed.

⁷ *Ante*, p. 4. n. 1. His mother and Dr. Swinfen were both perhaps wrong in their conjecture as to the origin of the disease; he more probably inherited it from his father, with the morbid melancholy which is so commonly an attendant on scrofulous habits.—CROKER.

⁸ Near Wolverhampton.—R. WRIGHT.

⁹ My mother, then with child, concealed her pregnancy, that she might not be hindered from the journey.—*Orig.*

¹⁰ I seem to remember, that I played with a string and a bell, which my cousin Isaac Johnson gave me; and that there was a cat with a white collar, and a dog called Chops, that leaped over a stick; but I know not whether I remember the thing, or the talk of it.—*Orig.*

¹ 18. of the present style.—*Orig.*

² Father, no doubt, of Johnson's friend of the same name.—CROKER.

³ To have been born *almost dead* has been related of many eminent men; amongst others of Addison, Lord Lyttelton, and Voltaire.—CROKER.

⁴ Of the city.—CROKER.

⁵ The name of Marclew, alias Bellison, is yet common in Lichfield, and is usually so distinguished.—R. WRIGHT.

⁶ How long this issue was continued I do not remember. I believe it was suffered to dry when I was about six years old.—*Orig.*

We were troublesome to the passengers; but to suffer such inconveniences in the stage-coach was common in these days to persons in much higher rank.¹ She bought me a small silver cup and spoon, marked SAM. I., lest, if they had been marked S. I., which was her name, they should, upon her death, have been taken from me. She bought me a speckled linen frock, which I knew afterwards by the name of my London frock. The cup was one of the last pieces of plate which dear Tetty² sold in our distress. I have now the spoon. She bought at the same time two tea-spoons, and till my manhood she had no more.

My father considered tea as very expensive, and discouraged my mother from keeping company with the neighbours, and from paying visits or receiving them. She lived to say, many years after, that if the time were to pass again, she would not comply with such unsocial injunctions.³

I suppose that in this year I was first informed of a future state. I remember, that being in bed with my mother one morning, I was told by her of the two places to which the inhabitants of this world were received after death: one a fine place filled with happiness, called Heaven; the other, a sad place, called Hell. That this account much affected my imagination, I do not remember. When I was risen, my mother bade me repeat what she had told me to Thomas Jackson. When I told this afterwards to my mother, she seemed to wonder that she should begin such talk so late as that the first time could be remembered.

[Here there is a chasm of thirty-eight pages in the manuscript.]

— examination. We always considered it as a day of ease; for we made no preparation, and indeed were asked commonly such questions as we had been asked often before, and could regularly answer. But I believe it was of use at first.

On Thursday night a small portion of Æsop was learned by heart, and on Friday morning the lessons in Æsop were repeated; I believe, not those in Helvicius. On Friday afternoon we learned *Quæ Genus*; I suppose that other boys might say their repetition, but of this I have now no distinct remembrance. To learn *Quæ Genus* was to me always pleasing; and *As in Præsentis*, I know not why, always disgusting.

When we learned our Accidence we had no parts, but, I think, two lessons. The boys that came to school untaught read the Accidence twice through before they learned it by heart.

When we learned *Propria quæ Maribus*, our parts were in the Accidence; when we learned *As in Præsentis*, our parts were in the Accidence and *Propria quæ Maribus*; when we learned *Syntaxis*, in the former three. *Propria quæ Maribus* I could repeat without any effort of recollection. I used to repeat it to my mother and Tom Johnson; and remember, that I once went as far as the middle of the paragraph, "*Mascula dicuntur monosyllaba*," in a dream.

On Saturday, as on Thursday, we were examined. We were sometimes, on one of those days, asked our Catechism⁴, but with no regularity or constancy.

The progress of examination was this. When we learned *Propria quæ Maribus*, we were examined in the Accidence; particularly we formed Verbs, that is, went through the same person in all the Moods and Tenses. This was very difficult to me; and I was once very anxious about the next day, when this exercise was to be performed, in which I had failed till I was discouraged. My mother encouraged me, and I proceeded better. When I told her of my good escape, "We often," said she, dear mother! "come off best, when we are most afraid." She told me, that, once when she asked me about forming verbs, I said, "I did not form them in an ugly shape." "You could not," said she, "speak plain; and I was proud that I had a boy who was forming verbs." These little memorials soothe my mind. Of the parts of *Cordeus* or Æsop, which we learned to repeat, I have not the least recollection, except of a passage in one of the *Morals*, where it is said of some man, that, when he hated another, he made him rich; this I repeated emphatically in my mother's hearing, who could never conceive that riches could bring any evil. She remarked it, as I expected.

I had the curiosity, two or three years ago, to look over Garretson's Exercises, Willymot's Particles, and Walker's Exercises; and found very few sentences that I should have

recollected if I had found them in any other books. That which is read without pleasure is not often recollected nor infixed by conversation, and therefore in a great measure drops from the memory. Thus it happens that those who are taken early from school, commonly lose all that they had learned.

When we learned *As in Præsentis*, we parsed *Propria quæ Maribus* by Hoole's Terminations; and when we learned *Syntaxis*, we parsed *As in Præsentis*; and afterwards *Quæ Genus* by the same book; sometimes, as I remember, proceeding in order of the rules, and sometimes, particularly in *As in Præsentis*, taking words as they occurred in the Index.

The whole week before we broke up, and the part of the week in which we broke up, were spent wholly, I know not why, in examination; and were therefore easy to both us and the master. The two nights before the vacation were free from exercise.

This was the course of the school, which I remember with pleasure; for I was indulged and caressed by my master, and, I think, really excelled the rest.

I was with Hawkins but two years, and perhaps four months. The time, till I had computed it, appeared much longer by the multitude of novelties which it supplied, and of incidents, then in my thoughts important, it produced. Perhaps it is not possible that any other period can make the same impression on the memory.

X. 1719

In the Spring of 1719, our class, consisting of eleven, the number was always fixed in my memory, but one of the names I have forgotten, was removed to the upper school, and put under Holbrook's, a peevish and ill-tempered man. We were removed sooner than had been the custom; for the head-master, intent upon his boarders, left the town-boys long in the lower school. Our removal was caused by a reproof from the Town-clerk⁵; and Hawkins complained that he had lost half his profit. At this removal I cried. The rest were indifferent. My exercise in Garretson was somewhere about the Gerunds. Our places in Æsop and Helvicius I have totally forgotten.

At Whitsuntide Mrs. Longworth brought me a "Hermes Garretsoni," of which I do not remember that I ever could make much use. It was afterwards lost, or stolen at school. My exercise was then in the end of the Syntax. Hermes furnished me with the word *imliciturus*, which I did not understand, but used it. This task was very troublesome to me; I made all the twenty-five exercises, others made but sixteen. I never showed all mine; five lay long after in a drawer in the shop. I made an exercise in a little time, and showed it my mother; but the task being long upon me, she said, "Though you could make an exercise in so short a time, I thought you would find it difficult to make them all as soon as you should."

This Whitsuntide, I and my brother were sent to pass some time at Birmingham; I believe, a fortnight. Why such boys were sent to trouble other houses, I cannot tell. My mother had some opinion that much improvement was to be had by changing the mode of life. My uncle Harrison was a widower; and his house was kept by Sally Ford, a young woman of such sweetness of temper, that I used to say she had no fault. We lived most at uncle Ford's, being much caressed by my aunt, a good-natured, coarse woman, easy of converse, but willing to find something to censure in the absent. My uncle Harrison did not much like us, nor did we like him. He was a very mean and vulgar man, drunk every night, but drunk with little drink, very peevish, very proud, very ostentatious, but, luckily, not rich. At my aunt Ford's I ate so much of a boiled leg of mutton⁶, that she used to talk of it. My mother, who had lived in a narrow sphere, and was then affected by little things, told me seriously that it would hardly ever be forgotten. Her mind, I think, was afterwards much enlarged, or greater evils wore out the care of less.

I stayed after the vacation was over some days; and remember, when I wrote home, that I desired the horses to come on Thursday of the first school week; and then, and not till then, they should be welcome to go. I was much pleased with a rattle to my whip, and wrote of it to my mother.

When my father came to fetch us home, he told the ostler, that he had twelve miles home, and two boys under his care.

¹ I was sick: one woman fondled me, the other was disgusted. — *Orig.*

² His wife, whom he called by this familiar contraction of Elizabeth. — CROKER.

³ When Dr. Johnson, at an advanced age, (for the *Account* must have been written subsequent to 1768) recorded all these minute circumstances, he contemplated, we are told, writing the history of his own life, and probably intended to develop, from his own infant recollections, the growth and powers of the faculty of memory, which he possessed in so remarkable a degree. From the little details of his domestic history he perhaps meant also to trace the progressive change in the habits of the middle classes of society. — CROKER.

⁴ G. Hector, [Junior], never had been taught his Catechism. — *Orig.*

⁵ *Anti*, p. 8. n. 1. — Harwood. — C.

⁶ Dr. Harwood informed me that the Town-clerk was Mr. Richard Wakefield, one of Dr. Johnson's godfathers, who left him five pounds by his will. He died in 1733. — CROKER.

⁷ All these trifles — since Dr. Johnson thought them worth recording — appear worth quoting. His voracious love of a leg of mutton adhered to him through life; and the prophecy of his mother, that it never would be forgotten, is realised in a way the good woman could not have anticipated. — CROKER.

This offended me. He had then a watch¹, which he returned when he was to pay for it.

In making, I think, the first exercise under Holbrook, I perceived the power of continuity of attention, of application not suffered to wander or to pause. I was writing at the kitchen windows, as I thought, alone, and turning my head saw Sally dancing. I went on without notice, and had finished almost without perceiving that any time had elapsed. This close attention I have seldom in my whole life obtained.

In the upper-school, I first began to point my exercise, which we made noon's business. Of the method I have not so distinct a remembrance as of the foregoing system. On Thursday morning we had a lesson, as on other mornings. On Thursday afternoon, and on Saturday morning, we commonly made examples to the Syntax.

We were soon raised from Æsop to Phædrus, and then said our repetition on Friday afternoon to Hunter. I remember the fable of the wolf and lamb, to *my draught*—that *I may drink*. At what time we began Phædrus, I know not. It was the only book which we learned to the end. In the

latter part thirty lines were expected for a lesson. What recouclies masters to long lessons is the pleasure of tasking.

Helvicius was very difficult; the dialogue *Vestitus*, Hawkins directed us to omit, as being one of the hardest in the book. As I remember, there was another upon food, and another upon fruits, which we began, and were ordered not to pursue. In the dialogue of Fruits, we perceived that Holbrook did not know the meaning of *Una Crispæ*. That lesson gave us great trouble. I observed that we learned Helvicius a long time with very little progress. We learned it in the afternoon on Monday and Wednesday.

Gladioli Scriptorius—A little lapse, we quitted it. I got an English Erasmus.

In Phædrus we tried to use the interpretation, but never attempted the notes. Nor do I remember that the interpretation helped us.

In Phædrus we were sent up twice to the upper master to be punished. The second time we complained that we could not get the passage. Being told that we should ask, we informed him that we had asked, and that the assistant would not tell us.

NO. II.

OMISSIONS FROM MR. BOSWELL'S TEXT AND NOTES, AND HIS APPENDIX.

§ 1. LAW CASES.

1. *Argument in behalf of Hustie, the Schoolmaster, prosecuted for undue Severity.*

[See p. 241.]

THE charge is, that he has used immoderate and cruel correction. Correction in itself is not cruel; children, being not reasonable, can be governed only by fear. To impress this fear is, therefore, one of the first duties of those who have the care of children. It is the duty of a parent; and has never been thought inconsistent with parental tenderness. It is the duty of a master, who is in his highest exaltation when he is *loco parentis*. Yet, as good things become evil by excess, correction, by being immoderate, may become cruel. But when is correction immoderate? When it is more frequent or more severe than is required *ad monendum et docendum*, for reformation and instruction. No severity is cruel which obstinacy makes necessary; for the greatest cruelty would be, to desist, and leave the scholar too careless for instruction, and too much hardened for reproof. Locke, in his treatise of education, mentions a mother, with applause, who whipped an infant eight times before she subdued it; for had she stopped at the seventh act of correction, her daughter, says he, would have been ruined. The degrees of obstinacy in young minds are very different: as different must be the degrees of persevering severity. A stubborn scholar must be corrected till he is subdued. The discipline of a school is military. There must be either unbounded licence or absolute authority. The master, who punishes, not only consents the future happiness of him who is the immediate subject of correction, but he propagates obedience through the whole school, and establishes regularity by exemplary justice. The victorious obstinacy of a single boy would make his future endeavours of reformation or instruction totally ineffectual. Obstinance, therefore, must never be victorious. Yet it is well known, that there sometimes occurs a sullen and hardy resolution, that laughs at all common punishment, and bids defiance to all common degrees of pain. Correction must be proportionate to occasions. The flexible will be reformed by gentle discipline, and the refractory must be subdued by harsher methods. The degrees of scholastic as well as of military punishment, no stated rules can ascertain. It must be enforced till it overpowers temptation; till stubbornness becomes flexible, and perverseness regular. Custom and reason have, indeed, set some bounds to scholastic penalties. The schoolmaster inflicts no capital punishments; nor enforces his edicts by either death or mutilation. The civil law has wisely determined, that a master who strikes at a scholar's eye shall be considered as criminal. But punishment, however severe, that produce no lasting evil, may be just and reasonable, because they may be necessary. Such have been the punishments used by the respondent. No scholar has gone from him either blind or lame, or with any of his limbs or powers injured or impaired. They were irregular, and he punished them: they were obstinate, and he enforced his punishment. But however provoked, he never exceeded the limits of moderation, for he inflicted nothing beyond present pain; and how much of

that was required, no man is so little able to determine as those who have determined against him—the parents of the offenders. It has been said, that he used unprecedented and improper instruments of correction. Of this accusation the meaning is not very easy to be found. No instrument of correction is more proper than another, but as it is better adapted to produce present pain without lasting mischief. Whatever were his instruments, no lasting mischief has ensued; and therefore, however unusual, in hands so cautious they were proper. It has been objected, that the respondent admits the charge of cruelty by producing no evidence to confute it. Let it be considered, that his scholars are either dispersed at large in the world, or continue to inhabit the place in which they were bred. Those who are dispersed cannot be found; those who remain are the sons of his prosecutors, and are not likely to support a man to whom their fathers are enemies. If it be supposed that the enmity of their fathers proves the justness of the charge, it must be considered how often experience shows us, that men who are angry on one ground will accuse on another; with how little kindness, in a town of low trade, a man who lives by learning is regarded; and how implicitly, where the inhabitants are not very rich, a rich man is hearkened to and followed. In a place like Campbell-town, it is easy for one of the principal inhabitants to make a party. It is easy for that party to heat themselves with imaginary grievances. It is easy for them to oppress a man poorer than themselves, and natural to assert the dignity of riches, by persisting in oppression. The argument which attempts to prove the impropriety of restoring him to the school, by alleging that he has lost the confidence of the people, is not the subject of juridical consideration; for he is to suffer, if he must suffer, not for their judgment, but for his own actions. It may be convenient for them to have another master; but it is a convenience of their own making. It would be likewise convenient for him to find another school; but this convenience he cannot obtain. The question is not what is now convenient, but what is generally right. If the people of Campbell-town be distressed by the restoration of the respondent, they are distressed only by their own fault; by turbulent passions and unreasonable desires; by tyranny, which law has defeated, and by malice, which virtue has surmounted.

2. *Argument in favour of the Scottish Law Doctrine of "Vicious Intromission."*

[See p. 244.]

THIS, we are told, is a law which has its force only from the long practice of the court; and may, therefore, be suspended or modified as the court shall think proper.

Concerning the power of the court to make or to suspend a law, we have no intention to inquire. It is sufficient for our purpose that every just law is dictated by reason, and that the practice of every legal court is regulated by equity. It is the quality of reason to be invariable and constant; and of equity, to give to one man what, in the same case, is given to another. The advantage which humanity derives from law is this; that the law gives every man a rule of action, and prescribes a mode of conduct which shall entitle him to the support and protection of society. That the law may be a rule of action, it is necessary that it be known; it is necessary that it be permanent and stable. The law is the measure of civil right; but if the measure be changeable, the extent of the thing measured never can be settled.

¹ The convenience of a watch, now so general, Dr. Johnson himself, as Sir J. Hawkins reports, (*antæ*, p. 192. n. 6.), did not possess till 1768. — CROKER.

To permit a law to be modified at discretion, is to leave the community without law. It is to withdraw the direction of that public wisdom, by which the deficiencies of private understanding are to be supplied. It is to suffer the rash and ignorant to act at discretion, and then to depend for the legality of that action on the sentence of the judge. He that is thus governed lives not by law, but by opinion; not by a certain rule, to which he can apply his intention before he acts, but by an uncertain and variable opinion, which he can never know but after he has committed the act on which that opinion shall be passed. He lives by a law (if a law it be), which he can never know before he has offended it. "To this case may be justly applied that important principle, *misera est servitus ubi jus est aut incognitum aut vagum*. If intromission be not criminal till it exceeds a certain point, and that point be unsettled, and consequently different in different minds, the right of intromission, and the right of the creditor arising from it, are all *jura vaga*, and, by consequence, are *jura incognita*; and the result can be no other than a *misera servitus*, an uncertainty concerning the event of action, a servile dependence on private opinion.

It may be urged, and with great plausibility, that there may be intromission without fraud; which, however true, will by no means justify an occasional and arbitrary relaxation of the law. The end of law is protection as well as vengeance. Indeed, vengeance is never used but to strengthen protection. That society only is well governed, where life is freed from danger, and from suspicion; where possession is so sheltered by salutary prohibitions, that violation is prevented more frequently than punished. Such a prohibition was this, while it operated with its original force. The creditor of the deceased was not only without loss, but without fear. He was not to seek a remedy for an injury suffered; for injury was warded off.

As the law has been sometimes administered, it lays us open to wounds, because it is imagined to have the power of healing. To punish fraud when it is detected is the proper art of vindictive justice; but to prevent frauds, and make punishment unnecessary, is the great employment of legislative wisdom. To permit intromission, and to punish fraud, is to make law no better than a pitfall. To tread upon the brink is safe; but to come a step further is destruction. But, surely it is better to enclose the gulf, and hinder all access, than, by encouraging us to advance a little, to entice us afterwards a little further, and let us perceive our folly only by our destruction.

As law supplies the weak with adventitious strength, it likewise enlightens the ignorant with intrinsic understanding. Law teaches us to know when we commit injury, and when we suffer it. It fixes certain marks upon actions, by which we are admonished to do or to forbear them. *Qui sibi bene temperat in licitis*, says one of the fathers, *numquam cadet in illicita*. He who never intromits at all, will never intromit with fraudulent intentions.

The relaxation of the law against vicious intromission has been very favourably represented by a great master of jurisprudence¹, whose words have been exhibited with unnecessary pomp, and seem to be considered as irresistibly decisive. The great moment of his authority makes it necessary to examine his position. "Some ages ago," says he, "before the ferocity of the inhabitants of this part of the island was subdued, the utmost severity of the civil law was necessary, to restrain individuals from plundering each other. Thus, the man who intermeddled irregularly with the moveables of a person deceased was subjected to all the debts of the deceased without limitation. This makes a branch of the law of Scotland, known by the name of *vicious intromission*; and so rigidly was this regulation applied in our courts of law, that the most trifling moveable abstracted *malâ fide*, subjected the intermeddler to the foregoing consequences, which proved in many instances a most rigorous punishment. But this severity was necessary, in order to subdue the undisciplined nature of our people. It is extremely remarkable that in proportion to our improvement in manners, this regulation has been gradually softened and applied by our sovereign court with a sparing hand."

I find myself under a necessity of observing, that this learned and judicious writer has not accurately distinguished the deficiencies and demands of the different conditions of human life, which, from a degree of savageness and independence, in which all laws are vain, passes or may pass, by innumerable gradations, to a state of reciprocal benignity in which laws shall be no longer necessary. Men are first wild and unsocial, living each man to himself, taking from the weak and losing to the strong. In their first coalitions of society, much of this original savageness is retained. Of general happiness, the product of general confidence, there is no thought. Men continue to prosecute their own advantages by the nearest way; and the utmost severity of the civil law is necessary to restrain individuals from plundering each other. The restraints then necessary are restraints from plunder, from acts of public violence, and undisguised oppression. The ferocity of our ancestors, as of all other nations, produced not fraud but rapine. They had not yet

learned to cheat, and attempted only to rob. As manners grow more polished, with the knowledge of good, men attain likewise dexterity in evil. Open rapine becomes less frequent, and violence gives way to cunning. Those who before invaded pastures and stormed houses, now begin to enrich themselves by unequal contracts and fraudulent intrusions. It is not against the violence of ferocity, but the circumventions of deceit, that this law was framed; and I am afraid the increase of commerce, and the incessant struggle for riches which commerce excites, give us no prospect of an end speedily to be expected of artifice and fraud. It therefore seems to be no very conclusive reasoning, which connects those two propositions:—"the nation is become less ferocious, and therefore the laws against fraud and *covin* shall be relaxed."

Whatever reason may have influenced the judges to a relaxation of the law, it was not that the nation was grown less fierce; and, I am afraid, it cannot be affirmed, that it is grown less fraudulent.

Since this law has been represented as rigorously and unreasonably penal, it seems not improper to consider what are the conditions and qualities that make the justice or propriety of a penal law.

To make a penal law reasonable and just, two conditions are necessary, and two proper. It is necessary that the law should be adequate to its end; that, if it be observed, it shall prevent the evil against which it is directed. It is, secondly, necessary that the end of the law be of such importance as to deserve the security of a penal sanction. The other conditions of a penal law, which, though not absolutely necessary, are to a very high degree fit, are, that to the moral violation of the law there are many temptations, and that of the physical observance there is great facility.

All these conditions apparently concur to justify the law which we are now considering. Its end is the security of property, and property very often of great value. The method by which it effects the security is efficacious, because it admits, in its original rigour, no gradations of injury; but keeps guilt and innocence apart, by a distinct and definite limitation. He that intromits is criminal; he that intromits not is innocent. Of the two secondary considerations, it cannot be denied that both are in our favour. The temptation to intromit is frequent and strong; so strong and so frequent, as to require the utmost activity of justice, and vigilance of caution, to withstand its prevalence; and the method by which a man may entitle himself to legal intromission is so open and so facile, that to neglect it is a proof of fraudulent intention; for why should a man omit to do (but for reasons which he will not confess) a penal action which he can do so easily, and that which he knows to be required by the law? If temptation were rare, a penal law might be deemed unnecessary. If the duty enjoined by the law were of difficult performance, omission, though it could not be justified, might be pitied. But in the present case neither equity nor compassion operate against it. A useful, a necessary law is broken, not only without a reasonable motive, but with all the inducements to obedience that can be derived from safety and facility.

I therefore return to my original position, that a law, to have its effects, must be permanent and stable. It may be said, in the language of the schools, *Lex non recipit majus et minus*,—we may have a law, or we may have no law, but we cannot have half a law. We must either have a rule of action, or be permitted to act by discretion and by chance. Deviations from the law must be uniformly punished, or no man can be certain when he shall be safe.

That from the rigour of the original institution this court has sometimes departed, cannot be denied. But, as it is evident that such deviations, as they make law uncertain, make life unsafe, I hope, that of departing from it there will now be an end; that the wisdom of our ancestors will be treated with due reverence; and that consistent and steady decisions will furnish the people with a rule of action, and leave fraud and fraudulent intromissions no future hope of impunity or escape.

3. Argument in defence of Lay Patronage.

[See p. 260.]

AGAINST the right of patrons is commonly opposed, by the inferior judicatures, the plea of conscience. Their conscience tells them that the people ought to choose their pastor; their conscience tells them that they ought not to impose upon a congregation a minister ungrateful and unacceptable to his auditors. Conscience is nothing more than a conviction felt by ourselves of something to be done, or something to be avoided; and in questions of simple unperplexed morality, conscience is very often a guide that may be trusted. But before conscience can determine, the state of the question is supposed to be completely known. In questions of law, or of fact, conscience is very often confounded with opinion. No man's conscience can tell him the rights of another man; they must be known by rational investigation or historical inquiry. Opinion, which he that holds it may call his conscience, may teach some men that religion would be promoted, and quiet preserved, by grant-

¹ Lord Kames, in his *Historical Law Tracts*.—BOSWELL.

ing to the people universally the choice of their ministers. But it is a conscience very ill informed that violates the rights of one man for the convenience of another. Religion cannot be promoted by injustice; and it was never yet found that a popular election was very quietly transacted.

That justice would be violated by transferring to the people the right of patronage, is apparent to all who know whence that right had its original. The right of patronage was not at first a privilege torn by power from unresisting poverty.

It is not an authority at first usurped in times of ignorance, and established only by succession and by precedents. It is not a grant capriciously made from a higher tyrant to a lower. It is a right dearly purchased by the first possessors, and justly inherited by those that succeeded them. When Christianity was established in this island, a regular mode of public worship was prescribed. Public worship requires a public place; and the proprietors of lands, as they were converted, built churches for their families and their vassals. For the maintenance of ministers, they settled a certain portion of their lands, and a district, through which each minister was required to extend his care, was, by that circumscription, constituted a parish. This is a position so generally received in England, that the extent of a manor and of a parish are regularly received for each other. The churches which the proprietors of lands had thus built and thus endowed, they justly thought themselves entitled to provide with ministers; and when the episcopal government prevails, the bishop has no power to reject a man nominated by the patron, but for some crime that might exclude him from the priesthood.

For the endowment of the church being the gift of the landlord, he was consequently at liberty to give it, according to his choice, to any man capable of performing the holy offices. The people did not choose him, because the people did not pay him.

We hear it sometimes urged, that this original right is passed out of memory, and is obliterated and obscured by many translations of property and changes of government: that scarce any church is now in the hands of the heirs of the builders; and that the present persons have entered subsequently upon the pretended rights by a thousand accidental and unknown causes. Much of this, perhaps, is true. But how is the right of patronage extinguished? If the right followed the lands, it is possessed by the same equity by which the lands are possessed. It is, in effect, part of the manor, and protected by the same laws with every other privilege. Let us suppose an estate forfeited by treason, and granted by the crown to a new family. With the lands were forfeited all the rights appendant to those lands; by the same power that grants the lands, the rights also are granted. The right lost to the patron falls not to the people, but is either retained by the crown, or what to the people is the same thing, is by the crown given away. Let it change hands ever so often, it is possessed by him that receives it with the same right as it was conveyed. It may, indeed, like all our possessions, be forcibly seized or fraudulently obtained. But no injury is still done to the people; for what they never had, they have never lost. Caius may usurp the right of Titius, but neither Caius nor Titius injure the people; and no man's conscience, however tender or however active, can prompt him to restore what may be proved to have been never taken away. Supposing, what I think cannot be proved, that a popular election of ministers were to be desired, our desires are not the measure of equity. It were to be desired that power should be only in the hands of the merciful, and riches in the possession of the generous; but the law must leave both riches and power where it finds them; and must often leave riches with the covetous, and power with the cruel. Convenience may be a rule in little things, where no other rule has been established. But as the great end of government is to give every man his own, no inconvenience is greater than that of making right uncertain. Nor is any man more an enemy to public peace, than he who fills weak heads with imaginary claims, and breaks the series of civil subordination, by inciting the lower classes of mankind to encroach upon the higher.

Having thus shown that the right of patronage, being originally purchased, may be legally transferred, and that it is now in the hands of lawful possessors, at least as certainly as any other right, we have left to the advocates of the people no other plea but that of convenience. Let us, therefore, now consider what the people would really gain by a general abolition of the right of patronage. What is most to be desired by such a change is, that the country should be supplied with better ministers. But why should we suppose that the parish will make a wiser choice than the patron? If we suppose mankind actuated by interest, the patron is more likely to choose with caution, because he will suffer more by choosing wrong. By the deficiencies of his minister, or by his vices, he is equally offended with the rest of the congregation; but he will have this reason more to lament them, that they will be imputed to his absurdity or corruption. The qualifications of a minister are well known to be learning and piety. Of his learning the patron is probably the only judge in the parish; and of his piety not less a judge than others; and is more likely to inquire minutely and diligently before he gives a presentation, than one of the parochial rabble, who can give nothing but a vote. It may

be urged, that though the parish might not choose better ministers, they would at least choose ministers whom they like better, and who would therefore officiate with greater efficacy. That ignorance and perverseness should always obtain what they like was never considered as the end of government; of which it is the great and standing benefit, that the wise see for the simple, and the regular act for the capricious. But that this argument supposes the people capable of judging, and resolute to act according to their best judgments, though this be sufficiently absurd, it is not all its absurdity. It supposes not only wisdom, but unanimity, in those, who upon no other occasions are unanimous or wise. If by some strange concurrence all the voices of a parish should unite in the choice of any single man, though I could not charge the patron with injustice for presenting a minister, I should censure him as unkind and injudicious. But it is evident, that as in all other popular elections there will be a contrariety of judgment and acrimony of passion, a parish upon every vacancy would break into factions, and the contest for the choice of a minister would set neighbours at variance, and bring discord into families. The minister would be taught all the arts of a candidate, would flatter some, and bribe others; and the electors, as in all other cases, would call for holidays and ale, and break the heads of each other during the jollity of the canvass. The time must, however, come at last, when one of the factions must prevail, and one of the ministers get possession of the church. On what terms does he enter upon his ministry but those of enmity with half his parish? By what prudence or what diligence can he hope to conciliate the affections of that party by whose defeat he has obtained his living? Every man who voted against him will enter the church with hanging head and downcast eyes, afraid to encounter that neighbour, by whose vote and influence he has been overpowered. He will hate his neighbour for opposing him, and his minister for having prospered by his opposition; and as he will never see him but with pain, he will never see him but with hatred. Of a minister presented by the patron, the parish has seldom any thing worse to say than that they do not know him. Of a minister chosen by a popular contest, all those who do not favour him have nursed up in their bosoms principles of hatred and reasons of rejection. Anger is excited principally by pride. The pride of a common man is very little exasperated by the supposed usurpation of an acknowledged superior. He bears only his little share of a general evil, and suffers in common with the whole parish; but when the contest is between equals, the defeat has many aggravations; and he that is defeated by his next neighbour is seldom satisfied without some revenge; and it is hard to say what bitterness of malignity would prevail in a parish where these elections should happen to be frequent, and the enmity of opposition should be rekindled before it had cooled.

4. *Argument in favour of Mr. James Thompson, Minister of Dunfermline.*

[See p. 513.]

"Of the censure pronounced from the pulpit, our determination must be formed, as in other cases, by a consideration of the act itself, and the particular circumstances with which it is invested.

"The right of censure and rebuke seems necessarily appendant to the pastoral office. He to whom the care of a congregation is intrusted, is considered as the shepherd of a flock, as the teacher of a school, as the father of a family. As a shepherd tending not his own sheep but those of his master, he is answerable for those that stray, and that lose themselves by straying. But no man can be answerable for losses which he has not power to prevent, or for vagrancy which he has not authority to restrain.

"As a teacher giving instruction for wages, and liable to reproach, if those whom he undertakes to inform make no proficiency, he must have the power of enforcing attendance, of awakening negligence, and repressing contradiction.

"As a father, he possesses the paternal authority of admonition, rebuke, and punishment. He cannot, without reducing his office to an empty name, be hindered from the exercise of any practice necessary to stimulate the idle, to reform the vicious, to check the petulant, and correct the stubborn.

"If we inquire into the practice of the primitive church, we shall, I believe, find the ministers of the word exercising the whole authority of this complicated character. We shall find them not only encouraging the good by exhortation, but terrifying the wicked by reproof and denunciation. In the earliest ages of the church, while religion was yet pure from secular advantages, the punishment of sinners was public censure and open penance; penalties inflicted merely by ecclesiastical authority, at a time while the church had yet no help from the civil power, while the hand of the magistrate lifted only the rod of persecution, and when governors were ready to afford a refuge to all those who fled from clerical authority.

"That the church, therefore, had once a power of public censure, is evident, because that power was frequently exercised. That it borrowed not its power from the civil autho-

ity, is likewise certain, because civil authority was at that time its enemy.

"The hour came, at length, when, after three hundred years of struggle and distress, Truth took possession of imperial power, and the civil laws lent their aid to the ecclesiastical constitutions. The magistrate from that time co-operated with the priest, and clerical sentences were made efficacious by secular force. But the state, when it came to the assistance of the church, had no intention to diminish its authority. Those rebukes and those censures which were lawful before, were lawful still. But they had hitherto operated only upon voluntary submission. The refractory and contemptuous were at first in no danger of temporal severities, except what they might suffer from the reproaches of conscience, or the detestation of their fellow Christians. When religion obtained the support of law, if admonitions and censures had no effect, they were seconded by the magistrates with coercion and punishment.

"It therefore appears, from ecclesiastical history, that the right of inflicting shame by public censure has been always considered as inherent in the church; and that this right was not conferred by the civil power; for it was exercised when the civil power operated against it. By the civil power it was never taken away; for the Christian magistrate interposed his office, not to rescue sinners from censure, but to supply more powerful means of reformation; to add pain where shame was insufficient; and, when men were proclaimed unworthy of the society of the faithful, to restrain them by imprisonment from spreading abroad the contagion of wickedness.

"It is not improbable, that from this acknowledged power of public censure grew, in time, the practice of auricular confession. Those who dreaded the blast of public reprehension were willing to submit themselves to the priest by a private accusation of themselves, and to obtain a reconciliation with the church by a kind of clandestine absolution and invisible penance; conditions with which the priest would, in times of ignorance and corruption, easily comply, as they increased his influence, by adding the knowledge of secret sins to that of notorious offences, and enlarged his authority, by making him the sole arbiter of the terms of reconciliation.

"From this bondage the Reformation set us free. The minister has no longer power to press into the retirements of conscience, to torture us by interrogatories, or put himself in possession of our secrets and our lives. But though we have thus controlled his usurpations, his just and original power remains unimpaired. He may still see, though he may not pry; he may yet hear, though he may not question. And that knowledge which his eyes and ears force upon him it is still his duty to use, for the benefit of his flock. A father who lives near a wicked neighbour may forbid a son to frequent his company. A minister who has in his congregation a man of open and scandalous wickedness may warn his parishioners to shun his conversation. To warn them is not only lawful, but not to warn them would be criminal. He may warn them one by one in friendly converse, or by a parochial visitation. But if he may warn each man singly, what shall forbid him to warn them all together? Of that which is to be made known to all, how is there any difference whether it be communicated to each singly, or to all together? What is known to all must necessarily be public. Whether it shall be public at once, or public by degrees, is the only question. And of a sudden and solemn publication the impression is deeper, and the warning more effectual.

"It may easily be urged, if a minister be thus left at liberty to delate sinners from the pulpit, and to publish at will the crimes of a parishioner, he may often blast the innocent, and distress the timorous. He may be suspicious, and condemn without evidence; he may be rash, and judge without examination; he may be severe, and treat slight offences with too much harshness; he may be malignant and partial, and gratify his private interest or resentment under the shelter of his pastoral character.

"Of all this there is possibility, and of all this there is danger. But if possibility of evil be to exclude good, no good ever can be done. If nothing is to be attempted in which there is danger, we must all sink into hopeless inactivity. The evils that may be feared from this practice arise, not from any defect in the institution, but from the infirmities of human nature. Power, in whatever hands it is placed, will be sometimes improperly exerted; yet courts of law must judge, though they will sometimes judge amiss. A father must instruct his children, though he himself may often want instruction. A minister must censure sinners, though his censure may be sometimes erroneous by want of judgment, and sometimes unjust by want of honesty.

"We examine the circumstances of the present case, we shall find the sentence neither erroneous nor unjust; we shall find no breach of private confidence, no intrusion into secret transactions. The fact was notorious and indubitable; so easy to be proved, that no proof was desired. The act was base and treacherous, the perpetration insolent and open, and the example naturally mischievous. The minister, how-

ever, being retired and recluse, had not yet heard what was publicly known throughout the parish; and, on occasion of a public election, warned his people, according to his duty, against the crimes which public elections frequently produce. His warning was felt by one of his parishioners as pointed particularly at himself. But instead of producing, as might be wished, private compunction and immediate reformation, it kindled only rage and resentment. He charged his minister, in a public paper, with scandal, defamation, and falsehood. The minister, thus reproached, had his own character to vindicate, upon which his pastoral authority must necessarily depend. To be charged with a defamatory lie is an injury which no man patiently endures in common life. To be charged with polluting the pastoral office with scandal and falsehood, was a violation of character still more atrocious, as it affected not only his personal, but his clerical veracity. His indignation naturally rose in proportion to his honesty, and, with all the fortitude of injured honesty, he dared this calumniator in the church, and at once exonerated himself from censure, and rescued his flock from deception and from danger. The man whom he accuses pretends not to be innocent; or, at least, only pretends, for he declines a trial. The crime of which he is accused has frequent opportunities and strong temptations. It has already spread far, with much depravation of private morals, and much injury to public happiness. To warn the people, therefore, against it was not wanton and officious, but necessary and pastoral.

"What, then, is the fault with which this worthy minister is charged? He has usurped no dominion over conscience. He has exerted no authority in support of doubtful and controverted opinions. He has not dragged into light a bashful and corrigible sinner. His censure was directed against a breach of morality, against an act which no man justifies. The man who appropriated this censure to himself is evidently and notoriously guilty. His consciousness of his own wickedness incited him to attack his faithful reprover with open insolence and printed accusations. Such an attack made defence necessary; and we hope it will be at last decided that the means of defence were just and lawful."

5. Lord Thurlow's Opinion on the same Case.

[See p. 513.]

CASE. "There is herewith laid before you,

"1. Petition for the Reverend Mr. James Thomson, minister of Dunfermline.

"2. Answers thereto.

"3. Copy of the judgment of the Court of Session upon both.

"4. Notes of the opinions of the judges, being the reason upon which their decree is grounded.

"These papers you will please to peruse, and give your opinion,

"Whether there is a probability of the above decree of the Court of Session being reversed, if Mr. Thomson should appeal from the same?"

"I don't think the appeal advisable; not only because the value of the judgment is in no degree adequate to the expense; but because there are many chances, that upon the general complexion of the case, the impression will be taken to the disadvantage of the appellant.

"It is impossible to approve the style of that sermon. But the *plaintiff* was not less ungracious from that man, who had behaved so ill by his original libel, and at the time when he received the reproach he complains of. In the last article all the plaintiffs are equally concerned. It struck me also with some wonder, that the judges should think so much fervour apposite to the occasion of reproving the defendant for a little excess.

"Upon the matter, however, I agree with them in condemning the behaviour of the minister, and in thinking it a subject fit for ecclesiastical censure; and even for an action, if any individual could qualify a wrong, and a damage arising from it. But this I doubt. The circumstance of publishing the reproach in a pulpit, though extremely indecent, and culpable in another view, does not constitute a different sort of wrong, or any other rule of law than would have obtained, if the same words had been pronounced elsewhere. I don't know whether there be any difference in the law of Scotland, in the definition of slander, before the commissaries, or the Court of Session. The common law of England does not give way to actions for every reproachful word. An action cannot be brought for general damages upon any words which import less than an offence cognisable by law; consequently no action could have been brought here for the words in question. Both laws admit the truth to be a justification in action for words; and the law of England does the same in actions for libels. The judgment, therefore, seems to me to have been wrong, in that the court repelled that defence.

E. THURLOW."

explanation. To *qualify* a wrong, is to point out and establish it. — BOSWELL.

¹ It is curious to observe that Lord Thurlow has here, perhaps, in compliment to North Britain, made use of a term of the Scotch law, which to an English reader may require

6. Argument against a Prosecution, by the Procurators of Edinburgh, of an alleged Libel.

[See p. 696.]

"All injury is either of the person, the fortune, or the fame. Now it is a certain thing, it is proverbially known, that a *jest breaks no bones*. They never have gained half-a-pound less in the whole profession since this mischievous paragraph has appeared; and, as to their reputation, what is their reputation but an instrument of getting money? If, therefore, they have lost no money, the question upon reputation may be answered by a very old position,—*De minimis non curat prætor*.

"Whether there was, or was not, an *animus injuriandi* is not worth inquiring, if no *injuria* can be proved. But the truth is, there was no *animus injuriandi*. It was only an *animus irritandi*¹, which, happening to be exercised upon a *genus irritabile*, produced unexpected violence of resentment. Their irritability arose only from an opinion of their own importance, and their delight in their new exaltation. What might have been borne by a *procurator*, could not be borne by a *solicitor*. Your lordships well know, that *honores mutant mores*. Tides and dignities play strongly on the fancy. As a madman is apt to think himself grown suddenly great, so he that grows suddenly great is apt to borrow a little from the madman. To co-operate with their resentment would be to promote their frenzy; nor is it possible to guess to what they might proceed, if to the new title of *Solicitor* should be added the elation of victory and triumph.

"We consider your lordships as the protectors of our rights, and the guardians of our virtues; but believe it not included in your high office, that you should flatter our vices, or solace our vanity; and, as vanity only dictates this prosecution, it is humbly hoped your lordships will dismiss it.

"If every attempt, however light or ludicrous, to lessen another's reputation, is to be punished by a judicial sentence, what punishment can be sufficiently severe for him who attempts to diminish the reputation of the supreme court of justice, by reclaiming upon a cause already determined, without any change in the state of the question? Does it not imply hopes that the judges will change their opinion? Is not uncertainty and inconstancy in the highest degree disreputable to a court? Does it not suppose, that the former judgment was temerarious or negligent? Does it not lessen the confidence of the public? Will it not be said, that *jus est aut incognitum aut vagum*? and will not the consequence be drawn, *misera est servitus*? Will not the rules of action be obscure? Will not he who knows himself wronged to-day, hope that the courts of justice will think him right to-morrow? Surely, my lords, these are attempts of dangerous tendency, which the solicitors, as men versed in the law, should have foreseen and avoided. It was natural for an ignorant printer to appeal from the lord ordinary; but from lawyers, the descendants of lawyers, who have practised for three hundred years, and have now raised themselves to a higher denomination, it might be expected, that they should know the reverence due to a judicial determination; and, having been once dismissed, should sit down in silence."

§ 2. NOTES.

1. Supplement to Note on Cibber's "Lives of the Poets."

[See p. 504. n. 2.]

In the Monthly Review for May, 1792, there is such a correction of the above passage as I should think myself very culpable not to subjoin. "This account is very inaccurate. The following statement of facts we know to be true, in every material circumstance:—Shiels was the principal collector and digester of the materials for the work; but, as he was very raw in authorship, an indifferent writer in prose, and his language full of Scottisms, [Theoph.] Cibber, who was a clever, lively fellow, and then soliciting employment among the booksellers, was engaged to correct the style and diction of the whole work, then intended to make only four volumes, with power to alter, expunge, or add, as he liked. He was also to supply notes occasionally, especially concerning those dramatic poets with whom he had been chiefly conversant. He also engaged to write several of the Lives; which (as we are told) he accordingly performed. He was farther useful in striking out the Jacobitical and Tory sentiments which Shiels had industriously interspersed wherever he could bring them in; and as the success of the work appeared, after all, very doubtful, he was content with twenty-one pounds for his labour, besides a few sets of the books to disperse among his friends. Shiels had nearly seventy pounds, beside the advantage of many of the best Lives in the work being communicated by friends to the undertaking; and for which

¹ Mr. Robertson altered this word to *jocandi*, he having found in Blackstone that to *irritate* is actionable.—BOSWELL.

Mr. Shiels had the same consideration as for the rest, being paid by the sheet for the whole. He was, however, so angry with his whiggish supervisor (THE., like his father, being a violent stickler for the political principles which prevailed in the reign of George the Second) for so unmercifully mutilating his copy, and scouting his politics, that he wrote Cibber a challenge; but was prevented from sending it by the publisher, who fairly laughed him out of his fury. The proprietors, too, were discontented in the end, on account of Mr. Cibber's unexpected industry; for his corrections and alterations in the proof-sheets were so numerous and considerable, that the printer made for them a grievous addition to his bill; and, in fine, all parties were dissatisfied. On the whole, the work was productive of no profit to the undertakers, who had agreed, in case of success, to make Cibber a present of some addition to the twenty guineas which he had received, and for which his receipt is now in the booksellers' hands. We are farther assured, that he actually obtained an additional sum; when he, soon after (in the year 1758), unfortunately embarked for Dublin, on an engagement for one of the theatres there; but the ship was cast away, and every person on board perished. There were about sixty passengers, among whom was the Earl of Drogheda, with many other persons of consequence and property.

"As to the alleged design of making the complement pass for the work of old Mr. Cibber, the charges seem to have been founded on a somewhat uncharitable construction. We are assured that the thought was not harboured by some of the proprietors, who are still living; and we hope that it did not occur to the first designer of the work, who was also the printer of it, and who bore a respectable character.

"We have been induced to enter circumstantially into the foregoing detail of facts relating to the Lives of the Poets, compiled by Messrs. Cibber and Shiels, from a sincere regard to that sacred principle of truth, to which Dr. Johnson so rigidly adhered, according to the best of his knowledge; and which, we believe, no consideration would have prevailed on him to violate. In regard to the matter, which we now dismiss, he had, no doubt, been misled by partial and wrong information; Shiels was the doctor's amanuensis; he had quarrelled with Cibber; it is natural to suppose that he told his story in his own way; and it is certain that he was not 'a very sturdy moralist.'"

This explanation appears to me satisfactory. It is, however, to be observed, that the story told by Johnson does not rest solely upon my record of his conversation; for he himself has published it in his Life of Hammond, where he says, "the manuscript of Shiels is now in my possession." Very probably he had trusted to Shiels's word, and never looked at it so as to compare it with "The Lives of the Poets," as published under Mr. Cibber's name. What became of that manuscript I know not. I should have liked much to examine it. I suppose it was thrown into the fire in that impetuous combustion of papers, which Johnson, I think rashly, executed when *moribundus*.—BOSWELL.

In addition to all this, I must observe, that, notwithstanding the weight which must be given to Dr. Johnson's repeated assertions on a subject concerning which he alleged that he had evidence in his own possession, yet there are some indisputable circumstances which seem at variance with his statements. It is true that the title-page of the first volume says, "compiled by Mr. Cibber," but all the other volumes have, "compiled by Mr. Cibber and other hands;" so that Johnson was certainly mistaken in representing that Cibber was held out as the *sole author*. In the third vol., p. 156., the Life of Betterton, the actor, is announced as "written by R. S.," no doubt *Robert Shiels*, and to it is appended the following note: "As Mr. Theophilus Cibber is publishing (in another work) the 'Lives and Character of eminent Actors,' he leaves to other gentlemen concerned in this work the account of some players, who could not be omitted herein as poets." A similar notice accompanies the Life of Booth, vol. iv. p. 178.; and again, in a note on the "Life of Thomson," vol. v. p. 211., *Theophilus Cibber*, in his own name, states, that he had read the tragedy of Agamemnon to the theatrical synod with so much applause, that he was selected to play the part of Melisander. These circumstances prove that "a Cibber" had some share in the work;—that there was no intention to conceal that it was *Theophilus*; and that *Robert Shiels and others* were avowed assistants. Mr. Boswell, in a former passage, (see *antè*, p. 57. n. 3.) intimated, that "some choice passages of these lives were written by Johnson himself." That opinion I once thought that Johnson's own assertion sufficiently negated; but I must admit, on reconsideration, that there is some colour for Mr. Boswell's suspicion; for it appears that Johnson was at one time employed to contribute to that work the lives of, at least, Shakespeare and Dryden (see *antè*, p. 171. n. 2. and 516. n. 2.); and though he certainly did not write these lives, yet several passages throughout the work are much in his style. That, however, might arise from the imitation of Shiels; but what is most important is, that the plan in which these lives are written is substantially the same as that which Johnson long after adopted for his own beautiful work.—CROKER, 1831. The question is now decided by Mr. Griffiths's letter (*antè*, p. 564. n. 2.), in opposition to Dr. Johnson's assertion, for whose error I cannot account.

2. Supplement to Note on Wilkes's Interpretation of Horace's "*Difficile est propriè dicere*," &c.

[See p. 517.]

It is necessary, to a fair consideration of the question, that the whole passage in which the words occur should be kept in view :—

"Si quid inexpertum scenæ committis, et audes
Personam formare novam; servetur ad imum
Qualis ab incepto processerit, et sibi constet.
Difficile est propriè communia dicere: tuque
Rectius Iliacum carmen deducis in actus,
Quàm si proferes ignota indicatæ prius.
Publica materies privati juris erit, si
Non circa vilem patulumque moraberis orbem,
Nec verbum verbo curabis reddere fidus
Interpres; nec desilies imitator in arctum
Unde pedem proferre pudor vetat aut operis lex."

The "Commentary" thus illustrates it :— "But the formation of quite new characters is a work of great difficulty and hazard. For here there is no generally received and fixed archetype to work after, but every one judges of common right according to the extent and comprehension of his own idea; therefore he advises to labour and refit old characters and subjects, particularly those made known and authorised by the practice of Homer and the epic writers." The note is, "*Difficile est propriè communia dicere*." Lambin's comment is, "Communia hoc loco appellat Horatius argumenta fabularum à nullo adhuc tractata: et ita, quæ cuius exposita sunt et in medio quodammodo posita, quasi vacua et a nemine occupata." And that this is the true meaning of *communis* is evidently fixed by the words *ignota indicatæ*, which are explanatory of it; so that the sense given in the "Commentary" is unquestionably the right one. Yet, notwithstanding the clearness of the case, a late critic has this strange passage: "Difficile quidem esse propriè communia dicere, hoc est, materiem vulgarem, notam et à medio petitam, ita immutata atque exornare, ut nova et scriptori propria videatur, ultro concedimus; et maximi procul dubio ponderis ista est observatio. Sed omnibus utrinque collatis, et tum difficultis tum venusti, tam iudicii quam ingenii ratione habitâ, major videatur esse gloria fabulam formare penitus novam, quàm veterem, utcumque mutatum de novo exhibere."—*Poet. Præl.* v. ii. p. 164. Where, having first put a wrong construction on the word *communis*, he employs it to introduce an impertinent criticism. For where does the poet prefer the glory of refitting old subjects to that of inventing new ones? The contrary is implied in what he urges about the superior difficulty of the latter, from which he dissuades his countrymen, only in respect of their abilities and inexperience in these matters: and in order to cultivate in them, which is the main view of the epistle, a spirit of correctness, by sending them to the old subjects, treated by the Greek writers. For my own part (with all deference for Dr. Hurd, who thinks the case clear), I consider the passage, "*Difficile est propriè communia dicere*," to be a *crux* for the critics on Horace. The explication which my Lord of Worcester treats with so much contempt is, nevertheless, countenanced by authority which I find quoted by the learned Baxter, in his edition of Horace, "*Difficile est propriè communia dicere*, h. e. res vulgares disertis verbis enarrare, vel humile thema cum dignitate tractare. *Difficile est communes res propriis explicare verbis*. Vët. Schol." I was much disappointed to find that the great critic, Dr. Bentley, has no note upon this very difficult passage, as from his vigorous and illuminated mind I should have expected to receive more satisfaction than I have yet had. Sanadon thus treats of it: "Propriè communia dicere; c'est à dire, qu'il n'est pas aisé de former à ces personnages d'imagination des caractères particuliers et cependant vraisemblables. Comme l'on a été le maître de les former tels qu'on a voulu, les fautes que l'on fait en cela sont moins pardonables. C'est pourquoi Horace conseille de prendre toujours des sujets connus, tels que sont, par exemple, ceux que l'on peut tirer des poèmes d'Homère." And Dacier observes upon it, "Après avoir marqué les deux qualités qu'il faut donner aux personnages qu'on invente, il conseille aux poètes tragiques, de n'user pas trop facilement de cette liberté qu'ils ont d'en inventer, car il est très difficile de réussir dans ces nouveaux caractères. Il est mal aisé, dit Horace, de traiter proprement, c'est à dire, convenablement, des sujets communs; c'est à dire, des sujets inventés, et qui n'ont aucun fondement ni dans l'histoire ni dans la fable; et il les appelle communs, parcequ'ils sont en disposition à tout le monde, et que tout le monde a le droit de les inventer, et qu'ils sont, comme on dit, au premier occupant." See his observations at large on this expression and the following. After all, I cannot help entertaining some doubt whether the words "*Difficile est propriè communia dicere*" may not have been thrown in by Horace to form a separate article in a "choice of difficulties" which a poet has to encounter who chooses a new subject; in which case it must be uncertain which of the various explanations is the true one, and every reader has a right to decide as it may strike his own fancy. And even should the words be understood, as they generally are, to be connected

both with what goes before and what comes after, the exact sense cannot be absolutely ascertained; for instance, whether *propriè* is meant to signify in an appropriated manner, as Dr. Johnson here understands it, or, as it is often used by Cicero, with propriety or elegance. In short, it is a rare instance of a defect in perspicuity in an admirable writer, who, with almost every species of excellence, is peculiarly remarkable for that quality. The length of this note, perhaps, requires an apology. Many of my readers, I doubt not, will admit that a critical discussion of a passage in a favourite classic is very engaging.—BOSWELL.

This passage was the subject of an ingenious discussion between the young Marquis de Sevigné and M. Dacier, which will be found together with Sanadon's and Dumarsais's opinions, in a recent edition of Madame de Sevigné's letters.—CROKER.

3. Note on the Words "*Balance of Misery*."

[See p. 764.]

THE Reverend Mr. Ralph Churton, Fellow of Brazen-Nose College, Oxford, has favoured me with the following remarks on my work, which, he is pleased to say, "I have hitherto extolled, and cordially approve:"—

"The chief part of what I have to observe is contained in the following transcript from a letter to a friend, which, with his concurrence, I copied for this purpose; and, whatever may be the merit or justness of the remarks, you may be sure that being written to a most intimate friend, without any intention that they ever should go further, they are the genuine and undisguised sentiments of the writer:—

"Jan. 6. 1792.

"Last week I was reading the second volume of 'Boswell's Johnson,' with increasing esteem for the worthy author, and increasing veneration of the wonderful and excellent man who is the subject of it. The writer throws in, now and then, very properly, some serious religious reflections; but there is one remark, in my mind an obvious and just one, which I think he has not made, that Johnson's 'morbid melancholy,' and constitutional infirmities, were intended by Providence, like St. Paul's thorn in the flesh, to check intellectual conceit and arrogance; which the consciousness of his extraordinary talents, awake as he was to the voice of praise, might otherwise have generated in a very culpable degree. Another observation strikes me, that in consequence of the same natural indisposition, and habitual sickliness (for he says he scarcely passed one day without pain after his twentieth year), he considered and represented human life as a scene of much greater misery than is generally experienced. There may be persons bowed down with affliction all their days; and there are those, no doubt, whose iniquities rob them of rest; but neither calamities nor crimes, I hope and believe, do so much and so generally abound, as to justify the dark picture of life which Johnson's imagination designed, and his strong pencil delineated. This I am sure, the colouring is far too gloomy for what I have experienced, though, as far as I can remember, I have had more sickness (I do not say more severe, but only more in quantity) than falls to the lot of most people. But then daily debility and occasional sickness were far overbalanced by intervenient days, and, perhaps, weeks void of pain, and overflowing with comfort. So that, in short, to return to the subject, human life, as far as I can perceive from experience or observation, is not that state of constant wretchedness which Johnson always insisted it was: which misrepresentation, for such it surely is, his biographer has not corrected, I suppose, because, unhappily, he has himself a large portion of melancholy in his constitution, and fancied the portrait a faithful copy of life."

"The learned writer then proceeds thus in his letter to me:—

"I have conversed with some sensible men on this subject, who all seem to entertain the same sentiments respecting life with those which are expressed or implied in the foregoing paragraph. It might be added, that as the representation here spoken of appears not consistent with fact and experience, so neither does it seem to be countenanced by Scripture. There is, perhaps, no part of the sacred volume which at first sight promises so much to lend its sanction to these dark and desponding notions as the book of Ecclesiastes, which so often, and so emphatically, proclaims the vanity of things sublunary. But the design of this whole book (as it has been justly observed) is not to put us out of conceit with life, but to cure our vain expectations of a complete and perfect happiness in this world: to convince us, that there is no such thing to be found in mere external enjoyments;—and to teach us to seek for happiness in the practice of virtue, in the knowledge and love of God, and in the hopes of a better life. For this is the application of all: *Let us hear, &c. xii. 13.* Not only his duty, but his happiness too: *For God, &c. v. 14.*—See Sherlock on Providence."

"The New Testament tells us, indeed, and most truly, that 'sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof': and, therefore, wisely forbids us to increase our burden by forebodings

of sorrows; but I think it nowhere says, that even our ordinary afflictions are not consistent with a very considerable degree of positive comfort and satisfaction. And, accordingly, one whose sufferings as well as merits were conspicuous assures us, that in proportion 'as the sufferings of Christ abounded in them, so their consolation also abounded by Christ.' 2 Cor. i. 5. It is needless to cite, as indeed it would be endless even to refer to, the multitude of passages in both Testaments holding out, in the strongest language, promises of blessings, even in this world, to the faithful servants of God. I will only refer to St. Luke, xviii. 29, 30, and 1 Tim. iv. 8.

"Upon the whole, setting aside instances of great and lasting bodily pain, of minds peculiarly oppressed by melancholy, and of severe temporal calamities, from which extraordinary cases we surely should not form our estimate of the general tenor and complexion of life; excluding these from the account, I am convinced that as well the gracious constitution of things which Providence has ordained, as the declarations of Scripture and the actual experience of individuals, authorise the sincere Christian to hope that his humble and constant endeavours to perform his duty, chequered as the best life is with many failings, will be crowned with a greater degree of present peace, serenity, and comfort, than he could reasonably permit himself to expect, if he measured his views and judged of life from the opinion of Dr. Johnson, often and energetically expressed in the memoirs of him, without any animadversion or censure by his ingenious biographer. If he himself, upon reviewing the subject, shall see the matter in this light, he will in an octavo edition, which is eagerly expected, make such additional remarks or corrections as he shall judge fit; lest the impressions which these discouraging passages may leave on the reader's mind should in a degree hinder what otherwise the whole spirit and energy of the work tends, and, I hope, successfully, to promote, — pure morality and true religion."

Though I have, in some degree, obviated any reflections against my illustrious friend's dark views of life, when considering, in the course of this work, his "Rambler" and his "Rasselas," I am obliged to Mr. Churton for complying with my request of his permission to insert his remarks, being conscious of the weight of what he judiciously suggests as to the melancholy in my own constitution. His more pleasing views of life, I hope, are just. *Valent quantum valere possunt.* Mr. Churton concludes his letter to me in these words: —

"Once, and only once, I had the satisfaction of seeing your illustrious friend; and as I feel a particular regard for all whom he distinguished with his esteem and friendship, so I derive much pleasure from reflecting that I once beheld, though but transiently, near our college gate, one whose works will for ever delight and improve the world, who was a sincere and zealous son of the church of England, an honour to his country, and an ornament to human nature."

His letter was accompanied with a present from himself of his "Sermons at the Bampton Lecture," and from his friend, Dr. Townson, the venerable rector of Malpas, in Cheshire, of his "Discourses on the Gospels," together with the following extract of a letter from that excellent person, who is now gone to receive the reward of his labours: "Mr. Boswell is not only very entertaining in his works, but they are so replete with moral and religious sentiments, without an instance, as far as I know, of a contrary tendency, that I cannot help having a great esteem for him; and if you think such a trifle as a copy of the Discourses, *ex dono auctoris*, would be acceptable to him, I should be happy to give him this small testimony of my regard." Such spontaneous testimonies of approbation from such men, without any personal acquaintance with me, are truly valuable and encouraging. — BOSWELL.

4. Catalogue or List of Designs.

[Supplement to note, p. 794. n. 1.]

DIVINITY.

A SMALL book of precepts and directions for piety; the hint taken from the directions in *Morton's Exercise*.

PHILOSOPHY, HISTORY, AND LITERATURE IN GENERAL.

History of Criticism, as it relates to judging of authors, from Aristotle to the present age. An account of the rise and improvements of that art: of the different opinions of authors, ancient and modern.

Translation of the History of Herodotus.

New edition of Fairfax's Translation of Tasso, with notes, glossary, &c.

Chaucer, a new edition of him, from manuscripts and old editions, with various readings, conjectures, remarks on his language, and the changes it had undergone from the earliest times to his age, and from his to the present; with notes explanatory of customs, &c. and references to Boccaccio, and other authors, from whom he has borrowed, with an account of the liberties he has taken in telling the stories; his life, and an exact etymological glossary.

Aristotle's Rhetoric, a translation of it into English.

A Collection of Letters, translated from the modern writers, with some account of the several authors.

Oldham's Poems, with notes, historical and critical.

Roscommon's Poems, with notes.

Lives of the Philosophers, written with a polite air, in such a manner as may divert as well as instruct.

History of the Heathen Mythology, with an explication of the fables, both allegorical and historical; with references to the poets.

History of the State of Venice, in a compendious manner.

Aristotle's Ethics, an English translation of them, with notes.

Geographical Dictionary from the French. [*Utrecht*.] MS.

Hierocles upon Pythagoras, translated into English, perhaps with notes. This is done by Norris. [Nov. 9th, 1752.] MS.

A book of Letters, upon all kinds of subjects.

Claudian, a new edition of his works, *cum notis variorum*, in the manner of Burman.

Tully's Tusculan questions, a translation of them.

Tully's *De Naturâ Deorum*, a translation of those books.

Benzo's New History of the New World, to be translated.

Machiavel's History of Florence, to be translated.

History of the Revival of Learning in Europe, containing an account of whatever contributed to the restoration of literature: such as controversies, printing, the destruction of the Greek empire, the encouragement of great men, with the lives of the most eminent patrons, and most eminent early professors of all kinds of learning in different countries.

A Body of Chronology, in verse, with historical notes. [Nov. 9th, 1752.] MS.

A Table of the Spectators, Tatlers, and Guardians, distinguished by figures into six degrees of value, with notes giving the reasons of preference or degradation.

A Collection of Letters from English authors, with a preface, giving some account of the writers; with reasons for selection, and criticism upon styles; remarks on each letter, if needful.

A Collection of Proverbs from various languages. Jan. 6th, —53.

A Dictionary to the Common Prayer, in imitation of Calmet's Dictionary of the Bible. March, [17]52.

A Collection of Stories and Examples, like those of Valerius Maximus. Jan. 10th, [17]53.

From *Ælian*, a volume of select Stories, perhaps from others. Jan. 28th, [17]53.

Collection of Travels, Voyages, Adventures, and Descriptions of Countries.

Dictionary of Ancient History and Mythology.

Treatise on the Study of Polite Literature, containing the history of learning, directions for editions, commentaries, &c.

Maxims, Characters, and Sentiments, after the manner of Bruyère, collected out of ancient authors, particularly the Greek, with Apophthegms.

Classical Miscellanies, Select Translations from ancient Greek and Latin authors.

Lives of Illustrious Persons, as well of the active as the learned, in imitation of Plutarch.

Judgment of the learned upon English Authors.

Poetical Dictionary of the English Tongue.

Considerations upon the present State of London.

Collection of Epigrams, with notes and observations.

Observations on the English Language, relating to words, phrases, and modes of speech.

Minutiæ Literariæ, Miscellaneous Reflections, Criticisms, Emendations, Notes.

History of the Constitution.

Comparison of Philosophical and Christian Morality, by sentences collected from the moralists and fathers.

Plutarch's Lives, in English, with notes.

POETRY AND WORKS OF IMAGINATION.

Hymn to Ignorance.

The Palace of Sloth: — a vision.

Columbus, to be translated.

Prejudice, — a poetical essay.

The Palace of Nonsense, — a vision.

Johnson's extraordinary facility of composition, when he shook off his constitutional indolence, and resolutely sat down to write, is admirably described by Mr. Courtenay, in his "Poetical Review," which I have several times quoted: —

"While through life's maze he sent a piercing view,
His mind expansive to the object grew.

With various stores of erudition fraught,

The lively image, the deep searching thought,

Slept in repose; — but when the moment press'd,

The bright ideas stood at once confess'd;

Instant his genius sped its vigorous rays,

And o'er the letter'd world diffus'd a blaze.

As womb'd with fire the cloud electric flies,

And calmly o'er the horizon seems to rise:

Touch'd by the pointed steel, the lightning flows,

And all th' expanse with rich effluence glows."

We shall in vain endeavour to know with exact precision

every production of Johnson's pen. He owed to me that he had written about forty sermons; but as I understood that he had given or sold them to different persons, who were to preach them as their own, he did not consider himself at liberty to acknowledge them. Would those who were thus aided by him, who are still alive, and the friends of those who are dead, fairly inform the world, it would be obligingly gratifying a reasonable curiosity, to which there should, I think, now be no objection. Two volumes of them, published since his death, are sufficiently ascertained. See p. 555. I have before me in his handwriting a fragment of twenty quarto leaves, of a translation into English of Sallust, *De Bello Catilinario*. When it was done I have no notion; but it seems to have no very superior merit to mark it as his. Besides the publications heretofore mentioned, I am satisfied, from internal evidence, to admit also as genuine the following, which, notwithstanding all my chronological care, escaped me in the course of this work:—

"Considerations on the Case of Dr. Trapp's Sermons," † published in 1739, in the "Gentleman's Magazine." It is a very ingenious defence of the right of abridging an author's work, without being held as infringing his property. This is one of the nicest questions in the *Law of Literature*; and I cannot help thinking, that the indulgence of abridging is often exceedingly injurious to authors and booksellers, and should in very few cases be permitted. At any rate, to prevent difficult and uncertain discussion, and give an absolute security to authors in the property of their labours, no abridgment whatever should be permitted till after the expiration of such a number of years as the legislature may be pleased to fix.

But, though it has been confidently ascribed to him, I cannot allow that he wrote a dedication to both houses of parliament of a book entitled "The Evangelical History Harmonised." He was no *croaker*, no declaimer against the times. He would not have written "That we are fallen upon an age in which corruption is not barely universal, is universally confessed." Nor, "Rape preys on the public without opposition, and perjury betrays it without inquiry." Nor would he, to excite a speedy reformation, have conjured up such phantoms of terror as these:—"A few years longer, and perhaps all endeavours will be in vain. We may be swallowed by an earthquake; we may be delivered to our enemies." This is not Johnsonian.

There are, indeed, in this dedication several sentences constructed upon the model of those of Johnson. But the imitation of the form, without the spirit of his style, has been so general, that this of itself is not sufficient evidence. Even our newspaper writers aspire to it. In an account of the funeral of Edwin, the comedian, in "The Diary" of Nov. 9. 1790, that son of drollery is thus described:—"A man who had so often cheered the sullenness of vacancy, and suspended the approaches of sorrow." And in "The Dublin Evening Post," August 16. 1791, there is the following paragraph:—"It is a singular circumstance, that in a city like this, containing 200,000 people, there are three months in the year during which no place of public amusement is open. Long vacation is here a vacation from pleasure, as well as business; nor is there any mode of passing the listless evenings of declining summer, but in the riots of a tavern, or the stupidity of a coffee-house."

I have not thought it necessary to specify every copy of verses written by Johnson, it being my intention to publish an authentic edition of all his poetry, with notes.

BOSWELL.

5. A Chronological Catalogue of the Prose Works of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.¹

N. B.—To those which he himself acknowledged is added *acknowl.* To those which may be fully believed to be his from internal evidence is added *intern. evid.*

1735. ABRIDGMENT and translation of Lobo's *Voyage to Abyssinia*, *acknowl.*

1738. Part of a translation of Father Paul Sarpi's History of the Council of Trent, *acknowl.*

N. B.—As this work, after some sheets were printed, suddenly stopped, I know not whether any part of it is now to be found.

FOR THE GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE.

Preface, *intern. evid.*

Life of Father Paul, *acknowl.*

¹ I do not here include his poetical works; for, excepting his Latin translation of Pope's Messiah, his London, and his Vanity of Human Wishes, imitated from Juvenal, his Prologue on the opening of Drury-Lane Theatre by Mr. Garrick, and his Irene, a Tragedy, they are very numerous and in general short; and I have promised a complete edition of them, in which I shall, with the utmost care, ascertain their authenticity, and illustrate them with notes and various

1739. A complete vindication of the Licensor of the Stage from the malicious and scandalous aspersions of Mr. Brooke, author of *Gustavus Vasa*, *acknowl.*
Minor Norfolkian: or an Essay on an ancient prophetic inscription in monkish rhyme, lately discovered near Lynne in Norfolk, by PHOEBUS BRITANNICUS, *acknowl.*

FOR THE GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE.

Life of Boerhaave, *acknowl.*

Address to the Reader, *intern. evid.*

Appal to the Public in behalf of the Editor, *intern. evid.*

Considerations on the case of Dr. Trapp's Sermons; a plausible attempt to prove that an author's work may be abridged without injuring his property, *acknowl.*

1² * Address to the Reader in May.

1740. FOR THE GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE.

Preface, *intern. evid.*

Life of Admiral Drake, *acknowl.*

Life of Admiral Blake, *acknowl.*

Life of Philip Barreter, *acknowl.*

Essay on Epitaphs, *acknowl.*

1741. FOR THE GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE.

Preface, *intern. evid.*

A free translation of the Jests of Hierocles, with an introduction, *intern. evid.*

Debate on the *Humble Petition and Advice* of the Rump Parliament to Cromwell, in 1657, to assume the title of King; abridged, methodised, and digested, *intern. evid.*

Translation of Abbé Gouyon's Dissertation on the Amazons, *intern. evid.*

Translation of Fontenelle's Panegyric on Dr. Morin, *intern. evid.*

1742. FOR THE GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE.

Preface, *intern. evid.*

Essay on the Account of the Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough, *acknowl.*

An Account of the Life of Peter Burman, *acknowl.*

The Life of Sydenham, afterwards prefixed to Dr.

Swan's edition of his works, *acknowl.*

Proposals for printing Bibliotheca Harleiana, or a Catalogue of the Library of the Earl of Oxford, afterwards prefixed to the first volume of that catalogue, in which the Latin accounts of the books were written by him, *acknowl.*

Abridgment, entitled Foreign History, *intern. evid.*

Essay on the Description of China, from the French of Du Halde, *intern. evid.*

1743. Dedication to Dr. Mead of Dr. James's Medicinal Dictionary, *intern. evid.*

FOR THE GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE.

Preface, *intern. evid.*

Parliamentary Debates under the name of Debates in the Senate of Lilliput, from Nov. 19. 1740, to Feb. 23. 1742-3, inclusive, *acknowl.*

Considerations on the Dispute between Crousaz and Warburton on Pope's Essay on Man, *intern. evid.*

A Letter, announcing that the Life of Mr. Savage was speedily to be published by a person who was favoured with his confidence, *intern. evid.*

Advertisement for Osborne concerning the Harleian Catalogue, *intern. evid.*

1744. Life of Richard Savage, *acknowl.*

Preface to the Harleian Miscellany, *acknowl.*

FOR THE GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE.

Preface, *intern. evid.*

1745. Miscellaneous Observations on the tragedy of Macbeth, with remarks on Sir T. H.'s (Sir Thomas Hanmer's) Edition of Shakspeare, and proposals for a new Edition of that Poet, *acknowl.*

1747. Plan for a Dictionary of the ENGLISH LANGUAGE, addressed to Philip Dormer, Earl of Chesterfield, *acknowl.*

readings.—BOSWELL. The meaning of this sentence, and particularly of the word *excepting*, is not very clear. Perhaps Mr. Boswell wrote, "they are not very numerous," which would be less obscure.—CROKER.

² These and several other articles, which are marked with an asterisk, were suggested to Mr. Malone by Mr. Chalmers as probably written by Dr. Johnson; they have been therefore added to this general list.—CROKER.

FOR THE GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE.

- * *Lauder's Proposals for printing the *Adamus Exul* of Grotius.*
 [Abridgment of Foreign History, *Gent. Mag.* 1794, p. 1001.]

FOR THE GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE.

1748. *Life of Roscommon, acknowl.*
Foreign History, November, *intern. evid.*

FOR MR. DODSLEY'S PRECEPTOR.

- Preface, acknowl.*
Vision of Theodore the Hermit, acknowl.

FOR THE GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE.

1749. * *Letter on Fire Works.*
 1750. *THE RAMBLER*, the first paper of which was published 20th of March this year, and the last 17th of March, 1752, the day on which Mrs. Johnson died¹, *acknowl.*
Letter in the General Advertiser to excite the attention of the public to the performance of Comus, which was next day to be acted at Drury Lane play-house, for the benefit of Milton's grand-daughter, acknowl.
Preface and Postscript to Lauder's Pamphlet, entitled "An Essay on Milton's Use and Imitation of the Moderns in his 'Paradise Lost,'" acknowl.

FOR THE GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE.

- Address to the Public concerning Miss Williams's Miscellanies.*
 1751. *Life of Cheynell, in the Miscellany called "The Student," acknowl.*
Letter for Lauder, addressed to the Rev. Dr. John Douglas, acknowledging his fraud concerning Milton in terms of suitable contrition, acknowl.
Dedication to the Earl of Middlesex of Mrs. Charlotte Lennox's "Female Quixote," intern. evid.

FOR THE GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE.

- * *Preface.*
 * *Criticism on Moore's Gil Blas.*
 1753. *Dedication to John, Earl of Orrery, of Shakspeare illustrated, by Mrs. Charlotte Lennox, acknowl.*
During this and the following year he wrote and gave to his much loved friend, Dr. Bathurst, the papers in the Adventurer, signed T., acknowl.

FOR THE GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE.

- * *Preface.*
 * *Notice of Mr. Edward Cave's death, inserted in the last page of the index.*
 1754. *Life of Edward Cave, in the Gentleman's Magazine, acknowl.*

FOR THE GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE.

- * *Preface.*
 1755. *A DICTIONARY, with a Grammar and History, of the ENGLISH LANGUAGE, acknowl.*
An Account of an Attempt to ascertain the Longitude at Sea, by an exact Theory of the Variations of the Magnetical Needle, with a Table of the Variations at the most remarkable cities in Europe, from the year 1660 to 1780, acknowl. This he wrote for Mr. Zachariah Williams, an ingenious ancient Welsh gentleman, father of Mrs. Anna Williams, whom he for many years kindly lodged in his house. It was published with a translation into Italian by Signor Baretti. In a copy of it, which he presented to the Bodleian Library at Oxford, is pasted a character of the late Mr. Zachariah Williams, plainly written by Johnson, *intern. evid.*
 1756. *An Abridgment of his Dictionary, acknowl.*
Several Essays in the Universal Visitor, which there is some difficulty in ascertaining. All that are marked with two asterisks have been ascribed to him, although I am confident, from internal evidence, that we should except from these "The Life of Chaucer," "Reflections on the State of Portugal," and "An Essay on Architecture." And from the same evidence I am confident that he wrote "Further Thoughts on Agriculture" and "A Dissertation on the State of Literature and Authors." The Dissertation on the Epitaphs of Pope, he afterwards acknowledged, and added to his "Idler."

¹ This is a mistake. The last number of the Rambler appeared on the 14th of March, three days before Mrs. Johnson died. — MALONE.

Life of Sir Thomas Browne, prefixed to a new edition of his Christian Morals, acknowl.

In the LITERARY MAGAZINE, or UNIVERSAL REVIEW, which began in January, 1756,

HIS ORIGINAL ESSAYS are,

- The Preliminary Address, intern. evid.*
An Introduction to the Political State of Great Britain, intern. evid.
Remarks on the Militia Bill, intern. evid.
Observations on his Britannic Majesty's Treaties with the Empress of Russia and the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, intern. evid.
Observations on the Present State of Affairs, intern. evid.
Memoirs of Frederick III., King of Prussia, intern. evid.
In the same MAGAZINE his REVIEWS are of the following books: — "Birch's History of the Royal Society," "Browne's Christian Morals," "Warton's Essay on the Writings and Genius of Pope," vol. i.; "Hampton's Translation of Polybius;" "Sir Isaac Newton's Arguments in proof of a Deity;" "Borlase's History of the Isles of Scilly;" "Home's Experiments on Bleaching;" "Browne's History of Jamaica;" "Hales on Distilling Sea-Waters, Ventilators in Ships, and curing an ill taste in Milk;" "Lucas's Essay on Waters;" "Keith's Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops;" "Philosophical Transactions," vol. xlix.; "Miscellanies by Elizabeth Harrison;" "Evans's Map and Account of the Middle Colonies in America;" "The Cadet, a Military Treatise;" "The Conduct of the Ministry relating to the present War, impartially examined," intern. evid.
"Mrs. Lennox's Translation of Sully's Memoirs;" "Letter on the Case of Admiral Byng;" "Appeal to the People concerning Admiral Byng;" "Hanway's Eight Days' Journey" and "Essay on Tea;" "Some further particulars in Relation to the Case of Admiral Byng, by a Gentleman of Oxford," acknowl.
Mr. Jonas Hanway having written an angry Answer to the Review of his Essay on Tea, Johnson, in the same collection, made a reply to it, acknowl. This is the only instance, it is believed, when he condescended to take notice of any thing that had been written against him; and here his chief intention seems to have been to make sport.
Dedication to the Earl of Rochford, of, and Preface to, Mr. Payne's introduction to the Game of Draughts, acknowl.
Introduction to the London Chronicle, an Evening Paper, which still subsists with deserved credit, acknowl.
 * *"Observations on the Foregoing Letter," i. e. A Letter on the American Colonies.*
 1757. *Speech on the subject of an Address to the Throne after the Expedition to Rochefort; delivered by one of his friends in some public meeting: it is printed in the Gentleman's Magazine for October, 1789, intern. evid.*
The first two paragraphs of the Preface to Sir William Chambers's Designs of Chinese Buildings, &c., acknowl.
 1758. *THE IDLER, which began April 5. in this year, and was continued till April 5. 1760, acknowl.*
An Essay on the Bravery of the English Common Soldiers was added to it, when published in volumes, acknowl.
 1759. *Rasselas, Prince of Abyssinia, a Tale, acknowl.*
Advertisement for the Proprietors of the Idler against certain persons who pirated those papers as they came out singly in a newspaper called the Universal Chronicle, or Weekly Gazette, intern. evid.
For Mrs. Charlotte Lennox's English Version of Brumoy, "A Dissertation on the Greek Comedy," and the General Conclusion of the Book, intern. evid.
Introduction to the World Displayed, a Collection of Voyages and Travels, acknowl.
Three Letters in the Gazetteer, concerning the best plan for Blackfriars Bridge, acknowl.
 1760. *Address of the Painters to George III. on his Accession to the Throne, intern. evid.*
Dedication of Baretti's Italian and English Dictionary to the Marquis of Abreu, then Envoy Extraordinary from Spain at the Court of Great Britain, intern. evid.
Review in the Gentleman's Magazine of Mr. Tytler's acute and able Vindication of Mary Queen of Scots, acknowl.
Introduction to the Proceedings of the Committee for Clothing the French Prisoners, acknowl.
 1761. *Preface to Rolt's Dictionary of Trade and Commerce, acknowl.*

- Corrections and Improvements for Mr. Gwyn the Architect's pamphlet, entitled "Thoughts on the Coronation of George III.," *acknowled*.
1762. Dedication to the King of the Rev. Dr. Kennedy's Complete System of Astronomical Chronology unfolding the Scriptures, 4to edition, *acknowled*.
Preface to the Catalogue of the Artists' Exhibition, *intern. evid*.
1763. Character of Collins in the Poetical Calendar, published by Fawkes and Woty, *acknowled*.
Dedication to the Earl of Shaftesbury of the edition of Roger Ascham's English Works, published by the Reverend Mr. Bennett, *acknowled*.
The Life of Ascham, also prefixed to that edition, *acknowled*.
Review of Telemachus, a Masque, by the Reverend George Graham, of Eton College, in the Critical Review, *acknowled*.
Dedication to the Queen of Mr. Hoole's Translation of Tasso, *acknowled*.
Account of the Detection of the Imposture of the Cock Lane Ghost, published in the Newspapers and Gentleman's Magazine, *acknowled*.
1764. Part of a Review of Granger's "Sugar Cane," a Poem, in the London Chronicle, *acknowled*.
Review of Goldsmith's "Traveller," a Poem, in the Critical Review, *acknowled*.
1765. The Plays of William Shakspeare, in eight volumes, 8vo, with Notes, *acknowled*.
1766. The Fountains, a Fairy Tale, in Mrs. Williams's Miscellanies, *acknowled*.
1767. Dedication to the King of Mr. Adams's Treatise on the Globes, *acknowled*.
1769. Character of the Reverend Mr. Zachariah Mudge, in the London Chronicle, *acknowled*.
1770. The False Alarm, *acknowled*.
1771. Thoughts on the late Transactions respecting Falkland's Islands, *acknowled*.
1772. Defence of a Schoolmaster; dictated to me for the House of Lords, *acknowled*.
Argument in support of the Law of Vicious Intromission; dictated to me for the Court of Session in Scotland, *acknowled*.
1773. Preface to Macbean's "Dictionary of Ancient Geography," *acknowled*.
Argument in favour of the Rights of Lay Patrons; dictated to me for the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, *acknowled*.
1774. The Patriot, *acknowled*.
1775. A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland, *acknowled*.
Proposals for publishing the Works of Mrs. Charlotte Lennox, in 3 volumes, 4to, *acknowled*.
Preface to Baret's Easy Lessons in Italian and English, *intern. evid*.
Taxation no Tyranny: an Answer to the Resolutions and Address of the American Congress, *acknowled*.
Argument on the case of Dr. Memis; dictated to me for the Court of Sessions in Scotland, *acknowled*.
Argument to prove that the Corporation of Stirling was corrupt; dictated to me for the House of Lords, *acknowled*.
1776. Argument in support of the Right of immediate and personal Reprehension from the Pulpit; dictated to me, *acknowled*.
Proposals for publishing an Analysis for the Scotch Celtic Language, by the Rev. William Shaw, *acknowled*.
1777. Dedication to the King of the Posthumous Works of Dr. Pearce, Bishop of Rochester, *acknowled*.
Additions to the Life and Character of that Prelate, prefixed to those works, *acknowled*.
Various Papers and Letters in favour of the Reverend Dr. Dodd, *acknowled*.
1780. Advertisement for his Friend, Mr. Thrale, to the Worthy Electors of the Borough of Southwark, *acknowled*.
First Paragraph of Mr. Thomas Davies's Life of Garrick, *acknowled*.
1781. Prefaces, biographical and critical to the Works of the most eminent English poets; afterwards published with the title of the Lives of the English Poets, *acknowled*.
Argument on the Importance of the Registration of Deeds; dictated to me for an Election Committee of the House of Commons, *acknowled*.
On the distinction between Tory and Whig; dictated to me, *acknowled*.

On Vicarious Punishments, and the great Propitiation for the Sins of the World by Jesus Christ; dictated to me, *acknowled*.

Argument in favour of Joseph Knight, an African Negro, who claimed his Liberty in the Court of Session in Scotland, and obtained it; dictated to me, *acknowled*.

Defence of Mr. Robertson, Printer of the Caledonian Mercury, against the Society of Procurators in Edinburgh, for having inserted in his paper a ludicrous paragraph against them; demonstrating that it was not an injurious Libel; dictated to me, *acknowled*.

1782. The greatest [part], if not the whole, of a Reply, by the Reverend Mr. Shaw, to a person at Edinburgh, of the name of Clarke, refuting his arguments for the authenticity of the Poems published by Mr. James Macpherson as Translations from Ossian, *intern. evid*.
1784. List of the Authors of the Universal History, deposited in the British Museum, and printed in the Gentleman's Magazine for December, this year, *acknowled*.

VARIOUS YEARS.

Letters to Mrs. Thrale, *acknowled*.

Prayers and Meditations, which he delivered to the Rev. Mr. Strahan, enjoining him to publish them¹, *acknowled*.

Sermons, left for publication by John Taylor, LL.D., Prebendary of Westminster, and given to the World by the Reverend Samuel Hayles, A. M., *intern. evid*.

Such was the number and variety of the prose works of this extraordinary man, which I have been able to discover, and am at liberty to mention²; but we ought to keep in mind, that there must undoubtedly have been many more which are yet concealed; and we may add to the account, the numerous letters which he wrote, of which a considerable part are yet unpublished. It is hoped that those persons, in whose possession they are, will favour the world with them.

BOSWELL.

6. The following Letters and Prayer were accidentally omitted from their proper Places.

[JOHNSON TO MR. TOMKESON.]

"1st Oct. 1783.

"SIR,—I have known Mr. Lowe very familiarly a great while. I consider him as a man of very clear and vigorous understanding, and conceive his principles to be such that whatever you transact with him you have nothing to expect from him unbecoming a gentleman. I am, Sir, your humble servant,
SAM. JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO MR. NICHOLS.

"April 12. 1784.

"SIR,—I have sent you inclosed a very curious proposal from Mr. Hawkins, the son of Sir John Hawkins, who, I believe, will take care that whatever his son promises shall be performed. If you are inclined to publish this compilation, the editor will agree for an edition on the following terms, which I think liberal enough. That you shall print the book at your own charge. That the sale shall be wholly for your benefit till your expenses are repaid; except that at the time of publication you shall put into the hands of the editor, without price, . . . copies for his friends. That, when you have been repaid, the profits arising from the sale of the remaining copies shall be divided equally between you and the editor. That the edition shall not comprise fewer than five hundred.
SAM. JOHNSON."

UNPUBLISHED PRAYER.

From the Pearson MSS.

"Easter day, 15th April, 1759.

"ALMIGHTY and most merciful Father, look down with pity upon my sins. I am a sinner, good Lord; but let not my sins burthen me for ever. Give me thy grace to break the chain of evil custom. Enable me to shake off idleness and sloth; to will and to do what thou hast commanded, grant me chaste in thoughts, words and actions; to love and

¹ See *anté*, p. 792., my reasons for disbelieving that there were any such injunctions. — CROKER.

² This is a strange phrase. What work could it have been that Mr. Boswell was not at liberty to mention? That there was some peculiar meaning here can hardly be doubted. It perhaps may allude to some publications of a Jacobite tendency, written in Johnson's earlier days, and which may have been

acknowledged in confidence to Boswell; but this is a mere conjecture. Mr. Markland thinks that Boswell's letter, p. 214., explains this; — but I do not see it. Many of the articles inserted in the foregoing list on *internal evidence* (particularly those from the Magazines) are of very little importance, and of very doubtful authenticity. — CROKER.

frequent thy worship, to study and understand thy word; to be diligent in my calling, that I may support myself and relieve others.

"Forgive me, O Lord, whatever my mother has suffered by my fault, whatever I have done amiss, and whatever duty I have neglected. Let me not sink into useless dejection; but so sanctify my affliction, O Lord, that I may be converted and healed; and that, by the help of thy holy spirit, I may obtain everlasting life through Jesus Christ our Lord.

"And, O Lord, so far as it may be lawful, I commend unto thy fatherly goodness my father, brother, wife, and mother, beseeching thee to make them happy for Jesus Christ's sake. Amen. SAM. JOHNSON."]

§ 3. MR. BOSWELL'S APPENDIX.

1. Dr. Blacklock's Explanatory Letter.

In justice to the ingenious Dr. Blacklock, I publish the following Letter from him, relative to a passage in p. 278.

"TO JAMES BOSWELL, ESQ.

"Edinburgh, Nov. 12. 1785.

"DEAR SIR,—Having lately had the pleasure of reading your account of the journey which you took with Dr. Samuel Johnson to the Western Isles, I take the liberty of transmitting my ideas of the conversation which happened between the Doctor and myself concerning lexicography and poetry, which, as it is a little different from the delineation exhibited in the former edition of your Journal, cannot, I hope, be unacceptable; particularly since I have been informed, that a second edition of that work is now in contemplation, if not in execution; and I am still more strongly tempted to encourage that hope, from considering that, if every one concerned in the conversations related were to send you what they can recollect of these colloquial entertainments, many curious and interesting particulars might be recovered, which the most assiduous attention could not observe, nor the most tenacious memory retain. A little reflection, Sir, will convince you, that there is not an axiom in Euclid more intuitive nor more evident than the Doctor's assertion that poetry was of much easier execution than lexicography. Any mind, therefore, endowed with common sense, must have been extremely absent from itself, if it discovered the least astonishment from hearing that a poem might be written with much more facility than the same quantity of a dictionary.

"The real cause of my surprise was what appeared to me much more paradoxical, that he could write a sheet of dictionary *with as much pleasure* as a sheet of poetry. He acknowledged, indeed, that the latter was much easier than the former. For in the one case books and a desk were requisite; in the other, you might compose when lying in bed, or walking in the fields, &c. He did not, however, descend to explain, nor to this moment can I comprehend, how the labours of a mere philologist, in the most refined sense of that term, could give equal pleasure with the exercise of a mind replete with elevated conceptions and pathetic ideas, while taste, fancy, and intellect were deeply enamoured of nature, and in full exertion. You may likewise, perhaps, remember, that when I complained of the ground which scepticism in religion and morals was continually gaining, it did not appear to be on my own account, as my private opinions upon these important subjects had long been inflexibly determined. What I then deplored, and still deplore, was the unhappy influence which that gloomy hesitation had, not only upon particular characters, but even upon life in general; as being equally the bane of action in our present state, and of such consolations as we might derive from the hopes of a future.

"I have the pleasure of remaining, with sincere esteem and respect, dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

"THOMAS BLACKLOCK."

I am very happy to find that Dr. Blacklock's apparent uneasiness on the subject of scepticism was not on his own account (as I supposed), but from a benevolent concern for the happiness of mankind. With respect, however, to the question concerning poetry, and composing a dictionary, I am confident that my state of Dr. Johnson's position is accurate. One may misconceive the motive by which a person is induced to discuss a particular topic (as in the case of Dr. Blacklock's speaking of scepticism); but an assertion, like that made by Dr. Johnson, cannot be easily mistaken. And, indeed, it seems not very probable, that he who so pathetically laments the *drudgery* to which the unhappy lexicographer is doomed, and is known to have written his splendid imitation of Juvenal with astonishing rapidity, should have had "as much pleasure in writing a sheet of a dictionary as a sheet of poetry." Nor can I concur with the ingenious writer of the foregoing letter, in thinking it an axiom as evident as any in Euclid, that "poetry is of easier execution than lexicography." I have no doubt that Bailey, and the "mighty blunderbuss of law," Jacob, wrote ten pages of their respective dictionaries with more ease than they could have written five pages of poetry.

If this book should again be reprinted, I shall, with the

utmost readiness, correct any errors I may have committed, in stating conversation, provided it can be clearly shown to me that I have been inaccurate. But I am slow to believe (as I have elsewhere observed) that any man's memory, at the distance of several years, can preserve facts or sayings with such fidelity as may be done by writing them down when they are recent: and I beg it may be remembered, that it is not upon *memory*, but upon what was *written at the time*, that the authenticity of my Journal rests. — BOSWELL.

2. Sir A. Macdonald's Latin Verses.

[See Page 312.]

The following verses, written by Sir Alexander (now Lord) Macdonald, and addressed and presented to Dr. Johnson, at Armidale, in the Isle of Skye, should have appeared in their proper place [*ante*, p. 312.] if the author of this Journal had been possessed of them: but this edition was almost printed off when he was accidentally furnished with a copy by a friend. — BOSWELL.

I have not removed these verses to the text, because Mr. Boswell did not think proper to do so in his subsequent editions, and because I really do not profess to understand more than the first stanza. It seems hard to guess what Sir Alexander could have meant by presenting Dr. Johnson with such lines; which are really not much better than the nonsense verses of a school-boy. — CROKER.

Viator, o qui nostra per aequora
Visurus across Skiatos venis,
En te salutantes tributum
Undique conglomerantur oris

Donaldiani, — quotquot in insulis
Compescit arctis limitibus mare;
Alitque jamdudum, ac alendos
Piscibus indigenas fovetib.

Clere fluctus siste, Procelliger,
Nec tu laborans perge, precor, ratis
Ne conjugem plangat marita,
Ne doceat soboles parentem.
Nec te vicissim poeniteat virum
Luxurie; — vestro scimus ut aestuant
In corde luctantes dolores,
Cum feriant inopina corpus.

Quidni! preperitum clade tuentibus
Plus semper illo qui moritur pati
Datur, doloris dum profundus
Pervia mens aperit recessus.

Valete luctus; — hinc lacrymabiles
Arcete visus; — ibimus, ibimus
Superbienti qua theatro
Fingalæ memorantur aulæ.

Illustris hospes! mox spatiabere
Qua mens ruina ducta meatibus
Gaudet explorare cretus,
Buccina qua cecinit triumphos.

Audin' ? resurgens spirat anhelitu
Dux usitato, suscitæ efficac
Poeta manes, ingruique
Vi solitæ redidivus horror.

Ahenæ quassans tela gravi manu
Sic ibat atrox Ossiani pater:
Quiescat urnâ, stet fidelis
Phersonius vigil ad favillam.

3. Inscription on the Monument of Sir James Macdonald, Bart., in the Church of Slate; and Two Letters from that young Gentleman to his Mother.

[Referred to in p. 313. n. 2.]

To the memory
OF SIR JAMES MACDONALD, Bart.
Who, in the flower of youth,
Had attained to so eminent a degree of knowledge
In mathematics, philosophy, languages,
And in every other branch of useful and polite learning,
As few have acquired in a long life
Wholly devoted to study;
Yet to this erudition he joined,
What can rarely be found with it,
Great talents for business,
Great propriety of behaviour,
Great politeness of manners!
His eloquence was sweet, correct, and flowing;
His memory vast and exact;
His judgment strong and acute;
All which endowments, united
With the most amiable temper
And every private virtue,

Procured him, not only in his own country,
But also from foreign nations,
The highest marks of esteem.
In the year of our Lord
1766.

The 25th of his life,
After a long and extremely painful illness,
Which he supported with admirable patience and fortitude,
He died at Rome.

Where, notwithstanding the difference of religion,
Such extraordinary honours were paid to his memory,
As had never graced that of any other British subject,
Since the death of Sir Philip Sydney.

The fame he left behind him is the best consolation

To his afflicted family,
And to his countrymen in this isle,
For whose benefit he had planned

Many useful improvements,
Which his fruitful genius suggested,
And his active spirit promoted,
Under the sober direction

Of a clear and enlightened understanding.
Reader, bewail our loss,
And that of all Britain.

In testimony of her love,
And as the best return she can make
To her departed son,

For the constant tenderness and affection
Which, even to his last moments,
He showed for her.

His much afflicted mother,
The LADY MARGARET MACDONALD,
Daughter to the Earl of Eglintounne,
Erected this monument,
A. D. 1768.

This extraordinary young man, whom I had the pleasure
of knowing intimately, having been deeply regretted by his
country, the most minute particulars concerning him must
be interesting to many. I shall therefore insert his two last
letters to his mother, Lady Margaret Macdonald, which her
ladyship has been pleased to communicate to me.

SIR JAMES MACDONALD TO LADY MARGARET.

"Rome, 9th July, 1766.

"MY DEAR MOTHER, — Yesterday's post brought me your
answer to the first letter, in which I acquainted you of my
illness. Your tenderness and concern upon that account are
the same I have always experienced, and to which I have
often owed my life. Indeed it never was in so great danger
as it has been lately; and though it would have been a very
great comfort to me to have had you near me, yet perhaps I
ought to rejoice, on your account, that you had not the pain
of such a spectacle. I have been now a week in Rome, and
wish I could continue to give you the same good accounts of
my recovery as I did in my last; but I must own that, for
three days past, I have been in a very weak and miserable
state, which however seems to give no uneasiness to my phy-
sician. My stomach has been greatly out of order, without
any visible cause; and the palpitation does not decrease. I
am told that my stomach will soon recover its tone, and that
the palpitation must cease in time. So I am willing to be-
lieve; and with this hope support the little remains of spirits
which I can be supposed to have, on the forty-seventh day of
such an illness. Do not imagine I have relapsed; I only re-
cover slower than I expected. If my letter is shorter than
usual, the cause of it is a dose of physic, which has weakened
me so much to-day, that I am not able to write a long letter.
I will make up for it next post, and remain always your most
sincerely affectionate son,
"J. MACDONALD."

He grew, however, gradually worse; and on the night be-
fore his death he wrote as follows from Frescati:

"MY DEAR MOTHER, — Though I did not mean to deceive
you in my last letter from Rome, yet certainly you would
have very little reason to conclude of the very great and con-
stant danger I have gone through ever since that time. My
life, which is still almost entirely desperate, did not at that
time appear to me so, otherwise I should have represented,
in its true colours, a fact which acquires very little horror by
that means, and comes with redoubled force by deception.
There is no circumstance of danger and pain of which I have
not had the experience, for a continued series of above a
fortnight; during which time I have settled my affairs, after
my death, with as much distinctness as the hurry and the na-
ture of the thing could admit of. In case of the worst, the
Abbé Grant will be my executor in this part of the world,
and Mr. Mackenzie in Scotland, where my object has been
to make you and my younger brother as independent of the
eldest as possible." — BOSWELL.

4. Errata and Observations on the Tour to the Hebrides.

[See p. 427. n. 2.]

Transmitted to Dr. Johnson by Mr. Boswell immediately
after the publication of that work; as these corrections were
not made in the subsequent editions, it seems worth while
to preserve them here. The MS. belongs to the Anderson
collection.

Page 210. *Maria Reg.*¹ My journal has *Re*.

Ibid. *The whole Island.* Would it not be better to say the
whole island of Britain? On first reading, it strikes one as
if Inch-Keith had once belonged to two kings.

211. *St. Andrew's.* Excellent.

217. *Tree in that county.* Colonel Nairne, when he said
that there were but two trees in the county of Fife, must
have been jocular or very ignorant. At several seats there
are old trees. I am assured that there are some very fine
ones at Lesly, the seat of the family of Rognes; Langton's
lady or Counsellor Pepys's sister-in-law [p. 272.] will inform
you.

Ibid. *It may be doubted.* Your doubt goes too far — as
you travelled along the coast you saw no trees between
Edinburgh and England, but several were set before the
Union, which are now very stately. I allow that few were
set. At Inverary and Auchinleck you saw some large old
trees which were set. But indeed they were not between
Edinburgh and England. I am glad the west of Scotland
has not been so severely handled by you; though I will
fairly give you an anecdote, which I had the other day from
Mr. Hay Campbell, an advocate here. About the beginning
of this century his grandfather planted some trees within
four miles of Glasgow. He was then blind with a gutta
serena, and the people in the neighbourhood said his blind-
ness had affected his judgment, so as to make him imagine
that trees would grow there. Your observations on the
nakedness of Scotland are just, and if they had not been so
precisely pointed, no man could have controverted them.

219. *Aberbrothick.* Excellent.

220. *Early in the afternoon.* Do you call it the afternoon
before dinner? Lord Monboddo is treated perhaps more
generately than he deserves from you upon the whole. How-
ever, he was very agreeable to you that day. But in strict
order of time it was his magnetism that drew you, for you
did not like him much from what you had formerly seen of
him.

222. *By the same magistrates.* Old and New Aberdeen
are not governed by the same magistrates. The new town
is a royal burgh; the old is only a borough of barony. Mr.
Boyd, Lord Errol's brother, was provost of it.

225. *The course of education.* Should it not be "the
course of education in Scotland?" for, as the passage now
stands, it seems to refer only to Aberdeen, though you mean
our education in general. I am the more anxious as to this,
because you mention the advocates, and you must know that
the attorneys of Aberdeen set up a claim to that title, be-
cause James VI. by mistake addressed a letter to one of
them as "*Advocate in Aberdeen.*"

226. *Sufficient not to desire it.* Aberdeen — excellent.
Your observation on degrees should satisfy everybody.

227. *Unexpected calamity.* I do not think we travelled
over the buried estate. If I recollect right, we were told of
it at Mr. Fraser's. A calamity of the same kind happened to
an estate in the county of Moray.

229. *Buller of Buchan.* The Buller of Buchan — great
painting.

230. *Went backward.* Is going backward to a depth
right? Does not depth mean something downwards?

231. *Ladies.* Should it not be ladies and gentlemen?
Ladies do not come alone to the Buller.

230. *Streichton.* Read *Strichen*.

231. *Claimed my attention.* Earl Fife has a magnificent
house near Bamff. Might you not have shown that you did
not disregard it, by mentioning that you did not come to
Scotland to look at fine places? Perhaps there is no occasion
for this. Earl Fife has been my client, and I have had many
of his guineas, which probably gave rise to the remark.

235. *In the old city.* Elgin — excellent. But I shall
henceforth not trouble you with repetitions of my applause.

236. *Lochabars.* Lochabars is between Cullen and Elgin.

236. *The governor.* Sir Eyre Coote is not Governor of
Fort George. He commanded because his regiment then
lay there.

237. *English race.* Is not "peopled the place with an
English race," not so well? (my wife's remark.)

239. *Cottages of Hlontontots.* Your observation is in general
striking and just, but is not the illustration by Eskimeaux
and Hlontontots too strong? There was much sumptuous-
ness in some of our great families before the Union.

240. *Every thing but himself.* Is not "leave behind him
every thing but himself" liable to an Irish construction?

¹ Mr. Boswell's references are made to the pages of the
first edition; the present references are adapted to the pages

of the Journey in Murphy's edition of Dr. Johnson's
Works. — CROKER.

240. *Twenty-eighth.* For the 13th, read 30th.¹

241. *The peak.* Should it not be Peak of Derby, to make it more intelligible, especially on the continent?

245. *Fall of Fiers.* Lockness and Fall of Fiers — excellent.

247. *St. George's. Dele St.* The fort was named after King George II.

247. *Great convenience.* There is not a communication by water all the way to Inverness, but as there is for the greatest part, the passage is perhaps quite right as it stands.

248. *Glenmollison.* Read *Glenmorison*.

256. *Glenheals.* Read *Glenheal*: also dele s at the end of *Macraasheals*. I believe its inhabitants should be written *Macraas*.

.. Your thoughts on the islands are masterly indeed.

264. *Auknasheals and the Macraes.* Read *Auknasheal and Macraas*.

265. *Gordon.* Read *Murchison*. [*Ante*, p. 427.]

266. *The twentieth.* For 20th, read 2d.

.. *Reside at Edinburgh.* Sir Alexander should be very thankful for your tenderness.

271. *Coriatachan.* Read *Corichatachan*.

272. *Were united.* In the appendix to Gordon's Itinerary Septentrionale an account is given of cairns, and of piling² and cremation being united among the northern nations.

274. *Give no account.* Did you not see the women at their meals as well as the men? I take their diet to be the same — "strong liquor" — excellent!

275. *Cheshire cheese.* I do not think it is Cheshire cheese; they make cheese enough of their own.

278. *Water was calm.* You are mistaken in saying the water was calm: the sea was pretty rough, and you may recollect that your spurs were lost.

285. *Chiefs. Dele s.*

.. *Migration.* Is yet a good word here? Should it not be *still*, or some other expression? "Content and faithful, yet unaffected." No wonder they are unaffected if content and faithful. This may occur to a heedless reader from one sense of the word *yet* (a remark by my wife). Would as yet be clearer?

289. *Phæacia.* Raasay — very fine! but there is not some inconsistency between saying "that it affords not much ground, notwithstanding its extent for pasture," and "of black cattle I suppose the number is very great." Perhaps the first passage might be altered to "in proportion to." My wife was delighted with the conclusion of Raasay; but it has occurred to me that "if I could have found an Ulysses" may be construed as not altogether delicate to the laird.

289. *And narrow.* I do not think Port Re is narrow.

.. *Of the Island.* Does this agree with having said "one inn at Scensor?" It should be Scensor. Might not some sharp rogues lay hold of this in a traveller so rigidly exact as you are? I believe the largest inn of Skye is at Dunvegan; that and the two you have mentioned are the only inns properly so called. There are many huts where whiskey is sold.

298. *Macloed.* Are you sure it was Macloed who sold the cattle? Was he one of the conspirators?

299. *Long genealogy.* This is a little anachronism. It was not Ulmist's boatmen, but those who rowed us from Scensor on Saturday, 25th September, who asked about your genealogy. This however is immaterial.

302. *Coriatachan — Corichatachan.* Your allusion to the gothic romances is admirable.

303. *Is minister.* Mr. Macpherson is minister of Slate and tacksman of Ostig.

308. Is this description of kelp accurate? Is not kelp the sea-weed after it is calcined? Are not its ashes only ingredients in the composition of glass, as in the composition of soap, and, I believe, some other substances? Upon recollection, I find that kelp is in common language used for the word itself in its original state — they talk of *cutting kelp*.

312. *On a Crate.* I do not find the word *crate* in your dictionary.

312. *A turtle feast.* Does not "a citizen at a turtle feast" seem to represent him as an image of longevity, as like an eagle. If a citizen should eat turtle as constantly as a cottager eats oaten cakes, would he live as long?

330. *Now a wilderness.* All this is capital. I am persuaded the king must have his knowledge enlarged and his feelings roused.

339. *Bring her husband?* In the first edition there was no note of interrogation here, and Boswell asks whether there should not be. There is none in the new Oxford edition.

340. *Prevail at last.* Your observations on religion should do good.

341. *King's palace.* You have touched the political tenets of the islanders with a very soft address.

343. *Second sight.* I am struck to see how your great powers of mind can expand and illustrate a subject. The second sight will henceforth be treated at least with attention by thinking and unprejudiced men.

345. *Not to believe it.* I believe all the ministers in Skye are natives. Mr. Macpherson, who told you that he was resolved not to believe, was born at Ostig, so that he did not come resolved. I am wrong: he was born in the island of Barra.

353. *Almost suppressed.* See p. 375.

357. *Can be found.* Your reflections on Highland learning, on bards, and on Ossian, amount to demonstration only how "if any can be found" might be omitted; for I take it to be certain that some wandering ballads are inserted in Ossian.

.. *Recite six lines.* You are mistaken here; some of them do actually recite many more.

358. *Taking in kelp.* A trifling inaccuracy here. We did not leave Skye in a boat that was taking in kelp. It was a boat from Ilay, in which a gentleman had come in search of an emigrant who owed him money; but before he came the emigrant had sailed. You treat, too, the storm too lightly; both Col and all the islanders thought that we were really in danger.

363. *Bucacig.* Read *Buacachah*.

368. *Popish Islands.* This page will, I believe, make me yet go to the Popish Islands, but I must have instructions from you in writing.

375. *Dronash-Fingala.* Read *Dowash-Finvala*.

.. *Attend the procession.* Is this perfectly consistent with the passage at p. 353? Should not one or the other be modified?

380. *Mull.* Very instructive. Acti labores sunt jucundi, while I read your account.

381. *Tabor Morar.* Tobermorrie; — Mori or Mory, the Erse for Mary.

387. Another little inaccuracy. The master was not on board that night; he was sitting socially with *Macquharrie*. The sailors were our kind deliverers.

388. *Refinements of courtesy.* As beautiful as any thing in fiction, yet all exactly true, except the inconsiderable circumstance that "we were met by Sir Allan when we landed." We found him in the house, or hut; this, however, is nothing. I figure to myself how many amiable readers will envy us at Inch Kenneth.

389. *Plentiful and delicate.* This phrase has been used already, as to the tacksmen in Skye, page 369. Would it be better to vary one of them? If you think so, I insist that Sir Allan shall retain it.

392. *Inch Kenneth.* At the death of Col, my wife wept much. I was deeply affected, though I shed no tear. As Tacitus says, *Fonnis lugere honestum est — viris meminisse*.

395. *Gradually obscures.* The evening sail — very fine!

396. *Iona.* I cannot express the grandeur of soul that this passage inspires. I should think numbers would visit Iona, to feel it fully.

397. *Black stones.* Read *stone*.

.. *Without the blackest.* Might not a better word be found for the infamy of violating an oath on the black stone?

401. *Mr. Maclean.* Read *Mr. Macleod*. [*Ante*, p. 427.]

402. *Hebrides.* Your observations on the castles in the Hebrides, excellent!

407. *Higher than the true.* I am not conscious of the truth of this observation. I do not recollect instances.

408. *Night came on.* I am glad to find the grand night-piece preserved. I remembered it imperfectly: my journal stops at Loch-buys, I know not how; but I am continuing it, and you shall read it when we meet.

411. *His college.* Your account of education in Scotland is just. I repeated it to Lord Monboddo. "He is right," said he.

412. *Several places.* What places remarkable, and already described, did you find between Glasgow and Auchinleck? I expected to have found something said of the royal castle of Dundonald, where you made me laugh so much with your jokes on king Bob.

.. *Mr. Boswell's sister.* Read *sister-in-law*. Mr. Campbell and I are married to two sisters.

.. *Stony field.* Auchinleck has no particular claim to the denomination of a stony field, by which is meant a field much covered with loose pebbles; but Auchinleck is a stony field, and Auchinleck signifies a field of flag stones; now the red rocks there are generally composed of thin strata, or flags.

413. *His tenants.* You have done Auchinleck much honour, and have, I hope, overcome my father, who has never forgiven your warmth for monarchy and episcopacy. I am anxious to see how your pages will operate upon him.

.. *A pedant's.* Why call yourself a pedant?

414. *Braidwood.* Braidwood deserves attention, and you have ensured him celebrity.

416. Is not your concluding paragraph rather too modest? The more I read your journey, the more satisfaction I receive. That the canvas should glow with your rich store of colour was to be expected; but it is wonderful to consider the number and variety of minute objects that you have accurately delineated. There is, in general, much entertainment; but I can hardly conceive how, in so short a time, you acquired the knowledge of so many particulars.

BOSWELL.

¹ It would seem as if Dr. Johnson had made an imperfect correction here. Murphy's edition has the 28th. In the Oxford works it still stands 13th. — CROKER.

² He means, *piling stones on stones till a cairn is raised*. — CROKER.

No. III.

SOME ACCOUNT OF FRANCIS STUART.

[Referred to in pp. 57. 641. 643. 748. 750.]

Is that amusing scrap-book called "*Gyase's Olio*," there is an imputation against Dr. Johnson of having obtained an advance of money from the publishers of the Dictionary, by the trick of substituting old sheets instead of new copy, which he had neglected to prepare. The following extract from the *Gentleman's Magazine* contradicts this imputation; but for that sole purpose I should not have thought it necessary to quote it, but am induced to do so because it also affords some curious particulars as to the practical compilation of the Dictionary, and gives some account of Francis Stuart, whose connexion with Johnson seems to have been more important than Mr. Boswell supposed. Indeed Mr. Boswell's account of a little negotiation in which Dr. Johnson employed him with Stuart's sister is very confused. In December, 1779, he states that he had, as desired by Johnson, "*discovered the sister of Stuart, and given her a guinea for an old pocket-book of her brother's which Dr. Johnson had retained; that the woman wondered at his scrupulous and liberal honesty, and received the guinea as if sent by Providence: ante*," p. 641. But this must have been a total mistake on the part of Boswell; for it appears that the sister *had* the pocket-book or letter-case in her own possession, and that it was for obtaining it that Johnson offered the guinea. This matter was probably explained in some letters not given; for in April, 1780 (p. 643.), Johnson expresses "*satisfaction at the success of Boswell's transaction with Mrs. Stuart*," by which it may be inferred that Boswell had obtained the letter-case from her; but the negotiation was not terminated; for four years after, in 1784 (p. 748.), Johnson writes to Boswell, "*I desire you to see Mrs. Stuart once again, and say that in the letter-case was a letter relating to me for which I will give her, if she is willing to give it to me, another guinea: the letter is of consequence only to me.*" (p. 750.) The reader now sees that the retention by Johnson of Stewart's old pocket-book, and the scrupulous honesty of paying a guinea in lieu of it, was a total misapprehension on the part of Boswell; and that Johnson really wanted to obtain the pocket-book, which he seems to have gotten, for the sake of a letter it contained which he seems not to have gotten. But what letter could this be of consequence to Dr. Johnson, when on the verge of the grave, yet so long neglected by him; for Stewart had been dead many years? Boswell's original error and his subsequent silence on the subject are very strange. I am satisfied either that Boswell did not obtain the letter, or that it related to some circumstance of Johnson's life which he did not choose to divulge; and what could it have been that he would not have told? It might, no doubt, have related to the trick or mistake about the copy of the Dictionary; but this, as we shall see by the following explanation, could have hardly interested Johnson at the end of thirty years; while the contradictions and mystery of the case as we have it, and the strange and utter ignorance of what Johnson was about in the years 1745-6—together with many smaller circumstances, incline me to suspect that Johnson may have taken some personal share in the disaffected movements of that period, and that the letter he was so anxious about, may have had some reference to those transactions in which Stuart was likely enough to have been engaged. From the following account it might be inferred that Stuart was not acquainted with Johnson till he lived in Gough square, 1748—that was no doubt the date at which Johnson employed him on the Dictionary, but as it seems that Stuart left Scotland soon after the celebrated Porteous riot in 1736, in which he had some share, he may have known Johnson long before 1745.

"This was Francis Stuart. He was the son of a shopkeeper in Edinburgh, and was brought up to the law. For several years he was employed as a writer in some of the principal offices of Edinburgh; and being a man of good natural parts, and given to literature, he frequently assisted in digesting and arranging MSS. for the press; and, among other employments of this sort, he used to boast of assisting or copying some of the juvenile productions of the afterwards celebrated Lord Kaimes when he was very young and a correspondent with the Edinburgh Magazine. When he came to London, he stuck more closely to the press; and in this walk of copying or arranging for the press, he got recommended to Dr. Johnson, who then lived in Gough-square. Frank was a great admirer of the doctor, and upon all occasions consulted him; and the doctor had also a very respectable opinion of his amanuensis Frank Stuart, as he always familiarly called him. But it was not only in collecting authorities that Frank was employed: he was the man who did

every thing in the writing way for him, and managed all his affairs between the doctor, his bookseller, and his creditors, who were then often very troublesome, and every species of business the doctor had to do out of doors; and for this he was much better qualified than the doctor himself, as he had been more accustomed to common business, and more conversant in the ways of men.

"That he was '*a porter-drinking man*,' as Captain Grose says, may be admitted: for he usually spent his evenings at the Bible, in Shire lane, a house of call for bookbinders and printers, where Frank was in good esteem among some creditable neighbours that frequented the back room; for, except his fuddling, he was a very worthy character. But his drinking and conviviality, he used to say, he left behind him at Edinburgh, where he had connected himself with some jovial wits and great card-players, which made his journey to London very prudent and necessary, as nothing but such a measure could break off the connexion, or bring them to good hours and moderation. In one of those night rambles, Stuart and his companions met with the mob-procession when they were conducting Captain Porteous to be hanged; and Stuart and his companions were next day examined about it before the town-council, when (as Stuart used to say), 'we were found to be too drunk to have had any hand in the business.' But he gave a most accurate and particular account of that memorable transaction in the Edinburgh Magazine of that time, which he was rather fond of relating.

"In another walk, besides collecting authorities, he was remarkably useful to Dr. Johnson; that was, in the explanation of low cant phrases, which the doctor used to get Frank to give his explanation of first; and all words relating to gambling and card-playing, such as *All Fours*, *Catch honours*, *Cribbage*, &c. were, among the typos, said to be Frank Stuart's, corrected by the doctor, for which he received a second payment. At the time this happened, the Dictionary was going on printing very briskly in three departments, letters D, G, and L, being at work upon at the same time; and as the doctor was, in the printing-house phrase, *out of town*—that is, had received more money than he had produced MS. for—the proprietors restricted him in his payments, and would answer no more demands from him than at the rate of a guinea for every sheet of MS. copy he delivered; which was paid him by Mr. Strahan on delivery; and the doctor readily agreed to this. The copy was written upon 4to. post, and in two columns each page. The doctor wrote, in his own hand, the words and their explanation, and generally two or three words in each column, leaving a space between each for the authorities, which were pasted on as they were collected by the different clerks or amanuenses employed; and in this mode the MS. was so regular, that the sheets of MS. which made a sheet of print could be very exactly ascertained. Every guinea parcel came after this agreement regularly tied up, and was put upon a shelf in the corrector's room till wanted. The MS. being then in great forwardness, the doctor supplied copy faster than the printers called for it; and in one of the heaps of copy it happened that, upon giving it out to the compositors, some sheets of the old MS. that had been printed off were found among the new MS. paid for. It is more probable that this happened by the doctor's keeping the old copy, which was always returned him with the proof, in a disorderly manner. But another mode of accounting for this was at that time very current in the printing-house. The doctor, besides his old and constant assistant, Stuart, had several others, some of them not of the best character; and one of this class had been lately discharged, whom the doctor had been very kind to, notwithstanding all his loose and idle tricks; and it was generally supposed that he had fallen upon this expedient of picking up the old MS. to raise a few guineas, finding the money so readily paid on the MS. as he delivered it. But every body was inclined to acquit the doctor, as he had been well known to have rather *too little thoughts about money matters*. And what served to complete the doctor's acquittal was, Stuart immediately on the discovery supplying the quantum of right copy (for it was ready); which set every thing to rights, and that in the course of an hour or two, as the writer of this note can truly assert, as he was employed in the business.

"How such an erroneous and injurious account of an accident so fairly and justly to be accounted for, and the doctor's character cleared from all imputation of art or guilt, came to Captain Grose's ears, is hard to be accounted for; but it appears to have been picked up among the common gossip of the press-room, or other remote parts of the printing-house, where the right state of the fact could not be minutely related nor accurately known."—*Gent. Mag.* v. 69. p. 1171.

No. IV.

EXTRACTS FROM BOSWELL'S LETTERS TO MR. MALONE.

[Mr. Boswell's letters to Mr. Malone, written while the first edition of his *Life of Johnson* was passing through the press, afford so curious a view of his situation and state of mind at that period, that the Editor has gladly availed himself of Mr. Upcott's permission to make some extracts from the MSS. in that gentleman's collection.]—WRIGHT.

"London, Dec. 4. 1790. Let me begin with myself. On the day after your departure, that most friendly fellow! Courtenay (begging the pardon of an M. P. for so free an epithet) called on me, and took my word and honour that, till the 1st of March, my allowance of wine per diem should not exceed four good glasses at dinner, and a pint after it; and this I have kept, though I have dined with Jack Wilkes; at the London Tavern, after the launch of an Indian; with dear Edwards; Dilly; at home with Courtenay; Dr. Barrow; at the mess of the Coldstream; at the Club; at Warren Hastings's; at Hawkins the Cornish member's; and at home with a colonel of the guards, &c. This regulation I assure you is of essential advantage in many respects. The *Magnum Opus* advances. I have revised p. 216. The additions which I have received are a Spanish quotation from Mr. Cambridge (p. 722.); an account of Johnson at Warley Camp from Mr. Langton (p. 618.); and Johnson's letters to Mr. Hastings—three in all—one of them long and admirable (p. 676.); but what sets the diamonds in pure gold of Ophir is a letter from Mr. Hastings to me (p. 675.), illustrating them and their writer. I had this day the honour of a long visit from the late governor-general of India. There is to be no more impeachment. But you will see his character nobly vindicated. Depend upon this.

"And now for my friend. The appearance of Malone's *Shakespeare* on the 29th November was not attended with any external noise; but I suppose no publication seized more speedily and surely on the attention of those for whose critical taste it was chiefly intended. At the Club on Tuesday, where I met Sir Joshua, Dr. Warren, Lord Ossory, Lord Palmerston, Windham, and Burke in the chair,—Burke was so full of his anti-French revolution rage, and poured it out so copiously, that we had almost nothing else. He, however, found time to praise the clearness and accuracy of your dramatic history; and Windham found fault with you for not taking the profits of so laborious a work. Sir Joshua is pleased, though he would gladly have seen more *disquisition*—you understand me! Mr. Daines Barrington is exceedingly gratified. He regrets that there should be a dryness between you and Steevens, as you have treated him with great respect. I understand that, in a short time, there will not be one of your books to be had for love or money.

"Dec. 7. I dined last Saturday at Sir Joshua's with Mr. Burke, his lady, son, and niece, Lord Palmerston, Windham, Dr. Lawrence, Dr. Blagden, Dr. Burney, Sir Abraham Hume, Sir William Scott. I sat next to young Burke at dinner, who said to me, that you had paid his father a very fine compliment. I mentioned Johnson, to sound if there was any objection. He made none. In the evening Burke told me he had read your *Henry VI.*, with all its accompaniment, and it was 'exceedingly well done.' He left us for some time; I suppose on some of his cursed politics; but he returned—I at him again, and heard from his lips what, believe me, I delighted to hear, and took care to write down soon after. 'I have read his *History of the Stage*, which is a very capital piece of criticism and anti-agrarianism. I shall now read all *Shakespeare* through, in a very different manner from what I have yet done, when I have got such a commentator.' Will not this do for you, my friend? Burke was admirable company all that day. He never once, I think, mentioned the French revolution, and was easy with me, as in days of old.

"Dec. 16. I was sadly mortified at the Club on Tuesday, where I was in the chair, and on opening the box found three balls against General Burgoyne. Present, besides me, Lord Ossory, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Sir Joseph Banks, Dr. Fordyce, Dr. Burney, young Burke, Courtenay, Steevens. One of the balls, I do believe, was put into the no side by Fordyce by mistake. You may guess who put in the other two. The Bishop of Carlisle and Dr. Blagden are put up. I doubt if the latter will be admitted, till Burgoyne gets in first. My work has met with a delay for a little while—not a whole day, however—by an unaccountable neglect in having paper enough in readiness. I have now before me p. 256. My utmost wish is to come forth on Shrove Tuesday (8th March). 'Wits are game cocks,' &c. Langton is in town, and dines with me to-morrow quietly, and revises his *Collectanea*." (p. 654.)

"Jan. 18. 1791. I have been so disturbed by sad money-matters, that my mind has been quite fretful; 500*l.*, which I borrowed and lent to a first cousin, an unlucky captain of an Indian, were due on the 15th to a merchant in the city. I could not possibly raise that sum, and was apprehensive of being hardly used. He, however, indulged me with an allowance to make partial payments; 150*l.* in two months, 150*l.* in eight months, and the remainder, with the interests, in eighteen months. How I am to manage I am at a loss, and I know you cannot help me. So this, upon my honour, is no hint. I am really tempted to accept of the 1000*l.* for my *Life of Johnson*. Yet it would go to my heart to sell it at a price which I think much too low. Let me struggle and hope. I cannot be out on *Shrove Tuesday*, as I flattered myself. P. 376. of Vol. II. is ordered for press, and I expect another proof to-night. But I have yet near 200 pages of copy besides letters, and the *death*, which is not yet written. My second volume will, I see, be forty or fifty pages more than my first. Your absence is a woful want in all respects. You will, I dare say, perceive a difference in the part which is revised only by myself, and in which many insertions will appear. My spirits are at present bad; but I will mention all I can recollect."

"Jan. 29. You will find this a most desponding and disagreeable letter, for which I ask your pardon. But your vigour of mind and warmth of heart make your friendship of such consequence, that it is drawn upon like a bank. I have, for some weeks, had the most woful return of melancholy, inasmuch that I have not only had no relish of any thing, but a continual uneasiness, and all the prospect before me for the rest of life has seemed gloomy and hopeless. The state of my affairs is exceedingly embarrassed. I mentioned to you that the 500*l.*, which I borrowed several years ago, and lent to a first cousin, an unfortunate India captain, must now be paid; 150*l.* on the 18th of March, 150*l.* on the 18th of October, and 257*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.* on the 18th of July, 1792. This debt presses upon my mind, and it is uncertain if I shall ever get a shilling of it again. The clear money on which I can reckon out of my estate is scarcely 900*l.* a year. What can I do? My grave brother urges me to quit London, and live at my seat in the country; where he thinks that I might be able to save so as gradually to relieve myself. But, alas! I should be absolutely miserable. In the mean time, such are my projects and sanguine expectations, that you know I purchased an estate which was given long ago to a younger son of our family, and came to be sold last autumn, and paid for it 2500*l.*—1500*l.* of which I borrow upon itself by a mortgage. But the remaining 1000*l.* I cannot conceive a possibility of raising, but by the mode of annuity; which is, I believe, a very heavy disadvantage. I own it was imprudent in me to make a clear purchase at a time when I was sadly straitened; but if I had missed the opportunity, it never again would have occurred, and I should have been vexed to see an ancient appanage, a piece of, as it were, the flesh and blood of the family, in the hands of a stranger. And now that I have made the purchase, I should feel myself quite despicable should I give it up.

"In this situation, then, my dear Sir, would it not be wise in me to accept of 1000 guineas for my *Life of Johnson*, supposing the person who made the offer should now stand to it, which I fear may not be the case; for two volumes may be considered as a disadvantageous circumstance? Could I indeed raise 1000*l.* upon the credit of the work, I should incline to *game*, as Sir Joshua says; because it may produce double the money, though Steevens kindly tells me that I have over-printed, and that the curiosity about Johnson is now only in our own circle. Pray decide for me; and if, as I suppose, you are for my taking the offer, inform me with whom I am to treat. In my present state of spirits, I am all timidity. Your absence has been a severe stroke to me. I am at present quite at a loss what to do. Last week they gave me six sheets. I have now before me in *proof* p. 456.: yet I have above 100 pages of my copy remaining, besides his *death*, which is yet to be written, and many insertions, were there room, as also seven-and-thirty letters, exclusive of twenty to Dr. Brocklesby, most of which will furnish only extracts. I am advised to extract several of those to others, and leave out some; for my first volume makes only 516 pages, and to have 600 in the second will seem awkward, besides increasing the expense considerably. The *counsellor* indeed has devised an ingenious way to thicken the first volume, by *prefixing* the index. I have now desired to have but one compositor. Indeed, I go sluggishly and comfortably about my work. As I pass your door I cast many a longing look.

¹ John Courtenay, born in Ireland in 1738. He was, through the influence of Lords Townsend and Thanes, M. P. for Tamworth and Appleby, from 1780 to 1807. In 1806 he was a lord of the treasury. He died in March, 1815, in very

humble circumstances. There is an interesting biographical notice of him by Sir J. Mackintosh, prefixed to his "*Poetical Review of Dr. Johnson's Character*," in my former editions, but there is not room here for either.—CROKER, 1847.

"I am to cancel a leaf of the first volume, having found that though Sir Joshua certainly assured me he had no objection to my mentioning that Johnson wrote a dedication for him, he now thinks otherwise. In that leaf occurs the mention of Johnson having written to Dr. Leland, thanking the University of Dublin for their diploma. What shall I say as to it? I have also room to state shortly the anecdote of the college cook, which I beg you may get for me. I shall be very anxious till I hear from you.

"Having harassed you with so much about myself, I have left no room for any thing else. We had a numerous club on Tuesday: Fox in the chair, quoting Homer and Fielding, &c. to the astonishment of Jo. Warton; who, with Langton and Seward, ate a plain bit with me, in my new house, last Saturday. Sir Joshua has put up Dr. Lawrence, who will be black-balled as sure as he exists.¹

"We dined on Wednesday at Sir Joshua's; thirteen without Miss P. Himself, Blagden, Batt, [Lawrence,] Erskine, Langton, Dr. Warton, Metcalf, Dr. Lawrence, his brother, a clergyman, Sir Charles Bunbury, myself."

"Feb. 10. Yours of the 5th reached me yesterday. I instantly went to the Don, who purchased for you at the office of Hazard and Co. a half, stamped by government and warranted undrawn, of No. 43,152, in the English State Lottery. I have marked on the back of it, 'Edmond, Henrietta, and Catherine Malone,' and if Fortune will not favour those three united, I shall blame her. This half shall lie in my bureau with my one whole one, till you desire it to be placed elsewhere. The cost, with registration, is 8*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* A half is always proportionally dearer than a whole. I bought my ticket at Nicholson's the day before, and paid 16*l.* 8*s.* for it. I did not look at the number, but sealed it up. In the evening a hand-bill was circulated by Nicholson, that a ticket the day before sold at his office for 16*l.* 8*s.* was drawn a prize of 500*l.* The number was mentioned in the hand-bill. I had resolved not to know what mine was till after the drawing of the lottery was finished, that I might not receive a sudden shock of blank; but this unexpected circumstance, which elated me by calculating that mine must certainly be one of 100, or at most 200 sold by Nicholson the day before, made me look at the two last figures of it; which, alas! were 48, whereas those of the fortunate one were 33. I have remanded my ticket to its secrecy. O! could I but get a few thousands, what a difference would it make upon my state of mind, which I am very harassed by thinking of my debts. I am anxious to hear your determination as to my *Magnum Opus*. I am very very unwilling to part with the property of it, and certainly would not, if I could but get credit for 1000*l.* for three or four years. Could you not assist me in that way, on the security of the book, and of my honour, are always due, and would be forthcoming in case of my decease? I will not sell, till I have your answer as to this.

"On Tuesday we had a Club of eleven—Lords Lucan (in the chair), Osborn, Macartney, Eliot, Bishop of Clonfert, young Burke, myself, Courtenay, Windham, Sir Joshua, and Charles Fox, who takes to us exceedingly, and asked to have dinner a little later; so it was to be at half-past five. Burke had made great interest for his drum major, and would you believe it? had not Courtenay and I been there, he would have been chosen. I am strangely ill, and doubt if even you could dispel the demoniac influence. I have now before me p. 488, in print; and 923 pages of the copy only is exhausted, and there remains 80, besides the *death*; as to which I shall be concise, though solemn. Pray how shall I wind up? Shall I give the *character* from my Tour, somewhat enlarged?"

"Feb. 25. I have not seen Sir Joshua I think for a fortnight. I have been worse than you can possibly imagine, or I hope ever shall be able to imagine; which no man can do without experiencing the malady. It has been for some time painful to me to be in company. I, however, am a little better, and to meet Sir Joshua to-day at dinner at Mr. Danc's, and shall tell him that he is to have good Irish claret.

"I am in a distressing perplexity how to decide as to the property of my book. You must know, that I am *certainly* informed that a certain person who delights in mischief has been *depreciating* it, so that I fear the sale of it may be very dubious. Two *quartos* and two *guineas* sound in an alarming manner. I believe, in my present frame, I should accept even of 500*l.*; for I suspect that were I now to talk to Robinson, I should find him not disposed to give 1000*l.* Did he absolutely offer it, or did he only express himself so as that you concluded he would give it? The pressing circumstance is, that I *must* lay down 1000*l.* by the 1st of May, on account of the purchase of land, which my old family enthusiasm urged me to make. You, I doubt not, have full confidence in my honesty. May I then ask you if you could venture to join with me in a bond for that sum, as then I

would take my chance, and, as Sir Joshua says, *game* with my book? Upon my honour, your telling me that you cannot comply with what I propose will not in the least surprise me, or make any manner of difference as to my opinion of your friendship. I mean to ask Sir Joshua if he will join; for indeed I should be vexed to sell my *Magnum Opus* for a great deal less than its intrinsic value. I meant to publish on Shrove Tuesday; but if I can get out within the month of March I shall be satisfied. I have now, I think, *four or five sheets* to print, which will make my second volume about 575 pages. But I shall have more cancells. That *nervous* mortal W. G. II.² is not satisfied with my report of some particulars which I wrote down from his own mouth, and is so much agitated, that Courtenay has persuaded me to allow a new edition of them by H. himself to be made at H.'s expense. Besides, it has occurred to me, that when I mention 'a literary fraud,' by Holt the historian, in going to Dublin, and publishing Akenstide's Pleasures of the Imagination, with his own name (p. 121.). I may not be able to authenticate it, as Johnson is dead, and he may have relations who may take it up as an offence, perhaps a *libel*. Courtenay suggests, that such may perhaps get intelligence whether it was *true*. The Bishop of Dromore can probably tell, as he knows a great deal about Kolt. In case of doubt, should I not cancel the leaf, and either omit the curious anecdote or give it as a story which Johnson laughingly told as having circulated?"

"March 8. I have before me your *volunteer letter* of February 24th, and one of 5th current, which, if you have dated it right, has come with wonderful expedition. You may be perfectly sure that I have not the smallest fault to find with your disinclination to come again under any pecuniary engagements for others, after having suffered so much. Dilly proposes that he and Baldwin should each advance 200*l.* on the credit of my book; and if they do so, I shall manage well enough, for I now find that I can have 600*l.* in Scotland on the credit of my rents; and thus I shall get the 1000*l.* paid in May.

"You would observe some stupid lines on Mr. Burke in the 'Oracle' by Mr. Boswell! I instantly wrote to Mr. Burke, expressing my indignation at such impertinence, and had next morning a most obliging answer. Sir William Scott told me I could have no legal redress. So I went *civility* to Bell, and he promised to mention *handsomely* that *James Boswell, Esq.* was not the author of the lines. The note, however, on the subject was a second impertinence. But I can do nothing. I wish Fox, in his bill upon libels, would make a heavy penalty the consequence of forging any person's name to any composition, which, in reality, such a trick amounts to.

"In the night between the last of February and first of this month, I had a sudden relief from the inexplicable disorder, which occasionally clouds my mind and makes me miserable, and it is amazing how well I have been since. Your friendly admonition as to excess in wine has been often too applicable; but upon this late occasion I erred on the other side. However, as I am now free from my restrictions to Courtenay, I shall be much upon my guard; for, to tell the truth, I did go too deep the day before yesterday; having dined with Michael Angelo Taylor, and then supped at the London Tavern with the stewards of the Humane Society, and continued till I knew not what hour in the morning. John Nichols was joyous to a pitch of bacchanalian vivacity. I am to dine with him next Monday; an excellent city party, Alderman Curtis, Deputy Birch, &c. &c. I rated him gently on his saying so little of your Shakespeare.³ He is ready to receive more ample notice. You may depend on your having whatever reviews that mention you sent directly. Have I told you that Murphy has written 'An Essay on the Life and Writings of Dr. Johnson,' to be prefixed to the new edition of his works? He wrote it in a month, and has received 200*l.* for it. I am quite resolved now to keep the property of my *Magnum Opus*; and I flatter myself I shall not repent it.

"My title, as we settled it, is 'The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D., comprehending an account of his studies and various works, in chronological order, his conversations with many eminent persons, a series of his letters to celebrated men, and several original pieces of his composition: the whole exhibiting a view of literature and literary men in Great Britain, for near half a century, during which he flourished.' It will be very kind if you will suggest what yet occurs. I hoped to have published to-day; but it will be about a month yet before I launch."

"March 12. Being the depository of your chance in the lottery, I am under the disagreeable necessity of communicating the bad news that it has been drawn a *blank*. I am very sorry, both on your account and that of your sisters, and my own; for had your share of good fortune been 316*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* I should have hoped for a loan to accommodate me. As it is, I shall, as I wrote to you, be enabled to weather my difficulties for some time; but I am still in great

¹ Dr. Lawrence was black-balled, and did not become a member of the Club till December 1802.—WRIGHT.

² See *ante*, p. 168, n. 6. and 169, n. 1. Mr. Hamilton's nervousness increases our regret at not being able to penetrate

the secret of his political transactions with Johnson. It was clearly something that he did not like to reveal.—CROKER.

³ Viz. in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.—CROKER.

anxiety about the sale of my book. I find so many people shake their heads at the *two quartos and two guineas*. Courtenay is clear that I should sound Robinson, and accept of a thousand guineas, if he will give that sum. Meantime, the title-page must be made as good as may be. It appears to me that mentioning his studies, works, conversations, and letters is not sufficient; and I would suggest comprehending an account, in chronological order, of his studies, works, friendships, acquaintance, and other particulars; his conversations with eminent men; a series of his letters to various persons; also several original pieces of his composition never before published. The whole, &c. You will, probably, be able to assist me in expressing my idea, and arranging the parts. In the advertisement I intend to mention the letter to Lord Chesterfield, and perhaps the interview with the King, and the names of the correspondents in alphabetical order. How should *chronological order* stand in the order of the members of my title? I had at first

'celebrated correspondents,' which I don't like. How would it do to say 'his conversations and epistolary correspondence with eminent (or celebrated) persons?' Shall it be 'different works,' and 'various particulars?' In short, it is difficult to decide.

Courtenay was with me this morning. What a mystery is his going on at all! Yet he looks well, talks well, dresses well, keeps his mair—in short, is in all respects like a parliament man. Do you know that my bad spirits are returned upon me to a certain degree; and such is the sickly fondness for change of place, and imagination of relief, that I sometimes think you are happier by being in Dublin, than one is in this great metropolis, where hardly any man cares for another. I am persuaded I should relish your Irish dinners very much. I have at last got chambers in the Temple, in the very staircase where Johnson lived; and when my *Magnum Opus* is fairly launched, there shall I make a trial."

No. V.

ORIGINAL ANECDOTES OF DR. JOHNSON,

COMMUNICATED TO MR. CROKER.

§ 1. MISS REYNOLDS'S RECOLLECTIONS.

[Communicated, in 1829, to me by Mr. Palmer, grand-nephew of Sir Joshua Reynolds. — CROKER.]

"*Clarissa Harlowe*." The first time I was in company with Dr. Johnson, which was at Miss Cotterel's, (p. 79.) I well remember the flattering notice he took of a lady present, on her saying that she was inclined to estimate the morality of every person according as they liked or disliked "*Clarissa Harlowe*." He was a great admirer of Richardson's works in general, but of "*Clarissa*" he always spoke with the highest enthusiastic praise. He used to say, that it was the first book in the world for the knowledge it displays of the human heart.

Richardson. Yet of the author I never heard him speak with any degree of cordiality, but rather as if impressed with some cause of resentment against him; and this has been imputed to something of jealousy, not to say envy, on account of Richardson's having engrossed the attentions and affectionate assiduities of several very ingenious literary ladies, whom he used to call his adopted daughters, and for whom Dr. Johnson had conceived a paternal affection (particularly for two of them, Miss Carter and Miss Mulso, now Mrs. Chapone), previous to their acquaintance with Richardson; and it was said, that he thought himself neglected by them on his account.

Female Friendship. Dr. Johnson set a higher value upon female friendship than, perhaps, most men; which may reasonably be supposed was not a little enhanced by his acquaintance with those ladies, if it was not originally derived from them. To their society, doubtless, Richardson owed that delicacy of sentiment, that feminine excellence, as I may say, that so peculiarly distinguishes his writings from those of his own sex in general, how high soever they may soar above the other in the more dignified paths of literature, in scientific investigations, and abstruse inquiries.

What is Love? Dr. Johnson used to repeat, with very apparent delight, some lines of a poem written by Miss Mulso:—

"Say, Stella, what is Love, whose cruel power
Robs virtue of content, and youth of joy?
What nymph or goddess, in what fatal hour,
Produced to light the mischief-making boy?"

"Some say, by Idleness and Pleasure bred,
The smiling babe on beds of roses lay;
There with soft honey'd dews by Fancy fed,
His infant beauties open'd on the day."¹

An Inn. Dr. Johnson had an uncommonly retentive memory for every thing that appeared to him worthy of observation. Whatever he met with in reading, particularly poetry, I believe he seldom required a revival to be able to repeat verbatim. If not literally so, his deviations were generally improvements. This was the case, in some re-

spects, in Shenstone's poem of "*The Inn*," which I learned from hearing Dr. Johnson repeat it; and I was surprised, on seeing it lately among the author's works for the first time, to find it so different. One stanza he seems to have extemporised himself:—

"And once again I shape my way
Through rain, through shine, through thick and thin,
Secure to meet, at close of day,
A kind reception at an inn." (p. 485.)

Quick Reading. — He always read amazingly quick, glancing his eye from the top to the bottom of the page in an instant. If he made any pause, it was a compliment to the work; and, after seasawing over it a few minutes, generally repeated the passage, especially if it was poetry.

Pope's "Essay on Man". — One day, on taking up Pope's "*Essay on Man*," a particular passage seemed more than ordinarily to engage his attention; so much so, indeed, that, contrary to his usual custom, after he had left the book and the seat in which he was sitting, he returned to revise it, turning over the pages with anxiety to find it, and then repeated—

"Passions, though selfish, if their means be fair,
List under Reason, and deserve her care:
Those that, imparted, court a nobler aim,
Exalt their kind, and take some virtue's name."

His task, probably, was the whole paragraph, but these lines only were audible.

Favourite Verses. — He seemed much to delight in reciting verses, particularly from Pope. Among the many I have had the pleasure of hearing him recite, the conclusion of the "*Dunciad*," and his "*Epistle to Jervas*," seemed to claim his highest admiration: two lines of it—

"Led by some rule that guides, but not constrains,
And finish'd more through happiness than pains,"

he used to remark, was a union that constituted the ultimate degree of excellence in the fine arts.

Two lines from Pope's "*Universal Prayer*" I have heard him quote, in very serious conversation, as his theological creed:—

"And binding Nature fast in fate,
Left free the human will."

Some lines also he used to repeat in his best manner, written in memory of Bishop Boulter (p. 107.), which I believe are not much known:—

"Some write their wrongs in marble: he, more just,
Stoop'd down serene and wrote them in the dust;
Trod under foot, the sport of every wind,
Swept from the earth, and blotted from his mind.
There, secret in the grave, he bade them lie,
And griev'd they could not 'scape the Almighty's eye."

A lady [Miss Reynolds], who had learnt them from Dr. Johnson, thought she had made a mistake, or had forgot some words, as she could not make out a reference to "*there*," and mentioned it to him. "No," said he, "she had not," and, after sec-sawing a few minutes, said something that indicated

¹ Johnson paid the first of those stanzas the great and undeserved compliment of quoting it in his Dictionary, under the word "QUATRAIN."

surprise that he should not have made the same remark before.

Some time after he told the lady that these lines were inserted in the last edition of his Dictionary, under the word "SPORT."¹

Goldsmith.—Of Goldsmith's "Traveller" he used to speak in terms of the highest commendation. A lady [Miss Reynolds herself]. I remember, who had the pleasure of hearing Dr. Johnson read it from the beginning to the end on its first coming out, to testify her admiration of it, exclaimed, "I never more shall think Dr. Goldsmith ugly."

In having thought so, however, she was by no means singular: an instance of which I am rather inclined to mention, because it involves a remarkable one of Dr. Johnson's ready wit: for this lady, one evening being in a large party, was called upon after supper for her toast, and seeming embarrassed, she was desired to give the ugliest man she knew; and she immediately named Dr. Goldsmith, on which a lady (Mrs. Cholmondeley) on the other side of the table rose up and reached across to shake hands with her, expressing some desire of being better acquainted with her, it being the first time they had met; on which Dr. Johnson said, "Thus the ancients, on the commencement of their friendships, used to sacrifice a beast betwixt them."

Sir Joshua, I have often thought, never gave a more striking proof of his excellence in portrait-painting, than in giving dignity to Dr. Goldsmith's countenance, and yet preserving a strong likeness. But he drew after his mind, or rather his genius, if I may be allowed to make that distinction; assimilating the one with his conversation, the other with his works.

Dr. Goldsmith's cast of countenance, and indeed his whole figure from head to foot, impressed every one at first sight with an idea of his being a low mechanic; particularly, I believe, a journeyman tailor. A little concurring instance of this I well remember. One day at Sir Joshua Reynolds's, in company with some gentlemen and ladies, he was relating with great indignation an insult he had just received from some gentleman he had accidentally met (I think at a coffee-house). "The fellow," he said, "took me for a tailor!" on which all the party either laughed aloud or showed they suppressed a laugh.

Dr. Johnson seemed to have much more kindness for Goldsmith, than Goldsmith had for him. He always appeared to be overawed by Johnson, particularly when in company with people of any consequence, always as if impressed with some fear of disgrace; and, indeed, well he might. I have been witness to many mortifications he has suffered in Dr. Johnson's company: one day in particular, at Sir Joshua's table, a gentleman to whom he was talking his best stopped him, in the midst of his discourse, with "Hush! hush! Dr. Johnson is going to say something."

At another time, a gentleman who was sitting between Dr. Johnson and Dr. Goldsmith, and with whom he had been disputing, remarked to another, loud enough for Goldsmith to hear him, "That he had a fine time of it, between *Ursa major* and *Ursa minor*!"²

Talking one's best.—Mr. Baretti used to remark, with a smile, that Dr. Johnson always talked his best to the ladies. But, indeed, that was his general practice to all who would furnish him with a subject worthy of his discussion; for, what was very singular in him, he would rarely, if ever, begin any subject himself, but would sit silent (p. 287.) till something was particularly addressed to him, and if that happened to lead to any scientific or moral inquiry, his benevolence, I believe, more immediately incited him to expatiate on it for the edification of the ignorant than for any other motive whatever.

Original Sin.—One day, on a lady's telling him that she had read Parnell's "Hermit" with dissatisfaction, for she could not help thinking that thieves and murderers, who were such immediate ministers from Heaven of good to man, did not deserve such punishments as our laws inflict. Dr. Johnson spoke such an eloquent oration, so deeply philosophical, as indeed afforded a most striking instance of the truth of Baretti's observation, but of which, to my great regret, I can give no corroborating proof, my memory furnishing me with nothing more than barely the general tendency of his arguments, which was to prove, that though it might be said that wicked men, as well as the good, were ministers of the evil we suffer, are administered to us by man, yet, as Infinite Goodness could not inspire or influence man to act wickedly, but, on the contrary, it was his divine property to produce good out of evil, and as man was endowed with free will to act, or to refrain from acting wickedly, with knowledge of good and evil, with conscience to admonish

and to direct him to choose the one and to reject the other, he was, therefore, as criminal in the sight of God and of man, and as deserving punishment for his evil deeds, as if no good had resulted from them.

And yet, though, to the best of my remembrance, this was the substance of Dr. Johnson's discourse in answer to the lady's observation, I am rather apprehensive that, in some respects, it may be thought inconsistent with his general assertions; that man was by nature much more inclined to evil than to good. But it would ill become me to expatiate on such a subject.

Yet, what can be said to reconcile his opinion of the natural tendency of the human heart to evil with his own zealous virtuous propensities? Nothing, perhaps, at least by me, but that this opinion, I believe, was founded upon religious principles relating to original sin; and I well remember that, when disputing with a person on this subject, who thought that nature, reason, and virtue were the constituent principles of humanity, he would say, "Nay, nay, if man is by nature prompted to act virtuously, all the divine precepts of the Gospel, all its denunciations, all the laws enacted by man to restrain man from evil, had been needless."

Sympathy.—It is certain that he would scarcely allow any one to feel much for the distresses of others; or whatever he thought they might feel, he was very apt to impute to causes that did no honour to human nature. Indeed, I thought him rather too fond of Rochefoucault maxims.

Evil Propensities.—The very strict watch he apparently kept over his mind seems to correspond with his thorough conviction of nature's evil propensities; but it might be as likely in consequence of his dread of those peculiar ones, whatever they were, which attended, or rather constituted, his mental malady, which, I have observed, might probably have incited him so often to pray; and I impute it to the same cause, that he so frequently, with great earnestness, desired his intimate acquaintance to pray for him, apparently on very slight occasions of corporeal disorder.

Dr. Dodd.—That Dr. Johnson should have desired one prayer from Dr. Dodd, who was himself such an atrocious offender, has been very much condemned; but we ought to consider that Dr. Johnson might, perhaps, have had sufficient reason to believe Dodd to be a sincere penitent, which, indeed, was the case; and, besides, his mind was so softened with pity and compassion for him, so impressed with the awful idea of his situation, the last evening of his life, that he probably did not think of his former transgressions, or thought, perhaps, that he ought not to remember them, when the offender was so soon to appear before the Supreme Judge of heaven and earth.

Dr. Johnson told me that Dodd, on reading his letter, (*anté*, p. 544.) gave it into the hands of his wife, with a strong injunction never to part with it; that he had slept during the night, and when he awoke in the morning, he did not immediately recollect that he was to suffer, and when he did, he expressed the utmost horror and agony of mind—outrageously vehement in his speech and in his looks—till he went into the chapel, and on his coming out of it his face expressed the most angelic peace and composure.

He also told me that Dodd probably entertained some hopes of life even to the last moment, having been flattered by some of his medical friends that there was a chance of suspending its total extinction till he was cut down, by placing the knot of the rope in a particular manner behind his ear. That then he was to be carried to a convenient place, where they would use their utmost endeavour to recover him. All this was done. The hangman observed their injunctions in fixing the rope, and as the cart drew off, said in Dodd's ear, you must not move an inch! But he struggled.—Being carried to the place appointed, his friends endeavoured to restore him by bathing his breast with warm water, which Dr. Johnson said was not so likely to have that effect as cold water: and on this occasion he repeated [with a slight variation] the story already told (*anté*, p. 550.), that a man wandered round the prison some days before his execution, with bank notes in his pocket to the amount of a thousand pounds, to bribe the jailor to let him escape.

Morbid Melancholy.—It was a gloomy axiom of his, that the pains and miseries of human life outweighed his happiness and good: but on a lady's asking him, whether he would not permit the *ease and quiet of common life* to be put into the scale of happiness and good, he seemed embarrassed (very unusual with him), and answering in the affirmative, rose from his seat, as if to avoid the inference and reply, which his answer authorized the lady to make.

But much may be said in Dr. Johnson's justification, supposing this notion should not meet with universal approba-

¹ We see in this case, as in that of Miss Mulso, that Johnson's personal partialities induced him to quote in his Dictionary authors who had no business there; unless, indeed, these lines, which seem above Madden's usual rate, be Johnson's own. See *anté*, p. 107., the motive of his gratitude to Madden.—CROKER.

² This is a striking instance of the easy fabrication of what are called *anecdotes*, and of how little even the best authori-

ties can be relied on in such matters. The real anecdote was of *Doctor Major* and *Doctor Minor* (see *anté*, p. 294.) by no means so happy as the fabrication; and the title of *Ursa Major* was applied to Johnson by old Lord Auchinleck (*anté*, p. 398.). From these two facts the pleasant fallacy quoted by Miss Reynolds was no doubt compounded.—CROKER.

tion, he having, it is probable, imbibed it in the early part of his life when under the pressure of adverse fortune, and in every period of it under the still heavier pressure and more adverse influence of Nature herself; for I have often heard him lament that he inherited from his father a morbid disposition both of body and of mind—an oppressive melancholy, which robbed him of the common enjoyments of life.¹

Indeed, he seemed to struggle almost incessantly with some mental evil, and often, by the expression of his countenance and the motion of his lips, appeared to be offering up some ejaculation to Heaven to remove it. But in Lent, or near the approach of any great festival, he would generally retire from the company to a corner of the room, but most commonly behind a window-curtain, to pray, and with such energy, and in so loud a whisper, that every word was heard distinctly, particularly the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed, with which he constantly concluded his devotions. Sometimes some words would emphatically escape him in his usual tone of voice.

At these holy seasons he secluded himself more from society than at other times,—at least from general and mixed society; and on a gentleman's sending him an invitation to dinner on Easter eve, he was highly offended, and expressed himself so in his answer.

Probably his studious attention to the secret workings of his *peculiar mental infirmity*, together with his experience of divine assistance co-operating with his reasoning faculties to repel its force, may have proved in the highest degree conducive to the exaltation of his piety, and the pre-eminence of his wisdom. And I think it equally probable, that all his natural defects were conducive to that end; for being so peculiarly debarred from the enjoyment of those amusements which the eye and the ear afford, doubtless he sought more assiduously for those gratifications which scientific pursuits or philosophic meditation bestow.

Painting and Music.—These defects sufficiently account for his insensibility of the charms of music and of painting, being utterly incapable of receiving any delight from the one or the other, particularly from painting, his sight being more deficient than his hearing.

Of the superfluities of the fine arts, or visible objects of taste, he could have had but an imperfect idea; but as to the invisible principles of a natural good taste, doubtless he was possessed of these in the most eminent degree, and I should have thought it a strange inconsistency indeed in his character, had he really wanted a taste for music; but as a proof that he did not, I think I had need only mention, that he was remarkably fond of Dr. Burney's "History of Music,"² and that he said it showed that the author understood the philosophy of music better than any man that ever wrote on that subject.

It is certain that, when in the company of connoisseurs, whose conversation has turned chiefly upon the merits of the attractive charms of painting, perhaps of pictures that were immediately under their inspection, Dr. Johnson, I have thought, used to appear as if conscious of his unbecoming situation, or rather, I might say, suspicious that it was an unbecoming situation.

But it was observable, that he rather avoided the discovery of it; for when asked his opinion of the likeness of any portrait of a friend, he has generally evaded the question, and if obliged to examine it, he has held the picture most ridiculously, quite close to his eye, just as he held his book. But he was so unwilling to expose that defect, that he was much displeased with Sir Joshua, I remember, for drawing him with his book held in that manner, which, I believe, was the cause of that picture being left unfinished.³

Religion and Morality.—*Good-breeding.*—On every occasion that had the least tendency to depreciate religion or morality, he totally disregarded all forms or rules of good-breeding, as utterly unworthy of the slightest consideration. But it must be confessed, that he sometimes suffered this noble principle to transgress its due bounds, and to extend even to those who were anywise connected with the person who had offended him.

Wilkes.—Johnson's dislike of Mr. Wilkes was so great that it extended even to his connections. He happened to dine one day at Sir Joshua Reynolds's with a large and distinguished company, amongst which were Mr. Wilkes's brother, Israel, and his lady. In the course of conversation, Mr. Israel Wilkes was about to make some remark, when Johnson suddenly stopped him with, "I hope, sir, what you are going to say may be better worth hearing than what you have already said." This rudeness shocked and spread a gloom over the whole party, particularly as Mr. Israel Wilkes was a gentleman of a very amiable character and of refined taste, and what Dr. Johnson little suspected, a very loyal

subject. Johnson afterwards owned to Miss Reynolds that he was very sorry that he had "*sneezed* Wilkes, as his wife was present." Miss Reynolds replied that he should be sorry for many reasons. "No," said Johnson, who was very reluctant to apologize for offences of this nature: "no, I only regret it because his wife was by." Miss Reynolds believed that he had no kind of motive for this incivility to Mr. I. Wilkes but disgust at his brother's political principles.

Republicans.—His treatment of Israel Wilkes was mild in comparison of what a gentleman (Mr. Elliott) met with from him one day at Sir Joshua Reynolds's, a barrister at law and a man of fashion, who, on discoursing with Dr. (then Mr.) Johnson on the laws and government of different nations (I remember particularly those of Venice), and happening to speak of them in terms of high approbation: "Yes, Sir," says Johnson, "all republican rascals think as you do." How the conversation ended I have forgot, it was so many years ago; but that he made no apology to the gentleman I am very sure, nor to any person present, for such an outrage against society.

Influence of Age.—Of later years he grew much more companionable, and I have heard him say, that he knew himself to be so. "In my younger days," he would say, "it is true I was much inclined to treat mankind with asperity and contempt; but I found it answered no good end. I thought it wiser and better to take the world as it goes. Besides, as I have advanced in life I have had more reason to be satisfied with it. Mankind have treated me with more kindness, and of course I have more kindness for them."

Poverty.—In the latter part of his life, indeed, his circumstances were very different from what they were in the beginning. Before he had the pension, he literally dressed like a beggar; and from what I have been told, he as literally lived as such; at least as to common conveniences in his apartments, wanting even a chair to sit on, particularly in his study, where a gentleman who frequently visited him whilst writing his "Idlers" constantly found him at his desk, sitting on one with three legs; and on rising from it, he remarked that Dr. Johnson never forgot its defect, but would either hold it in his hand or place it with great composure against some support, taking no notice of its imperfection to his visitor. Whether the visitor sat on a chair, or on a pile of folios, or how he sat, I never remember to have been told.

Pride or Politeness.—It was remarkable in Dr. Johnson, that no external circumstances ever prompted him to make any apology, or to seem even sensible of their existence. Whether this was the effect of philosophic pride, or of some partial notion of his respecting high breeding, is doubtful. Strange as it may appear, he scrupled not to boast, that "no man knew the rules of true politeness better than himself;" and, stranger still, "that no man more attentively practised them."

Ceremony to Ladies.—He particularly piqued himself upon his nice observance of ceremonious punctilios towards ladies. A remarkable instance of this was his never suffering any lady to walk from his house to her carriage, through Bolt Court, unattended by himself to hand her into it (at least I have reason to suppose it to be his general custom, from his constant performance of it to those with whom he was the most intimately acquainted), p. 468.; and if any obstacle prevented it from driving off, there he would stand by the door of it, and gather a mob around him; indeed, they would begin to gather the moment he appeared handing the lady down the steps into Fleet-street. But to describe his appearance—his important air—that indeed cannot be described; and his morning habiliments would excite the utmost astonishment in my reader, that a man in his senses could think of stepping outside his door in them, or even to be seen at home. Sometimes he exhibited himself at the distance of eight or ten doors from Bolt Court, to get at the carriage, to the no small diversion of the populace. And I am certain that to those who love laughing, a description of his dress from head to foot would be highly acceptable, and in general I believe he thought the most curious part of my book; but I forbear, out of respect to his memory, to give more than this slight intimation of it; for, having written a minute description of his figure, from his wig to his slippers, a thought occurred that it might probably excite some person to delineate it, and I might have the mortification to see it hung up at a printshop as the greatest curiosity ever exhibited.

Johnson's Dress.—His best dress was, in his early times, so very mean, that one afternoon as he was following some ladies up stairs, on a visit to a lady of fashion [Miss Cotterel, p. 79.] the servant, not knowing him, suddenly seized him by the shoulder, and exclaimed, "Where are you going?" striving at the same time to drag him back; but Sir Joshua

¹ This last paragraph was originally written, "*terrifying melancholy, which he was sometimes apprehensive bordered on insanity.*" This Miss Reynolds softened into the remark as it stands above; but he himself did not scruple to call it something like *madness*. (*anté*, p. 336.)—CROKER.

² Miss Reynolds will hardly convince any one that Dr. Johnson was fond of music by proving that he was fond of his friend Dr. Burney's "History of Music." The truth is,

he held both painting and music in great contempt, because probably his organs afforded him no adequate perception of either.—CROKER.

³ This, however, or a similar picture, was finished and engraved as the frontispiece of Murphy's edition of Dr. Johnson's works.—CROKER.

⁴ Miss Hawkins, in her memoirs, tells us that his appearance was much improved after the pension.—CROKER.

(then Mr.) Reynolds, who was a few steps behind, prevented her from doing or saying more, and Mr. Johnson growled all the way up stairs, as well he might. He seemed much chagrined and discomposed. Unluckily, whilst in this humour, a lady of high rank¹ happening to call upon Miss Cotterel, he was most violently offended with her for not introducing him to her ladyship, and still more so for her seeming to show more attention to her than to him. After sitting some time silent, meditating how to *dawn* Miss Cotterel, he addressed himself to Mr. Reynolds, who sat next him, and, after a few introductory words, with a loud voice said, "I wonder which of us two could get most money at his trade in one week, were we to work hard at it from morning till night." I don't remember the answer; but I know that the lady, rising soon after, went away without knowing what trade they were of. She might probably suspect Mr. Johnson to be a poor author by his dress; and because the trade of neither a blacksmith, a porter, or a chairman, which she probably would have taken him for in the street, was not quite so suitable to the place she saw him in. This incident he used to mention with great glee—how he had *dawned* Miss Cotterel, though at the same time he professed a great friendship and esteem for that lady.

Dr. Barnard.—"Forty-five."—It is certain, for such kind of mortifications, he never expressed any concern; but on other occasions he has shown an amiable sorrow² for the offence he has given, particularly if it seemed to involve the slightest disrespect to the church or to its ministers.

I shall never forget with what regret he spoke of the rude reply he made to Dr. Barnard, on his saying that men never improved after the age of forty-five. "That's not true, Sir," said Johnson. "You, who perhaps are forty-eight, may still improve if you will try: I wish you would set about it; and I am afraid," he added, "there is great room for it;" and this was said in rather a large party of ladies and gentlemen at dinner. Soon after the ladies withdrew from the table, Dr. Johnson allowed them, and sitting down by the lady of the house, he said, "I am very sorry for having spoken so rudely to the dean." "You very well may, Sir," "Yes," he said, "it was highly improper to speak in that style to a minister of the Gospel, and I am the more hurt on reflecting with what mild dignity he received it." When the Dean came up into the drawing-room, Dr. Johnson immediately rose from his seat, and made him sit on the sofa by him, and with such a beseeching look for pardon and with such fond gestures—literally smoothing down his arms and his knees—tokens of penitence, which were so graciously received by the Dean as to make Dr. Johnson very happy, and not a little added to the esteem and respect he had previously entertained for his character.

The next morning the Dean called on Sir Joshua Reynolds with the following verses:—

"I lately thought no man alive
Could e'er improve past forty-five,
And ventured to assert it.
The observation was not new
But seem'd to me so just and true
That none could controvert it.

"No, Sir," says Johnson, 'tis not so;
'Tis your mistake, and I can show
An instance if you doubt it.
You, who perhaps are forty-eight,
May still improve, 'tis not too late:—
I wish you'd set about it."

"Encouraged thus to mend my faults,
I turn'd his counsel in my thoughts
Which way I could apply it;
Genius I knew was past my reach,
For who can learn what none can teach?
And wit—I could not buy it.

"Then come, my friends, and try your skill;
You may improve me if you will,
(My books are at a distance);
With you I'll live and learn, and then
Instead of books I shall read men;
So lend me your assistance.

"Dear knight of Plympton³, teach me how
To suffer, with unclouded brow
And smile serene as thine,
The jest uncouth and truth severe;
Like thee to turn my dearest ear,
And calmly drink my wine.

¹ Lady Fitzroy.—Miss REYNOLDS.—See *anté*, p. 79, where this story is told of the Duchess of Argyll and another lady of high rank; that other lady was no doubt the person erroneously designated by Miss Reynolds as *Lady Fitzroy*. She probably was Elizabeth Crosby, wife of Lord Augustus Fitzroy, and grandmother of the present Duke of Grafton.—CROKER.

² "He repented just as certainly, however, if he had been led to praise any person or thing by accident more than he

"Thou say'st not only skill is gain'd,
But genius, too, may be attain'd,
By studious invitation;
Thy temper mild, thy genius fine,
I'll study till I make them mine
By constant meditation.

"Thy art of pleasing teach me, Garrick,
Thou who reverest odes Pindaric⁴
A second time read o'er;
Oh! how could I read thee backwards too,
Past thirty years thou shouldst review,
And charm us thirty more.

"If I have thoughts and can't express 'em,
Gibbon shall teach me how to dress 'em
In terms select and terse;
Jones teach me modesty and Greek;
Smith, how to think; Burke, how to speak;
And Beauclerk to converse.

"Let Johnson teach me how to place
In fairest light each borrow'd grace;
From him I'll learn to write;
Copy his free and easy style,
And from the roughness of his file
Grow, like himself, polite."

It is with much regret that I reflect on my stupid negligence to write down some of his discourses, his observations, precepts, &c. The following few short sentences only did I ever take any account of in writing; and these, (which I lately found in an old memorandum pocket-book, of ancient date,) were made soon after the commencement of my acquaintance with him. A few others, indeed, relating to the character of the French (*anté*, p. 467, &c.), were taken *vis à vis*, the day after his arrival from France, November 14, 1775, intending them for the subject of a letter to a friend in the country.

Laughter.—A gentleman said, "I think when a person laughs alone, he supposes himself for the moment with company." JOHNSON. "Yes, if it be true that laughter is a comparison of self-superiority, you must suppose some person with you."

Scepticism.—Talking on the subject of scepticism, he said, "The eyes of the mind are like the eyes of the body; they can see only at such a distance: but because we cannot see beyond this point, is there nothing beyond it?"

Want of Memory.—Talking of the want of memory, he said, "No, Sir, it is not true; in general every person has an equal capacity for reminiscence, and for one thing as well as another, otherwise it would be like a person complaining that he could hold silver in his hand, but could not hold copper."

Genius.—"No, Sir," he once said, "people are not born with a particular genius for particular employments or studies, for it would be like saying that a man could see a great way east, but could not west. It is good sense applied with diligence to what was at first a mere accident, and which, by great application, grew to be called, by the generality of mankind, a particular genius."

Imagination.—Some person advanced, that a lively imagination disqualified the mind from fixing steadily upon objects which required serious and minute investigation. JOHNSON. "It is true, Sir, a vivacious quick imagination does sometimes give a confused idea of things, and which do not fix deep, though, at the same time, he has a capacity to fix them in his memory, if he would endeavour at it. It being like a man that, when he is running does not make observations on what he meets with, and consequently is not impressed by them; but he has, nevertheless, the power of stopping and informing himself."

Conscience and Shame.—A gentleman was mentioning it as a remark of an acquaintance of his, "that he never knew but one person that was completely wicked." JOHNSON. "Sir, I don't know what you mean by a person completely wicked." GENTLEMAN. "Why, any one that has entirely got rid of all shame." JOHNSON. "How is he, then, completely wicked? He must get rid, too, of all conscience." GENTLEMAN. "I think conscience and shame the same thing." JOHNSON. "I am surprised to hear you say so; they spring from two different sources, and are distinct perceptions: one respects this world, the other the next." A LADY. "I think, however, that a person who has got rid of shame is in a fair way to get rid of conscience." JOHNSON. "Yes, 'tis a part of the way, I grant; but there are degrees at which men stop, some

thought it deserved; and was on such occasions comically earnest to destroy the praise or pleasure he had unintentionally given."—*Piozzi*.—CROKER.

³ Sir Joshua Reynolds was born at Plympton in Devon.—CROKER.

⁴ A humorous attempt of Garrick's to read one of Cumberland's odes backwards.—Dr. BARNARD.

⁵ See *anté*, p. 680, about dining out in Passion Week.—CROKER.

for the fear of men, some for the fear of God: shame arises from the fear of men, conscience from the fear of God."

Characters.—Dr. Johnson seemed to delight in drawing characters; and, when he did so *con amore*, delighted every one that heard him. Indeed, I cannot say I ever heard him draw any *con odio*, though he professed himself to be, or at least to love, a *good hater* (*anté*, p. 78.). But I have remarked that his dislike of any one seldom prompted him to say much more than that the fellow is a *blockhead*, a *poor creature*, or some such epithet.

Bennet Langton.—I shall never forget the exalted character he drew of his friend Mr. Langton, nor with what energy, what fond delight, he expatiated in his praise, giving him every excellence that nature could bestow, and every perfection that humanity could acquire. A literary lady was present, Miss Hannah More, who perhaps inspired him with an unusual ardour to shine, which indeed he did with redoubled lustre, deserving himself the praises he bestowed: not but I have often heard him speak in terms equally high of Mr. Langton, though more concisely expressed.

Mrs. Thrale.—On the praises of Mrs. Thrale he used to dwell with a peculiar delight, a paternal fondness, expressive of conscious exultation in being so intimately acquainted with her. One day, in speaking of her to Mr. Harris, author of "Hermes," and expatiating on her various perfections,—the solidity of her virtues, the brilliancy of her wit, and the strength of her understanding, &c.—he quoted some lines (a stanza, I believe, but from what author I know not), with which he concluded his most eloquent eulogium, and of these I retained but the two last lines:—

"Virtues—of such a generous kind,
Good in the last recesses of the mind."

Mrs. Montagu.—This brings to my remembrance the unparalleled eulogium which the late Lord Bath made on Mrs. Montagu, (a lady he was intimately acquainted with,) in speaking of her to Sir Joshua Reynolds. His lordship said, that "he did not believe that there ever was a more perfect human being created, or ever would be created, than Mrs. Montagu." I give the very words I heard from Sir Joshua's mouth; from whom also I heard that he repeated them to Mr. Burke, observing that Lord Bath could not have said more, and "I do not think that he said too much," was Mr. Burke's reply. I have also heard Dr. Johnson speak of this lady in terms of high admiration. "Sir," he would say, "that lady exerts more *mind* in conversation than any person I ever met with: Sir, she displays such powers of ratiocination—such radiations of intellectual excellence as are amazing!" (p. 509.)

Johnson's Benevolence.—It will doubtless appear highly paradoxical to the generality of the world to say, that few men, in his ordinary disposition or common frame of mind, could be more inoffensive than Dr. Johnson; yet surely those who knew his uniform benevolence, and its actuating principles—steady virtue, and true holiness—will readily agree with me, that peace and good-will towards man were the natural emanations of his heart.

I shall never forget the impression I felt in Dr. Johnson's favour, the first time I was in his company, on his saying, that as he returned to his lodgings, at one or two o'clock in the morning, he often saw poor children asleep on thresholds and stalls, and that he used to put pennies into their hands to buy them a breakfast.²

His Tenderness.—When travelling with a lady in Devonshire, in a post-chaise, near the churchyard of Wear, near Torrington, in which she saw the verdant monument of maternal affection described in the "*Melancholy Tale*," and heard the particular circumstances relating to the subject of it, and as she was relating them to Dr. Johnson, she heard him heave heavy sighs and sobs, and turning round she saw his dear face bathed in tears. A circumstance he had probably forgotten when he wrote at the end of the manuscript poem with his correcting pen in red ink, "I know not when I have been so much affected."³

Sunday and Scripture.—He always carried a religious treatise in his pocket on a Sunday, and he used to encourage me to relate to him the particular parts of Scripture I did not understand, and to write them down as they occurred to me in reading the Bible.

Johnson's Recitation.—When repeating to me one day Grainger's "Ode on Solitude," (*anté*, p. 561.) I shall never forget the concordance of the sound of his voice with the grandeur of those images; nor, indeed, the gothic dignity of his aspect, his look and manner, when repeating sublime passages. But what was very remarkable, though his cadence in reading poetry was so judiciously emphatical as to give

additional force to the words uttered, yet in reading prose, particularly on common or familiar subjects, narrations, essays, letters, &c., nothing could be more injudicious than his manner, beginning every period with a pompous accent, and reading it with a whine, or with a kind of spasmodic struggle for utterance; and this, not from any natural infirmity, but from a strange singularity, in reading on, in one breath, as if he had made a resolution not to respire till he had closed the sentence.

Grainger's Sugar-cane.—"Johnson's reply to Dr. Grainger, who was reading his MS. poem of the Sugar-cane to him, will probably be thought more excusable than his rudeness to Dr. Percy. When he came to the line 'Say, shall I sing of rats?' 'No!' cried Dr. Johnson, with great vehemency. *This he related to me himself*; laughing heartily at the conceit of Dr. Grainger's refractory muse. *Where it happened I do not know*; but I am certain, very certain, that it was not, as Mr. Boswell asserts, at Sir Joshua's; for they (Sir Joshua and Dr. Grainger) were not, I believe, personally known to each other."⁴

Gesticulations.—I believe no one has described his extraordinary gestures or antics⁵ with his hands and feet, particularly when passing over the threshold of a door, or rather before he would venture to pass through any doorway. On entering Sir Joshua's house with poor Mrs. Williams, a blind lady who lived with him, he would quit her hand, or else whirl her about on the steps as he whirled and twisted about to perform his gesticulations; and as soon as he had finished, he would give a sudden spring, and make such an extensive stride over the threshold, as if he was trying for a wager how far he could stride. Mrs. Williams standing groping about outside the door, unless the servant took hold of her hand to conduct her in, leaving Dr. Johnson to perform at the parlour door much the same exercise over again.

But it was not only at the entrance of a door that he exhibited such strange manoeuvres, but across a room or in the street with company he has stopped on a sudden, as if he had recollected his task, and began to perform it there, gathering a mob round him; and when he had finished would hasten to his companion (who probably had walked on before) with an air of great satisfaction that he had done his duty. (*Anté*, pp. 166, 439.)

Activity.—Dr. Johnson was very ambitious of excelling in common acquirements, as well as the uncommon, and particularly in feats of activity. One day, as he was walking in Gainsbury Park (or Paddock) with some gentlemen and ladies, who were admiring the extraordinary size of some of the trees, one of the gentlemen remarked that, when he was a boy, he made nothing of climbing (*swarming*, I think, was the phrase) the largest there. "Why, I can *swarm* it now," replied Dr. Johnson, which excited a hearty laugh—(he was then between fifty and sixty); on which he ran to the tree, clung round the trunk, and ascended to the branches, and, I believe, would have gone in amongst them, had he not been very earnestly entreated to descend; and down he came with a triumphant air, seeming to make *nothing of it*.

At another time, at a gentleman's seat in Devonshire, as he and some company were sitting in a saloon, before which was a spacious lawn, it was remarked as a very proper place for running a race. A young lady present boasted that she could outrun any person; on which Dr. Johnson rose up and said, "Madam, you cannot outrun me;" and, going out on the lawn, they started. The lady at first had the advantage; but Dr. Johnson happening to have slippers on much too small for his feet, kicked them off up into the air, and ran a great length without them, leaving the lady far behind him, and, having won the victory, he returned, leading her by the hand, with looks of high exultation and delight.⁶

One Sunday morning, as I was walking with him in Twickenham meadows, he began his antics both with his feet and hands; with the latter as if he was holding the reins of a horse like a jockey on full speed. But to describe the strange positions of his feet is a difficult task: sometimes he would make the back part of his heels to touch, sometimes his toes, as if he was aiming at making the form of a triangle, at least the two sides of one. Though indeed, whether these were his gestures on this particular occasion in Twickenham meadows I do not recollect, it is so long since; but I will remember that they were so extraordinary that men, women, and children gathered round him, laughing. At last we sat down on some logs of wood by the river side, and they nearly dispersed; when he pulled out of his pocket, Grotius's "*De Veritate Religionis*," over which he seasawed at such a violent rate as to excite the curiosity of some people at a distance to come and see what was the matter with him.

Hawkins and Hawkesworth.—As we were returning from

not appear what the rudeness was which made Dr. "Percy angry," (*anté*, p. 486. n. 1.), but it seems to have been something on the same subject.—CROKER, 1831. 47.

⁵ See *anté*, pp. 42, 166, 269, 439.—C.

⁶ This exhibition occurred during his visit to Devonshire in 1762, at the house of the lady to whom he made the avowal mentioned *anté*, p. 128.—CROKER.

¹ Being so particularly engaged as not to be able to attend to them sufficiently.—MISS REYNOLDS.

² And this at a time when he himself was living on pennies.—CROKER.

³ Miss Reynolds herself; and the Melancholy Tale, was probably a poem which she had written on this event, whatever it was. See *anté*, p. 649.—CROKER.

⁴ See *anté*, p. 455, Boswell's version of this story. It does

the meadows that day, I remember we met Sir John Hawkins, whom Dr. Johnson seemed much rejoiced to see; and no wonder, for I have often heard him speak of Sir John in terms expressive of great esteem and much cordiality of friendship. On his asking Dr. Johnson when he had seen Dr. Hawkesworth, he roared out with great vehemence, "Hawkesworth is grown a coxcomb, and I have done with him."

Nice Observation.—We drank tea that afternoon at Sir John Hawkins's, and on our return I was surprised to hear Dr. Johnson's minute criticism on Lady Hawkins's dress, with almost every part of which he found fault. It was amazing, so short-sighted as he was, how very observant he was of appearances in dress and behaviour, nay, even of the department of servants while waiting at table. One day, as his man Frank was attending at Sir Joshua Reynolds's table, he observed, with some emotion, that he had placed the salver under his arm. Nor would the conduct of the company,—blind as he was to his own many and strange peculiarities,—escape his animadversion on some occasions. He thought the use of water-glasses a strange perversion of the idea of refinement, and had a great dislike to the use of a pocket-handkerchief at meals, when, if he happened to have occasion for one, he would rise from his chair and go to some distance, with his back to the company, and perform the operation as silently as possible.

Carving.—*Johnson at Table.* Few people, I have heard him say, understood the art of *carving* better than himself; but that it would be highly indecorous in him to attempt it in company, being so near-sighted, that it required a suspension of his breath during the operation.

It must be owned, indeed, that it was to be regretted that he did not practise a little of that delicacy in *eating*, for he appeared to want breath more at that time than usual. It is certain that he did not appear to the best advantage at the hour of repast; but of this he was perfectly unconscious,—owing probably to his being totally ignorant of the characteristic expressions of the human countenance, and therefore he could have no conception that his own expressed, when most pleased, any thing displeasing to others; for though, when particularly directing his attention towards any object to spy out defects or perfections, he generally succeeded better than most men; partly perhaps, from a desire to excite admiration of his perspicacity, of which he was not a little ambitious—yet I have heard him say, and I have often perceived, that he could not distinguish any man's face half a yard distant from him, nor even his most intimate acquaintance.

Manners.—Defect of Sight and Hearing.—That Dr. Johnson possessed the essential principles of politeness and of good taste (which I suppose are the same, at least concomitant), none who knew his virtues and his genius will, I imagine, be disposed to dispute. But why they remained with him, like gold in the ore, unfashioned and unscen, except in his literary capacity, no one that I know of has made any inquiry, though in general it has been spoken of as an unaccountable inconsistency in his character. Much, too, may be said in excuse for an apparent asperity of manners which was, at times at least, the natural effect of those inherent mental infirmities to which he was subject. His corporeal defects also contributed largely to the singularity of his manners; and a little reflection on the disqualifying influence of blindness and deafness would suggest many apologies for Dr. Johnson's want of politeness.

The particular instance I have just mentioned, of his inability to discriminate the features of any one's face, deserves perhaps more than any other to be taken into consideration, wanting, as he did, the aid of those intelligent signs, or insinuations, which the countenance displays in social converse; and which, in their slightest degree, influence and regulate the manners of the polite, or even the common observer. And to his defective hearing, perhaps, his unaccommodating manners may be equally ascribed, which not only precluded him from the perception of the expressive tones of the voice of others, but from hearing the boisterous sound of his own: and nothing, I believe, more conducing to fix upon his character the general stigma of ill-breeding, than his loud impetuous tone of voice, which apparently heightened the slightest dissent to a tone of harsh reproof; and, with his corresponding aspect, had an intimidating influence on those who were not much acquainted with him, and excited a degree of resentment which his words in ordinary circumstances would not have provoked. I have often heard him on such occasions express great surprise, that what he had said could have given any offence.

Blunders.—Under such disadvantages, it was not much to be wondered at that Dr. Johnson should have committed many blunders and absurdities, and excited surprise and resentment in company; one in particular I remember. Being in

company with Mr. Garrick and some others, who were unknown to Dr. Johnson, he was saying something tending to the disparagement of the character or of the works of a gentleman present—I have forgot who; on which Mr. Garrick touched his foot under the table; but he still went on, and Garrick, much alarmed, touched him a second time, and, I believe, the third; at last Johnson exclaimed, "David, David, is it you? What makes you tread on my toes so?" This little anecdote, perhaps, indicates as much the want of prudence in Dr. Johnson as the want of sight. But had he at first seen Garrick's expressive countenance, and (probably) the embarrassment of the rest of the company on the occasion, it doubtless would not have happened.

It was also much to be wished, in justice to Dr. Johnson's character for good manners, that many *jocular* and *ironical* speeches which have been reported had been noted as such, for the information of those who were unacquainted with him.

General Character.—Though it cannot be said that he was "in manners gentle," yet it justly can that he was "in affections mild," benevolent, and compassionate; and to this combination of character may, I believe, be ascribed, in a great measure, his extraordinary celebrity; his being beheld as a phenomenon or wonder of the age.

And yet Dr. Johnson's character, singular as it certainly was from the contrast of his mental endowments with the roughness of his manners, was, I believe, perfectly natural and consistent throughout; and to those who were intimately acquainted with him must, I imagine, have appeared so. For being totally devoid of all deceit, free from every tinge of affectation or ostentation and unwarping by any vice, his singularities, those strong lights and shades that so peculiarly distinguish his character, may the more easily be traced to their primary and natural causes.

The more luminous parts of his character,—his soft affections, and I should suppose his strong intellectual powers, at least the dignified charm or radiancy of them,—must be allowed to owe their origin to his strict, his rigid principles of religion and virtue; and the shadowy parts of his character, his rough, unaccommodating manners, were in general to be ascribed to those corporeal defects that I have already observed naturally tended to darken his perceptions of what may be called "propriety" and "impropriety" in general conversation; and of course in the ceremonious or artificial sphere of society gave his deportment so contrasting an aspect to the apparent softness and general uniformity of cultivated manners.

And perhaps the joint influence of these two primeval causes, his intellectual excellence and his corporeal defects, mutually contributed to give his manners a greater degree of harshness than they would have had if only under the influence of one of them—the imperfect perceptions of the one not unfrequently producing misconceptions in the other.

Besides these, many other equally natural causes concurred to constitute the singularity of Dr. Johnson's character. Doubtless, the progress of his education had a double tendency to brighten and to obscure it. But I must observe, that this obscurity (implying only his awkward uncouth appearance, his ignorance of the rules of politeness, &c.) would have gradually disappeared at a more advanced period, at least could have had no manner of influence to the prejudice of Dr. Johnson's character, had it not been associated with those corporeal defects above mentioned. But, unhappily, his untutored, uncivilised manner seemed to render every little indecorum or impropriety that he committed doubly indecorous and improper.

§ 2. BY MR. WICKINS.²

Deception.—Walking one day with him in my garden at Lichfield, we entered a small meandering shrubbery, whose "vista not lengthened to the sight," gave promise of a larger extent. I observed, that he might perhaps conceive that he was entering an extensive labyrinth, but that it would prove a deception, though I hoped not an unpardonable one. "Sir," said he, "don't tell me of deception; a lie, Sir, is a lie, whether it be a lie to the eye or a lie to the ear."

Urns.—Passing on we came to an urn which I had erected to the memory of a deceased friend. I asked him how he liked that urn—it was of the true Tuscan order. "Sir," said he, "I hate urns³; they are nothing, they mean nothing, convey no ideas but ideas of horror—would they were beaten to pieces to pave our streets!"

Cold Baths.—We then came to a cold bath. I expatiated upon its salubrity. "Sir," said he, "how do you do?" "Very well, I thank you, Doctor." "Then, Sir, let well alone, and be content. I hate immersion." Truly, as Fal-

¹ This notorious blindness and equally notorious "perspicacity," is an enigma very difficult to solve—particularly as Johnson never helped his defective vision with glasses.—CROKER, 1847.

² Dr. Harwood informs me that Mr. Wickins was a respectable draper in Lichfield. It is very true that Dr. John-

son was accustomed to call on him during his visits to his native town. The garden attached to his house was ornamented in the manner he describes, and his anecdotes, though of little interest, are no doubt authentic.—CROKER.

³ See a similar sentiment on the occasion of Mr. Myddleton's urn to himself, *anté*, p. 423.—CROKER.

staff says, the Doctor "would have a sort of alacrity at sinking."¹

The Venus de' Medicis.—Upon the margin stood [a cast of] the *Venus de' Medicis*—

"So stands the statue that enchants the world."

"Throw her," said he, "into the pond to hide her nakedness, and to cool her lasciviousness."

Sylvan Ideas.—He then, with some difficulty, squeezed himself into a root-house, when his eye caught the following lines from Parnell:—

"Go search among your idle dreams,
Your busy, or your vain extremes,
And find a life of equal bliss,
Or own the next began in this."

The Doctor, however, not possessing any *sylvan* ideas, seemed not to admit that heaven could be an Arcadia.

Some Good every Day.—I then observed him with Herculean strength tugging at a nail which he was endeavouring to extract from the bark of a plum tree; and having accomplished it, he exclaimed, "There, Sir, I have done some good to-day; the tree might have festered. I make a rule, Sir, to do some good every day of my life."

Sterne's Sermons.—Returning through the house, he stepped into a small study or book room. The first book he laid his hands upon was Harwood's ² "Liberal Translation of the New Testament." The passage which first caught his eye was from that sublime apostrophe in St. John, upon the raising of Lazarus, "*Jesus wept*;" which Harwood had conceitedly rendered "and Jesus, the Saviour of the world, burst into a flood of tears." He contemptuously threw the book aside, exclaiming, "Puppy!" I then showed him Sterne's Sermons. "Sir," said he, "do you ever read any others?" "Yes, Doctor; I read Sherlock, Tillotson, Beveridge, and others." "Ay, Sir, *there* you drink the cup of salvation to the bottom; here you have merely the froth from the surface."

Shakespeare's Mulberry Vase. *Garrick.*—Within this room stood the Shakespearian mulberry vase, on a pedestal, given by me to Mr. Garrick, and which was recently sold, with Mr. Garrick's gems, at Mrs. Garrick's sale at Hampton. The Doctor read the inscription:—

"SACRED TO SHAKESPEARE,
And in honour of
DAVID GARRICK, ESQ.
The Ornament—the Reformer
Of the British Stage."³

"Ay, Sir; Davy. Davy loves flattery; but here, indeed, you have flattered him as he deserves, paying a just tribute to his merit."

§ 3. BY MR. GREEN, OF LICHFIELD.⁴

Dr. Kippis. Royal Society.—Dr. Brooklesby, a few days before the death of Dr. Johnson, found on the table Dr. Kippis's account of the Disputes of the Royal Society. Dr. Johnson inquired of his physician if he had read it, who answered in the negative. "You have sustained no loss, Sir. It is poor stuff, indeed, a sad unscholar-like performance. I could not have believed that that man would have written so ill."

Dr. Warren.—When some of Johnson's friends desired to call in Dr. Warren, he said, they might call in any body they pleased; and Warren was called. At his going away, "You have come in," said Dr. Johnson, "at the eleventh hour; but you shall be paid the same with your fellow-labourers. Francis, put into Dr. Warren's coach a copy of the 'English Poets.' (*anté*, p. 800.)—C.

Fear of Death.—Some years before, some person in a company at Salisbury, of which Dr. Johnson was one, vouched for the company, that there was nobody in it afraid of death.—"Speak for yourself, Sir," said Johnson, "for indeed I am."—"I did not say of *dying*," replied the other; "but of death, meaning its consequences."—"And so I mean," rejoined the Doctor; "I am very seriously afraid of the consequences."

§ 4. BY THE REV. MR. PARKER.⁵

Stow Hill.—Dr. Johnson's friendship for Mrs. Elizabeth Aston commenced at the palace in Lichfield, the residence

of Mr. Walmesley; with Mrs. Gastrel he became acquainted in London, at the house of her brother-in-law, Mr. Hervey. During the Doctor's annual visits to his daughter-in-law, Lucy Porter, he spent much of his time at Stow Hill, where Mrs. Gastrel and Mrs. Elizabeth Aston resided. They were the daughters of Sir Thomas Aston, of Aston Hall in Cheshire, of whom it is said, that being applied to for some account of his family, to illustrate the history of Cheshire, he replied, that "the title and estate had descended from father to son for thirty generations, and that he believed they were neither much richer nor much poorer than they were at first."

Dr. Hunter. Miss Seward.—He used to say of Dr. Hunter, [p. 7.] master of the free grammar school, Lichfield, that he never taught a boy in his life—he whipped and they learned. Hunter was a pompous man, and never entered the school without his gown and cassock, and his wig full dressed. He had a remarkably stern look, and Dr. Johnson said, he could tremble at the sight of Miss Seward, she was so like her grandfather.

Lives of the Poets.—Mrs. Gastrel was on a visit at Mr. Hervey's, in London, at the time that Johnson was writing the Rambler; the printer's boy would often come after him to their house, and wait while he wrote off a paper for the press in a room full of company. A great portion of the *Lives of the Poets* was written at Stow Hill: he had a table by one of the windows, which was frequently surrounded by five or six ladies engaged in work or conversation. Mrs. Gastrel had a very valuable edition of Bailey's Dictionary, to which he often referred. She told him that Miss Seward said that he had made poetry of no value by his criticism. "Why, my dear lady," replied he, "if silver is dirty, it is not the less valuable for a good scouring."

Climbing.—A large party had one day been invited to meet the Doctor at Stow Hill: the dinner waited far beyond the usual hour, and the company were about to sit down, when Johnson appeared at the great gate; he stood for some time in deep contemplation, and at length began to climb it, and, having succeeded in clearing it, advanced with hasty strides towards the house. On his arrival Mrs. Gastrel asked him, "if he had forgotten that there was a small gate for foot passengers by the side of the carriage entrance." "No, my dear lady, by no means," replied the Doctor; "but I had a mind to try whether I could climb a gate now as I used to do when I was a lad."

Cato's Soliloquy.—One day Mrs. Gastrel set a little girl to repeat to him Cato's soliloquy, which she went through very correctly. The Doctor, after a pause, asked the child, "What was to bring Cato to an end?" She said, it was a knife. "No, my dear, it was not so." "My aunt Polly said it was a knife." "Why, aunt Polly's knife *may* do, but it was a *dagger*, my dear." He then asked her the meaning of "bane and antidote," which she was unable to give. Mrs. Gastrel said, "You cannot expect so young a child to know the meaning of such words." He then said, "My dear, how many pence are there in *sixpence*?" "I cannot tell, Sir," was the half-terrified reply. On this, addressing himself to Mrs. Gastrel, he said, "Now, my dear lady, can any thing be more ridiculous than to teach a child Cato's soliloquy, who does not know how many pence there are in *sixpence*?"

Charity.—The ladies at Stow Hill would occasionally rebuke Dr. Johnson for the indiscriminate exercise of his charity to all who applied for it. "There was that woman," said one of them, "to whom you yesterday gave half-a-crown, why she was at church to-day in long sleeves and ribands." "Well, my dear," replied Johnson, "and if it gave the woman pleasure, why should she not wear them?"

Gilbert Walmesley.—He had long promised to write Mr. Walmesley's epitaph, and Mrs. W. waited for it, in order to erect a monument to her husband's memory: procrastination, however, one of the Doctor's few failings, prevented its being finished; he was engaged upon it in his last illness, and when the physicians, at his own request, informed him of his danger, he pushed the papers from before him, saying, "It was too late to write the epitaph of another, when he should so soon want one himself."⁶

§ 5. BY MRS. ROSE.⁷

The Dockers.—Dr. Mudge used to relate, as a proof of Dr. Johnson's quick discernment into character:—When he was on a visit to Dr. Mudge at Plymouth, the inhabitants of the Dock (now Devonport) were very desirous of their town being supplied with water, to effect which it was necessary to obtain the consent of the Corporation of Plymouth;

¹ A mistake—he was a good swimmer. See *anté*, p. 524.
² CROKER.

³ The reader must bear in mind that this Doctor Edward Harwood, *anté*, p. 506., is not to be confounded with Dr. Thomas Harwood, the historian of Lichfield.—CROKER.

⁴ This vase was in the collection of Thomas Hill, Esq., of the Adelphi.—WRIGHT.

⁵ See *anté*, p. 490.—C.

⁶ The following anecdotes are told by Mr. Parker, from the relation of Mrs. Aston and her sister.—CROKER.

⁷ There must be some mistake here.—Walmesley died in 1751. Surely they were not 33 years waiting for an epitaph.—CROKER, 1847.

⁸ Mrs. Rose, who has obligingly communicated these anecdotes, is the daughter of Dr. Farr, of Plymouth, and the daughter-in-law of Dr. Johnson's old friend, Dr. Rose, of Chiswick.—CROKER.

this was obstinately refused, the Dock being considered as an upstart. And a rival, Alderman Tolcher, who took a very strong part, called one morning, and immediately opened on the subject to Dr. Johnson, who appeared to give great attention, and, when the alderman had ceased speaking, replied, "You are perfectly right, Sir; I would let the rogues die of thirst, for I hate a Docker from my heart." The old man went away quite delighted, and told all his acquaintances how completely "the great Dr. Johnson was on his side of the question."¹

Calumny. Ridicule.—It was after the publication of the *Lives of the Poets* that Dr. Farr, being engaged to dine with Sir Joshua Reynolds, mentioned, on coming in, that, in his way, he had seen a caricature, which he thought clever, of the nine muses logging Dr. Johnson round Parnassus. The admirers of Gray and others, who thought their favourites hardly treated in the *Lives*, were laughing at Dr. Farr's account of the print, when Dr. Johnson was himself announced. Dr. Farr being the only stranger, Sir Joshua introduced him, and, to Dr. Farr's infinite embarrassment, repeated what he had just been telling them. Johnson was not at all surly on the occasion, but said, turning to Dr. Farr, "Sir, I am very glad to hear this. I hope the day will never arrive when I shall neither be the object of calumny or ridicule, for then I shall be neglected and forgotten."²

"Fiddle-de-dee."—It was near the close of his life that two young ladies, who were warm admirers of his works, but had never seen himself, went to Bolt Court, and, asking if he was at home, were shown up stairs where he was writing. He laid down his pen on their entrance, and, as they stood before him, one of the females repeated a speech of some length, previously prepared for the occasion. It was an enthusiastic effusion, which, when the speaker had finished, she panted for her idol's reply. What was her mortification when all he said was, "*Fiddle-de-dee, my dear.*"

Hayley.—Much pains were taken by Mr. Hayley's friends to prevail on Dr. Johnson to read "*The Triumphs of Temper*," when it was in its zenith; at last he consented, but never got beyond the two first pages, of which he uttered a few words of contempt that I have now forgotten. They were, however, carried to the author, who revenged himself by portraying Johnson as *Rumple* in his comedy of "*The Mansoeum*," and subsequently he published, without his name, a "*Dialogue in the Shades between Lord Chesterfield and Dr. Johnson*," more distinguished for malignity than wit. Being anonymous, and possessing very little merit, it fell still-born from the press. See *ante*, p. 773.

Mrs. Montagu. Lord Lyttelton.—Dr. Johnson sent his "*Life of Lord Lyttelton*" in MS. to Mrs. Montagu, who was much dissatisfied with it, and thought her friend every way underrated; but the Doctor made no alteration. When he subsequently made one of a party at Mrs. Montagu's, he addressed his hostess two or three times after dinner, with a view to engage her in conversation: receiving only cold and brief answers, he said, in a low voice, to General Paoli, who sat next him, and who told me the story, "You see, Sir, I am no longer the man for Mrs. Montagu."³

Favourite Couplet.—Mrs. Piozzi related to me, that when Dr. Johnson one day observed, that poets in general preferred some one couplet they had written to any other, she replied, that she did not suppose he had a favourite; he told her she was mistaken—he thought his best lines were:—

"The encumber'd orb scarce leaves the hostile coast,
Through purple billows and a floating host."

§ 6. BY MR. BARCLAY.

"Mr. Barclay³, from his connection with Mr. Thrale, had several opportunities of meeting and conversing with Dr. Johnson. On his becoming a partner in the brewery, Johnson advised him not to allow his commercial pursuits to divert his attention from his studies. 'A mere literary man,' said the Doctor, 'is a *dull* man; a man, who is solely a man of business, is a *schifish* man; but when literature and commerce are united, they make a *respectable* man.'

"Mr. Barclay saw Johnson ten days before he died, when the latter observed, 'That they should never meet more. Have you any objection to receive an old man's blessing?' Mr. Barclay knelt down, and Johnson gave him his blessing with great fervency.

"Mr. Barclay had never observed any rudeness or violence on the part of Johnson.

¹ This story is told by Mr. Boswell, and commented upon by Mr. Blakeway (*ante*, p. 128.), as if Dr. Johnson had *seriously* entered into the spirit of the contest; whereas Dr. Mudge, more naturally, represents him as *flattering*, with an ironical vehemence, the prejudices of the worthy alderman, who is known, from other circumstances, to have been of a very zealous disposition. — CROKER.

² This was his usual declaration on all such occasions. If Johnson had been an amateur author, abuse and even criticism would no doubt have given him pain, but, to an author by profession and one who, for so many years, had *lived* by his pen, the greatest misfortune would be neglect; for his daily

"He has seen Boswell lay down his knife and fork, and take out his tablets, in order to register a good anecdote.

"When Johnson proceeded to the dining-room, one of Mr. Thrale's servants handed him a wig of a smarter description than the one he wore in the morning; the exchange took place in the hall, or passage. Johnson, like many other men, was always in much better humour *after* dinner than *before*."

§ 7. BY THE RIGHT HON. W. WINDHAM.

Understanding that a Journal kept by the late Mr. Windham contained some particulars relating to Dr. Johnson, I applied to my friend Admiral Windham, that gentleman's nephew and heir, for permission to see the Journal, which the Admiral most readily granted; but a gentleman (Mr. Thomas Amoyt), to whose care the papers had been previously consigned, with a view to his writing the life of Mr. Windham, declined to favour me with the desired information. From another quarter, however, I have been enabled to present the reader with the following extracts made from the original Journal, before (as I suppose) it was confided to Mr. Amoyt. Mr. Amoyt afterwards communicated some extracts from the Journal to Mr. Wright, but they do not appear to be so full as those with which I was favoured. — CROKER, 1831—47.

From 21st to 30th August, 1784. — *This interval was passed by Mr. Windham in a circuitous journey to Ashbourn, when he paid a visit of a few days to his friend Dr. Johnson, [see ante, pp. 784—786.], and has preserved the following minutes of their conversations, under the title of "Johnsoniana."*

Amusement.—"The principle of all amusement is to ogle time and to fill the interval between active thoughts and perfect vacuity."

Humor.—"The source of every thing, either in or out of nature, that can serve the purpose of poetry, is to be found in Homer;—every species of distress, every modification of heroic character, battles, storms, ghosts, incantations, &c."

Translation from the Greek.—"Much credit is due to the first translators of Greek authors. Grævius and Benedictus give the palm to Sir Thomas More, amongst all the translators of Lucian."

Odyssey.—"Dr. Johnson said, he had never read through the *Odyssey* completely in the original."

Johnson's first Declamation.—"Anecdote of his first declamation at College, that having neglected to write it till the morning of his being to repeat it, and having only one copy, he got part of it by heart, while he was walking into the Hall, and the rest he repeated as well as he could extempore."

The Ramei.—"Anecdote of his tutor, who told them that the Ramei, the followers of Ramus, were so called from Ramus, a bow."⁴

Johnson's Idleness.—"Description of himself as very idle and neglectful of his studies."

Latin.—"His opinion, that I could not name above five of my college acquaintance who read Latin with ease sufficient to make it pleasurable. The difficulties of the language overpower the desire of reading the author."

"That he read Latin with as much ease when he went to college as at present."

"That a year or two elapsed between" his quitting school and going to college.

Thomas Hearne.—"His opinion of that fact of Thomas Hearne, that he had never been in London."

Ovid's Fasti. Wotton. Wood.—"Recommended the reading the *Fasti* of Ovid,—also Wotton, and Wood on Homer."

Ovid and Virgil.—"Commended Ovid's description of the death of Hercules—doubted whether Virgil would not have loaded the description with too many fine words; that Virgil would sometimes *dare verba*."

Styles.—"Opinion that there were three ways in which writing might be unnatural; by being *bombastic* and above nature—*affected* and beside it, fringing events with ornaments which nature did not afford—or *weak* and below nature. That neither of the first would please long. That the third might indeed please a good while, or at least many; because imbecility, and consequently a love of imbecility, might be found in many."

A Good Work.—"Baretti had told him of some Italian author, who said that a good work must be that with which the vulgar were pleased, and of which the learned could tell

bread depended on the sensation his works might create. This observation would be found applicable to many other cases. — CROKER.

³ Robert Barclay, Esq. of Bury Hill, near Dorking, from whom Mr. Markland derived these memoranda in 1831, died in 1843, at an advanced age. — CROKER.

⁴ *Sic* in the MS. before me, as well as in that to which Mr. Wright had access: no doubt an error of Mr. Windham's own pen for *ought*; but the blunder of the tutor corroborates what is said *ante* (p. 13.) of Mr. Jorden's scanty literature. — CROKER.

why it pleased—that it must be able to employ the learned, and detain the idle. Chevy Chase pleased the vulgar, but did not satisfy the learned; it did not fill a mind capable of thinking strongly. The merit of Shakspeare was such as the ignorant could take in, and the learned add nothing to.”

“*Stat magni nominis*,” &c.—“*Stat magni nominis umbra* he would construe as, *umbra quæ est magni nominis, hoc est, celebrata*.”

Colledge Tutor.—“*Τετάρτοις νῦνται, καὶ πλείονα εἰδώς*, (the offer of the Syren to Ulysses) any man who can promise that to another will preserve his respect.”—Applied to a college tutor.

Rowe's Lucan.—“Opinion of Rowe's translation of Lucan, that it would have been improved, if Rowe had had a couple of years to render it less paraphrastic.”

Tenses.—“Suspicion that the old grammarians have given us from analogy more modification of tenses than were ever used. Remembers but one instance of the second future, viz. *εὐχῶ*, in Josephus, and three of the optative, if I recollect, of the proterite middle—one of them in Hesiod.”

Virgil.—“The first female warrior is the Camilla of Virgil.”

“Vast change of the Latin language from the time of Lucretius to Virgil;—greater than known in any other, even the French. The story of Dido is in Ovid's *Fasti*, also of Mezentius. Virgil's invention, therefore, is less than supposed.” “Take from his what is in Homer, what do you leave him?” [*anté*, p. 559.]

University.—“Great advantage of a university, that a person lives in a place where his reputation depends on his learning.”

Nervous Feel.—“Argument about that *feel* which persons on great heights suppose themselves to have of a wish to throw themselves down.”

Delitescence.—“The idea of delitescence is one of those that please the mind in a hilly country.”

Torpe-scence.—“Much of the faculties of the mind lost in it.”

Warton.—“*Qui stupet*, in *Statius*, applied to Joseph Warton's admiration of fine passages. His taste is amazement.”

Latin.—“The pretensions of the English to the reputation of writing Latin is founded not so much on the specimens in that way which they have produced, as on the quantity of talent diffused through the country.”

Erasmus.—“Erasmus appears to be totally ignorant of science and natural knowledge. But one Italian writer is mentioned in Erasmus; whence Johnson conjectured that he did not understand Italian.”

Turnpike Roads.—“Opinion about the effect of turnpike roads. Every place communicating with each other. Before, there were cheap places and dear places. Now all refuges are destroyed for elegant or genteel poverty. Want of such a last hope to support men in their struggle through life, however seldom it might be resorted to. Disunion of families by furnishing a market to each man's abilities, and destroying the dependence of one man on another.”

September 1st.—“Left Ashbourne at half-past one, having gone with Dr. Johnson, in the morning, to prayers. Regretted, upon reflection, that I had not staid another day; which I should have done if I had not waited to be asked, or had not contrived that my intention was not known.”

§ 8. MISCELLANEOUS.

Donne v. Pope.—The late Mr. Cranford, of Hyde Park Corner, being engaged to dinner, where Dr. Johnson was to

be, resolved to pay his court to him; and, having heard that he preferred Donne's Satires to Pope's version of them, said, “Do you know, Dr. Johnson, that I like Dr. Donne's original Satires better than Pope's.” Johnson said, “Well, Sir, I can't help that.”

Music. *King David*.—Miss Johnson, one of Sir Joshua's nieces (afterwards Mrs. Deane), was dining one day at her uncle's with Dr. Johnson and a large party: the conversation happening to turn on music, Johnson spoke very contemptuously of that art, and added, “that no man of talent, or whose mind was capable of better things, ever would or could devote his time and attention to so idle and frivolous a pursuit.” The young lady, who was very fond of music, whispered her next neighbour, “I wonder what Dr. Johnson thinks of King David.” Johnson overheard her, and, with great good humour and complacency, said, “Madam, I thank you; I stand rebuked before you, and promise that, on one subject at least, you shall never hear me talk nonsense again.”

Pleasure of Hunting.—The honours of the University of Cambridge were once performed to Dr. Johnson, by Dr. Watson, afterwards Bishop of Llandaff, and then Professor of Chemistry, &c.² After having spent the morning in seeing all that was worthy of notice, the sage dined at his conductor's table, which was surrounded by various persons, all anxious to see so remarkable a character, but the moment was not favourable; he had been wearied by his previous exertions, and would not talk. After the party had dispersed, he said, “I was tired, and would not take the trouble, or I could have set them right upon several subjects, Sir; for instance, the gentleman who said he could not imagine how any pleasure could be derived from hunting,—the reason is, because man feels his own vacuity less in action than when at rest.”

Johnson in a Stage Coach.—Mr. Williams, the rector of Wellesbourne, in Warwickshire, mentioned having once, when a young man, performed a stage-coach journey with Dr. Johnson, who took his place in the vehicle, provided with a little book, which his companion soon discovered to be Lucian: he occasionally threw it aside, if struck by any remark made by his fellow-travellers, and poured forth his knowledge and eloquence in a full stream, to the delight and astonishment of his auditors. Accidentally, the first subject which attracted him was the digestive faculties of dogs, from whence he branched off as to the powers of digestion in various species of animals, discovering such stores of information, that this particular point might have been supposed to have formed his especial study, and so it was with every other subject started. The strength of his memory was not less astonishing than his eloquence; he quoted from various authors, either in the support of his own argument or to confute those of his companions, as readily, and apparently as accurately, as if the works had been in his hands. The coach halted, as usual, for dinner, which seemed to be a deeply interesting business to Johnson, who vehemently attacked a dish of stewed carp, using his fingers only in feeding himself.³

Pilgrim's Progress.—Bishop Percy was at one time on a very intimate footing with Dr. Johnson, and the Doctor one day took Percy's little daughter⁴ upon his knee, and asked her what she thought of “*Pilgrim's Progress*?” The child answered that she had not read it. “No!” replied the Doctor; “then I would not give one farthing for you;” and he set her down and took no further notice of her.

No. VI.

ACCOUNTS OF DR. JOHNSON'S LAST DAYS.

§ 1. BY MR. WINDHAM.

The following interesting Account of Mr. Windham's Conversations with Dr. Johnson a few Days before his Death, is extracted from the Journal before mentioned.—CROKER.

Tuesday, December 7, 1784.—Ten minutes past 2, P. M.—After waiting some short time in the adjoining room, I was admitted to Dr. Johnson in his bedchamber, where, after placing me in the chair next him (he sitting in his usual place, on the east side of the room, and I on his right hand), he put into my hands two small volumes (an edition of the

New Testament), saying, “*Extremum hoc munus morientis habeto*.”

He then proceeded to observe that I was entering upon a life which would lead me deeply into all the business of the world: that he did not condemn civil employment, but that it was a state of great danger, and that he had therefore once piece of advice earnestly to impress upon me, that I would set apart every seventh day for the care of my soul. That one day, the seventh, should be employed in repenting what was amiss in the six preceding, and fortifying my virtue for the six to come. That such a portion of time was surely little enough for the meditation of eternity.

¹ This word is not in his Dictionary. It means here no doubt *seclusion*—*hiding one's self*.—CROKER.

² Dr. Watson was a fellow of Trinity. See *anté*, p. 167., a very different account of one evening at Trinity: but both may be true of different evenings. The visit to Cambridge occurred in Feb. 1765.—CROKER.

³ Mr. Boswell, *anté*, p. 758., mentions another instance, in which Dr. Johnson surprised his accidental companions in a stage-coach with the force of his conversation and the goodness of his appetite.—CROKER.

⁴ Afterwards Mrs. Isted, of Ecton, Northamptonshire.—CROKER.

He then told me that he had a request to make to me; namely, that I would allow his servant Frank to look up to me as his friend, adviser, and protector, in all difficulties which of his own weakness and imprudence, or the force or fraud of others, might bring him into. He said that he had left him what he considered an ample provision, viz. seventy pounds per annum; but that even that sum might not place him above the want of a protector, and to me, therefore, he recommended him as to one who had will, and power, and activity to protect him. Having obtained my assent to this, he proposed that Frank should be called in; and desiring me to take him by the hand in token of the promise, repeated before him the recommendation he had just made of him, and the promise I had given to attend to it.

I then took occasion to say how much I felt — what I had long foreseen that I should feel — regret at having spent so little of my life in his company. I stated this as an instance where resolutions are deferred till the occasions are past. For some time past I had determined that such an occasion of self-reproach should not subsist, and had built upon the hope of passing in his society the chief part of my time, at the moment when it was to be apprehended we were about to lose him for ever.

I had no difficulty in speaking to him thus or my apprehensions. I could not help, on the other hand, entertaining hopes, but with these I did not like to trouble him, lest he should conceive that I thought it necessary to flatter him: he answered hastily, that he was sure I would not; and proceeded to make a compliment to the malice of my mind, which, whether deserved or not, ought to be remembered,—that it may be deserved.

I then stated, that among other neglects was the omission of introducing of all topics the most important, the consequences of which particularly filled my mind at that moment, and in which I had often been desirous to know his opinions; the subjects I meant were, I said, natural and revealed religion. The Irish thus generally stated, was in part gratified by the instant. For revealed religion, he said, there was such historical evidence, as, upon any subject not religious, would have left no doubt. Had the facts recorded in the New Testament been mere civil occurrences, no one would have called in question the testimony by which they are established; but the importance annexed to them, amounting to nothing less than the salvation of mankind, raised a cloud in our minds, and created doubts unknown upon any other subject. Of proofs to be derived from history, one of the most cogent, he seemed to think, was the opinion so well authenticated, and so long entertained, of a deliverer that was to appear about that time. Among the typical representations, the sacrifice of the Paschal Lamb, in which no bone was to be broken, had early struck his mind. For the immediate life and miracles of Christ, such attestation as that of the apostles, who all, except St. John, confirmed their testimony with their blood — such belief as these witnesses procured from a people best furnished with the means of judging, and least disposed to judge favourably — such an extension afterwards of that belief over all the nations of the earth, though originating from a nation of all others most despised, would leave no doubt that the things witnessed were true, and were of a nature more than human. With respect to evidence, Dr. Johnson observed, that we had not such evidence that Cæsar died in the Capitol, as that Christ died in the manner related.

December 11. — Went with Sir Joshua, whom I took up by the way, to see Dr. Johnson. Strahan and Langton there. No hopes; though a great discharge had taken place from the legs.

December 12.—At about half past seven P. M. went to Dr. Johnson's, where I stayed, chiefly in the outer room, till past eleven. Strahan there during the whole time; during part Mr. Hoole; and latterly Mr. Cruikshanks and the apothecary. I only went in twice, for a few minutes each time: the first time I hinted only what they had before been urging; namely, that he would be prevailed upon to take some sustenance, and desisted upon his exclaiming, 'I'll say every child; let us hear no more of it.' The second time I went in, in order to have a consultation with Mr. Cruikshanks and the apothecary, and addressed him formally, after premising that I considered what I was going to say as matter of duty: I said that I hoped he would not suspect me of the

weakness of interrupting him to take nourishment for the purpose of prolonging his life for a few hours or days. I then stated what the reason was. It was to secure that which I was persuaded he was most anxious about; namely, that he might preserve his faculties entire to the last moment. Before I had quite stated my meaning, he interrupted me by saying, that he had refused no sustenance but inebriating sustenance; and proceeded to give instances where, in compliance with the wishes of his physician, he had taken even a small quantity of wine. I readily assented to any objections he might have to nourishment of that kind, and observing that milk was the only nourishment I intended, flattered myself that I had succeeded in my endeavours, when he returned to his general refusal, and "begged that there might be an end of it." I then said, that I hoped he would forgive my earnestness, or something to that effect, when he replied eagerly, that from me nothing could be necessary, by way of apology; adding, with great warmth, "words which I shall never forget." "God bless you, my dear Windham, through Jesus Christ;" and concluding with a wish "that we might [share] in some humble portion of that happiness which God might finally vouchsafe to repentant sinners." These were the last words I ever heard him speak. I hurried out of the room with tears in my eyes, and more affected than I had been on any former occasion.

man I met before on July 10. In the morning meant to have met Mr. Cruikshanks at Bolt Court; but while I was deliberating¹ about going, was sent for by Mr. Burke. Went to Bolt Court about half-past three, found that Dr. Johnson had been almost constantly asleep since nine in the morning, and heard from Mr. Desmoulins what passed in the night. He had compelled Frank to give him a lancet, and had besides concealed in the bed a pair of scissors, and with one or the other of them had scarified himself in three places, two of them in the leg. On Mr. Desmoulins making a difficulty in giving him the lancet, he said, "Don't, if you have any scruple; but I will compel Frank," and on Mr. Desmoulins attempting afterwards to prevent Frank from giving it to him, and at last to restrain his hand, he grew very outrageous, so as to call Frank scoundrel, and to threaten Mr. Desmoulins that he would stab him²; he then made the three incisions above mentioned, two of which were not unskillfully made; but one of those in the leg was a deep and ugly wound, from which they suppose him to have lost at least eight ounces of blood.

Upon Dr. Heberden expressing his fears about the senescence, Dr. Johnson told him he was *timidum timidissimus*. A few days before his death, talking with Dr. Brocklesby, he said, "Now will you ascribe my death to my having taken eight grains of squills, when you recommended only three? Dr. Heberden, to my having opened my left foot, when nature was pointing out the discharge in the right?" The conversation was introduced by his quoting some lines to the same purpose, from Swift's verses on his own death.³

It was within the same period, if I understood Dr. Brocklesby right, that he enjoined him, as an honest man and a physician, to inform him how long he thought he had to live. Dr. Brocklesby inquired, in return, whether he had firmness to bear the answer. Upon his replying that he had, and Dr. Brocklesby limiting the time to a few weeks, he said, "that he then would trouble himself no more with medicine or medical advice:" and to this resolution he pretty much adhered.

In a conversation about what was practicable in medicine or surgery, he quoted, to the surprise of his physicians, the opinion of Marchetti for an operation of extracting (I think) part of the kidney. He recommended for an account of China, Sir John Mandeville's *Travels*. Holyday's *Notes on Juvenal* he thought so highly of as to have employed himself for some time in translating them into Latin.

He insisted on the doctrine of an expiatory sacrifice as the condition without which there was no Christianity (*anté*, p. 292.); and urged in support the belief entertained in all ages, and by all nations, barbarous as well as polite. He recommended to Dr. Brocklesby, also, Clarke's Sermons (*anté*, p. 807.), and repeated to him the passage which he had spoken of to me.

While airing one day with Dr. Brocklesby, in passing and returning by St. Pancras church, he fell into prayer, and mentioned, upon Dr. Brocklesby's inquiring why the Catho-

cowardly, as he thought them, apprehensions of his attendants. It might be wished that in such circumstances he had spoken and acted with less impatience; but let us not forget the excuses which may be drawn from the natural infirmity of his temper, exasperated by the peevishness of a long and painful disease. — CROKER.

3 "The doctors, tender of their fame,
Wisely on one lay all the blame;
'We must confess his case was nice,
But he would never take advice;
Had he been ruled, for aught appears,
He might have lived these twenty years.
For when we opened him we found
That all his vital parts were sound.'"

CROKER.

¹ It appears in this journal that Mr. Windham laboured occasionally under a nervous and indeed morbid hesitation to do even the commonest things, and used to lose hours and days in deliberating whether he should do this or that trifling thing. This was hypochondriasis; and he used to call it the *feet* which, he said, came over him on these occasions. (See *anté* p. 617.) — CROKER 1847.

² See *anté*, p. 166. That more importance may not be given to this transaction than it deserves, it must be recollected, that Johnson fancied that his attendants were treating him with a timid leniency, merely to spare him pain, — a notion which irritated, at once, his love of life, his animal courage, and his high moral principle. We have already seen (*anté*, p. 494.) that when in health he had said, "*Whoever is afraid of any thing is a scoundrel*;" and now, in the same feeling, and the same words, he censures the

lies chose that for their burying place, that some Catholics, in Queen Elizabeth's time, had been burnt there.¹ Upon Dr. Brocklesby's asking him whether he did not feel the warmth of the sun, he quoted from Juvenal —

"Præterea minimus gelido jam in corpore sanguis
Febre calet solâ."²

December 13. — Forty-five minutes past ten P. M. — While writing the preceding articles — I received the fatal account, so long dreaded, that Dr. Johnson was no more!

May those prayers which he incessantly poured from a heart fraught with the deepest devotion, find their acceptance with Him to whom they were addressed — which piety, so humble and so fervent, may seem to promise!

December 18. — For some days no work of any sort has been done. I cannot, indeed, say that all the time has been mis-spent; much of it has been employed in performing the last duties of respect and affection to the great man who is gone.

December 20. — A memorable day; the day which saw deposited in Westminster Abbey the remains of Johnson.

§ 2 BY SIR JOHN HAWKINS.

(Extracted from his *Life of Johnson*, pp. 564-6.)

A few days after the remnant of the Ivy-lane Club had dined with him [Feb. 1784], Dr. Johnson sent for me, and informed me that he had discovered in himself the symptoms of a dropsy; and, indeed, his very much increased bulk, and the swollen appearance of his legs, seemed to indicate no less. He told me, that he was desirous of making a will, and requested me to be one of his executors: upon my consenting, he gave me to understand that he meant to make a provision for his servant, Frank, of about 70*l.* a year for his life, and concerted with me a plan for investing a sum sufficient for the purpose: at the same time he opened to me the state of his circumstances, and the amount of what he had to dispose of.

In a visit which I made him in a few days, in consequence of a very pressing request to see me, I found him labouring under great dejection of mind. He bade me draw near him, and said he wanted to enter into a serious conversation with me; and, upon my expressing a willingness to join in it, he, with a look that cut me to the heart, told me that he had the prospect of death before him, and that he dreaded to meet his Saviour.³ I could not but be astonished at such a declaration, and advised him, as I had done once before, to reflect on the course of his life and the services he had rendered to the cause of religion and virtue, as well by his example as his writings; to which he answered, that he had written as a philosopher, but had not lived like one. In the estimation of his offences, he reasoned thus: "Every man knows his own sins, and also what grace he has resisted. But, to those of others, and the circumstances under which they were committed, he is a stranger: he is, therefore, to look on himself as the greatest sinner that he knows of."⁴ At the conclusion of this argument, which he strongly enforced, he uttered this passionate exclamation, — "Shall I, who have been a teacher of others, myself be a castaway?"

Much to the same purpose passed between us in this and other conversations that I had with him; in all which I could not but wonder, as much at the freedom with which he opened his mind, and the compunction he seemed to feel for the errors of his past life, as I did at his making choice of me for his confessor, knowing full well how meanly qualified I was for such an office.

It was on a Thursday (19th February) that I had this conversation with him; and here, let not the supercilious lip of scorn protrude itself, while I relate that, he declared his intention to devote the whole of the next day to fasting, humiliation, and such other devotional exercises as became a man in his situation. On the Saturday following I made him a visit, and, upon entering his room, observed in his countenance such a serenity, as indicated that some remarkable crisis of his disorder had produced a change in his feelings. He told me that, pursuant to the resolution he had mentioned, he had

spent the preceding day in an abstraction from all worldly concerns; that, to prevent interruption, he had, in the morning, ordered Frank not to admit any one to him; and, the better to enforce the charge, had added these awful words, "For your master is preparing himself to die." He then mentioned to me, that, in the course of this exercise, he found himself relieved from that disorder which had been growing on him, and was become very oppressing, the dropsy, by a gradual evacuation of water to the amount of twenty pints, a like instance whereof he had never before experienced; and asked me what I thought of it.

I was well aware of the lengths that superstition and enthusiasm will lead men, and how ready some are to attribute favourable events to supernatural causes, and said, that it might savour of presumption to say that, in this instance, God had wrought a miracle; yet, as divines recognise certain dispensations of his providence, recorded in the Scripture by the denomination of returns of prayer, and his omnipotence is now the same as ever, I thought it would be little less than criminal to ascribe his late relief to causes merely natural, and that the safer opinion was, that he had not in vain humbled himself before his Maker. He seemed to acquiesce in all that I said on this important subject; and, several times, while I was discoursing with him, cried out, "It is wonderful, very wonderful!"

His zeal for religion, as manifested in his writings and conversation, and the accounts extant that attest his piety, have induced the enemies to his memory to tax him with superstition. To that charge I oppose his behaviour on this occasion, and leave it to the judgment of sober and rational persons, whether such an unexpected event as that above mentioned would not have prompted a really superstitious man to some more passionate exclamation than that it was "wonderful."

[This relief, extraordinary as it was, Johnson himself said, "was only a reprieve," — the disease returned, and Hawkins renewed the subject of the will. pp. 580, 593.]

His complaint still increasing, I continued pressing him to make a will; but he still procrastinated that business. On the 27th of November, in the morning, I went to his house, with a purpose still farther to urge him not to give occasion, by dying intestate, for litigation among his relations; but finding that he was gone to pass the day with the Rev. Mr. Strahan, at Islington, I followed him thither, and found there our old friend Mr. Ryland, and Mr. Hoole. Upon my sitting down, he said, that the prospect of the change he was about to undergo, and the thought of meeting his Saviour, troubled him, but that he had hope that he would not reject him.

I then began to discourse with him about his will, and the provision for Frank, till he grew angry. He told me, that he had signed and sealed the paper I left him; but that, said I, had blanks in it, which, as it seems, you have not filled up with the names of the executors. "You should have filled them up yourself," answered he. I replied, that such an act would have looked as if I meant to prevent his choice of a fitter person. "Sir," said he, "these minor virtues are not to be exercised in matters of such importance as this." At length he said that on his return home he would send for a clerk, and dictate a will to him. "You will then," said I, "be *omnis consilii*; rather do it now. With Mr. Strahan's permission, I will be his guest at dinner; and, if Mr. Hoole will please to hold the pen, I will, in a few words, make such a disposition of your estate as you shall direct. To this he assented; but such a paroxysm of the asthma seized him, as prevented our going on. As the fire burned up, he found himself relieved, and grew cheerful. "The fit," said he, "was very sharp; but I am now easy."

After I had dictated a few lines, I told him, that the ancient form of wills contained a profession of the faith of the testator; and that he being a man of eminence for learning and parts, it would afford an illustrious example, and well become him, to make such an explicit declaration of his belief, as might obviate all suspicions that he was any other than a Christian. He thanked me for the hint, and, calling for paper, wrote on a slip, that I had in my hand and gave him, the following words: — "I humbly commit to the infinite and eternal goodness of Almighty God, my soul polluted with many sins; but, as I hope, purified by repentance, and redeemed, as I trust, by the death of Jesus Christ." And, returning it to me, said, "This I commit to your custody."

Upon my calling on him for directions to proceed, he told

¹ It has been said that this preference arises from a belief that special services are performed for persons buried at St. Pancras, in a church of the same name in the South of France; but I learn, from unquestionable authority, that it rests upon no foundation, and that mere *prejudice* exists amongst the Roman Catholics in favour of this church, as is the case with respect to other places of burial in various parts of the kingdom. — MARKLAND.

² "Add that a fever only warms his veins,
And thaws the little blood that yet remains."

— GIFFORD.

³ This, and other expressions of the like kind, which he uttered to me, should put to silence the idle reports that he dreaded annihilation. — HAWKINS.

⁴ I find the above sentiment in "Law's Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life," a book which Johnson was very conversant with, and often commended. — HAWKINS, *ante*, p. 15.

⁵ The will of the other great luminary of that age, Mr. Burke, is throughout strikingly characteristic, and was no doubt chiefly drawn up by himself. Those who revere his memory will read with satisfaction the opening declaration, "First, according to the ancient, good, and laudable custom, of which my heart and understanding recognise the propriety, I bequeath my soul to God, hoping for his mercy through the only merits of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ." — MARKLAND.

me that his father, in the course of his trade of a bookseller, had become bankrupt, and that Mr. William Inny had assisted him with money or credit to continue his business. "This," said he, "I consider as an obligation on me to be grateful to his descendants, and I therefore mean to give 200*l.* to his representative." He then meditated a devise of his house at Lichfield to the corporation of that city for a charitable use; but, it being freehold, he said, "I cannot live a twelvemonth, and the last statute of mortmain stands in the way: I must, therefore, think of some other disposition of it." His next consideration was, a provision for Frank, concerning the amount whereof I found he had been consulting Dr. Brocklesby, to whom he had put this question, "What would be a proper annuity to bequeath to a favourite servant?" The doctor answered, that the circumstances of the master were the truest measure; and that, in the case of a nobleman, 50*l.* a year was deemed an adequate reward for many years' faithful service. "Then shall I," said Johnson, "be *nobilis-simus*; for I mean to leave Frank 70*l.* a year, and I desire you to tell him so." And now, at the making of the will, a devise, equivalent to such a provision, was therein inserted. The residue of his estate and effects, which took in, though he intended it not, the house at Lichfield, he bequeathed to his executors, in trust for a religious association; which it is needless to describe.

Having executed the will with the necessary formalities, he would have come home; but being pressed by Mr. and Mrs. Strahan to stay, he consented, and we all dined together. Towards the evening he grew cheerful; and I having promised to take him in my coach, Mr. Strahan and Mr. Ryland would accompany him home. In the way thither he appeared much at ease, and told stories. At eight I set him down, and Mr. Strahan and Mr. Ryland betook themselves to their respective homes.

Sunday, Nov. 28th. I saw him about noon: he was dozing; but waking, he found himself in a circle of his friends. Upon opening his eyes, he said, that the prospect of his dissolution was very terrible to him, and addressed himself to us all, in nearly these words: "You see the state in which I am; conflicting with bodily pain and mental distraction: while you are in health and strength, labour to do good, and avoid evil, if ever you hope to escape the distress that now oppresses me."

A little while after,—"I had, very early in my life, the seeds of goodness in me: I had a love of virtue, and a reverence for religion; and these, I trust, have brought forth in me fruits meet for repentance; and, if I have repented as I ought, I am forgiven. I have, at times, entertained a loathing of sin and of myself, particularly at the beginning of this year, when I had the prospect of death before me; and this has not abated when my fears of death have been less; and, at these times, I have had such rays of hope shot into my soul, as have almost persuaded me that I am in a state of reconciliation with God."

29th. Mr. Langton, who had spent the evening with him, reported, that his hopes were increased, and that he was much cheered upon being reminded of the general tendency of his writings, and of his example.

30th. I saw him in the evening, and found him cheerful. Was informed that he had, for his dinner, eaten heartily of a French duck pie and a pheasant.

Dec. 1. He was busied in destroying papers. Gave to Mr. Langton and another person [young Mr. Desmoulins], to fair-copy, some translations of the Greek epigrams, which he had made in the preceding nights, and transcribed the next morning, and they began to work on them.

3d. Finding his legs continue to swell, he signified to his physicians a strong desire to have them scarified; but they, unwilling to put him to pain, and fearing a mortification, declined advising it. He afterwards consulted his surgeon, and he performed the operation on one leg.

4th. I visited him: the scarification made yesterday in his leg appeared to have had little effect. He said to me, that he was easier in his mind, and as fit to die at that instant as he could be a year hence. He requested me to receive the sacrament with him on Sunday, the next day. Complained of great weakness, and of phantoms that haunted his imagination.

5th. Being Sunday, I communicated with him and Mr.

Langton, and other of his friends, as many as nearly filled the room. Mr. Strahan, who was constant in his attendance on him throughout his illness, performed the office. Previous to reading the exhortation, Johnson knelt, and, with a degree of fervour that I had never been witness to before, uttered the following most eloquent and energetic prayer:—

"Almighty and most merciful Father, I am now, as to human eyes it seems, about to commemorate, for the last time, the death of thy son Jesus Christ, our Saviour and Redeemer. Grant, O Lord, that my whole hope and confidence may be in his merits and in thy mercy: forgive and accept my late conversion; enforce and accept my imperfect repentance; make this commemoration of him available to the confirmation of my faith, the establishment of my hope, and the enlargement of my charity; and make the death of thy son Jesus effectual to my redemption. Have mercy upon me, and pardon the multitude of my offences. Bless my friends: have mercy upon all men. Support me by the grace of thy Holy Spirit in the days of weakness, and at the hour of death, and receive me, at my death, to everlasting happiness, for the sake of Jesus Christ.—Amen."

Upon rising from his knees, after the office was concluded, he said, that he dreaded to meet God in a state of idiocy, or with opium in his head; and, that having now communicated with the effects of a dose upon him, he doubted if his exertions were the genuine operations of his mind, and repeated from Bishop Taylor this sentiment, "That little that has been omitted in health can be done to any purpose in sickness."

While he was dressing and preparing for this solemnity, an accident happened which went very near to disarrange his mind. He had mislaid, and was very anxious to find a paper that contained private instructions to his executors; and myself, Mr. Strahan, Mr. Langton, Mr. Hoole, Frank, and I believe some others that were about him, went into his bed-chamber to seek it. In our search, I laid my hands on a parchment-covered book, into which I imagined it might have been slipped. Upon opening the book, I found it to be meditations and reflections, in Johnson's own handwriting; and having been told a day or two before by Frank, that a person² formerly intimately connected with his master, a joint proprietor of a newspaper, well known among the book-sellers, and of whom Mrs. Williams once told me she had often cautioned him to beware; I say, having been told that this person had lately been very importunate to get access to him, indeed to such a degree as that, when he was told that the doctor was not to be seen, he would push his way up stairs; and having stronger reasons than I need here mention, to suspect that this man might find and make an ill use of the book, I put it, and a less of the same kind, into my pocket; at the same time telling those around me, and particularly Mr. Langton and Mr. Strahan, that I had got both, with my reasons for thus securing them. After the ceremony was over, Johnson took me aside, and told me that I had a book of his in my pocket; I answered that I had two, and that to prevent their falling into the hands of a person who had attempted to force his way into the house, I had done as I conceived a friendly act, but not without telling his friends of it, and also my reasons. He then asked me what ground I had for my suspicion of the man I mentioned: I told him his great importunity to get admittance; and farther, that immediately after a visit which he made me, in the year 1775, I missed a paper of public nature, and of great importance; and that a day or two after, and before it could be put to its intended use, I saw it in the newspapers.³

At the mention of this circumstance, Johnson paused; but recovering himself, said, "You should not have laid hands on the book; for had I missed it, and not known you had it, I should have roared for my book, as Othello did for his handkerchief, and probably have run mad."

I gave him time, till the next day, to compose himself, and then wrote him a letter, apologizing, and assigning at large the reasons for my conduct; and received a verbal answer by Mr. Langton, which were I to repeat it, would render me suspected of inexcusable vanity [p. 803]. It concluded with these words, "If I was not satisfied with this I must be a savage."

7th. I again visited him. Before my departure Dr. Brocklesby came in, and, taking him by the wrist, Johnson

¹ He very much admired, and often in the course of his illness recited, from the conclusion of old Isaac Walton's *Life of Bishop Sanderson*, the following pathetic request:—"Thus this pattern of meekness and primitive innocence changed this for a better life: for 'tis now too late to wish that mine may be like his: for I am in the eighty-fifth year of my age, and God knows it hath not; but, I most humbly beseech Almighty God, that my death may; and I do as earnestly beg, that, if any reader shall receive any satisfaction from this very plain, and as true, relation, he will be so charitable as to say, Amen."—HAWKINS.

² Mr. George Stevens. —CROKER.

³ As I take no pleasure in the disgrace of others, I regret the necessity I am under of mentioning these particulars: my reason for it is, that the transaction which so disturbed him may possibly be better known than the motives that

actuated me at the time.—HAWKINS.—Miss Hawkins's *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 264., tells this story in the same way, supplies Stevens's name, and insists on the same justification, which would be quite inconclusive, even if the fact on which the suspicion against Stevens was grounded were true: for the purloined paper was only a copy of an address from the Middlesex magistrates to the king (which was, from its very nature, destined for publication). And after all, there was no other proof that Stevens had taken that paper, than that it appeared in the *St. James's Chronicle* the day after Stevens had made a visit at Sir John's. Hawkins's act was unjustifiable, and the defence frivolous. It is observable, that there was no allusion to these circumstances in the *first edition* of Hawkins's work, but Boswell's notice of the fact forced Hawkins to make what defence he could, and a wretched one it is. See *ante*, p. 803. —CROKER.

gave him a look of great contempt, and ridiculed the judging of his disorder by the pulse. He complained, that the sarcocole had again made its appearance, and asked if a puncture would not relieve him, as it had done the year before? The doctor answered, that it might, but that his surgeon was the best judge of the effect of such an operation. Johnson, upon this, said, "How many men in a year die through the timidity of those whom they consult for health! I want length of life, and you fear giving me pain, which I care not for."

8th. I visited him with Mr. Langton, and found him dictating to Mr. Strahan another will¹, the former being, as he had said at the time of making it, a temporary one. On our entering the room, he said, "God bless you both." I arrived just time enough to direct the execution, and also the attestation of it. After he had published it, he desired Mr. Strahan to say the Lord's Prayer, which he did, all of us joining. Johnson, after it, uttered, extempore, a few pious ejaculations.

9th. I saw him in the evening, and found him dictating to Mr. Strahan a codicil to the will he had made the evening before. I assisted them in it, and received from the testator a direction, to insert a devise to his executors of the house at Lichfield, to be sold for the benefit of certain of his relations, a bequest of sundry pecuniary and specific legacies, a provision for the annuity of 70*l.* for Francis, and, after all, a devise of all the rest, residue, and remainder of his estate and effects, to his executors, in trust for the said Francis Barber, his executors and administrators; and having dictated accordingly, Johnson executed and published it as a codicil to his will.

He was now so weak as to be unable to kneel, and lamented that he must pray sitting; but, with an effort, he placed himself on his knees, while Mr. Strahan repeated the Lord's Prayer. During the whole of the evening he was much composed and resigned. Being become very weak and helpless, it was thought necessary that a man should watch with him all night; and one was found in the neighbourhood, who, for half a crown a night, undertook to sit up with and assist him. When the man had left the room, he, in the presence and hearing of Mr. Strahan and Mr. Langton, asked me where I meant to bury him. I answered, doubtless, in Westminster Abbey: "If," said he, "my executors think it proper to mark the spot of my interment by a stone, let it be so placed as to protect my body from injury." I assured him it should be done. Before my departure, he desired Mr. Langton to put into my hands money to the amount of upwards of 100*l.* with a direction to keep it till called for.

10th. This day at noon I saw him again. He said to me, that the male nurse to whose care I had committed him was unfit for the office. "He is," said he, "an idiot, as awkward as a turnspit just put into the wheel, and as sleepy as a dormouse." Mr. Cruikshank came into the room, and looking on his scarified leg saw no sign of a mortification.

11th. At noon, I found him dozing, and would not disturb him.

12th. Saw him again; found him very weak, and, as he said, unable to pray.

13th. At noon I called at the house, but went not into his room, being told that he was dozing. I was further informed by the servants that his appetite was totally gone, and that he could take no sustenance. At eight in the evening of the same day, word was brought me by Mr. Sastres, to whom, in his last moments, he uttered these words, "Jam moriturus," that at a quarter past seven, he had, without a groan, or the least sign of pain or uneasiness, yielded his last breath.

At eleven, the same evening, Mr. Langton came to me, and, in an agony of mind, gave me to understand that our friend had wounded himself in several parts of the body. I was shocked at the news; but, upon being told that he had not touched any vital part, was easily able to account for an action, which would else have given us the deepest concern. The fact was, that, conceiving himself to be full of water, he had done that, which he had so often solicited his medical assistants to do, — made two or three incisions in his lower limbs, vainly hoping for some relief from the flux that might follow.

Early the next morning, Frank came to me; and, being desirous of knowing all the particulars of this transaction, I interrogated him very strictly concerning it, and received from him answers to the following effect: —

¹ There seems something strange in this affair of the will. Why did Johnson, after employing Sir J. Hawkins, a professional and in every other respect a proper person to draw up his will, throw it aside, and dictate another to a young clergyman? Had Sir J. Hawkins attempted to thwart the testator's intentions, which he tells us he disapproved of? or was this change the result of the scene of the 5th about the *secreted books*? In any case, it may have tended to produce that unfavourable temper towards Dr. Johnson which tinges the whole, and certainly discolours some passages of Sir J. Hawkins's book. — CROKER.

² The clumsy solemnity with which Hawkins thinks it necessary to defend Dr. Johnson from the suspicion of endeavouring to shorten his life by an act manifestly, avowedly,

That, at eight in the morning of the preceding day, upon going into the bedchamber, his master, being in bed, ordered him to open a cabinet, and give him a drawer in it; that he did so, and that out of it his master took a case of lancets, and choosing one of them, would have conveyed it into the bed, which Frank and a young man that sat up with him seeing, they seized his hand, and entreated him not to do a rash action: he said he would not; but drawing his hand under the bed-clothes, they saw his arm move. Upon this they turned down the clothes, and saw a great effusion of blood, which soon stopped; that soon after, he got at a pair of scissors that lay in a drawer by him, and plunged them deep in the calf of each leg; that immediately they sent for Mr. Cruikshank and the apothecary, and they, or one of them, dressed the wounds; that he then fell into that dozing which carried him off; that it was conjectured he lost eight or ten ounces of blood; and that this effusion brought on the dozing, though his pulse continued firm till three o'clock.

That this act was not done to hasten his end, but to discharge the water that he conceived to be in him, I have not the least doubt.² A dropsy was his disease; he looked upon himself as a bloated carcass; and, to attain the power of easy respiration, would have undergone any degree of temporary pain. He dreaded neither punctures nor incisions, and, indeed, defied the trochar and the lancet; he had often reproached his physicians and surgeon with cowardice; and when Mr. Cruikshank scarified his leg, he cried out, "Deeper, deeper; I will abide the consequence; you are afraid of your reputation, but that is nothing to me." To those about him he said, "You all pretend to love me, but you do not love me so well as I myself do."

I have been thus minute in regarding the particulars of his last moments, because I wished to attract attention to the conduct of this great man, under the most trying circumstances human nature is subject to. Many persons have appeared possessed of more serenity of mind in this awful scene; some have remained unmoved at the dissolution of the vital union; and it may be deemed a discouragement from the severe practice of religion, that Dr. Johnson, whose whole life was a preparation for his death, and a conflict with natural infirmity, was disturbed with terror at the prospect of the grave.³ Let not this relax the circumspection of any one. It is true, that natural firmness of spirit, or the confidence of hope, may buoy up the mind to the last; but, how ever heroic an undaunted death may appear, it is not what we should pray for. As Johnson lived the life of the righteous, his end was that of a Christian; he strictly fulfilled the injunction of the apostle, to work out his salvation with fear and trembling; and though his doubts and scruples were certainly very distressing to himself, they gave his friends a pious hope, that he who added to almost all the virtues of Christianity that religious humility which its great teacher inculcated, will, in the fulness of time, receive the reward promised to a patient continuance in well-doing.

§ 3. BY J. HOOLE, ESQ.⁴

(Extracted from the *European Magazine* for September, 1799.)

Saturday, Nov. 20, 1784. — This evening, about eight o'clock, I paid a visit to my dear friend Dr. Johnson, whom I found very ill and in great dejection of spirits. We had a most affecting conversation on the subject of religion, in which he exhorted me, with the greatest warmth of kindness, to attend closely to every religious duty, and particularly enforced the obligation of private prayer and receiving the sacrament. He desired me to stay that night and join in prayer with him; adding, that he always went to prayer every night with his man Francis. He conjured me to read and meditate upon the Bible, and not to throw it aside for a play or a novel. He said he had himself lived in great negligence of religion and worship for forty years; that he had neglected to read his Bible, and had often reflected what he could hereafter say when he should be

and even passionately meant to *prolong* it, was certainly supererogative; but does not, I think, justify Mr. Boswell's suspicion (*anté*, p. 801. n. 1.) that there was some malevolence at the bottom of the defence. — CROKER.

³ Hawkins seems to confound two different periods. At the first appearance of danger, Dr. Johnson exhibited great, and perhaps gloomy anxiety, which, however, under the gradual effect of religious contemplations and devotional exercises, gave way to more comfortable hopes suggested by a lively faith in the propitiatory merits of his Redeemer. In this tranquilised disposition the last days of his life seem to have been passed, and in this Christian confidence it is believed that he died. — CROKER.

⁴ See *anté*, p. 804. — C.

asked why he had not read it. He begged me repeatedly to let his present situation have due effect upon me; and advised me, when I got home, to note down in writing what had passed between us, adding, that what a man writes in that manner dwells upon his mind. He said many things that I cannot now recollect, but all delivered with the utmost fervour of religious zeal and personal affection. Between nine and ten o'clock his servant Francis came up stairs: he then said we would all go to prayers, and, desiring me to kneel down by his bed-side, he repeated several prayers with great devotion. I then took my leave. He then pressed me to think of all he had said, and to commit it to writing. I assured him I would. He seized my hand with much warmth, and repeated, "Promise me you will do it:" on which we parted, and I engaged to see him the next day.

Sunday, Nov. 21.—About noon I again visited him; found him rather better and easier, his spirits more raised, and his conversation more disposed to general subjects. When I came in, he asked if I had done what he desired (meaning the noting down what passed the night before); and upon my saying that I had, he pressed my hand, and said earnestly, "Thank you." Our discourse then grew more cheerful. He told me, with apparent pleasure, that he heard the *Empress of Russia* had ordered "The Rambler" to be translated into the Russian language, and that a copy would be sent him. [p. 755.] Before we parted, he put into my hands a little book, by Fleetwood, on the Sacrament, which he told me he had been the means of introducing to the University of Oxford by recommending it to a young student there.

Monday, Nov. 22.—Visited the Doctor: found him seemingly better of his complaints, but extremely low and dejected. I sat by him till he fell asleep, and soon after left him, as he seemed little disposed to talk; and, on my going away, he said, emphatically, "I am very poorly indeed!"

Tuesday, Nov. 23.—Called about eleven: the Doctor not up: Mrs. Gardiner in the dining-room: the Doctor soon came to us, and seemed more cheerful than the day before. He spoke of his design to invite a Mrs. Hall [Wesley's sister] to be with him, and to offer her Mrs. Williams's room. Called again about three: found him quite oppressed with company that morning, therefore left him directly.

Wednesday, Nov. 24.—Called about seven in the evening: found him very ill and very low indeed. He said a thought had struck him that his rapid decline of health and strength might be partly owing to the town air, and spoke of getting a lodging at Islington. I sat with him till past nine, and then took my leave.

Thursday, Nov. 25.—About three in the afternoon was told that he had desired that day to see no company. In the evening, about eight, called with Mr. Nicol¹, and, to our great surprise, we found him then setting out for Islington, to the Rev. Mr. Strahan's. He could scarce speak. We went with him down the court to the coach. He was accompanied by his servant Frank and Mr. Lowe the painter. I offered myself to go with him, but he declined it.

Friday, Nov. 26.—Called at his house about eleven: heard he was much better, and had a better night than he had known a great while, and was expected home that day. Called again in the afternoon—not so well as he was, nor expected home that night.

Saturday, Nov. 27.—Called again about noon: heard he was much worse: went immediately to Islington, where I found him extremely bad, and scarce able to speak, with the asthma. Sir John Hawkins, the Rev. Mr. Strahan, and Mrs. Strahan, were with him. Observing that we said little, he desired that we would not constrain ourselves, though he was not able to talk with us. Soon after he said he had something to say to Sir John Hawkins, on which we immediately went down into the parlour. Sir John soon followed us, and said he had been speaking about his will. Sir John started the idea of proposing to him to make it on the spot; that Sir John should dictate it, and that I should write it. He went up to propose it, and soon came down with the Doctor's acceptance. The will was then begun; but before we proceeded far, it being necessary, on account of some alteration, to begin again, Sir John asked the Doctor whether he would choose to make any introductory declaration respecting his faith. The Doctor said he would. Sir John further asked if he would make any declaration of his being of the church of England: to which the Doctor said "No!" but, taking a pen, he wrote on a paper the following words, which he delivered to Sir John, desiring him to keep it:—

"I commit to the infinite mercies of Almighty God my soul, polluted with many sins; but purified, I trust, with repentance and the death of Jesus Christ." While he was at Mr. Strahan's, Dr. Brocklesby came in, and Dr. Johnson put the question to him, whether he thought he could live six weeks? to which Dr. Brocklesby returned a very doubtful answer, and soon left us. After dinner the will was finished, and about six we came to town in Sir John Hawkins's

carriage; Sir John, Dr. Johnson, Mr. Ryland (who came in after dinner), and myself. The Doctor appeared much better in the way home, and talked pretty cheerfully.

Sunday, Nov. 28.—Went to Dr. Johnson's about two o'clock: met Mrs. Hoole coming from thence, as he was asleep: took her back with me; found Sir John Hawkins with him. The Doctor's conversation tolerably cheerful. Sir John reminded him that he had expressed a desire to leave some small memorials to his friends, particularly a Polyglot Bible to Mr. Langton; and asked if they should add the codicil then. The Doctor replied, "he had forty things to add, but could not do it at that time." Sir John then took his leave. Mr. Sastres came next into the dining-room, where I was with Mrs. Hoole. Dr. Johnson hearing that Mrs. Hoole was in the next room, desired to see her. He received her with great affection, took her by the hand, and said nearly these words:—"I feel great tenderness for you: think of the situation in which you see me, profit by it, and God Almighty keep you for Jesus Christ's sake, Amen." He then asked if we would both stay and dine with him. Mrs. Hoole said she could not; but I agreed to stay. Upon my saying to the Doctor that Dr. Heberden would be with him that morning, his answer was, "God has called me, and Dr. Heberden comes too late." Soon after this Dr. Heberden came. While he was there, we heard them, from the other room, in earnest discourse, and found that they were talking over the affair of the K—g and C—n. We overheard Dr. Heberden say, "All you did was extremely proper." After Dr. Heberden was gone, Mr. Sastres and I returned into the chamber. Dr. Johnson complained that sleep this day had powerful dominion over him, that he waked with great difficulty, and that probably he should go off in one of these paroxysms. Afterwards he said that he hoped his sleep was the effect of opium taken some days before, which might not be worked off. We dined together—the Doctor, Mr. Sastres, Mrs. Davis, and myself. He ate a pretty good dinner with seeming appetite, but appearing rather impatient; and being asked unnecessary and frivolous questions, he said he often thought of *Macbeth*,—"Question enrages him." He retired immediately after dinner, and we sat with him till ten. He said little, but dozed at times. At six he ordered tea and we went out to drink it with Mrs. Davis: but the Doctor drank none. The Rev. Dr. Taylor, of Ashbourne, came soon after; and Dr. Johnson desired our attendance at prayers, which were read by Dr. Taylor. Mr. Ryland came and sat some time with him: he thought him much better. Mr. Sastres and I continued with him the remainder of the evening, when he exhorted Mr. Sastres in nearly these words:—"There is no one who has shown me more attention than you have done, and it is now right you should claim some attention from me. You are a young man, and are to struggle through life: you are in a profession that I dare say you will exercise with great fidelity and innocence; but let me exhort you always to think of my situation, which must one day be yours: always remember that life is short, and that eternity never ends! I say nothing of your religion; for if you conscientiously keep to it, I have little doubt but you may be saved: if you read the controversy, I think we have the right on our side; but if you do not read it, be not persuaded, from any worldly consideration, to alter the religion in which you were educated: change not, but from conviction of reason." He then most strongly enforced the motives of virtue and piety from the consideration of a future state of reward and punishment, and concluded with "Remember all this, and God bless you!" Write down what I have said—I think you are the third person I have bid do this."⁵ At ten o'clock he dismissed us, thanking us for a visit which he said could not have been very pleasant to us.

Monday, Nov. 29.—Called with my son [the Clergyman] about eleven: saw the Doctor, who said, "You must not now stay;" but, as we were going away, he said, "I will get Mr. Hoole to come next Wednesday and read the Litany to me, and do you and Mrs. Hoole come with him." He appeared very ill. Retiring from the city I called again to inquire, and heard that Dr. Butler was with him. In the evening, about eight, called again, and just saw him; but did not stay, as Mr. Langton was with him on business. I met Sir Joshua Reynolds going away.

Tuesday, Nov. 30.—Called twice this morning, but did not see him: he was much the same. In the evening, between six and seven, went to his house: found there Mr. Langton, Mr. Sastres, and Mr. Ryland: the Doctor being asleep in the chamber, we went all to tea and coffee; when the Doctor came in to us rather cheerful, and entering said, "Dear gentlemen, how do you do?" He drank coffee, and, in the course of the conversation, said that he recollected a poem of his, made some years ago on a young gentleman coming of age. [p. 866.] He repeated the whole with great spirit:

⁴ Mr. Sastres was a Roman Catholic. Johnson, we have seen, left him in his will £5 to buy books of piety.—CROKER, 1847.

⁵ The other two were Dr. Brocklesby and myself.—J. HOOLE.

¹ Mr. George Nicol, of Pall Mall.—J. HOOLE.

² This alludes to an application made for an increase to his pension, to enable him to go to Italy.—J. HOOLE.

³ *Sic*; probably an error of the press for C—n, meaning the Lord Chancellor: see *ante*, p. 788.—CROKER.

it consisted of about fifteen or sixteen stanzas of four lines, in alternate rhyme. He said he had only repeated it once since he composed it, and that he never gave but one copy. He said several excellent things that evening, and among the rest, that "scruples made many men miserable, but few men good." He spoke of the affectation that men had to accuse themselves of petty faults or weaknesses, in order to exalt themselves into notice for any extraordinary talents which they might possess; and instanced Waller, which he said he would record if he lived to revise his life. Waller was accustomed to say that his memory was so bad he would sometimes forget to repeat his grace at table, or the Lord's Prayer, perhaps that people might wonder at what he did else of great moment; for the Doctor observed, that no man takes upon himself small blemishes without supposing that great abilities are attributed to him; and that, in short, this affectation of candour or modesty was but another kind of indirect self-praise, and had its foundation in vanity. Frank bringing him a note, as he opened it he said an odd thought struck him, that "one should receive no letters in the grave."¹

His talk was in general very serious and devout, though occasionally cheerful: he said, "You are all serious men, and I will tell you something. About two years since I feared that I had neglected God, and that then I had not a *nauld* to give him, on which I set about to read Thomas à Kempis in Low Dutch, which I accomplished, and thence I judged that my mind was not impaired. Low Dutch having no affinity with any of the languages which I knew." With respect to his recovery, he seemed to think it hopeless. There was to be a consultation of physicians next day: he wished to have his legs scarified to let out the water; but this his medical friends opposed, and he submitted to their opinion, though he said he was not satisfied. At half past eight he dismissed us all but Mr. Langton. I first asked him if my son should attend him next day, to read the Litany, as he had desired; but he declined it on account of the expected consultation. We went away, leaving Mr. Langton and Mr. Desmoulins, a young man who was employed in copying his Latin epigrams.

Wednesday, Dec. 1.—At his house in the evening: drank tea and coffee: with Mr. Sastres, Mr. Desmoulins, and Mr. Hall²: went into the Doctor's chamber after tea, when he gave me an epitaph to copy, written by him for his father, mother, and brother. He continued much the same.

Thursday, Dec. 2.—Called in the morning, and left the epigram: with him in the evening about seven: found Mr. Langton and Mr. Desmoulins; did not see the Doctor; he was in his chamber, and afterwards engaged with Dr. Scott.

Friday, Dec. 3.—Called; but he wished not to see any body. Consultations of physicians to be held that day: called again in the evening; found Mr. Langton with him; Mr. Sastres and I went together into his chamber; he was extremely low. "I am very bad indeed, dear gentlemen," he said; "very b-d, very low, very cold, and I think I find my life to fail." In about a quarter of an hour he dismissed Mr. Sastres and me; but called me back again, and said that next Sunday, if he lived, he designed to take the sacrament, and wished me, my wife, and son to be there. We left Mr. Langton with him.

Saturday, Dec. 4.—Called on him about three: he was much the same; did not see him, he had much company that day. Called in the evening with Mr. Sastres about eight; found he was not disposed for company; Mr. Langton with him; did not see him.

Sunday, Dec. 5.—Went to Bolt Court with Mrs. Hoole after eleven: found there Sir John Hawkins, Rev. Mr. Strahan, Mrs. Gardiner, and Mr. Desmoulins, in the dining-room. After some time the Doctor came to us from the chamber, and saluted us all, thanking us all for this visit to him. He said he found himself very bad, but hoped he should go well through the duty which he was about to do. The sacrament was then administered to all present, Frank being of the number. The Doctor repeatedly desired Mr. Strahan to speak louder; seeming very anxious not to lose any part of the service, in which he joined in very great fervour of devotion. The service over, he again thanked us all for attending him on the occasion; he said he had taken some opium to enable him to support the fatigue: he seemed quite spent, and lay in his chair some time in a kind of doze: he then got up and retired into his chamber. Mr. Ryland then called on him. I was with him: he said to Mr. Ryland, "I have taken my viaticum: I hope I shall arrive safe at the end of my journey, and be accepted at last." He spoke very despondingly several times: Mr. Ryland comforted him, observing that "we had great hopes given us." "Yes," he replied, "we have hopes given us; but they are conditional, and I know not how far I have fulfilled those conditions." He afterwards said, "However, I think that I have now corrected all bad and vicious habits." Sir Joshua Reynolds called on him: we left them together. Sir Joshua being

gone, he called Mr. Ryland and me again to him: he continued talking very seriously, and repeated a prayer or collect with great fervour, when Mr. Ryland took his leave. My son came to us from his church: Mrs. Hoole, my son, Dr. Johnson, Mrs. Gardiner, myself, Mrs. Hoole, my son, and Mr. Desmoulins. He ate a tolerable dinner, but retired directly after dinner. He had looked out a sermon of Dr. Clarke's, "On the Shortness of Life," for me to read to him after dinner, but he was too ill to hear it. After six o'clock he called us all into his room, when he dismissed us for that night with a prayer, delivered as he sat in his great chair in the most fervent and affecting manner, his mind appearing wholly employed with the thoughts of another life. He told Mr. Ryland that he wished not to come to God with opium, but that he hoped he had been properly attentive. He said before us all, that when he recovered the last spring, he had only called it a *reprieve*, but that he did think it was for a longer time; however he hoped the time that had been prolonged to him might be the means of bringing forth fruit meet for repentance.

Monday, Dec. 6.—Sent in the morning to make inquiry after him; he was much the same; called in the evening; found Mr. Cruikshanks the surgeon with him; he said he had been that day quarrelling with all his physicians; he appeared in tolerable spirits.

Tuesday, Dec. 7.—Called at dinner time; saw him eat a very good dinner: he seemed rather better, and in spirits.

Wednesday, Dec. 8.—Went with Mrs. Hoole and my son, by appointment; found him very poorly and low, after a very bad night. Mr. Nichols the printer was there. My son read the Litany, the Doctor several times urging him to speak louder. After prayers Mr. Langton came in; much serious discourse: he warned us all to profit by his situation; and, applying to me, who stood next him, exhorted me to lead a better life than he had done. "A better life than you, my dear Sir!" I repeated. He replied warmly, "Don't compliment now." He told Mr. Langton that he had the night before enforced on ———³ a powerful argument to a powerful objection against Christianity.

He had often thought it might seem strange that the Jews, who retosed belief to the doctrine supported by the miracles of our Saviour, should after his death raise a numerous church; and with this idea the multitude was actuated when they strewed his way with palm-branches on his entry into Jerusalem; but finding their expectations afterwards disappointed, rejected him, till in process of time, comparing all the circumstances and prophecies of the Old Testament, confirmed in the New, many were converted; that the Apostles themselves once believed him to be a temporal prince. He said that he had always been struck with the resemblance of the Jewish passover and the Christian doctrine of redemption. He thanked us all for our attendance, and we left him with Mr. Langton.

Thursday, Dec. 9.—Called in the evening; did not see him, as he was engaged.

Friday, Dec. 10.—Called about eleven in the morning; saw Mr. La Trobe there⁴: neither of us saw the Doctor, as we understood he wished not to be visited that day. In the evening I sent him a letter, recommending Dr. Dalloway (an irregular physician) as an extraordinary person for curing the dropsy. He returned me a verbal answer that he was obliged to me, but that it was too late. My son read prayers with him this day.

Saturday, Dec. 11.—Went to Bolt Court about twelve; met there Dr. Burney, Dr. Taylor, Sir John Hawkins, Mr. Sastres, Mr. Paradise, Count Zenobia, and Mr. Langton. Mrs. Hoole called for me there: we both went to him; he received us very kindly; told me he had my letter, but "it was too late for doctors, *regular or irregular*." His physicians had been with him that day, but prescribed nothing. Mr. Cruikshanks came; the Doctor was rather cheerful with him; he said, "Come, give me your hand," and shook him by the hand, adding, "You shall make no other use of it now;" meaning he should not examine his legs. Mr. Cruikshanks wished to do it, but the Doctor would not let him. Mr. Cruikshanks said he would call in the evening.

Sunday, Dec. 12.—Was not at Bolt Court in the forenoon; at St. Sepulchre's school in the evening with Mrs. Hoole, where we saw Mrs. Gardiner and Lady Rothes; heard that Dr. Johnson was very bad, and had been some thing delirious. Went to Bolt Court about nine, and found there Mr. Windham and the Rev. Mr. Strahan. The Doctor was then very bad in bed, which I think he had only taken to that day; he had now refused to take any more medicine or food. Mr. Cruikshanks came about eleven; he endeavoured to persuade him to take some nourishment, but in vain. Mr. Windham then went again to him, and, by the advice of Mr. Cruikshanks, put it upon this footing—that by persisting to refuse all sustenance he might probably

¹ This note was from Mr. Davies the bookseller, and mentioned a present of some pork; upon which the Doctor said, in a manner that seemed as if he thought it ill-timed, "Too much of this," or some such expression. — J. HOOLE.

² Probably an error of the press for Mrs. Hall. — CROKER.

³ No doubt Mr. Windham; see *anté*, his Journal, 7th Dec.

p. 838. — CROKER.

⁴ See *anté*, p. 805. n. 3.

defeat his own purpose to *preserve his mind clear*, as his weakness might bring on paralytic complaints that might affect his mental powers. The Doctor, Mr. Windham said, heard him patiently; but when he had heard all, he desired to be troubled no more. He then took a most affectionate leave of Mr. Windham, who reported to us the issue of the conversation, for only Mr. Desmoulins was with them in the chamber. I did not see the Doctor that day, being fearful of disturbing him, and never conversed with him again. I came away about half past eleven with Mr. Windham.

Monday, Dec. 13. — Went to Bolt Court at eleven o'clock in the morning; met a young lady coming down stairs from the Doctor, whom, upon inquiry, I found to be Miss Morris (a sister to Miss Morris, formerly on the stage). Mrs. Desmoulins told me that she had seen the Doctor; that by her desire he had been told she came to ask his blessing, and that he said, "God bless you!" I then went up into his chamber, and found him lying very composed

in a kind of doze: he spoke to nobody. Sir John Hawkins, Mr. Langton, Mrs. Gardiner, Rev. Mr. Strahan and Mrs. Strahan, Doctors Brocklesby and Butter, Mr. Stevens, and Mr. Nichols the printer, came; but no one chose to disturb him by speaking to him, and he seemed to take no notice of any person. While Mrs. Gardiner and I were there, before the rest came, he took a little warm milk in a cup, when he said something upon its not being properly given into his hand: he breathed very regular, though short, and appeared to be mostly in a calm sleep or dozing. I left him in this state, and never more saw him alive. In the evening I supped with Mrs. Hoole and my son at Mr. Braithwaite's, and at night my servant brought me word that my dearest friend died that evening about seven o'clock; and next morning I went to the house, where I met Mr. Seward; we went together into the chamber, and there saw the most awful sight of Dr. Johnson laid out in his bed, without life!

JOHN HOOLE.

NO. VII.

LESSON IN BIOGRAPHY; OR, HOW TO WRITE THE LIFE OF ONE'S FRIEND.

An Extract from the Life of Dr. Pozz, in ten volumes folio, written by James Bozz, Esq., who flourished with him near fifty years.

BY ALEXANDER CHALMERS, ESQ.

Among the numerous parodies and jeux d'esprit which Mr. Boswell's work produced, this pleasantly from the pen of my old friend Mr. Alexander Chalmers, which appeared in the periodical publications of the day, is worth preserving; for it is not merely a good pleasantry, but a fair criticism of some of the lighter parts of the work. — CHALMERS.

WE dined at the chop-house. Dr. Pozz was this day very instructive. We talked of books. I mentioned the *History of Tommy Trip*. I said it was a great work. Pozz. "Yes, Sir, it is a great work; but, Sir, it is a great work relatively; it was a great work to you when you was a little boy; but now, Sir, you are a great man, and Tommy Trip is a little boy." I felt somewhat hurt at this comparison, and I believe he perceived it; for, as he was squeezing a lemon, he said, "Never be affronted at a comparison. I have been compared to many things, but I never was affronted. No, Sir, if they would call me a dog, and you a canister tied to my tail, I would not be affronted."

Cheered by this kind mention of me, though in such a situation, I asked him what he thought of a friend of ours, who was always making comparisons. Pozz. "Sir, that fellow has a simile for every thing but himself. I knew him when he kept a shop: he then made money, Sir, and now he makes comparisons. Sir, he would say that you and I were two figs stuck together; two figs in adhesion, Sir; and then he would laugh." Bozz. "But have not some great writers determined that comparisons are now and then odious?" Pozz. "No, Sir, not odious in themselves, not odious as comparisons; the fellows who make them are odious. The Whigs make comparisons."

We supped that evening at his house. I showed him some lines I had made upon a pair of breeches. Pozz. "Sir, the lines are good; but where could you find such a subject in your country?" Bozz. "Therefore it is a proof of invention, which is a characteristic of poetry." Pozz. "Yes, Sir, but an invention which few of your countrymen can enjoy." I reflected afterwards on the depth of this remark: it affords a proof of that acuteness which he displayed in every branch of literature. I asked him if he approved of green spectacles? Pozz. "As to green spectacles, Sir, the question seems to be this: if I wore green spectacles, it would be because they assisted vision, or because I liked them. Now, Sir, if a man tells me he does not like green spectacles, and that they hurt his eyes, I would not compel him to wear them. No, Sir, I would dissuade him." A few months after, I consulted him again on this subject, and he honoured me with a letter, in which he gives the same opinion. It will be found in its proper place, Vol. VI. p. 2789. I have thought much on this subject, and must confess that in such matters a man ought to be a free moral agent.

Next day I left town, and was absent for six weeks, three days, and seven hours, as I find by a memorandum in my journal. In this time I had only one letter from him, which is as follows:—

"TO JAMES BOZZ, ESQ.

"DEAR SIR,—My bowels have been very bad. Pray buy me some Turkey rhubarb, and bring with you a copy of your 'Tour.' Write to me soon, and write to me often. I am, dear Sir, SAM. POZZ."

It would have been unpardonable to have omitted a letter like this, in which we see so much of his great and illumi-

nated mind. On my return to town, we met again at the chop-house. We had much conversation to-day: his wit flashed like lightning: indeed, there is not one hour of my present life in which I do not profit by some of his valuable communications.

We talked of *wind*. I said I knew many persons much distressed with that complaint. Pozz. "Yes, Sir, when confined, when pent up." I said I did not know that, but I questioned if the Romans ever knew it. Pozz. "Yes, Sir, the Romans knew it." Bozz. "Livy does not mention it." Pozz. "No, Sir, Livy wrote History. Livy was not writing the Life of a Friend."

On medical subjects his knowledge was immense. He told me of a friend of ours who had just been attacked by a most dreadful complaint: he had entirely lost the use of his limbs, so that he could neither stand nor walk, unless supported; his speech was quite gone; his eyes were much swollen, and every vein distended, yet his face was rather pale, and his extremities cold; his pulse beat 160 in a minute. I said, with tenderness, that I would go and see him; and, said I, "Sir, I will take Dr. Bolus with me." Pozz. "No, Sir, don't go." I was startled, for I knew his compassionate heart, and earnestly asked why? Pozz. "Sir, you don't know his disorder." Bozz. "Pray what is it?" Pozz. "Sir, the man is—*dead drunk*!" This explanation threw me into a violent fit of laughter, in which he joined me, rolling about as he used to do when he enjoyed a joke; but he afterwards checked me. Pozz. "Sir, you ought not to laugh at what I said. Sir, he who laughs at what another man says, will soon learn to laugh at that other man. Sir, you should laugh only at your own jokes; you should laugh seldom."

We talked of a friend of ours who was a very violent politician. I said I did not like his company. Pozz. "No, Sir, he is not healthy; he is sore, Sir; his mind is ulcerated; he has a political whitlow; Sir, you cannot touch him without giving him pain. Sir, I would not talk politics with that man; I would talk of cabbage and peas; Sir, I would ask him how he got his corn in, and whether his wife was with child; but I would not talk politics." Bozz. "But perhaps, Sir, he would talk of nothing else." Pozz. "Then, Sir, it is plain what he would do." On my very earnestly inquiring what that was, Dr. Pozz answered, "Sir, he would let it alone."

I mentioned a tradesman who had lately set up his coach. Pozz. "He is right, Sir; a man who would go on swimmingly cannot get too soon off his legs. That man keeps his coach. Now, Sir, a coach is better than a chaise, Sir—it is better than a chariot." Bozz. "Why, Sir?" Pozz. "Sir, it will hold more." I begged he would repeat this, that I might remember it, and he complied with great good humour. "Dr. Pozz," said I, "you ought to keep a coach." Pozz. "Yes, Sir, I ought." Bozz. "But you do not, and that has often surprised me." Pozz. "Surprised you! There, Sir, is another prejudice of absurdity. Sir, you ought to be surprised at nothing. A man that has lived half your days ought to be above all surprise. Sir, it is a rule with me never to be surprised. It is mere ignorance; you cannot guess

why I do not keep a coach, and you are surprised. Now, Sir, if you did know you would not be surprised," I said, tenderly. "I hope, my dear Sir, you will let me know before I leave town." Pozz. "Yes, Sir, you shall know now. You shall not go to Mr. Wilkins, and to Mr. Jenkins, and to Mr. Stubbs, and say, why does not Pozz keep a coach? I will tell you myself—Sir, I can't afford it."

We talked of drinking. I asked him whether, in the course of his long and valuable life, he had not known some men who drank more than they could bear? Pozz. "Yes, Sir; and then, Sir, nobody could bear them. A man who is drunk, Sir, is a very foolish fellow." Bozz. "But, Sir, as the poet says, 'he is devoid of all care.'" Pozz. "Yes, Sir, he cares for nobody; he has none of the cares of life: he cannot be a merchant, Sir, for he cannot write his name; he cannot be a politician, Sir, for he cannot talk; he cannot be an artist, Sir, for he cannot see; and yet, Sir, there is science in drinking." Bozz. "I suppose you mean that a man ought to know what he drinks." Pozz. "No, Sir, to know what one drinks is nothing; but the science consists of three parts. Now, Sir, were I to drink wine, I should wish to know them all; I should wish to know when I had too little, when I had enough, and when I had too much. There is our friend ***** (mentioning a gentleman of our acquaintance); he knows when he has too little, and when he has too much, but he knows not when he has enough. Now, Sir, that is the science of drinking, to know when one has enough."

We talked this day on a variety of topics, but I find very few memorandums in my journal. On small beer, he said it was flatulent liquor. He disapproved of those who deny the utility of absolute power, and seemed to be offended with a friend of ours who would always have his eggs poached. Sign-posts, he observed, had degenerated within his memory; and he particularly found fault with the moral of the "Beggars' Opera." I endeavoured to defend a work which had afforded me so much pleasure, but could not master that strength of mind with which he argued; and it was with great satisfaction that he communicated to me afterwards a method of curing corns by applying a piece of oiled silk. In the early history of the world he preferred Sir Isaac Newton's Chronology; but as they gave employment to useful artisans, he did not dislike the large buckles then coming into use.

Next day we dined at the Mitre. I mentioned spirits. Pozz. "Sir, there is as much evidence for the existence of spirits as against it." You may not believe it, but you

cannot deny it. I told him that my great grandmother once saw a spirit. He asked me to relate it, which I did very minutely, while he listened with profound attention. When I mentioned that the spirit once appeared in the shape of a shoulder of mutton, and another time in that of a tea-pot, he interrupted me:—Pozz. "There, Sir, is the point; the evidence is good, but the scheme is defective in consistency. We cannot deny that the spirit appeared in these shapes; but then we cannot reconcile them. What has a tea-pot to do with a shoulder of mutton? Neither is it a terrific object. There is nothing contemporaneous. Sir, these are objects which are not seen at the same time nor in the same place." Bozz. "I think, Sir, that old women in general are used to see ghosts." Pozz. "Yes, Sir, and their conversation is full of the subject: I would have an old woman to record such conversations; their loquacity tends to minuteness."

We talked of a person who had a very bad character. Pozz. "Sir, he is a scoundrel." Bozz. "I hate a scoundrel." Pozz. "There you are wrong; don't hate scoundrels. Scoundrels, Sir, are useful. There are many things we cannot do without scoundrels. I would not choose to keep company with scoundrels, but something may be got from them." Bozz. "Are not scoundrels generally fools?" Pozz. "No, Sir, they are not. A scoundrel must be a clever fellow; he must know many things of which a fool is ignorant. Any man may be a fool. I think a good book might be made out of scoundrels. I would have a *Biographia Flagitiosa*, the *Lives of Eminent Scoundrels*, from the earliest accounts to the present day." I mentioned hanging: I thought it a very awkward situation. Pozz. "No, Sir, hanging is not an awkward situation; it is proper, Sir, that a man whose actions tend towards flagitious obliquity should appear perpendicular at last." I told him that I had lately been in company with some gentlemen, every one of whom could recollect some friend or other who had been hanged. Pozz. "Yes, Sir, that is the easiest way. We know those who have been hanged; we can recollect that: but we cannot number those who deserve it; it would not be decorous, Sir, in a mixed company. No, Sir, that is one of the few things which we are compelled to think."

Our regard for literary property¹ prevents our making a larger extract from the above important work. We have, however, we hope, given such passages as will tend to impress our readers with a high idea of this vast undertaking.—Note by Mr. Chalmers.

NO. VIII.

ON MR. LATROBE'S INTERCOURSE WITH DR. JOHNSON, IN REFERENCE TO NOTE 3 OF MR. CROKER, ON PAGE 805.

"If memories are sometimes treacherous, diaries are often defective, and commentaries anything but infallible. The late Rev. C. J. La Probe, writing nearly half a century after Dr. Johnson's death, forgets that his father's return from Yorkshire took place nearly four days previous to that event, and speaks, therefore, of only one visit paid by him to his dying friend. Mr. Hoole, who appears not to have been with the Doctor at the time of his decease, omits to mention in his diary, that Mr. LaProbe not only called at the Doctor's residence, but that he actually saw him, a very few hours before he expired, on the evening of the 13th of December. The fact of such a visit having been paid, is proved by a letter of my grandfather's to an official correspondent in Germany, dated the 14th of December, which I have myself seen, and in

which the circumstance is briefly but distinctly recorded. Nor can there be any doubt, that this visit was intermediate between that of Miss Morris,—to whom Dr. Johnson is said to have addressed the last audible words,—and the hour of 7 P.M., when he is stated to have ceased to breathe. (See p. 807.) As my grandfather's residence in Fetter Lane was hardly five minutes' walk from the Doctor's in Bolt Court, it is more than probable, that the call of the former on the 10th of December, mentioned by Mr. Hoole, and that on the 13th, referred to by himself, were not the only ones, during an interval of four days. At all events, it is sufficiently plain, that Mr. Croker's conclusion, founded on my father's mistake, and Mr. Hoole's omission, is hasty and incorrect."—Rev. P. LATROBE. 1859.

¹ This alludes to the jealousy about copyright, which Mr. Boswell carried so far that he actually printed separately, and entered at Stationers' Hall, Johnson's Letter to Lord

Chesterfield and the account of Johnson's Conversation with George III. at Buckingham House, to prevent his rivals making use of them.—CROKER.

INDEX.

- Aberbrothick, 286.
 Abercrombie, Mr., of Philadelphia, 247. 259.
 Aberdeen, 260. Johnson's account of, 541.
 —, hutter, duel fought for the honour of, 334.
 —, William, Earl of, 305.
 —, George, Earl of, note on Thucydides and Homer, 608.
 Aberdonians, 294.
 Abernethy, Rev. John, 285. Doctor, 754.
 Abingdon, Earl of, bon-mot of, 651.
 —, Mrs., the actress, 437. 438. 440. 447.
 Abjuration, oath of, 437.
 Abridgments of works, 286.
 Absenteeism, 553. 579.
 Absolute princes, 454.
 Abstain and refrain, distinction between, 159.
 Abstemiousness, Johnson's, 28. 159. 174. 187. 239. 270. 336.
 354. 362. 448. 480. 502. 597. 678.
 Absurdities; use of delineating, 659.
 Abuse, 763. personal, 194. 304.
 —, Johnson's disregard of, 624. 663.
 Abyssinia, Lobo's voyage to, 21. 285. 496.
 Aeademy, Della Crusca send Johnson their vocabulary, 98.
 Accent, Scotch, overcome by perseverance, 232.
 Accounts, keeping, 716.
 Achilles, shield of, 664.
 Acis and Galatea, 577.
 Acquaintances, 98. 716. 791.
 —, Johnson's numerous, 501. 733. list of, 79. 81.
 Acting, 742. tragic, 275.
 Action, in public speaking, 249.
 Active sports in young people, not idleness, 9.
 Activity of body, Johnson's, 451. of mind, 610.
 Actor, qualities of a great, 522.
 Actors, 51. 62. 205. 257. 274. 467. 556. 742.
 —, Johnson's prejudice against, 51. 62. 656. 657. 742.
 Adair's account of America, 457.
 Adams, Rev. Dr. William, Master of Pembroke College,
 Oxford, 12. 13. 17. 38. 54. 57. 60. 86. 87. 93. 165. 388.
 424. 482. 736. 763. 792.
 —, his account of the first representation of "Irene," 60.
 —, his answer to Hume's Essay on Miracles, 482.
 —, Johnson's Letter to, 782.
 —, Miss, afterwards Mrs. Hyett, 761.
 —, George, dedication of Treatise on the Globes, 187.
 Addison, Joseph, 8. 55. 63. 71. 72. 145. 153. 170. 255. 263. 277.
 290. 372. 446. 484. 504. 509. 546. 573. 591. 662. 679. 800.
 —, his "Notanda," 63. "Remarks on Italy," 372. 446.
 —, style, 71. conduct towards Steele, 671. 684. Johnson's
 opinion of, 71. 145. 611. Johnson's Life of, 671.
 Address of the Painters to George the Third, 119.
 Adey, Mrs., 193. 197. 623. 631. Miss, 6. 197. 490. 639.
 Admiration, 450.
 "Adventurer," Hawkesworth's, 64. 75. 77. 81. 82. 107.
 —, the papers marked T, written by Johnson, 64. 81.
 "Adventures of a Guinea," by whom written, 359.
 "Adversaria," specimen of Johnson's, 64.
 Adversaries, not to be treated with respect, 272.
 Advertisements, Johnson's, in the Gent. Mag. 25. 48. in the
 Universal Chronicle, 116. in the Edinburgh papers, 407.
 Adultery, 192.
 Ægri Ephemeris, Johnson's, 794.
 Æneid, story of the, 731.
 Æschylus, Potter's translation of, 582.
 Affection, 402. 662. in writing, 346.
 —, of familiarity with the great, 674.
 Affection, natural, 269. 630. 728.
 —, Johnson's, for Miss Boothby, 20. 672.
 Agar, Welbore Ellis, Esq., 533.
 Age, old, 559. 581. 610. 613. 661. 718. 755. 832.
 "Agis," Home's Tragedy of, 332.
 "Aglaura," Suckling's play of, 603.
 Agutter, Rev. W., 759. sermon on Johnson's death, 808.
 Aikin, Miss (Barbauld) 469. 552. imitates Johnson, 552.
 Air-bath, Lord Monboddo's, 550.
 Akenside, Dr. Mark, 121. 234. 495. 504.
 Akerman, Mr., keeper of Newgate, anecdotes of, 643.
 Alheri Leandro, description of Italy, 372. 446.
 Alehmy, 456.
 Alcibiades, 585. his dog, 573.
 Aldrich, Rev. Mr., 138.
 Alfred, Johnson's wish to write his Life, 54, his will, 698.
 "Alias," Johnson's exemplification of the word, 730.
 Allen, Rev. Thomas, 366.
 Allen, Edmund, the printer, 108. 113. 160. 366. 541. 586.
 601. 681. 783. 789. Johnson's letters to, 699. 734.
 —, Ralph, Esq., 289.
 "All for Love," Dryden's preface to, 691.
 Almack's, 501. 643.
 Alnwick Castle, 587.
 Althorpe, Lord and Lady. See Spencer.
 "Amelia," Fielding's, 508.
 Ambition, 507.
 America and the Americans, 428. 429. 435. 562. 563. 598. 602.
 651. 680. 681. 719. 758.
 Amusements, 837. Country, 370. A man known by his, 768.
 Amyot, Dr., 127.
 Amyot, Mr. Thomas, 839.
 "Ann," the French, 372. 605.
 Anacreon, Baxter's, 396. 712.
 —, dove of, translated by Johnson and Fawkes, 544.
 Anaitis, temple of, 337. 338.
 Analogy between body and mind, 12.
 "Anatomy of Melancholy," Burton's, 12. 217. 482.
 Ancestry, 229.
 "Ancient Ballads," Dr. Percy's, 137.
 Ancient times, not better than modern, 730.
 Anderson MSS., 57. 732. 799.
 Anderson, Professor, at Glasgow, 393. 531.
 —, Dr. Robert, his Life of Johnson, 8. 27. 35. 61. 72. 135.
 188. 231. 277. 357. 425.
 —, Mr., his "Sketches of the Native Irish," 231.
 Andrews, Dr. Francis, Provost of Dublin College, 168.
 Androcles, 243.
 Anecdotes, Johnson's love of, 275.
 —, Piozzi's general accuracy of, 780.
 —, at second hand, little to be relied on, 805.
 "Anfractuosities" of the human mind, 655.
 Angel, Mr. John, his "Stenography," 254.
 —, fallen, 737.
 Angus More, 3-3.
 Anne, Queen, 34. 154. 187. 411. 489.
 —, wits of her reign, 203. 610.
 Annihilation, 545. 595.
 —, "Animus aquus," not inheritable, 397.
 Anonymous writings, 625.
 "Annus mirabilis," Tasker's, 714.
 Anson, Lord, 624. Johnson's epigram on, 624.
 "Anthologia," 794.
 Antics, 165.
 Antiquarian researches, 609.
 Apelles, the Venus of, 688.
 Apocrypha, 555.
 —, Apology, "Cibber's, 136. 206. 516.
 "Apology for the Quakers," Barclay's, 487.
 Apology, Johnson ready to make one, 770. 833.
 Apollonius Rhodius, 95.
 Apophthegms, or anecdotes of Johnson, Hawkins's, 771.
 Apostolic ordination, 219.
 "Apotheosis of Milton," not written by Johnson, 40.
 Apparitions, 116. 138. 175. 228. 234. 239. 241. 684. 685.
 Appetite, riders out in quest of, 229.
 Appius, Cicero's character of, applied to Johnson, 791.
 Applause, 664.
 April fool's day, 530.
 Arabs, fidelity of, 304.
 Arbuthnot, Dr., 69. 145. 277. 455. The son of, 13.
 —, Robert, 272. William, 272.
 "Arcadia," Sydney's, 538.
 Archaeological Dictionary, 711.
 Arches, strength of semicircular and elliptical, 119.
 Architecture, ornamental, 481.
 Areskin, Sir John, 366.
 Ardmurchan, 383.
 Arguing, Johnson's, 150. 208. 496. 502. 690. 757. 768.
 Argument, Johnson's, on schoolmasters, 241. 814.
 —, on vicious intromission, 244. 814.
 —, in defence of lay patronage, 259. 815.
 —, against Dr. Meims's complaint, 454.
 —, in favour of the corporation of Stirling, 455.
 —, on entails, 473.
 —, on the liberty of the pulpit, 513. 816.
 —, on the registration of deeds, 678.
 —, in favour of a negro claiming his liberty, 562.
 —, against a prosecution for a libel, 696. 817.
 —, and testimony distinguished, 757.
 Argyle, Archibald, fourth Duke of, 385. 457. 516. 527.

- Argyle, John, fifth duke of, 313. 387—390. Johnson's visit to, 388. letter to, and his answer, 391.
- , Elizabeth Gunning, duchess of, 387.
- , Jane Warburton, dowager duchess of, 79. 385.
- Ariosto, 129. 427. 657.
- Aristotle, saying of, 506. 658. his "Poetics," 506.
- Arithmetic, Johnson's resort to, to calm his mind, 394
- Armidale, 312. 359.
- Armorial bearings, 239.
- Arms, piling of, why insisted upon, 617.
- Armstrong, Dr. John, 118. 533.
- Army, officers of the, 463. 497.
- Arnould, Anthony, 614.
- Arnold, Dr. Thomas, his "Observations on Insanity," 553.
- Arran, Lord, 92.
- "Art of Living in London," 28.
- "Art's corrective," 368.
- Articles, subscription to the xxxix., 210. 229. 284.
- Artificial ruins, 424.
- Ascham, Roger, Johnson's Life of, 158.
- "Ascanius," 324. 325. 331. 353. 401.
- Ash, Dr. John, 798.
- Ashbourne, 245. 458. 554. 564.
- Ashburton, Lord, See Dunning.
- Askew, Dr. 425.
- Askew, maiden one, 583.
- Association of Ideas, 594.
- Astle, Thomas, Esq., 46. Letter to, 698. His notes on Alfred's will, 698.
- , Rev. Mr. Johnson's advice to, 767.
- Aston, Sir Thomas, 20. 188.
- , Mrs. Elizabeth, 20. 188. 214. 490. 492. 538.
- , Johnson's letters to, 188. 198. 528. 529. 539. 565. 622. 623. 631. 640. 706. 749.
- , Miss Mary, afterwards Mrs. Brodie, 20. 490. 492. 611. 612. 672. 673. Johnson's epigram to, 40. 611.
- , Margaret, 28.
- Astley, Philip, the equestrian, 638.
- Atheism, 278.
- "Athol porridge," 680.
- "Atlas," the race-horse, 415.
- Atonement, the great article of Christianity, 292. 557. 565. 694. 806. 841.
- Attacks, useful to authors, 358. 403. 442. 624. 837.
- Atterbury, Bishop, Sermons and style, 572. 578.
- Attorney-general, ludicrous title given to, 517.
- Attorneys, 219. 384. 768.
- Auchincloss estate, 396. 472. 554.
- , Lord, Boswell's father, 208. 301. 387. 395. 397. 518. 554. 556. 573. Designates Johnson *Ursa Major*, 398.
- Auchinshield, 309.
- Augustus, 220. 257.
- Author, rarely hurt by his critics, 645. See Attacks.
- , "The Young," a poem by Johnson, 11.
- Authors, 82. 194. 257. 282. 358. 412. 445. 500. 555. 572. 604. 608. 609. 624. 625. 693. 769. See Attacks.
- , modern, the moons of literature, 608.
- , possessing the work of one for that of another, condemned, 82.
- , Virgil's description of the entrance into hell, applied to, 372.
- Avarice, 374. 507. 516. 605.
- Bách y Graig, 418.
- Bacon, Francis, Lord Verulam, 69. 343. History of Henry VII., 538. His Precept for Conversation, 738.
- , Mallet's "Life" of, 559.
- Badcock, Rev. Samuel, 804.
- Badenoch, Lord of, 360.
- Bad habits, 718.
- , Management, 603.
- Bagpipes, 374.
- Bagshaw, Rev. Thomas, Johnson's letters to, 264. 782.
- Baillie, Dr., recommendation of card-playing, 405.
- Baker, Sir Richard, his *Chronicles* quoted, 267.
- , Sir George, 784.
- , Mrs., 183.
- Balance of Misery, 764. 819.
- Balcarras, Earl of, 404. 520.
- Ball without powder, 656.
- Ballantine, Mr. George, 122.
- Balloons, 784.
- Ballow, Mr. Thomas, 501.
- Balmuto, Lord, 518.
- Baltic, Johnson's proposed voyage to, 539.
- Bankes, Mr., of Dorsetshire, 42. 166.
- Banks, Sir Joseph, 226. 227. 228. 287. 379. 381. 496. 620. 621. Johnson's motto for his goat, 226.
- Baptism, 487. 760.
- Barbauld, Mr. 470. Mrs. See Aikin.
- Barber, Francis, Johnson's negro servant, 75. 76. 77. 78. 102. 117. 118. 183. 194. 215. 227. 415. 620. 790. 801. 802.
- , Johnson's letters to, 194. 215. 739.
- Barclay, his "Ship of Fools," 91.
- , Mr., his defence of Johnson's *Shakspeare*, 171. 358.
- , Robert, of Ury, his "Apology for the Quakers," 487.
- Barclay, Robert, one of Mr. Thrale's successors, 692. Anecdotes of Johnson, 837.
- Baretti, Signor Giuseppe, 55. 91. 99. 112. 122. 125. 128. 129. 174. 192. 195. 206. 214. 247. 302. 427. 457. 464. 484. 500. 510. 512. 525. 552. 664. 780.
- , Johnson's letters to, 122. 135. 128. His trial for murder, 207. 771. His "Travels," 214. The first who received copy money in Italy, 548. His strictures on Mrs. Piozzi's, 510. his "Frustra Literaria," 552.
- Bark, Peruvian, 702.
- Barker, Dr. Edmund, 58. 107. 399.
- Barnard, Rev. Dr., Bishop of Killaloe, 27. 433. 520. 521. 576. 691. 722. Altercation with Johnson and, 691. Pleasant verses thereon, 76. 722. 833.
- , Dr., provost of Eton, 644. 646.
- , Francis, Esq., afterwards Sir Francis, King's librarian, 76. 184.
- , Johnson's letter to, on the formation of the King's library, 196.
- Barnes, Joshua, 396. 591. 660.
- Barnston, Miss L., 639.
- Barnwall, Nicholas, Lord Trimblestown, 572.
- Baron Hill, the seat of Lord Bkaleley, 421.
- Baretier, Johnson's Life of, 43. 46. 128.
- Barret, Mr., the surgeon, 510.
- Barrett, Dr., of Dublin, 259.
- Barrington, Hon. Daines, 690. 746. His "Essay on the Emigration of Birds," 260. His "Observations on the Statutes," 602.
- Barri, Madame du, 41.
- Barriers, 232.
- Barrow, Isaac, 69. Sermon against foolish talking, 688.
- Barrowby, Dr., anecdote of, 761.
- Barry, Sir Edward, his notion of pulsation, 505.
- , Spranger, the actor, 60. 61.
- , James, the painter, 724. 732. 735. 746.
- Barter, Mr., 234.
- "Bas Bleu," Hannah More's poem of, 689.
- Bashfulness, 767.
- "Bastard," the, Savage's poem of, 50.
- Bat, formation of the, 612.
- Bateman, Edmund, of Pemb. Coll. His lectures, 18.
- Bate, the Rev. Henry, 763.
- Bath, Johnson's visit to, 508.
- Bath, William Pulteney, Earl of, 35. 382.
- Baths, medicated, 268. Cold, 835.
- Batheaston vase, Horace Walpole's account of, 442.
- Bathurst, Allen, First Earl, 614. 635. 636. 670.
- , Captain, 1.
- , Dr. Richard, 56. 58. 75. 77. 79. 81, 82, 83. 129. 165. 243. 251. 663. 664. a "good father," 78.
- "Batrachomyomachia," first edition of, 425.
- "Baudii Epistolæ," quoted, 420.
- Baxter, Richard, quoted, 262. 292. 219. 733.
- , "Reasons of the Christian Religion," commended, 738.
- , William, his "Anacreon," 396. 712. 740. 750.
- "Bayes," character of, 235. 236.
- Bayle, 93. His Dictionary, 145. 363. 416.
- "Bear," the epithet applied to Johnson, 195. 446. 831.
- Bears, 446.
- Beatniffe, Richard, Esq., Johnson's letter to, 701.
- Beaton, Cardinal, his murder, 283.
- Beattie, Dr. James, 65. 224. 225. 226. 228. 244. 245. 264. 266. 268. 272. 293. 296. 358. 390. 519. 555. 687. 773.
- , his letter to Boswell, 228. Johnson's letter to, 651.
- , his "Essay on Truth," 245. his "Hermite," 720.
- Beaucherk, Topham, Esq., 25. 80. 121. 125. 126. 128. 147. 163. 166. 167. 183. 255. 260. 288. 298. 370. 379. 428. 430. 434. 436. 449. 450. 451. 456. 500. 529. 590. 615. 616. 630. 642. 646. 657. 662. 679. 688. 718. Altercation with Johnson, 628. His death, 642. His character, 642. 643. 646. His letter to Lord Charlemont, 643.
- , Lady Diana, 260. 428. 643. 686.
- , Lord Sydney, 804. Lady Sydney, 366.
- Beaufort, Duchess of, 646.
- Beaumaris Castle, 421.
- Beaumont, Sir George, 601.
- Beaumont and Fletcher, 18. 442.
- "Beauties of Johnson," 67. 706. 707.
- Beauty, 234. 696.
- Beckenham, 767.
- Becket, Thomas, the bookseller, 429.
- Beckford, Alderman, 517. 562.
- Bedford, John, fourth Duke of, 769.
- Bedlam, 455. 726.
- Bee, the, by Goldsmith, 140.
- Beech, Thomas, his "Eugenio," 259.
- Beggars, 127. 216. 635. 664.
- "Beggars Opera," 364. 453. 561. 604. 685.
- Behaviour, Johnson a nice observer of, 511.
- Behnen, Jacob, 218.
- Belchier, Mr., the surgeon, 513.
- Beighton, Mr., 167.
- Bell, Dr. 644.
- , John, of Antermomy, "Travels in Russia," 192.
- , John, Esq., of Hertfordshire, 225. 246.
- , Mr. John, bis "British Poets," 530.

- Bellamy, Mrs. Anne, the actress, 113. Letter to J., 742.
 "Bellerophon" of Euripides quoted, 91.
 Bellière, H. du Plessis, 279.
 Belsham, Mr., his "Essay on Dramatic Poetry" quoted, 132.
 Benedictine monks, 727.
 Benevolence, Johnson's, 535, 536, 834. Human, 509.
 —, an excuse for drinking, 606.
 Bennet, Mr., the publisher, 158.
 Bessley, Mr., the actor, 189.
 Benson, Auditor, his monument to Milton, 72.
 Bentham, Dr., canon of Christchurch, 483.
 Bentley, Dr. Richard, 194. 321. 345. 359. 374. 483. 731. His
 —, verses, 661.
 —, Richard, Junior, 760.
 Berenger, Richard, Esq., 584. 634.
 Beresford, Rev. Mr., 591. Mrs. and Miss, 758.
 Berkeley, Dr. George, Bishop of Cloyne, 160. 221. His Theory,
 549. 662.
 Berwick, Duke of, his "Memoirs," 592.
 Bethune, Rev. Mr., 334. 341.
 Betterton, Mr., the actor, 556.
 Bettesworth, Rev. Edmund, 158.
 Beverage, Johnson's favourite, 508.
 Bevil, Rev. Mr., his defence of Hammond, 675.
 Bewley, Mr., his veneration for Johnson, 698.
 Bexley, Lord, concerning Dr. Vansittart, 117.
 Bible, early translations of, 197. Johnson's plan of reading
 the, 17. should be read with a commentary, 513.
 —, Johnson's death-bed recommendation to read, 842.
 "Bibliotheca Harleiana," Johnson's account of, 46.
 "Bibliotheca Literaria," 420.
 —, "Bibliothèque," Johnson's scheme for opening a, 93.
 Biekerstaff, Mr. Isaac, 142. 203.
 Bicknell, Mr., 106.
 Bidder, William, the calculating boy, 480.
 Bigamy, 337.
 —, "His man," a jocular Irish phrase, applied to J. 176. 409.
 Bindley, James, Esq., 48. 52. 605. 718. 730.
 Binning, Charles, Lord, 241. 608.
 Biographer, duties of a, 546. Of Johnson's, 235.
 "Biographia Britannica," 552. 671.
 Biography, 235. 289. 346. 483. 516. 546. 588. 671.
 —, literary, recommended to J. by George Hill, 186.
 Birch, Rev. Dr. Thomas, 39. 45. 48. 57. 121. 351. J's. Greek
 epigram to, 40. Letters from Johnson to, 48. 72. 94. 101.
 His letter to Johnson, 94. Letter to Lord Royston, 121.
 Birds, migration of, 260. 261.
 Birkenhead, Sir John, 282.
 Birmingham, 486. 565.
 Biron, Marshal Duc de, 465.
 Birth-day, J. dislikes being noticed, 339. 547. 634. 739.
 —, verses to Mrs. Thrale, 471.
 Births, extraordinary, 812.
 Bisset's life of Burke, 453.
 "Bishop," a beverage so called, 81.
 Bishops, requisites in, 289. 448. Great decorum required
 from, 678. 683. 702. In the House of Lords, 236.
 —, the Seven, 759.
 Blackburn, Mr. Francis, 229.
 "Black Dog," 640.
 Blacket, Sir Thomas W., 312.
 Blackfriars Bridge, 119.
 Blackguards and red guards, 234. 262.
 Black-letter books, 217.
 Blacklock, Dr. Thomas, the blind poet, 111. 159. 277. 278.
 402. Letter on a passage in Johnson's "Journey," 824.
 Black men, cause of their being so, 136.
 Blackmore, Sir Rich. 135. 211. 398. J's. Life of, 622. 672.
 Blackstone, Commentaries, 332. 376. 384. 610. 684.
 Blackwall, Mr. Anthony, 18. 20.
 Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, 47. 367.
 Blagden, Dr., afterwards Sir Charles, 465. 663.
 Blainville, M., his "Travels," 446.
 Blair, Lord, President, 309.
 —, Rev. Dr. Hugh, 55. 122. 134. 276. 285. 289. 390. 402.
 403. 412. 413. 429. 509. 510. 525. 530.
 —, his sermons, 525. 528. 550. 566. 611. 686. Lectures, 552.
 Imitation of J's. style, 552. Letter concerning a conversa-
 tion with J. 403. Letter on Pope's "Essay on Man," 635.
 —, Rev. Robert, and his poem of "The Grave," 569.
 Blake, Admiral, Johnson's Life of, 43.
 Blackway, 43. 128. 169. 467.
 Blanchetti, Marquis and Marchioness of, 461.
 Bland, Mr., 247.
 Blaney, Elizabeth, 5. 790.
 Blank verse, J. dislikes, 146. 218. 660. Inferior to rhyme, 668.
 Blasphemy, literary property in, 279.
 Bleeding, Johnson's objection to periodical, 545.
 Blenheim, 370. 425. 435.
 Blessing, Johnson's, to Barclay, 837. to Miss Morris, 846.
 to Windham, 841.
 Blind, whether they distinguish colours by the touch, 242.
 "Blockhead," Johnson's application of the word, 237. 485.
 Blount's Glossographia, 385.
 Bloxam, Rev. Matthew, 598.
 Blue-stocking Clubs, origin of, 689.
 Blundering criticism. See Macaulay, T. B.
- Boar's Head Club, 348.
 Boasting, Boswell's habit of, 721.
 Bogue, Madame du, 460. 465. 467. Her "Columbiade," 773.
 Boece, Hector, the historian, 750.
 Boerhaave, 455. Johnson's Life of, 40.
 Boetius, "De Consolatione Philosophiae," 40. 219.
 Boileau, 2. 33. 120. 222. 614.
 Bolingbroke, Henry St. John, first Viscount, 88. 110. 158.
 613. 614. 615. 670. Johnson's character of, 88. 110.
 —, his share in Pope's "Essay on Man," 635. 636.
 —, Lady, her description of Pope, 605.
 —, Frederick, second Viscount, 260.
 Bolt-court, 30. 588.
 Bonaventura, the "seraphic doctor," 172.
 Bones, uses applied to, 725.
 —, Johnson's horror at the sight of, 319. 378.
 Bon-mots, 605.
 Bonner, Bishop, 18.
 Book collecting, 756.
 Booker's "Hop Garden," 486.
 Books, 255. 452. 731. 756. 767. ; how to read, 756. ; practice of
 talking from, 396.
 Booksellers, J's. character and vindication of, 94. 100.
 Book-traders, 476.
 Boothby, Miss Hill, 20. 82. 251. 440. J's. admiration of, 672,
 673. Correspondence between her and J., 440. 672. 673.
 Boquet, Mr., 78.
 Borough-English, 376.
 Boroughs and corporations, 455.
 Boscawen, Admiral, 608. Hon. Mrs., 608. 646. 685. 686.
 Boscovitch, Père, 218. 468.
 Bossuet, bishop of Méaux, 372.
 Boswell, Godfrey, Esq., 618. 652. Mrs., 236.
 Boswell, James, Esq., the author of this work.
 —, afflicted with hypochondria, 15. 280. 475. 793.
 —, writes the "Hypochondriac," 15. 717.
 —, his nationality, 16. made notes at dinner, 837.
 —, Mr. Courtenay's verses on, 70. 409.
 —, contributed to the taste for biographical details, 84.
 —, introduction to Johnson, 133. 134.
 —, story told by Johnson of his early years, 148.
 —, "Account of Corsica," 189. 199.
 —, elected a member of the Literary Club, 257. 259.
 —, Journal of his Tour to the Hebrides, 267.
 —, dress at the jubilee, 158.
 —, propensity to see executions, 206. 648. 720. 772.
 —, his ancestry, 271. 396. 472.
 —, his character drawn by himself, 279.
 —, Johnson's character of him, 280. 459. 619.
 —, his account of the escape of the Pretender, 326.
 —, announces the "Life of J." during his lifetime 373.
 —, Lord Stowell's character of him, 280.
 —, Johnson's character of his "Tour to the Hebrides," 458.
 —, attempt to imitate the style of Warburton, 600.
 —, a quarrel with Johnson, 610.
 —, Letter to the People of Scotland," 747. 748.
 —, expectations from Mr. Pitt, 750.
 —, controversy with Miss Seward, 773.
 —, Johnson's letters to him, 162. 172. 179. 193. 199. 212. 224.
 226. 245. 246. 266. 268. 270. 409. 411. 412. 413. 414. 426. 427.
 428. 429. 433. 434. 457. 458. 459. 468. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474.
 475. 508. 522. 524. 528. 530. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 565.
 567. 589. 619. 621. 624. 630. 633. 640. 641. 642. 651. 654. 677.
 700. 705. 707. 708. 709. 736. 744. 748. 749. 750. 782. 793.
 —, his letters to Johnson, 179. 193. 223. 224. 226. 245. 410.
 413. 414. 427. 428. 429. 433. 468. 469. 475. 522. 523. 526. 528.
 529. 533. 534. 536. 537. 538. 564. 566. 567. 569. 570. 589. 618.
 622. 630. 633. 639. 640. 650. 652.
 —, letter to Garrick, 385.
 —, Garrick's letter to, 385.
 —, letter to Rasay, 407.
 —, letter to Sir Joshua Reynolds, 747.
 —, letter to Lord Thurlow on Johnson's pension, 77.
 —, Lord Thurlow's answer, 775.
 —, letter to Wilkes, 732.
 —, letters to Malone about this work, 828.
 —, Mrs., the author's wife, 75. 224. 409. 410. 475. 521. 537.
 548. 624. 654. 733.
 —, her letter to Johnson, 710.
 —, Johnson's letters to, 521. 537. 640. 709.
 —, Mrs., the author's mother, 395.
 —, Thomas, the founder of the author's family, 396. 472.
 —, T. David, the author's brother, 214. 555. 650. 652.
 —, Sir A., the author's eldest son, 212. 240. 270. 468. 555.
 —, David, the author's second son, 525. 529.
 —, James, the author's third son, 17. 20. 52. 57. 66. 79. 189.
 203. 211. 220. 221. 229. 240. 429. 452. 460. 483. 506. 629. 634.
 —, Elizabeth, the author's step-mother, 518.
 —, Veronica, the author's daughter, 271. 537.
 —, Dr. the author's uncle, 278. 402. 496. 533.
 "Bottom," 687.
 Bouchier, Governor, 683.
 Boucher, Père, his "First Truths," 160.
 Bouchers, Madame de, 216. 467. 468.
 Bouchers, Dominique, 205.
 Boulton, Dr. Hugh, his "Monument," a poem, 107. 830.
 Boulton, Matthew, Esq., 425. 488.

- Bouquet, Mr., 78.
 Bourbon, Duc de, 462.
 Bourdaloue, Père, 299, 372.
 Bourdonne, Madame de, 259.
 Bourke, Archbishop, afterwards Earl of Mayo, 737.
 Bouts-rimés, 442.
 Bower, Mr., 794.
 Bowles, William, Esq., 737.
 Bow-wow way, Johnson's, 269, 439.
 Bowyer, William, the printer, 789.
 Boxing, Johnson's skill in, 342.
 Boyd, Hon. Charles, 253, 297.
 Boyd's inn, 270.
 Boydell, Mr. Alderman, 428.
 Boyle, the family of, 345
 —, Hon. Robert, 105.
 Boys at school, 153.
 Boyse, Samuel, the poet, 721, 804.
 "Bozzy," Boswell so called by Johnson, 371, 635, 638, 677.
 Bradshaigh, Lady, 63.
 Bradshaw, John, the regicide, 738.
 —, William, 723.
 "Braganza," Jephson's tragedy of, 205.
 Braidwood, Mr., his academy for the deaf and dumb, 403.
 Bramhall, Archbishop, on Liberty and Necessity, 210.
 Bramins, 658, 683.
 Bramston, 17.
 Brandy, 627, 680.
 Bravery, 606, 798.
 "Brave we!" an exclamation of Johnson's, 390.
 Breakfast well appointed, 456.
 — in splendour, 634.
 Brent, Miss, 143.
 Brentford, 393, 719.
 Brett, Colonel, 53.
 —, Mrs. and Miss, 53.
 Brewse, Major, 303.
 Bribery at elections, 443.
 Bridgen, Martha, Richardson's daughter, 125.
 Brightelmstone, 145, 524.
 Bristol, inns at, 511.
 Briston, Caroline, afterwards Mrs. Lytelton, 424.
 Britain, ancient state of little known, 609.
 "British Essayists," 67.
 "British Poets," Bell's edition of, 530.
 "British Princes," quoted, 211.
 "British Synonymy," Mrs. Piozzi's, 806.
 Broadley, Captain, 618.
 Brocklesby, Dr. Richard, 495, 716, 736, 776, 788, 801.
 —, his kindness and liberality to J., 735, 740, 776, 788.
 —, Johnson's letters to, 737, 783.
 Brodhurst, Mr., Johnson's play-fellow, 632.
 Brodie, Alexander, Esq., 79, 334.
 —, Mrs. See Aston.
 Brook, Lord, 416.
 —, Mr. of Townmailing, 158.
 Brooke, Mr., author of "Gustavus Vasa," 40.
 —, Mrs., author of "Emily Montague," 145.
 Brooks, Mrs., the actress, 315.
 — or riviluts, 580.
 Broome, William, the poet, 647. Johnson's Life of, 670.
 Brother and sister, relation of, 112.
 Brown, Tom, Johnson's instructor in English, 7.
 —, dedicates his Spelling-book "to the Universe," 7.
 —, Rev. Robert, 175, 593.
 — "Capability," 416, 635.
 Browne, Dr. John, and his "Estimate," 220.
 —, Sir Thomas, Johnson's Life of, 18, 69, 70, 103, 109.
 His style imitated by Johnson, 70, 103, 582. Fond of Anglo-Saxon diction, 70. His saying of devils, 594.
 —, Isaac Hawkins, Esq., 314, 443, 471. His poem "De Animi Immortalitate," 314. His son, 754.
 Bruce, Robert, 468.
 —, James, the Abyssinian traveller, 303, 441.
 —, Sir John, 205.
 —, families, 303.
 Brumoy's Greek Theatres, 83, 117.
 Brundisium, Horace's journey to, 580.
 Brunet, M., 462.
 Brutes, 191, 261, 511.
 Bryant, Jacob, Esq., 370, 794.
 Brydges, Sir Egerton, 183.
 Brydoue, Patrick, his "Tour through Sicily," 446, 617. His anti-mosaic remark, 491, 617.
 Buchan, Earl, 275. Anecdote of, 238.
 Buchanan's Buller, 295, 296.
 Buchanan, George, 156, 207, 282, 719.
 "Buck," nearly synonymous with "dandy," 324.
 Buckingham, Duke of, 203. His "Rehearsal," 770.
 —, Marquis of, 169, 222.
 Buckles, shoe, 209.
 —, Johnson's, 606.
 Budget, Eustace, 55, 255, 281, 509.
 Budworth, Rev. Mr., 20, 24.
 Buffon, Count de, 342, 520.
 Bulkeley, Lord, 421.
 Bulls by Johnson, 770.
 Bull-dogs, 558.
 Buller of Buchan, 295, 296.
 —, Mrs. 645.
 Bunbury, Sir Charles, 436.
 —, Mrs. 140, 649.
 Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," 258.
 Buonaparte, Napoleon, 264, 344, 349, 461, 493.
 Burbridge, Mr., 52.
 Burgess-Lickett, Johnson's, at Aberdeen, 292.
 Burgoyne, General, surrender at Saratoga, 617.
 Burial Service, 729.
 Burke, Right Hon. Edmund. Anecdotes of, and remarks upon, 22, 37, 71, 116, 136, 140, 141, 154, 158, 161, 163, 173, 177, 207, 220, 229, 232, 240, 253, 259, 263, 265, 268, 273, 274, 288, 289, 298, 336, 357, 412, 425, 446, 453, 465, 485, 509, 513, 520, 521, 529, 540, 550, 571, 573, 578, 583, 590, 600, 604, 605, 625, 626, 630, 639, 647, 661, 662, 671, 673, 680, 681, 715, 732, 740, 748, 756, 757, 764, 771, 803.
 —, Observation on Johnson's ladies, 71. Counsel to "live pleasant," 116. "Vindication of Civil Society," 153.
 "Essay on the Sublime and Beautiful," 205. "Letter to the Sheriffs of Bristol," 557. Johnson's exclamation at Beaconsfield, 600. Classical pun on Wilkes, 605. Lively conceit on a line of Horace, 605. Conversation described by Johnson, 660, 713, 755. Playful sally on Dean Marlay, 678. Oratory characterised by Wilkes, 688. Uniform respect for Johnson, 769. Pun on Dr. Brocklesby's name, 776. Pious premonition to his will, 842.
 —, Mrs., 164.
 —, Richard, Edmund's son, 731, 788.
 Burlamaqui, 478.
 Burlington, Lord, 614.
 Burman, Peter, Johnson's Life of, 46.
 Burnaby, Mr. Edward, 167.
 Burnet, Bishop, his "Own Times," 250, 363, 446.
 —, James, 227, 299. See Monboddo.
 Burney, Dr. Charles, 7, 16, 61, 65, 71, 85, 91, 94, 97, 109, 135, 143, 146, 150, 164, 165, 192, 238, 266, 287, 439, 444, 452, 469, 489, 490, 582, 620, 621, 625, 644, 661, 686, 698, 736, 792.
 —, Account of "Irene," 61. Comparison of Addison and J., 71. "History of Music," 621. His "Travels," 720.
 —, Johnson's letters to, 94, 169, 172, 739, 785.
 —, Dr. Charles, the younger, 794.
 —, Mrs., 170.
 —, Miss Frances, afterwards Madame D'Arblay, 645, 649.
 698, 732, 736, 747, 755. Imitation of Johnson's style, 796.
 Burns (the Poet), 15, 139.
 Burrowes, Rev. Dr., 626. His Essay on the style of J. 69.
 Burton, his "Anatomy of Melancholy," 12, 217, 482. Discretion against melancholy, 640.
 "Burton's Books," list of, 747.
 Busby, Mr., 68.
 Bust of Johnson, Nollekens's, 565, 568.
 Butcher, the trade of, 348.
 Bute, John, third Earl of, 126, 127, 131, 180, 300, 425, 437, 448, 449, 452, 492, 517, 641.
 —, Johnson's letter to, respecting his pension, 127, 128.
 Butler, Archdeacon, 409, 415.
 —, Bishop, his "Analogy," 278.
 —, Samuel, 259, 281, 340, 763.
 Butler's Hudibras, 454.
 Butter, Andrew, duel fought for the honour of, 384.
 —, Dr. William, 494, 546, 549, 690.
 Buxton, Jedediah, the extraordinary calculator, 480.
 Byng, Admiral, Johnson's epitaph and defence of, 105.
 Byron, Lord, 15, 27, 59, 217, 279, 439, 450.
 —, definition of hypochondriacism, 15.
 —, Moore's Life of, quoted, 439, 504.
 —, Commodore, 399.
 Cabbages, 486.
 Cadell, Mr., the bookseller, 213, 434, 435, 476.
 Cadogan, Dr. William, on the gout, 334, 335.
 Cain, Lord Byron's, 279.
 "Calamities of Authors," D'Israeli's, 32.
 Calcraft, Mr., 497.
 Calculators, ordinary intellect of, 480.
 Calder, Dr. John, 249.
 "Caliban of Literature," epithet applied to Johnson, 219.
 Caliguia, his exclamation, 591.
 — "Called," phenomenon of hearing oneself, 685.
 Callimachus, merits of, 655.
 Calumny, or ridicule, Johnson's indifference to, Cambridge, Richard Owen, Esq., 451, 452, 579, 722.
 —, University, 185. Johnson's visit to, 167.
 Camden, Charles Pratt, first Earl, 435, 600.
 Camden's "Remains," 598, 729.
 Cameron, Dr. Archibald, his execution, 42.
 Camerons, family of, the, 367.
 Campbell, Hon. Archibald, 188, 213, 250. His "Doctrines of a Middle State," 389, 759. Some account of, 389.
 —, Lord Neil, 389.
 —, Colonel Sir Archibald, 513.
 —, Rev. Dr. Thomas, 167, 377, 443, 444, 447, and his "Philosophical Survey of Ireland," 531.

- Campbell, Dr. John, 122, 142, 182, 191, 213, 250, 435, 577.
 His "Political Survey," 377, 484, 794.
 —, Rev. John, minister of Kippen, 182.
 —, Mungo, who shot Lord Eglintoun, 195, 558.
 —, General, 353.
 —, Mr., a purser, 188.
 —, Mr., factor to the Duke of Argyle, 38, 373, 380, 383.
 —, Colonel Mure, 533.
 "Candide," of Voltaire, 115, 116, 617.
 Candour, Johnson's, 721, 739.
 Canning, Right Hon. George, on Public Education, 498.
 "Canons of Criticism," Edwards's, 86.
 Cant, the mind to be cleared of, 731.
 Canus, Melchior, a Spanish Dominican, 461.
 Capel, Edward, Preface to his Shakspeare, 656.
 Caracoli, Marquis, author of Ganganetti's Letters, 592.
 Caraculus, 442.
 Card-playing, 200, 405, 501, 502.
 Cardan, his mode of composing his mind, 553.
 Cardross, Lord, afterwards Earl of Buchan, 239.
 Careless, Mrs., Johnson's first love, 488, 703.
 "Careless Husband," Cibber's, 444.
 Carelessness, 661.
 Carhampton, Lord, 253.
 Carleton, Captain, his "Memoirs," 774.
 Carlisle, Frederick, fifth earl of, 505, 691.
 —, Johnson's opinion of his "Father's Revenge," 743.
 —, Mr., of Limekilns, 374.
 Carmarthen, Lord, 443.
 Carmichael, Miss, 570.
 Caroline, Queen, 461.
 Carr, Sir William, 295.
 Carre, Rev. Mr., his "Sermons," 271, 272.
 Carruthers's Highland Note Book, 308.
 Carstairs's "State Papers," 342.
 Carte, Thomas, his "Life of the Duke of Ormond," 367.
 Carter, Dr. Nicholas, 34.
 —, Mr., 434.
 —, Mrs. Elizabeth, 16, 34, 39, 40, 43, 48, 50, 52, 63, 65, 153, 181, 550, 685, 731, 755. contributes to the "Rambler," 65.
 —, Johnson's letter to, 101. Her character of Johnson, 798.
 Cartaret, John, Lord, afterwards Earl Granville, 215, 362.
 Carthage, 722.
 Carthusians, order of, 480.
 Cartwright, Dr. Edmund, memoirs of, 504.
 Cascades, 424.
 Casimir, Ode to Pope Urban, 31.
 Cast of Johnson, Nollekens's, 565, 568.
 Castiglione, "Il Cortegiano," on good breeding, 359.
 Casts of men, 683.
 Cat, Johnson's, 722.
 Catcot, George, the pewterer of Bristol, 510.
 Cathcart, Charles, ninth Earl, 472, 613.
 Catherine Street, Tavern, 343.
 "Catholicon," 465.
 Cato, learnt Greek at an advanced age, 680.
 —, Addison's, 591. Soliloquy, 836.
 Cator, Mr. John, 732, 767.
 Caulfield, Miss, 526.
 Cave, Mr. Edward, character and anecdotes of, 23, 28, 32, 54, 39, 43, 44, 45, 47, 48, 49, 65, 66, 84, 101, 121, 239, 241, 604, 804.
 Johnson's letters to, 29, 33, 34, 38, 39, 46, 47.
 Latin verses addressed to, 31. Letter to Richardson respecting the "Rambler," 65. "Life" by Johnson, 84.
 —, Joseph, brother of Edward, 101, 102, 103.
 Cawdor Castle, 301, 302.
 —, Lord, 392.
 Cawston, Mr. Windham's servant, 807.
 Cecil, Colonel, 54, 241.
 "Cecilia," Miss Burney's, 722.
 Certainties, small, the bane of men of talents, 438.
 Chalmers, George, Esq., 45.
 —, Alexander, Esq., 54, 63, 65, 66, 67, 68, 71, 82, 121, 184, 185, 208, 212, 222, 249, 253.
 —, his Lesson in Biography, 797, 838.
 Cham of Literature, 118.
 Chamberlain, Mrs. 439.
 Chamberlayne, Rev. Mr., 760.
 —, Edward, Esq., 686.
 Chambers, proposals for his Dictionary, 69, 582. Johnson's style founded partly upon that of, 69.
 —, Sir Robert, 90, 181, 189, 193, 205, 266, 268, 298, 411, 413, 610, 676, 677. Johnson's character of, 676. Letter to, 90.
 —, Lady and Miss, 411.
 —, Sir William, his "Chinese Architecture," 720. "Oriental Gardening," 325. "Heroick Epistle" to, quoted, 325, 587.
 —, Catherine, Johnson's maid-servant, 113, 115, 187.
 —, Mr. Robert, 205, 270, 276, 283, 289, 300, 305, 342, 383.
 Charrier, Anthony, Esq., 163, 298, 445, 521, 534, 567, 580, 634.
 "Champion," a periodical paper, 51.
 Chancellors, how chosen, 232.
 "Chances," the, a comedy, 257.
 Chandler, Dr. Samuel, 45.
 Chandler, Dr. Richard, 483. His "Travels," 457.
 Chantrey, 568.
 Chapel, Dr., 259.
 Chapone, Hester, Johnson's letter to, 743. See Mulso.
 Character, influence of, 615.
 Characters, first instance of delineation of, 664.
 —, how historians should draw, 636.
 —, showing only the bright side of, 671.
 —, extraordinary, generally exaggerated, 484.
 —, Johnson's delight in drawing, 834.
 Charade, Johnson's, on Dr. Barnard, 722.
 Charing Cross, 443.
 Charity, Christian, 757. Judicious distribution of, 391.
 —, Johnson's, 127, 183, 394, 570, 632, 677, 770, 831, 836.
 Charlemont, Earl of, 257, 298, 643, 680. Hardy's Life of, 88.
 Charles the First, 72, 250, 383, 454.
 —, the Second, 151, 444, 448, 454, 484, 667.
 —, Edward, Prince. See Pretender.
 —, the Fifth, celebrates his own obsequies, 578.
 —, the Twelfth, of Sweden, 46, 585.
 Charlotte, Queen, 184.
 Charlton, Dr., 741.
 Charms, belief in, 317.
 Chastity, 192, 334. First female virtue, 636.
 Chatelet, 460.
 Chatham, William, Earl of, 37, 58, 181, 244, 254, 435, 617, 769.
 Chatsworth, 415, 564, 784.
 Chatterton, Thomas, his poems, 510, 701.
 Chaucer, 385.
 Chemistry, Johnson's fondness for, 40, 634, 657, 738.
 Chester, 417.
 Chesterfield, Philip Dormer Stanhope, fourth Earl of, 9, 45, 56, 57, 61, 68, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 93, 148, 149, 152, 158, 184, 217, 223, 249, 282, 297, 305, 345, 362, 430, 440, 446, 511, 530, 541, 558, 615, 629, 641, 642, 680, 696, 715, 774. Alleged neglect of Johnson, 245. His papers in "The World," 85. Johnson's celebrated letter to, 85. His "Letters to his Son," character of, 87, 440, 444, 446, 511.
 Chevalier, the, 309, 310, 318, 326.
 Chey Chase, 838.
 Cheyne, Dr. George, his "English Malady," 14, 522. His "Treatise on Health," 503. His rule of conduct, 313.
 Cheynel, Francis, Johnson's Life of, 278.
 Chiesley of Dalry, 342.
 Children, treatment and education of, 6, 8, 15, 154, 208, 295, 336, 469, 503, 537, 628, 661. Johnson's fondness for, 722.
 —, old men's, 6.
 China, wall of, 586. Chinese language, 611.
 "Choice of Difficulties," 311.
 Choisi, Abbé de, 609.
 Cholmondeley, G. J., Esq., 779.
 —, Hon. and Rev. George, 349. Mrs., 349, 603, 650, 740.
 Christian, Rev. Mr., 191.
 "Christian Hero," Steele's, 484.
 Christian charity, 757.
 —, religion, evidences of, 135, 137, 147, 192, 155, 840.
 —, faith, liable to be disturbed, 733.
 Christianity, the highest perfection of humanity, 181.
 —, the atonement, the great article of, 292, 557, 694, 841.
 Christians, the differences among, 557.
 Christ's satisfaction, 292, 841.
 Chudleigh, Miss, 58.
 Church, the satisfaction of meeting at, 683.
 —, of England, ecclesiastical discipline of, 755.
 —, architecture, 481.
 —, patronage, 259.
 —, property, confiscated, 711.
 Churchill, Charles, the poet, 35, 133, 165, 171, 571. His satire on Johnson, 107, 133. Johnson's opinion of, 142.
 Churton, Rev. Ralph, 264, 729, 764, 819.
 Cibber, Colley, 43, 53, 56, 57, 58, 84, 136, 190, 206, 251, 365, 405, 356, 438, 443, 504, 506, 516, 555, 556, 584, 741.
 —, his Apology, 206, 516.
 —, Theophilus, his "Lives of the Poets," 57, 504, 533.
 —, Mrs., 304.
 Cicero, 461. His defence of lawyers, 189.
 —, his character of Appian applied to Johnson, 791.
 "Citizen of the World," Goldsmith's, 140.
 Clanranald, Captain, ballad in honour of him, 364.
 Clans, order of the Scottish, 410.
 Clapp, Mrs., 215.
 Clare, Robert Nugent, Lord, 222, 601.
 Clarendon, Lord, 202, 376, 616. His History, 97, 367. His style, 82, 5 Manuscripts, 476.
 Claret, characterised by Johnson, 609, 627, 680.
 "Clarissa Harlowe," 73, 508, 663, 830. "Index" to, 73.
 —, preface to, written by Dr. Warburton, 83.
 Clark, Alderman Richard, 610. Johnson's letter to, 747.
 —, Mr., his pamphlet on Ossian, 745.
 Clarke, Dr. Samuel, 135, 210. His works recommended, 135, 807. His "Sermons," 579, 806, 841.
 —, Godfrey, 229.
 Claxton, Mr., 260.
 Cleland, Nicholas, his Greek Grammar, 660.
 "Cleone," Dodsley's tragedy of, 113, 660.
 "Cleonea," Hoole's play of, 427.
 Clephane, M. M., Marchioness of Northampton, 364.
 Clergy, 228, 237, 238, 302, 540, 598, 683.
 —, their preaching not sufficiently plain, 156, 218.

- Clergy, not sufficiently acquainted with their parishioners, 219. English, 350.
 —, Scottish, 228. 293. 350.
 —, Irish, 220.
 —, jollity of, offensive, 679.
 —, dress of, should be in character, 679.
 Clergyman, Addison's portrait of, 679.
 —, Johnson's model of, 679.
 —, his letter to a young, 651.
 Clerk, Sir Philip Jennings, 680.
 Clerke, Lady, of Pennycook, 329.
 Clermont, Lady, 646.
 Cleveland, Duchess of, 151.
 Climate, 244.
 Clive, Robert, first Lord, 609. 615. 635.
 —, Mrs., 123. 304. 656. 741.
 Clothes, fine, 494.
 Club, Ivy-lane, formed by Johnson, 58. 107. 745. 752.
 —, Literary, founded by Reynolds, 163. 177. 178. 257. 263. 298. 436. 445. 528. 529. 532. 537. 573. 590. 646. 663. 681. 771.
 —, Boar's Head, 348.
 —, Queen's Arms', 682.
 —, Old Street, 720. 752.
 —, Essex Head, 746.
 —, Eumelian, 798.
 —, Johnson's definition of a, 746.
 "Clubbable Man," 746.
 Coachmakers' Hall, 684.
 Coarse raillery, Johnson's powers of, 662.
 Cobb, Mrs., 5. 193. 197. 224. 415. 490. 632. Account of, 639.
 Cobham, Lord, 169. 614.
 Cock-lane ghost, 138. 585.
 Cocker's Arithmetic, 308.
 Cohausen, 477.
 Coin, exportation of, 688.
 Coke, Lord, 232.
 Col, Island of, 363. 364. 365. 369.
 —, Donald Maclean, the young Laird of, 294. 299. 350. 352. 353. 362. 365. 367. 371. 372. 373. 378. 379. 380. 426. 469. 471.
 —, Montrose's letters to the Laird of, 368.
 Colborne, the calculating boy, 480.
 Colchester, 159.
 Colds, 191. 350.
 Cole, Mr., of Norton Street, 331.
 Colebrooke, Sir George, 465.
 Coliseum, Johnson's mind compared to the, 211.
 College Tutor, 838.
 Collier, Jeremy, 759.
 —, Dr. of the Commons, 619.
 —, Captain Sir George, 161.
 Collins, William, the poet. 40. 82. 90. 91. 102. 130. 457.
 "Collyer Joel," 106.
 Colman, George, Esq., sen., 65. 123. 247. 248. 251. 298. 436. 511. 521. 525. 604. 657. 660.
 —, his "Odes to Obscurity and Oblivion," 442.
 —, his imitation of Johnson's style, 796.
 —, George, Esq., jun., his "Random Records" quoted, 511.
 Colquhoun, Sir James and Lady Helen, 391.
 Colson, Rev. Joho, Mr. Walmesley's letter to, 27. 68.
 Colville, Lady, Dowager, 899. 401. 402.
 Combermere, 417.
 Commandment, the ninth, modes of reading, 51.
 Commentaries on the Bible, 513.
 Commerce, 449.
 Commerce and Literature to be united, 837.
 Common Prayer Book, 762.
 Commons, House of, 688.
 Communion of Saints, 761.
 Community of goods, doctrine of, 262.
 Company, 767. Cause of Johnson's fondness for, 42.
 Comparisons, 176. 721.
 Compassion, Johnson's, 758. 834.
 Complaints, 664. 715.
 Compliments, 202. 458. 548. 610. 619.
 Composition, 652. 657. 658. Happy moments for, 275.
 —, Johnson's advice respecting, 285.
 —, his extraordinary powers of, 16. 50. 59. 63. 115. 177. 285. 299. 445. 508. 513. 804.
 "Compositor," The, 770.
 Compton, Rev. James, a Benedictine his conversion, 727.
 Condamine's account of the savage girl, 299.
 Condamine, Prince of, 462. 466.
 Condescension, 655.
 Conduct, gradations in, 679.
 Confession, 210. 489.
 "Confessions," Rousseau's, 175. 176.
 Confinement, 586.
 "Congé d'elire," 771.
 Congreve, W. the poet, 204. 207. 557. Johnson's "Life" of, 647. 672.
 —, Rev. Charles, Johnson's schoolfellow, 8. 204. 488. 494.
 Conjugal infidelity, 192. 636.
 "Connoisseur," The, 143.
 Constable, Lord High, of Scotland, 296.
 Conscience and shame contrasted, 883.
 Const. Francis, Esq., 499.
 Constitution, the British, 482.
 Constructive treason, 633.
 Contentment, 576.
 Contradiction, 629.
 —, Johnson's spirit of, 495. 502. 514. 546. 681.
 Conversation, 111. 451. 483. 493. 512. 578. 606. 663. 670. 681. 713. 719. 757.
 —, the happiest kind of, 450.
 —, and talk, distinction between, 719.
 —, Lord Bacon's precept for, 738.
 —, questioning, not the proper mode of, 493. 585.
 —, Johnson's great powers of, 591. 603. 629. 690. 692. 764.
 Conversations, 210. 572. 596.
 Convicts, 586. 767.
 Convocation of the clergy, 158.
 Convulsions, Johnson afflicted with, 24. 41. 269.
 Convents, 123. 175. 283. 480.
 Conway, Lady, 233.
 —, Walpole's letters to, 184. 363. 439.
 —, Castle, 421. 423.
 Cook, Captain James, 496. His "Voyages, 766.
 Cooke, Thomas, the translator of "Hesiod," 274.
 —, his speech on presenting Foote to a club, 274.
 —, anecdote respecting him, Johnson, and Garrick, 243.
 Cookery, 273.
 —, Johnson's opinion of French, 160. Affected in, 591.
 Books of, should be on philosophical principles, 592.
 —, Glass's, written by Dr. Hill, 592.
 Cooper, John Gilbert, author of the "Life of Socrates," disparaging mention of, 219. 544. 655.
 —, Sir Grey, 222.
 Coote, Sir Eyre, 303. 304.
 Copy-money, in Italy, first paid to Baret, 548.
 Copyright, 149. 286.
 Corbett, Mr. Andrew, 12.
 Corelli, the singer, 444.
 Coriat, Tom, 238.
 "Coriat, Junior," Paterson's, 238.
 Cork and Orrery, Hamilton, sixth Earl of, 219. 555.
 —, Edmund, seventh Earl of, 645. 659.
 —, Mary Monkton, Countess of, 645. 689.
 —, new letter to the editor, 646.
 Corn Laws, 220.
 Corney, Bolton, editor of Goldsmith, 174.
 Corneille, Pierre, 372. 659.
 Cornish fishermen, 480.
 Corporations and boroughs, 455.
 Corpulency, 720.
 "Corrichatachin," Mr. McKinnon of, 314. 315. 353.
 Corsica, 175. 179. 189. 193. 191. 199. 202. 367.
 "Cortegiano" of Castiglione, on good breeding, 359.
 Corycius Senex, 715.
 Cottages in Skie described, 352.
 Cotterel, Admiral, 79. Miss, 79. 125. 129. 385.
 Cotton, Sir Lynch Salusbury, 417. Sir Robert Salusbury, 417. 658.
 —, Mr. and Mrs., afterwards Sir Robert and Lady, 417. 418. 419. 658.
 —, Robert, Esq., 418.
 Coulson, Rev. Mr. of University College, 27. 425. 457.
 "Comill" of Trent, 29. 38.
 "Counseller Van," a rock on the Wye, 117.
 Counting, the good of, 725.
 Country gentlemen, 243. 298. 299. 315. 656. 712.
 —, life, 387. 553. 579. 581. 598. 616. 776.
 Courage, 443. 585. 609. 637.
 —, Johnson's, 379.
 Court, attendants on a, described, 111.
 —, of Session in Scotland, 403. 428.
 Courtenay, John, Esq., 768. 828. 830.
 —, his "Poetical Review" quoted, 14. 70. 106. 116. 409. 453.
 —, his description of Sir Joshua's table, 519.
 Counting the acquaintance of the great, 37. 175.
 Courtown, Lord, 456.
 Courts of Germany, manners best learnt at, 359.
 —, martial, 638.
 Coverley, Sir Roger de, 454.
 Cow, Boswell's skill in imitating a, 402.
 Cowardice, 606.
 Cowdray, popular superstition respecting, 711.
 Cowley, Benedictine prior, 460.
 —, the poet, 69. 81. 210. 381. 385. 503. 572. Life of, 666.
 Cowper, William, 15. 72. 450. 505. ; his Homer, 609.
 —, Earl, libel on, 499.
 Cox, 771.
 Coxcombs, 219.
 Coxeter, Thomas, 171. 547.
 Crabbe, Rev. George, 450. His "Village," 746.
 Cradock, Jos., anecdotes of Johnson, 203. 479. 506. 508. 589.
 Crags, secretary, 222. The two, 48.
 Craig, Mr., the architect, 285. 618.
 Cranburne, Lady, 647.
 Cranfills, 170.
 Craumer, Archbishop, 452.
 Cranston, Mr. David, 405.
 Crantor, the philosopher, exclamation of, 90.
 Crashaw, Richard, his "Epigrammata Sacra," 593.
 Craster, Mr., 79.

- Cranford, Mr., Johnson's answer to, 837.
 Craven, Lady, 501. 645. 647.
 "Creation," Blackmore's, 211.
 Credulity, 379. 399. 615. Johnson's, 603
 Creeds, 302.
 Crichton, Robert, Lord Sanquhar, 297.
 "Critical Review," 139. 165. 186. 504. 508. 551.
 Criticism, 358. 624. 625. 645.
 —, a curious one of Johnson's, 190.
 —, examples of true, 205.
 Croft, Rev. Herbert, 650. "Life of Young," 673. "Love and Madness," 720.
 —, his style described by Burke, 673.
 —, singular advice to a pupil, 766.
 Croker, Rev. Temple Henry, translator of "Ariosto," 129.
 —, Alley, 680. Colonel, of Ballingard, 580.
 Crompton, Mr., 24.
 Cromwell, 44. Johnson designs to write his life, 737.
 —, Noble's "Memoirs" of, 738.
 Crossie, Mr. Andrew, 270. 277. 456. 527.
 "Cross readings," Caleb Whiteloor's diverting, 770.
 Crouch, Mrs., 733.
 Crouzai, "Exauhen" of Pope's "Essay on Man," 39. 47.
 Crown, its power, 236. Influence of, in Parliament, 216.
 "Crudities," Coriat's, 238.
 Cruikshanks, Mr., the surgeon, 195. 731. Letters to, 739. 787.
 Crusoe, Robinson, 461.
 Crutchley, Jeremiah, Esq., 752.
 Cucchillen's well, 351.
 Cucumbers, 364. 658.
 "Cui-bono" man, 690.
 Cullin, the mountains, 345.
 Cullen, Dr. William, 230. 277. 455. 551. 749.
 —, Mr., afterwards Lord Cullen, 230. 277. 536. 566.
 Culoden, battle of, 328. 455.
 Culrossie, 384. Laird of, 384.
 Cumberland, William, Duke of, 420. 455.
 —, Duchess of, 253.
 —, Richard, 28. 230. 321. 507. 794. "Odes," 508. "Wal-loons," 705.
 —, character of Sir Fretful Plagiary intended for him, 248.
 —, his mode of study, 581.
 —, his conversation described, 794.
 —, his lines descriptive of Johnson's character,
 Cumming, Thomas, the Quaker, 295. 296. 343. 729.
 Cunningham, Sir John, 394.
 Cuning, 337.
 Cunningham, P. Esq., contributes notes to this edition, xxiv.
 9. 28. 32. 43. 44. 48. 50. 86. 108. 128. 136. 137. 142. 152. 174.
 184. 215. 218. 222. 248. 274. 349. 356. 363. 367. 385. 410. 430.
 439. 443. 448. 454. 462. 465. 504. 505. 510. 512. 554. 568. 573.
 605. 630. 699. 720. 723. 740.
 Cuper's Gardens, 366.
 Curates, salaries of, 540.
 "Curiosities of Literature," D'Israeli's, 669.
 Curiosity, 22.
 Curl, 41.
 Curran, John Philpot, 439.
 Currants, 725.
 Cust, Francis Cockayne, 51. 52.
 Cutts, Lady, Atterbury's Sermon on, 572.
 "Cyder," Philip's, 288.
 "Cypress Grove," Drummond of Hawthornden's, 322.
- Dacier, Madame, her "Homer," 609.
 "Daemonology," King James's, 627.
 Daile, "On the Fathers," 366.
 Dale, Mrs., 416.
 Dalen, Olaus von, "History of Sweden" recommended, 231.
 Dallas, Miss, 291.
 Dalrymple, Sir David. *see* Hailes.
 —, Sir John, 249. 258. 403. 404.
 —, his discoveries respecting Russell and Sydney, 249.
 —, Johnson's burlesque of his style, 404.
 —, Lady Margaret, Countess of London, 394.
 Dalzel, Andrew, Greek professor at Edinburgh, 795.
 Damer, Hon. John, 628.
 Dance, Mr., the architect, 232.
 Dancing, advocated by Johnson, 200. 630.
 "Dandy," 324.
 Danes, the, 741. Danish colony, 286. Fort, 318.
 Danton, 249.
 D'Arblay, Madame. *see* Burney, Frances.
 Darripe, Captain, 307.
 Darius, shade of, 659.
 Darteneuf, Charles, 484.
 Dartmouth, Lord, 446.
 Darwin, Dr., dislike between Johnson and, 415
 Dashwood, Lady, 637.
 Dating letters, a laudable habit, 645.
 D'Avenant, Sir William, 236.
 David and Music, 838.
 Davies, Mr. Thomas, the actor and bookseller, character and
 anecdotes of, 133. 144. 158. 165. 168. 194. 195. 206. 247. 264.
 410. 430. 443. 444. 445. 457. 570. 571. 579. 657. 658.
 —, "Life of Garrick," 7. 61. 651. Letters to, 735. 787.
 —, Churchill's sarcasm on his acting, 133.
- Davies, his "Pretty Wife," 133. 165. 735. 787.
 Dawkins, Henry, Esq., 695.
 Day-labourers, wages of, 716.
 Dead, legal redress for libels on the character of, 499.
 —, language, on writing verses in, 454.
 Deaf and dumb, Mr. Brodwood's academy for, 403.
 Deafness, Johnson's, 835.
 Deane, Rev. Richard, "On the future Life of Brutes," 191.
 Death, 55. 112. 116. 206. 211. 231. 322. 331. 374. 402. 545. 546.
 547. 595. 601. 707. 708. 733. 742. 748. 752. 756. 763. 764. 798.
 —, reflections on a violent, 112.
 —, Southwell's stanzas upon, 420.
 —, preparation for, 374.
 Death-bed resentments, 346.
 —, repentance, J.'s opinion, and Dr. Wisheart's book on, 350.
 Debates, Johnson's, 32. 44. 45. 801.
 Debt, misery of being in, 707.
 Debts, 117. 536.
 Deception, reprobation of, 835.
 "Decline and Fall," Gibbon's, 484.
 Dedications, 254. 363. 531. Headiness to write, 172.
 —, and prefaces, by Johnson, and remarks on, 48. 56. 24.
 83. 99. 106. 119. 121. 124. 130. 158. 172. 179. 181. 187. 246.
 254. 343. 365. 531.
 Definitions, 5. 97. 273. 278. 399. 578. 603. 606. 612. 614.
 De Foe, Daniel, invents the story of Mrs. Veal's ghost,
 234. His "Robinson Crusoe," 585.
 Degeneracy of mankind disputed, 251.
 Degrees, Johnson's, 37. 275. A.M. Oxon., 91. I.L.D. Dub-
 lin, 168. D.C.L. Oxon., 441.
 De Groot, Isaac, Johnson's kindness for, 535.
 Deist, 88. 174.
 Delany, Dr., his "Observations on Swift," 345. 579. 667.
 Delap, Rev. Dr., 180.
 Delay, danger of, 112
 Delicacy, 834.
 Delitescence, 838.
 Demetrius, 60. Democritus, 688.
 "D-m-onax," character applied to Johnson, 665.
 Demosthenes, 45. 168. 249.
 Dempster, George, Esq., 139. 148. 151. 597. Miss, 449.
 —, his letter to Boswell on Johnson's "Journey," 405. 431.
 Denbigh, 418.
 Denina, "Discorso della Letteratura," 159.
 Denmark, Queen of, 260.
 Dennis, John, his critical works worth collecting, 507
 Departed spirits, appearance of, 116. 138. 685. 756.
 "Dedication," Foote's, 305.
 Depression of spirits, treatment of, 28.
 Derby, China manufactory at, 549.
 —, Rev. J., 483. 531.
 —, Countess of, 388. 390.
 Derriek, Samuel, Esq., 35. 131. 134. 155. 346. 622. 721. 735.
 —, His "Letters," 301.
 Descriptions contrast with realities, 303. 369. 723.
 "Deserted Village," 258. Johnson's share in, 174.
 Desmoulins, Mrs., 4. 12. 14. 20. 79. 228. 370. 597. 620. 624. 626.
 634. 684. 736. 746. John, 801. 841. 142. 845.
 Despotie governments, 591.
 Devaynes, John, Esq., 754.
 Devil, priester's, 686.
 Devonshire, William, Duke of, 167. 557. His dogged vira-
 city, 625.
 —, Georgina Duchess of, 624.
 Devotion, 733.
 "Dialogues of the Dead," Lyttleton's, 484. 673.
 —, two by Reynolds, in imitation of Johnson, 601.
 Diamond, Mr., 78.
 Diary, Johnson's, 235. 280.
 —, the utility of keeping one, 148. 251. 572. 716.
 "Diary of a Lover of Literature," Mr. Guene's, 446.
 Dibdin, Mr. Charles, 212.
 Dick, Sir Alexander, 278. 401. 403. 536. 725. 748.
 —, letter to Johnson on the effect of his "Journey," 527.
 —, the king's messenger, 331.
 "Dictionary," Johnson's, 54. 56. 57. 58. 84. 85. 89. 90. 91. 92.
 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 103. 104. 128. 151. 225. 239.
 246. 247. 254. 273. 293. 338. 479. 531. 532. 612. 636. 655.
 —, first published, 96. Wilkes's *jeu d'esprit* on, 98.
 Garrick's epigram on, 99. Johnson's profits by, 100. Epitome
 of, 103. Felicity with which the examples are selected,
 757. Particulars as to the practical compilation of, 58. 827.
 Dido 722.
 "*Difficile est propriè*," &c. of Horace explained, 516. 819.
 Dilatoriness, Johnson's, 665.
 Dilly, Edward, 260. 265. 441. 444. 476. 514. 591. &c. 615. 617.
 631. 633. 687. 692. 693.
 —, his letter to Boswell on "The Lives of the Poets," 530.
 —, letter mis-addressed to, 536.
 —, Squire, 692.
 —, Charles, 692. 747.
 Dinely, Goodyere, Sir John, 275.
 Dining-tables, Macleod's, 345.
 Dinners, 160. 512.
 Diogenes Laertius, 593. 650.
 Diploma, J.'s as Burgess of Aberdeen, 292. *See* Degrees.
 Dirleton's Doubts. Lord Hardwicke's opinion of, 563.

- Disease, its effect on the mind, 740.
 Diseases, acute and chronic, 707.
 Dislike, mutual, 645.
 D'IIsraeli, J. Esq., 32. 490. 624. 669.
 "Dissertation on the Prophecies," 759.
 Dissimulation, 189.
 Distinctions, 617.
 Distortions of Johnson's countenance, 24.
 Distrust, 539.
 "Divisions of Purley," 616.
 "Divine Legation," Warburton's, 669.
 Divorces, 614.
 Dixie, Sir Wolstan, 21.
 "Dock" and Plymouth, dispute between, 128. 836.
 Doctor, title of, not used by Johnson, 168. 441.
 —, minor and major, 294.
 "Doctor of Physic," 429. 430. 454. 527.
 "Doctrine of Grace," Warburton's, 293.
 Dodd, Dr., 534. 536. 541, &c. 546. 550. 579. 586. 590. 726. 831.
 Johnson's assistance to, 534. 541. 550. Letters to J., 542. 543.
 J.'s letter to, 543. 831. "Thoughts in Prison," 586.
 —, his letter descriptive of Johnson's person and manner, 590. Horace Walpole's description of him, 541.
 Doddridge, Dr. Philip, 357.
 Doddington, G. B., (Lord Melcombe), 65. 68. 673.
 Dodsley, Robert, 28. 35. 56. 57. 59. 61. 62. 79. 87. 106. 113. 115. 484. 506. 586. 590. 636. 660.
 —, His "Public Virtue," 660. His tragedy of "Cleone," 660.
 —, James, 56. 61. 484.
 Dodwell, Rev. Dr., 418.
 Dogs, 307. 379. 430. 558. Eaten in China, 266.
 Doing penance in church, 334.
 Dollard, Mr., 82.
 Dominiccetti, an Italian quack, his baths, 208.
 Donaldson, Alexander, the bookseller, 149. 150.
 Donatus, 180.
 Donne, Dr., his vision, 402. 483. His Satires, 837.
 Dorechester, Catherine Sedley, Countess of, 278.
 Dorothea, Electress of Hanover, 190.
 Dossie, Robert, 658.
 Dosa, George and Luke, 174.
 Dorset, Lord, 446. Rochester's allusion to, 280.
 Douglas, crowned heart in the arms of, 554.
 —, Home's tragedy of, 155. 390. 437. 581.
 —, Duchess of, 277.
 —, Rev. Dr. John, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, 35. 72. 85. 110. 195. 218. 468. 603. 755.
 —, his "Milton no Plagiary," 72.
 —, Dr., a physician, his collection of editions of Horace, 756.
 —, Sir John, 549.
 —, Lady Lucy, 350.
 —, cause, 190. 255. 256. 272. 387. 391. 494. 569.
 Dovedale, 416.
 Dover, second Duke of, 463.
 Doxy, Miss, 641.
 Doyle, Sir F. H., 97.
 Drake, Sir Francis, Johnson's Life of, 43. 228.
 Draughts, tranquillising effects of the game of, 106.
 Dream, Johnson's, 656.
 Dreams, benignant influence of, 75.
 Dreghorn, Lord, 159. 160. 279. 401. 451. 480. 522.
 "Dreincourt on Death," 234.
 —, Miss, afterwards Lady Primrose, 331.
 Dress, 61. 135. 200. 203. 269. 391. 448. 467. 479. 606.
 Dressing, time consumed in, 285.
 Drew, 79.
 Drinking, 243. 282. 297. 314. 336. 428. 480. 507. 513. 551. 577. 578. 579. 599. 606. 627. 629. 670. 678. 680. 684. 750.
 —, to excess, the practice greatly diminished, 282.
 —, Johnson's arguments against, 377. 551.
 —, its effect upon conversation and benevolence, 507.
 —, by deputy, 607.
 Dromore, Bishop of. See Percy.
 Drowning, suicide by, 281.
 Druids' temple, 298. 306.
 Drumgoold, Colonel, 465. 466.
 Drummond, of Hawthornden, 322. 404. 591.
 —, Mr. William, the bookseller, 181. 187. 393. 398. 402. 523. Johnson's letters to, 181. 182.
 —, Dr., 522. 523. 628.
 —, Mr. George, 276.
 —, Archbishop, 723.
 Drunkards, 282. 630. 750.
 Dryden, 68. 72. 173. 174. 203. 218. 219. 235. 236. 259. 274. 281. 282. 336. 346. 365. 372. 381. 438. 439. 440. 448. 489. 511. 516. 598. 614. 626. 633. 668. 691. 801. His "Hind and Panther" quoted, 668. His philosophical lines on Life, 764. His lines on Milton, 291. Johnson's Life of, 668.
 Dublin University, premiums in, 107.
 —, Mr. Flood bequeaths an estate to, 108.
 —, Diploma of L.L. D. to Johnson, 168.
 Dubos, Abbé, 205.
 Duck, epitaph on, 6.
 Dudley, Rev. Henry Bate, 763.
 Dudley and Ward, John second Viscount, 424.
 Duel, ancient trial by, 271.
 Duelling, 239. 240. 254. 342. 728.
 Duff, Adam, 992.
 Du Halde, his "Description of China," 39. 192. 663.
 Duiness, 219. 767. 768.
 Dun, Rev. Mr., 357.
 Dunbar, Dr., "Essays on the History of Mankind," 651.
 Dunbry, 295.
 Duncan, Dr., 448.
 Dun Can, 319, 320.
 Duncan's monument, 801.
 Dunces, 203.
 "Dunciad," 203. 338. 442. 610.
 Duncombe, William, Esq., 601.
 Duncombes, the, 170.
 Dundas, Henry, (Viscount Melville), 87. 233. 566.
 Dundee, John, Viscount of, his fine epitaph, 282.
 Dundonald Castle, 394.
 "Dungeon of Wit," 354.
 Dunning, Mr. (Lord Ashburton), 232. 529. 537. 576.
 Dunsinan, William Nairne, Lord, 275. 280. 283. 402. 507.
 Duntun, John, the bookseller, his "Life and Errors," 723.
 Dunvegan, 333. 339. 340. 344.
 Duppa, R. edits Johnson's "Journey into Wales," 409. 415.
 "Durandi Rationale, 1459," 425. "Sententiarum," 464.
 Durham "On the Galatians," 398.
 Durinish, 344.
 Dury, Major-General A., 112.
 Dutch language, 575. 661. Johnson studies it at sixty-four, 265; at seventy-one, 661. 845.
 Duties, moral and religious, 261.
 Dyer, Sam., 18. 58. 107. 147. 163. 173. 177. 298. 399. 639. 657.
 —, John, his "Fleece," 485.
 "Dying with a Grace," 750.
 Dyott, Mr. and Mrs., 416.
 Early habits, force of, 452.
 —, life, Johnson's, 4. 235. 812.
 —, rising, 335. 550.
 Earthquake, 540.
 Easter, 412. 502. 602. 603.
 East Indians, 611.
 —, Indies, going to, in quest of wealth, 635.
 —, delinquencies in, 729.
 Eating, 159. 557. 599.
 —, Johnson's mode of, 88. 159. 333. 515. 835. 837.
 Eccles, Rev. Mr., his literary fraud, 122.
 —, Isaac Ambrose, Esq., 144.
 Ecole Militaire, 460.
 Economy, 220. 584. 597. 733.
 Edinburgh, 270. 398. Castle, 399.
 —, Review, See Macaulay.
 Education, 61. 174. 242. 295. 469. 480. 511. 551. 628. 661. 684.
 —, of children, 26. 154. 295. 628.
 —, Johnson's plan of, 26. 628.
 —, great influence of, 480.
 —, by-roads in, 469.
 —, of the people, 242. 506.
 —, in public schools, 291. 469. 498.
 —, in England, 618.
 —, in Scotland, 451.
 —, Milton's "Tractate," and Locke's Essay on, 618.
 Edward the First, 80.
 Edwards, Thomas, his "Canons of Criticism," 86.
 —, Rev. Jonathan, "On Grace and Freewill," 593.
 —, Oliver, Johnson's fellow collegian, 597. 634.
 —, Dr. Edward, J.'s letter to 621. His Xenophon, 782.
 Eel, 627.
 Egalité, Duke of Orleans, 715.
 Eglington, Alexander, Earl of, 195. 312. 395. 558. 602.
 —, Susanna, Countess of, 394. 395. 403. 620.
 Egmont, John, first Earl of, "History of the House of Yvery," 723.
 —, second Earl of, his "Faction detected," 41.
 —, fifth Earl, 711.
 Egotism, 605.
 Egotists, the four classes of, 552.
 Egyptians, ancient, question as to their colour, 655.
 Eid, Mr., 606.
 Eldon, Earl of, 90. 279.
 Election committees, duty of members sitting upon, 678.
 "Elements of Criticism," Lord Kames's, 43. 134. 205. 578.
 Elephant, Johnson compared to, 223.
 —, "Elfrida," Mason's, 412.
 Elgin, 300.
 Elphinstone, Patrick Murray, fifth Lord, 224. 241. 268. 323. 374. 398. 399. 401. 412. 502. 512. 657. 692. His letters to Boswell and Johnson, 323. Johnson's letter to, 323.
 Eliot, Mr., afterwards Lord, 511. 642. 680. 748.
 Elizabeth, Queen, 119. 120. 205. 243. 658. 682.
 Elliot, Lady, (Teresa Boswell), 301.
 —, Sir Gilbert, 233.
 Ellis, John, the money-scrivener, 501.
 —, Henry, of the British Museum, 420.
 —, Mr., 215.
 Elmsly, Mr., the bookseller, 425.

Elphinston, Archbishop, 293.
 —, James, 4. 65. 75. 182. 248. 254. 432. 626.
 —, his edition of the "Rambler," 63. 71.
 —, his translation of Martial, 65. 582.
 —, John on's character of, 237.
 —, John on's letters to, 66.
 Elrington, Bishop, 69. 107. 149. 155. 186. 187. 202. 210. 725.
 760
 "Elvira," Mallet's tragedy of, 139.
 Elwall, E., the heretic, 234. 262.
 Emigration, 271. 288. 333. 359. 368. 573.
 Emmet, Mrs., the actress, 490.
 Emphasis in reading the 9th commandment, 51.
 Employment, 554.
 — of wealth, 715.
 Emulation, 295.
 Engbien, Duke d', 462.
 "England's Parnassus," 538.
 English and Dutch languages radically the same, 575. 651.
 "English Malady," Cheyne's, 522.
 English bar, 766. clergy, 350. merchant, 169.
 —, drama 741. 743.
 Englishmen, their reserve towards strangers, 721.
 — and Frenchmen compared, 57. 218. 581. 659.
 —, and Scotchmen compared, 270. 658.
 Entails, 296. 472. 475. 477. 479.
 —, Johnson's Letters on, 472. 473. 474. 475.
 Envy, 51. 134. 137. 586. 600. 662.
 Epictetus, 83.
 Epigram, Johnson's, to Mrs. Carter, 40.
 — on George the Second, 43.
 — ad *Laurem Paritum*, 47.
 —, ad *Ricardum Savagum*, 49.
 —, Garrick's, on Johnson's Dictionary, 99.
 — on the marriage of an Austrian Archduchess, 344.
 — on seeing Blenheim, 485.
 — on Miss Mary Aston, 40. 611.
 — on Lord Anson's temple of the winds, 624.
 — on a religious dispute at Bath, 760.
 — on the miracle at Cana, 508.
 Epilogue to "Irene," by whom written, 61.
 — to the "Distressed Mother," by Johnson, 11.
 Epitaph, on Mrs. Bell, 225. 246.
 — on Dr. Birch, 40.
 — on Admiral Byng, 105.
 — on the Laird of Col, 368.
 — on Goldsmith, 519.
 — on Sir Thomas Hamner, 54.
 — on Mrs. Johnson, 77.
 — on Johnson, by Mr. Flood, 808.
 — on Johnson, by Dr. Parr, 808. 809.
 — on Johnson, by Soame Jenyns, and on Soame Jenyns, by Boswell, 106.
 — on Colm Maclaurin, 279.
 — on Dr. Parnell, 405.
 — on Philips, the musician, 43. 181.
 — on Mrs. Salusbury, 457.
 — on Dr. Smollet, 392.
 — on a celebrated Italian, 446.
 — on Walmsley postponed, 836.
 — on one killed by a fall from his horse, 729.
 Epitaphs, 313. 392. 469. 519. 521. 666. 672. 729.
 —, Johnson's Essay on, 43.
 Equality, natural, 152. 176. 252. 502.
 Erasmus, 416. 420. 838.
 —, an expression of, applied to Johnson, 762.
 Errol, James 14th Earl, 295. Like Sarpedon, 296.
 — Earls of, 297.
 —, Isabella Carr, Countess of, 295.
 "Errors of the Press," Whitefoord's witty paper on, 770.
 Erse language, Scriptures to be translated into, 181.
 — manuscripts, 433. 434. 446.
 — and Irish dialects of the same language, 231.
 — songs, 301. 316. 346.
 Erskine, Sir Harry, 131.
 —, Hon. Andrew, 139. 544.
 —, Hon. Thomas, afterwards Lord, 237. 238. 275.
 —, Rev. Dr., 400.
 —, Hon. Archibald, 399.
 —, Hon. Henry, gives Boswell a shilling for the sight of his "bear," 275.
 —, Lady Anne, 399.
 "Esquire," the title of, 4.
 "Essay on Man," Pope's, 635. 636. 830.
 "Essay on Miracles," Hume's, 489.
 "Essay on Taste," Miss Reynolds's, 697.
 "Essay on Truth," Beattie's, 245.
 Essex, Earl of, his advice on travel, 143.
 —, song on him, 346.
 — Head Club, instituted, and its rules, 746.
 Estates, obligation in settling, 479.
 Eternal punishments, 562.
 Eternity, 313. 750.
 Etymologies, Johnson's, characterised, 57.
 Etymology, 338. 340.
 Eugene, Prince, 35.
 "Eugenio," a poem, lines from, 239.

Eumelian Club, 798.
 "Eupheus," in the Rambler, 68.
 Euripides quoted, 91. 239. 626.
 "European Magazine," 122.
 Evans, a book-seller, scuffle with Goldsmith, 248.
 —, Rev. Dr., 420. 485.
 —'s ballads, 346.
 —, John, 4.
 Evers, widow, (Lady Firebrace,) 39.
 Evelin, John Raymond, 222.
 "Evelina," Miss Burney's, 732.
 Evil, origin of, 301. 392.
 — speaking, 626. Propensions, 831.
 — spirits, 277. 761.
 Exaggeration, general proneness to, 540. 629.
 "Excise," Johnson's offensive definition of, 5. 97. 612.
 Executions, public, 206. 297. 720.
 Exercise, benefits of, 707.
 Exhibition at the Royal Academy, 123. 724. 753.
 Existence, 612.
 Expectation, to be compared with experience, 109.
 Expense, 655.
 Extraordinary characters not to be credited, 484.
 Fable, sketch of one, by Johnson, 256.
 Facetiousness, 688.
 Facility of composition, Johnson's, 665.
 Faction, 723.
 "Faction Detected," 41.
 Facts, mischief of mingling them with fiction, 720.
 Fairfax's "Tasso," 666.
 Fairies, 659.
 Fairley, Mr., 397.
 "Fairly Queen," 656.
 Faith, 292. 497.
 Falconer, Rev. Mr., a non-juring bishop, 622.
 —, Mr., husband of Lady Errol, 296.
 Falkland and Dryden, 464.
 "Falkland Islands," Johnson's pamphlet on, 221. 222. 227.
 Falmouth, Viscount, 608.
 "False Alarm," Johnson's, 213. 227. 664.
 "False Delicacy," Hugh Kelly's play of, 190.
 Falsehoods, 572. 765.
 Fame, 403. 450. 584.
 Family influence, 229. 265. 443.
 — residences, 339. 340.
 —, men of, 297.
 Fancy, 412. 612.
 Farces, 656.
 Farmer, Rev. Dr., 125. 506. 647. 660.
 —, Johnson's letters to, 213. 647.
 Farmers, 616.
 Farquhar, George, his writings, 657.
 "Fashionable Lover," Cumberland's play, 321.
 Fasting, 229. 362. 448. 480. 597.
 "Father's Revenge," Lord Carlisle's tragedy of, 743.
 Fatness, 729.
 Faulkner, George, 230. 305. 456.
 —, Johnson's conversation with, 277.
 Fawcener, Sir Edward, 65.
 Fear, 202. 430.
 Feeling for others, seldom very acute, 206.
 "Feeling People," 206.
 Fees, lawyers, 286.
 "Felixmarte of Ilircania," Spanish romance, 9.
 Fencing, 284.
 Fénelon's "Telemachus," 372. 457.
 Fenton, Elija, 57. Share in translating the Odyssey, 647.
 —, Johnson's Life of, 9.
 Ferguson, James, the astronomer, 208. 566.
 —, Sir Adam, 236.
 Fergusson, Dr. Adam, 276. 277.
 Fergusson, Captain, 325. 331. 353.
 Fernor, Mrs., niece of Pope's Belinda, 462.
 Ferne, Mr., 303.
 Ferns, Bishop of. See Elrington.
 — the deanery of, 678.
 "Festivals and Fasts," Nelson's, 487.
 Feudal system, 239. 245. 297. 298. 640.
 Fez and Morocco, Emperor of, 420.
 Fiction, 738.
 Fiddle, difficulty of playing upon, 254.
 Fiddle-de-dee, 837.
 Fielding, Henry, 51. 81. 238. 567. Compared with Richardson, 190. 237. 238. 111s "Amelia," 508. Sir John, 648.
 Fife, barrenness of, 285.
 —, Countess Dowager of, 246.
 Fighting-cock, 442.
 Filby, Goldsmith's tailor, 203.
 Filial piety, extraordinary instance of, 791.
 Finery should be very fine, 717.
 "Fingal," 219. 291. 317. 346. 399. 400. 428. 429. 431. 745.
 Finnon Haddock, 299.
 Fire-brace, Lady, 39.
 Fisher, Rev. Dr., 27. 166. 458. 483.
 Fishmonger, insensibility of one, 627.

- Fitzgerald, house of, 376.
 Fitzherbert, William, Esq., 20. 69. 110. 123. 253. 255. 349.
 443. 447. 515. 544. 629. His Lady, 20. 544.
 Fitzjames, Duc de, 592.
 Fitzmaurice, Mr., 584. 645.
 Fitzosborne's "Letters," 645.
 Fitzroy, Lord Charles, 491.
 —, Lady, 832.
 Flatman, Thomas, his poems, 504.
 Flattery, 257. 282. 419. 452. 576. 635. 610. 647.
 "Flasce," Dyer's poem, 485.
 Fleet Street, 157. 443. 597.
 Fleetwood, Everard, Esq., 605.
 — on the Sacrament, recommended by Johnson, 843.
 Fleming, Sir Michael le, 157.
 Flexman, Mr., 771.
 Flint, Bot, 688.
 Flogging in schools, 469.
 Flood, Right Hon. H., bequest to Dublin University, 108.
 — Opinion of J. as an orator, 223. Epitaph on J., 808.
 Floyd, Thomas, 155.
 Floyer, Sir J., on "Baths," 23. On "Asthma," 751. 782.
 Fludyer, Rev. Mr., Johnson's college companion, 483.
 Folengo, Theophilo, 591.
 Fondness, 709.
 Fontainebleau, 462.
 Fontenelle, 468.
 Foote, Samuel, anecdotes and character of 45. 120. 138. 143.
 206. 207. 211. 230. 242. 243. 274. 275. 287. 305. 400. 430. 455.
 467. 479. 515. 525. 555. 556. 717. 732. 755. Of a mad family,
 274. His description of Johnson at Paris, 467. Extra-
 ordinary readiness of wit, 515.
 Forbes, Sir William, of Pittligo, 271. 272. 276. 277. 278. 401.
 408. 507. 508. 519. 520. 521. 564.
 —, Rev. Mr., 288. 350.
 Ford, Rev. Cornelius, 9. 224. Hogarth's riotous parson, 9.
 Ghost story respecting, 611.
 —, Sarah, Johnson's mother, 4
 Fordyce, Rev. Dr. James, 134. 412. 453. 805.
 —, Dr. George, 573.
 Foreigners, 659.
 Fores, 301.
 Forgetfulness, 285. 695.
 Form of Prayer, arguments for, 391.
 Fornication, 237. 334. 500. 637.
 Forrester, Colonel, 501.
 Forster, George, his "Voyage to the South Seas," 554.
 Fort, Augustus, 621.
 —, George, 303.
 "Fortune," Derrick's poem of, quoted, 35.
 — hunters, 220.
 Foster, Dr. James, 657.
 —, Elizabeth, Milton's granddaughter, 72. 73.
 —, Mr. Thompson, 195.
 Fothergill, Dr. John, the physician, 450.
 —, Rev. Dr. Thomas, of Oxford, letters to, 441.
 Foulcs, Sir James, 312. 347.
 —, the Messrs., the Elzivers of Glasgow, 393.
 "Fountains," the, a tale, by Johnson, 181.
 Fonquet, 279.
 Fowke, Joseph, Esq., 79. 500. 501. Letter to, 727.
 —, Francis, Esq., 522. General Thomas, 105. 500.
 Fox, Right Hon. Charles James, 229. 253. 412. 445. 446. 501.
 529. 580. 583. 585. 590. 623. 748. 751. 756. 761.
 —, his conversation, 713.
 —, Lady Susan, 440.
 France, Johnson's visit to, 459. Journal of Tour, 460. 466.
 —, no middle rank in, 462. 466.
 —, state of literature in, 581.
 Francis, Rev. Dr. Philip, 45. His Horace, 26. 448. 617.
 Francklin, Rev. Dr. Thomas, 121. 273. 521. 578. 665., de-
 cates his translation of Demoxan to Johnson, 665.
 Fraser, Mr., the engineer, 606.
 —, Simon, Lord Lovat, 314
 —, General, 495.
 —, Mr., of Strichen, 298.
 Frasers, the clan of, 309.
 Fraternal intercourse, 112.
 Frederick, Prince of Wales, 60. 326. 461.
 — the Great, of Prussia, 148. 149. 192.
 — II., Johnson's Life of, 103.
 Free-will, 203. 237. 301. 504. 773.
 French, Johnson's notions of their manners and customs,
 298. 467. 616. 659. 738.
 — Academy, send Johnson their Dictionary, 98.
 — language, 467. Literature, 342. 372. 738. Novels, 218.
 — writers, superficial, and why, 154.
 —, credulity of the, 379
 —, Mrs., 669.
 Freron, Mr., Johnson's visit to, 461. 468.
 Frewen, Dr. Accepted, Archbishop of York, 259.
 Friend, Sir John, 241.
 Friends, Johnson's, a list of them, 79.
 Friends and friendship, 48. 66. 98. 112. 114. 173. 206. 233.
 240. 292. 297. 450. 513. 553. 629. 691. 738. 751. 756.
 "Friendship," an Ode, by Johnson, 48.
 —, female, 820.
 Frisk language, 162.
 Frith of Forth, 280.
 Fruit, Johnson never had enough of but once, and why, 424.
 "Frustra Litteraria," Baretti's, 552.
 Fullarton, Colonel John, 617.
 Funeral, Johnson's, 807.
 Fust and Sheffield, 425.
 Future state, 235. 561.
 — knowledge of friends, 233. 546. 592. 593. 756. 798.
 Gabbling, 615. 656.
 Gaelic language, 231. Dictionary, 745.
 Gaity, 529.
 Gait, Johnson's, 677.
 Galatians, Durham on the, 398.
 Galen, 650.
 Gaming, 238. 501.
 "Ganganelli's Letters" not authentic, 592.
 "Garagantua," Johnson compared to, 581.
 Garden, 79. 696. 725.
 Gardener, Mr., the bookseller, 445.
 Gardening, 145. 201.
 Gardenton, Lord, 288.
 Gardiner, Mrs., 78. 501. 525. 526. 743.
 Garrick, David, anecdotes of, 8. 19. 25. 26. 27. 43. 51. 54. 55.
 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 65. 68. 76. 79. 80. 81. 88. 99. 101. 113. 121.
 134. 135. 137. 164. 165. 167. 173. 185. 190. 198. 201. 213. 267.
 225. 243. 251. 257. 259. 304. 347. 358. 385. 400. 415. 434. 439.
 447. 481. 489. 505. 507. 511. 515. 545. 555. 582. 583. 584.
 590. 594. 601. 622. 623. 629. 655. 657. 659. 662. 686. 687. 726.
 732. 741.
 —, Johnson's envy of, 51. 134.
 —, his "Ode" on the death of Mr. Pelham, 88.
 —, his epigram on Johnson's Dictionary, 99.
 —, Johnson's opinion of, 135. 201. 205. 243. 257. 275. 304.
 347. 400. 438. 456. 470. 481. 489. 505. 511. 515. 516. 555. 556.
 584. 594. 601. 629. 655. 657. 741.
 —, J.'s letters to, and answer, 167. 225. B.'s letter to, and
 answer, 385. His Shakspeare-jubilee, 198. His liberality, 584.
 629. His death, 622. 623. His funeral, 726. J.'s eulogium on,
 629. Inscription under his portrait, 686. and bust, 836.
 Talent of mimicry, 439. J.'s opinion of his prologues, 438.
 —, Mr. George, 541.
 —, Mr. Peter, 27. 31. 415. 434. 489. 490. 632. 639.
 —, Mrs., 629. 685. 731.
 Garrigue, proper name of the Garrick family, 489.
 Gastrel, Rev. Mr., cuts Shakspeare's mulberry-tree, 492.
 —, Mrs., and letters to, 492. 529. 563. 566. 622. 623. 631.
 639. 706. 749.
 Gastrell, Bishop, his Christian Institutes, 377.
 Gataker, Rev. Thomas, "On Lots," 369.
 Gauslib, Professor, opinion on hypochondria and madness, 14.
 Gay, John, 72. 364. 453. 665. "Beggars' Opera," 364. 453.
 604. The "Orpheus of Highwaymen," 453.
 "Geldus" character of, 27. 68. 425.
 Gell, Mr., father of Sir William, 416.
 General warrants, legality of, 199.
 Generosity, 403.
 Genius, 293. 624. 833.
 Genlis, Madame, 247.
 Gentility, 444. 511.
 Gentleman, Mr. Francis, 131.
 "Gentleman," the appellation of, 4.
 "Gentleman's Magazine," 11. 13. 23. 25. 31. 43. 45. 48. 50.
 506. 604. 611. 658. 666.
 "Gentle Shepherd," Allan Ramsay's, 252. 395.
 George the First, 53. 151. 187. Johnson's character of, 444.
 — the Second, 105. 187. 236. 461. 689. J.'s invective
 against, 42. 104. 111. 444. J.'s epigram on, 43. 405. Not an
 Augustus to learning or genius, 65. His destruction of his
 father's will, 444. Compliment to Mrs. Thornton, 185.
 — the Third, 119. 123. 126. 184. 187. 195. 196. 199. 202. 325.
 448. 463. 495. J.'s character of, 123. 213. 448. Grants J.
 a pension, 126. J.'s interview with, 184. Happy ex-
 pression of, 69. His conduct during the riots in 1780, 648.
 His alleged refusal of an addition to J.'s pension disproved,
 781. 788.
 —, his library is judiciously given to the Brit. Museum, 29.
 — the Fourth, 151. 623. 184. 187. 272. 297. 325. 329.
 "Georgics," The, 731.
 Gerard, Dr., 292. 305.
 German courts, 359.
 Gerves, John, 378.
 Gesticulation, 24. 770. 834. Gestures, 42. 269. 439.
 "Get Money," 560.
 Gherardi, Marchese, 606.
 Ghosts, 116. 138. 228. 234. 239. 241. 275. 378. 573. 585. 596.
 614. 616. 631. 685.
 Giannone, 655.
 Giants' Causeway, 638.
 "Giants of Literature," 69.
 Giardini, 254.
 Gibbon, Edward, Esq., 15. 71. 93. 112. 186. 197. 202. 229. 272.
 412. 445. 446. 452. 453. 484. 498. 511. 521. 573. 577. 579. 629.
 Sketch of his appearance and manners by Colman, Jun.,
 511. His character of Dr. Maty, 93. His panegyric on
 public schools, 498. Imitation of Johnson's style, 706.

- Gibbon, Mrs. 15.
 —, Charles, his work worth reading, 175.
 —, Rev. Dr., 695, 756.
 Gibraltar, 461.
 Giffard, the manager, 51.
 —, a clergyman, verses by, 301.
 Gifford, William, Esq., 562, 794.
 Gilbert "On Evidence," 400.
 Gillespie, Dr., 749.
 Gilmour, Mr., 335.
 Gilpin, Mr., 416.
 Ginquet, King, 461.
 Gin-shops, 251.
 Glanville, William Evelyn, Esq., 608.
 Glasgow, 393, 719.
 Glasse's "Cookery," written by Dr. Hill, 592.
 Glaucus, 220.
 Glensheal, 309.
 Gloominess, folly and sinfulness of, 702
 Glover's "Leonidas," 301
 Gloves, 583.
 Glow-worm, 192, 256.
 Gluttony, 159.
 Glynn, Knight of, 377.
 Goat, motto for Banks's, 226.
 Gobelin, 460.
 Goldsmith, Dr. Oliver, 72, 135, 153, 161, 189, 222, 240, 258, 264, 349, 385, 430, 506, 571, 657, 831.
 —, Boswell and Hlakins's character of, 140, 141, 142, 241.
 —, anecdotes of, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 150, 176, 186, 195, 203, 248, 251, 253, 262, 263, 264, 294, 498, 527, 549.
 —, Johnson's opinion of, and of his writings, 139, 174, 235, 241, 244, 247, 250, 256, 257, 258, 263, 264, 308, 358, 359, 371, 384, 450, 506, 520, 550, 578, 580, 586, 600, 624, 625, 661, 663, 691, 716, 768, 831.
 —, his portrait by Reynolds, 831.
 —, beats Evans, the bookseller, 248, 249.
 —, Johnson's letter to, 255.
 —, his bon-mots on Johnson, 195, 256, 263, 264
 —, his death, 413, 414.
 —, Johnson's tetrastric on, 414, 521. Translated, 414.
 —, Johnson's Latin epitaph on, 519.
 —, Garrick's and Walpole's description of him, 140.
 —, his "Vicar of Wakefield," 141. His "Traveller," 174, 258, 266, 384, 580, 604. His "Deserted Village," 174, 258.
 —, his comedies refused by Garrick and Colman, 604.
 —, Dr. Warton's opinion of, 173.
 —, J.'s prologue to his "Good-natured Man," 67, 189, 190.
 —, his "Life of Parnell," 235.
 —, his "She Stoops to Conquer," 248. Dedicated to J., 250.
 —, his "Animated Nature," 240, 449, 548.
 —, Prior's Life of, quoted, 74, 111, 171, 177, 203, 247.
 —, Doctor Minor, 294.
 —, Dr. Isaac, 141.
 —, Rev. Mr., 241.
 —, Mrs., 526.
 Good-breeding, 290.
 —, in what it consists, 203.
 —, the best book upon, 359.
 Gooddeere, Captain, 274.
 —, Sir John Dinely, 275.
 Good Friday, 449, 597, 724.
 Good-humour, 335, 451.
 —, "Good Man," 739.
 —, "Good-natured Man," Goldsmith's, 67, 189, 190.
 Goodness, infinite, 764. Natural, 335, 336.
 Gordon, Professor Thomas, 290, 291, 293.
 —, Mr., the translator of Tacitus, 45.
 —, Hon. Alex., afterwards Lord Rockville, 159, 401, 402.
 —, Sir Alexander, 291, 294.
 —, Lord George, 647, 648, 683.
 —, Rev. Dr., 618.
 Gough, Mr., 465.
 Gout, 334, 634, 740.
 Government, 236, 591, 731.
 —, influence, 216, 448, 449, 500, 680.
 —, of India, 729.
 "Government of the Tongue," 626.
 Governments, different kinds of, 591.
 Gower, Earl, letter for J., 37. J.'s aversion to, 37, 98.
 —, Mrs. Leveson, 646.
 "Grace," Edwards on, 593.
 —, at meals, 303. Latin one of Johnson's, 284.
 Grafton, Duke of, 505.
 Graham, author of "Telemachus, a Masque," 139, 294, 528.
 —, Lord, third Duke of Montrose, 627.
 —, Lady Lucy, 360.
 —, Miss, afterwards Lady Dashwood, 637.
 —, Colonel, 231.
 Grainger, Dr. James, 191, 206, 471. His "Sugar Cane," 485, 834. His "Ode on Solitude," 561, 834. Letter to Percy, 171.
 Grammar-school, Johnson's scheme for the classes of, 26.
 Grand Chartreux, 465.
 Grandison, Sir Charles, 83, 181.
 Grange, Lady, her extraordinary confinement, 311.
 Granger, Rev. James, his "Biographical History," 352, 524.
 Johnson's letter to, 471.
 Grant, Sir Archibald, 527.
 —, Rev. Mr., 302.
 Grautham, Lord, 148.
 Grants, the, 309.
 Granville, John Carteret, Earl of, 658, 680.
 Gratitude, 343.
 Grattan, Right Hon. Henry, 439, 769.
 "Grave," Blair's, 509.
 Graves, Rev. Richard, 24, 413, 485.
 —, Mr. Morgan, 24.
 Gravina, 723.
 Gray, Sir James, 238.
 —, Thomas, and his poetry, 15, 136, 137, 149, 174, 234, 315, 365, 385, 439, 442, 504, 506, 595, 658, 675. His dulness, 439, 504. His "Odes," 442, 658. His "Letters," 456. His "Memoirs," 504. His life by Mason, a dull book, 504.
 —, Opinion of Boswell's "Corsica," 189.
 —, Stephen, verses on the death of, 181.
 —, John, bookseller, 46.
 "Gray's Inn Journal," 120.
 "Great," how pronounced, 61, 233.
 Great, manners of the, 616.
 —, men, on paying court to, 175.
 Greatrakes, Valentine, 233.
 Greece, the fountain of knowledge, 608.
 Greek language, Johnson's advice on studying, 637.
 —, compared by Johnson to lace, 661.
 —, Johnson's alleged deficiency in, 794, 795.
 —, Grammar, Crenardus's, 660. Translations, 837.
 Green, Bishop of Lincoln, 8, 448.
 —, Matthew, his "Spleen," quoted, 636.
 —, Mr. Richard, of Lichfield, his museum, 214, 415, 490, 631, 639. His cast of Shakspeare, 458. Johnson's letter to, 797. His anecdotes of Johnson, 836.
 Green's "Diary of a Lover of Literature," 446.
 Greene, Edward Burnaby, 167.
 Green-room, Johnson's reasons for not frequenting, 62.
 "Green Sleeves," the song of, 353.
 Greenwich Hospital, 156, 157.
 Gregory, Dr., 79, 278.
 Grenville, Right Hon. George, 222.
 —, Act, 400.
 Gresham College, 498.
 Greshams, the, 170.
 Greshold, Henry, his character of Johnson, 24.
 Greville, Mr., 644. His book, 764.
 —, a name assumed by Hawkesworth, 55.
 Grey, Dr. Richard, 603. Dr. Zachary, 603.
 Grief, 206, 540, 693.
 Grierson, Mr., king's printer in Ireland, 160, 215.
 —, Mrs., the learned, some account of, 215.
 Griffiths, Mr., letter respecting Cibber's Lives, 504.
 —, Mr., of Keilmawyth, 423.
 Grimm, 115.
 Grimston, Viscount, his "Love in a Hollow Tree," 680.
 Groot, Isaac de, a descendant of Grotius, J.'s kindness to, 535.
 Grose's "Olio," note on Charles Stuart, 827.
 Grotius, 155, 478, 535.
 —, on the Christian religion, recommended by J., 135.
 —, de Satisfactione Christi, 292.
 Grotto, Pope's, 657, 670.
 Grotto, 637, 658.
 Grove, Henry, his "Spectator," on Novelty, 505, 664.
 —, "Grub-street," Johnson's description of, 98.
 Gualtier, Philip, 718.
 Guardians, Johnson's advice on the appointment of, 634.
 Guarini, quoted, 614.
 Guilleragues, 22.
 "Gulliver's Travels," 437.
 Gully, 79.
 Gunisbury Park, Johnson in, 834.
 Gunning, Elizabeth, Duchess of Argyll, 387.
 Gunpowder, 303, 618.
 —, Gustavus Vasa," Brooke's, 40.
 Guibrie, Will., 32, 191, 663. "Apotheosis of Milton," 40.
 Gwynn, Mr., the architect, 181, 424, 481, 483.
 —, his proposals for the improvement of the metropolis, Johnson's dedication, 181.
 —, Mrs. (Miss Horneck), 140.
 Habeas Corpus, 200.
 Habits, early, 432.
 Hackman, Rev. Mr., his trial for shooting Miss Ray, 628.
 Haddington, Earl of, 241, 538.
 Haddock, Finnon, 299.
 Hagley, 424.
 Hague, 8.
 Hailes, David, Dalrymple, Lord, 87, 148, 153, 245, 275, 278, 279, 300, 351, 380, 401, 428, 429, 472, 474, 483, 569, 589, 730, 736, 740. Account of, 148. His letter to Boswell on the "Journey to the Hebrides," 405. His "Annals of Scotland," 413, 414, 441, 459, 468, 471, 513, 618, 624, 636.
 Hale, Lord Chief Justice, 232, 445. Anecdotes of, 448, 767.
 Halford, Sir H., 211.
 Half-pay officers, 422.

- Halifax, Lord, 168.
 Hakket, Eliz., (Lady Wardlaw), author of "Hardyknot," 205.
 Hall, Rev. Dr., 13. 16. 18. 89. 93. 165. 213. 258. 443. 453. 476. 507. 511. 560. 597. 658.
 —, Mrs., 475. 684. 685. 752.
 —, Bishop, 175. 233.
 —, General, 619.
 Hallam, Mr., 249.
 Hallows, Mrs., 357.
 Halsey, Edmund, Esq., 169.
 Hamilton, of Bangour, his poems, 276. 545.
 —, Right Hon. William Gerard, 37. 168. 169. 223. 349. 436. 441. 577. 644. 690. 743. 807. J.'s compliments to his conversation, 169. His anecdote respecting J.'s pension, 436. J.'s letters to, 743. 787. His kindness to J., 742.
 —, the Rev. Dr., Johnson's letters to, 757.
 —, Gavin, the painter, 410.
 —, Mr., the printer, 254.
 —, Mr., of Sundrum, 275.
 —, Lady Betty, 388. 389.
 —, Duke and Duchess of, 387. 390. 396. 569.
 —, Miss, 731.
 "Hamlet," 248. 512. 678.
 Hammond, James, 69. His "Love Elegies," 357. 504. 659.
 —, Mr. Bevil's defence of, 675.
 —, Dr., "on the New Testament," 513.
 Handmaid to the "Arts," 658.
 Hanging criminals, on the new way of, 720.
 Hamner, Sir Thomas, his Shakspeare, 54. 181. 183. 201. Epitaph on, 64.
 Hanover succession, 276. 358. 389. 546. 712.
 Hanway, Jonas, his "Essay on Tea," 105. His "Travels" characterised by Johnson, 217.
 Happiness, 142. 150. 153. 175. 236. 289. 323. 365. 447. 511. 549. 561. 578. 593. 594. 695.
 —, equalised by Providence, 90.
 —, the only solid basis of, 619.
 Harcourt, Lord Chancellor, 18.
 Hardinge, Sir Henry, (now Lord,) 241.
 Hardwicke, Lord Chancellor, 505. 563.
 —, second Lord, 85.
 Hardy, Mr., his "Life of Lord Charlemont," 83. 643.
 "Hardyknot," ballad of, 205.
 Harrington, Dr. Henry, his "Nugæ Antiquæ," 717.
 "Hartian Miscellany," 53.
 Harlow, the painter, 741.
 Harmless pleasure, 629.
 Harrington, Countess of, 541.
 Harriot, Mrs., 213.
 "Harriot Stuart," a novel, 83.
 Harris, James, Esq., 234. 396. 452. 532. 577. 582. 644.
 —, his character of Johnson's Dictionary, 532.
 —, his "Hermes," 396.
 —, the bookseller, 249.
 Harrison, Mr., Johnson's uncle, 813.
 —, Mrs., her "Miscellanies," 105.
 Harry, Miss Jane, the proselyte to Quakerism, 596.
 Hart, Rev. John, his Hymns, 165.
 Harte, Dr. Walter, his "Gustavus Adolphus," 217. 680.
 J.'s character of, 217. His excessive vanity, 680.
 Hartly, Dr., 65.
 Harwood, Dr., 4. 12. 25. 62. 78. 80. 125. 127. 163. 187. 198. 438. 505. 566. His "History of Lichfield," 25. 79.
 —, Dr. Edward, 506.
 Hastie, the schoolmaster, prosecuted, 227. 231. 241. 245.
 —, Johnson's argument on behalf of, 241. 245.
 Hastings, Warren, Esq., Boswell's character of, 675. 729.
 —, letter to Boswell, 675. J.'s letters to, 676. 677. Wished to bring the Persian language into Europe, 676.
 —, Marquis of, 322.
 Hatchett, Charles, Esq., secretary of the "Club," 445. 446. Hatred, 544.
 "Hatyn foam foam eri," an Erse song, 316. Translated by Lady Northampton, 364.
 Hawkestone, 417.
 Hawkesworth, Dr., 54. 55. 58. 75. 79. 81. 181. 235. 361. 834. A pupil of J.'s. 25. Imitates his style, 81. 250. Anecdotes of J., 235. His "Collection of Voyages," 260. 496. His objections against a particular providence, 361.
 Hawkins, Mr., Johnson's instructor in Latin, 7.
 —, Rev. William, his "Siege of Aleppo," 583.
 —, Sir John, his "Life of Johnson" quoted, contradicted, or explained, *passim*.
 —, Sir John, Boswell habitually unjust to, 1. Johnson's letters to, 745. 789.
 —, Journal of Johnson's last days, 800. 840.
 —, his attempt to purloin Johnson's MSS., 803. 841.
 —, his miscellaneous anecdotes of Johnson, 771.
 —, Miss, 232. 597. 746. Her description of Mrs. Williams, 74. Of Bennet Langton, 79. Of Garrick's person and mode of living of, 584.
 Hawthornden, 322. 404.
 Hay, Lord Charles, 394. 497. 661.
 —, Lord, 297.
 —, John, 306. 308. 310.
 —, Sir George, 118. John of Kellour, 297.
 Hay's "Martial," 392.
 Hayes, Rev. Mr., 555.
 Hayley, William, Esq., 773. 837.
 Hayman, Mr., the painter, 86.
 Health, 227.
 —, Johnson's rules for travellers in quest of, 708.
 Healths, drinking of, 637.
 "Heard," Johnson's mode of pronouncing, 560.
 Heaven, happiness of, 233. 593. 594.
 Hearne, Thomas, 837.
 He-bear and she-bear, 691.
 Heberden, Dr., 632. 734. Letter to, 788.
 Hebrides, Johnson's wish to visit, 153. 157. 191. 224. 228. 245. 256. 266.
 —, Boswell's account of the journey to, from 267. to 409.
 —, Johnson's "Account of his Journey," 413. 414. 427. 431. 527. 540. 606. Errata in, 825.
 Hector, Mr. Edmund, Johnson's schoolfellow, 5. 3. 9. 11. 21. 23. 47. 486. 488. 665. 791. George, 813.
 —, Johnson's letters to, 703. 704. 792.
 Heely, Mr. and Mrs., 183. 790.
 Heirs, 472. &c. 525.
 "Hell paved with good intentions," 450.
 "Heloise," Rousseau's, 175.
 Henault's History of France, 459.
 Henderland, Lord. See Murray.
 Henderson, John, the actor, 741. Imitation of J., 439.
 —, John, student of Pembroke College, 759. 763.
 Henry, Dr., 79. His "History of Great Britain," 609.
 —, II., Lyttelton's History of, 185.
 —, VII., 300.
 —, VIII., 420. 638.
 —, Shakspeare's, 741. Harlowe's picture of, 741.
 —, Mr., 102.
 Herbert, George, his "Jacula Prudentum" quoted, 450.
 Hercules, 60.
 Hereditary occupations, 302. Dispositions, 336. Right, 546.
 Heritable jurisdictions, 322.
 "Hermes," Harris's, 396.
 "Hermippus Redivivus," Campbell's, 142. 477.
 Hermit, Life of, 285.
 "Hermite," Farnell's, 569. 631. Beattie's, 720.
 Herne, Elizabeth, a lunatic cousin of Johnson, 802.
 "Heroic Epistle to Sir William Chambers," 325. 602. 691. 768.
 Hertford, first Marquis of, 88.
 Hervey, Lord, 29. 59.
 —, Hon. Thomas, 29. 183. 201. 444. 507. 651.
 —, Hon. Henry, 28, and Miss Eliza, 651.
 —, Rev. James, his "Meditations," 387.
 Hesioid, 283. 637.
 Hesketh, Lady, 505.
 Hickey, Rev. Dr., 389. 759.
 Hickman, Geo., Johnson's letter to, 20. Miss, 23.
 Hicky, Mr., the painter, 443. 444.
 Hierarchy, Johnson's reverence for, 540. 678.
 Hierocles, 44. 371.
 Higgins, Dr., 616. 629.
 "High Life below Stairs," Garrick's farce of, 656.
 Highland chief, 312. 314. 343.
 Highlanders, 231. 403.
 Highwaymen, the question of shooting them discussed, 576.
 Hill, Dr. Sir John, Johnson's character of, 185. 212. 284. 552.
 —, Aaron, his account of "Irene," 61. Paraphrase of the epigram on the miracle at Cana, 598.
 —, Sir Rowland, 417.
 Hinchcliffe, Dr. John, 645.
 "Historia Studiourum," Johnson's, 604.
 Historian, requisites for an, 145.
 Historians, 338. 636.
 History, 145. 202. 452. Little really authentic, 202. 452.
 "An old almanack," 452. Not supported by contemporary evidence, a romance, 404.
 —, of manners, the most valuable, 289.
 —, of the Council of Trent, J.'s projected translation of, 29.
 "History of Troye," first book printed in English, 425.
 Hitch, Mr., 101. 102.
 Hoadly, Dr. Benjamin's "Suspicious Husband," 190.
 Hoare, Lady, 511.
 Hobbes, Thomas, on the state of the mind in old age, 581.
 Hodge, Johnson's cat, 722.
 Hogarth, 9. 455. 614. His first interview with J., 42. 614.
 J.'s lines on the death of, 43. 225. His character of J., 42.
 Hogg's "Jacobite Relics," 310.
 "Hoghead of Sense," Johnson said to be, 383.
 Holdbrook, Mr., Johnson's early instructor, 8.
 Holderness, Lord, 331.
 Holidays, 487. 601.
 Holland, the jurisprudence of, 159.
 —, Mr., the actor, 656.
 Hollis, Thomas, Esq., 9. 686.
 Hollyer, Mr., Johnson's letter to, 427.
 Holy orders, 107.
 Holyrood House, 276. 390.
 Holywell, 419.
 Home, Lord, 43. 134.
 —, Mr. John, 155. 332. 399. 441. 448. 452. 509. 518. 548.
 —, his tragedy of "Douglas," 390. 437. 518.

- Homer, 41. 220. 288. 289. 296. 317. 559. 582. 608. 664. 137.
 —, antiquity of, 608. Quoted by Thucydides, 608.
 —, J.'s veneration for, 220. 608. J.'s seal, a head of, 220.
 —, Johnson's early translations from, 10.
 —, Pope's translation of, 582. Dacier's, Macpherson's, and Cowper's translations of, 608.
 —, and Virgil, comparative excellence of, 559. 608.
 "Homo caudatus," 459.
 Honesty, 574. Noble instance of, 298.
 Hook, Abbé, his translation of "Berwick's Memoirs," 592.
 Hooke, Dr., 464. 465.
 —, Nath., wrote the Duchess of Marlborough's Apology, 321.
 Hooker, 69.
 Hoole, John, Esq., 76. 130. 427. 610. 649. Educated in Grub-street, 720. J.'s dedication of his "Tasso," 130. Letter to Hastings in behalf of, 677. His "Cleonicæ," 427. J.'s letters to, 427. 785. Diary of J.'s last illness, 844.
 —, Rev. Mr., 804.
 —, Mrs., 76.
 Hooper, Bishop, 210.
 Hope, 125.
 —, Dr., 405. 749.
 —, Sir William, 284.
 Hopeton, John, Earl of, 668.
 Hopson, General, 457.
 Horace, 56. 61. 69. 70. 176. 224. 257. 280. 317. 323. 397. 408. 448. 450. 484. 482. 516. 559. 580. 604. 605. 617. 624. 691. 730.
 —, Johnson's translation of, 10.
 —, Francis's translation of, the best, 617.
 —, Dr. Douglas's collection of editions of, 756.
 Horace's villa, 580.
 Horne, Bishop, 413. 414. 483. 529. 810. Letter to Adam Smith about Hume, 272. His character of J., 810.
 —, Rev. John. See Tooke.
 Horneck, the Misses, 138. 140. 249. 649.
 Horrebow's history of Iceland, 589.
 Horses, old, what should be done with, 744.
 Horsley, Dr. Samuel, 155. 746.
 —, William, 184.
 Hospitality, 235. 253. 607. 660. 731. Decline of, 660.
 Hospitals, administration of, 511.
 Hottentot, respectable, Johnson so called, 87, 88.
 Houghton Collection, Johnson regrets the sale of, 775.
 House of Commons, 261. 574. 575. 714.
 —, influence of peers in, 281.
 —, power of expulsion by, 637.
 —, originally a check for the Crown, on the Lords, 637.
 —, best mode of speaking at the bar of, 571.
 —, its power over the national purse, 714.
 —, Lord Bolingbroke's description of, 574.
 —, course invectives used in, 763.
 House of Peers, 281. 296.
 Housebreakers, 695.
 Houses and residences, Johnson's, 30. 636.
 How, Mr. Richard, 718.
 Howard, John, Esq., the philanthropist, 19. 114. 571.
 —, Hon. Edward, 211.
 —, Sir George, 455.
 Howell's "Letters," 446.
 Huddersford, Dr., 92. 108.
 "Hudibras," 58. 340. 454. 506.
 Huet, Bishop of Avranches, 22. 23. 552.
 Huggins, W., the translator of Ariosto, 129. Dispute with Warton, 656.
 Hughes, John, the poet, 88. 601. 666.
 Hulks, punishment of the, 585.
 Human life, 218. 773. Miseries and happiness of, 447.
 —, will, liberty of, 773.
 Humanity, Johnson's, 770.
 Hume, David, 62. 88. 150. 151. 174. 199. 211. 272. 331. 358. 393. 436. 482. 534. 545. 557. 593. 629. Echo of Voltaire, 191. Secretary of Embassy at Paris, 88. Political principles, 722. Scepticism, 272. 534. 545. 760. His "Life," 534.
 Humour, good and bad, 335. 451. 669. 696.
 —, Johnson's talent for, 58.
 "Humours of Ballanagair," 251.
 Humphry, Ozias, Esq., Johnson's letters to, 751. 752.
 Hunter, Mr., Johnson's schoolmaster, 7. 89. 227. 836.
 —, Mrs., 193. Miss, 718.
 Hunter, Dr., 704. 731.
 Hunting, Johnson a fox-hunter, 351. Pleasure of, 838.
 Hurd, Bishop, 20. 448. 516. 572. 669. "Works of Cowley," 503. Johnson's character of, 720. Sermon on evil spirits, 761.
 "Hurlo Thrumbo," Sam. Johnson, author of, 366.
 Husbands, 637.
 —, John, 13.
 Hussey, Dr. Thomas, titular Bishop of Waterford, 805.
 —, Rev. John, letter to, 621.
 Hutchinson, William, a drover, honesty of, 298.
 —, John, his "Moral Philosophy," 511.
 —, Mrs., 15.
 Hutton, William, his "History of Derby," 549.
 —, Mr., the Moravian, 805.
 Hyde, Henry, Lord, 476.
 Hyett, Mrs., (Miss Adams), 761.
 Hypocaut, a Roman one, 418.
 Hypochondria, the "English Malady," 14. 28. 617. 640.
 Byron's definition of, 15. Suffered by Mr. Windham, 617. 840.
 —, and madness, distinction between, 14.
 —, improper treatment of, 28.
 "Hypochondriac," Boswell's, 15. 717.
 Hypocrite, no man one in his pleasures, 768.
 —, play of the, 437.
 Iceland, chapter of the "Natural History" of, 589.
 Icolmkill, 381. 382.
 Idleness, 110. 147. 158. 208. 657. 716.
 "Idler," Johnson's, 1. 110. 114. 116. 510.
 Ignorance, singular instance of, 302.
 —, guilt of continuing in voluntary, 181.
 —, among men of eminence, instances of, 205.
 Ilam, Johnson's visit to, 415. 557.
 Ilchester, Earl, 440.
 Ilk, sense of the word, 606.
 Imagination, 612. 833.
 Imlac, why so spelled, 664.
 Immortality, 450. 557.
 Impartiality, 479.
 Impressions, fully of trusting to, 694.
 —, should be described while fresh on the mind, 109.
 Impudence, difference between Scotch and Irish, 433.
 Ince, Richard, a writer in the "Spectator," 508.
 Inch Keith, 281.
 Inch Kenneth, 372. 376. 379. 428. 429. Ode on, 378.
 "Incident in Scyllam," &c., whence taken, 718.
 Incivility, 663.
 Income, living within, 733.
 Incrudulity, Johnson's, 573.
 Indecency and indelicacy. See Macaulay, T. B.
 Index rerum to "Clarissa," 73.
 India, government of, 729.
 —, Johnson's thought of going there, 501.
 —, practice of going to, in quest of wealth, 635.
 Indians, why not weak or deformed, 728.
 Indigestion, Johnson's remedy for, 440.
 Indolence, Johnson's, 157. 165.
 Inequality, political, 252.
 Infidel writers, 358. 482. 484. 760.
 Infidelity, 174. 176. 202. 332. 450. 482. 512. 545. 760.
 —, conjugal, 502. 614. 636.
 Infidels, keeping company with, 638.
 Influence of the Crown, 216. 731.
 Ingratitude, 455.
 —, French saying about, 335.
 Inheritance, consequences of anticipating, 706.
 Inmates and pensioners, Johnson's, 570. 620.
 Innes, Rev. Mr., 122.
 Innovation, rage for, 720.
 Inns, Shennstone's lines on, 485. 830.
 Innys, Mr. William, 801.
 Inoculation, 762.
 Inquisition, 158.
 Insanity, 5. 14. 15. 106. 135. 336. 553. 664.
 —, hereditary, important observations on, 5.
 Inscriptions, Latin or English, 313. 392. 520.
 Insects, 260.
 Inspired, whether our copies of the Scriptures are to be considered, absolutely and literally, as, 176.
 Insults, 239. 240.
 Intentions, 175. Good, 785.
 Interest, 574. Of money, 611.
 Intoxication, 480.
 Intromission, vicious, 244. 247. 278. 814.
 Intuition and sagacity, distinction between, 775.
 Invasion, ridiculous fears of, 606.
 Invectives, 763.
 Inverary, 385.
 Inverness, 304.
 "Inverted understanding," 626.
 Invitations, 451.
 Invocation of saints, 263. 637. 761.
 Inward light, 219.
 Ireland, 217. 220. 263. 277.
 —, Injured by the union with England, 638.
 —, hospitality to strangers in, 660.
 —, its ancient state little known, 108.
 —, Johnson wishes its literature cultivated, 108.
 —, necessity of poor laws in, 220.
 —, William Henry, his Shakspeare forgeries, 510. 701.
 "Irene," Johnson's tragedy of, 27. 29. 30. 31. 45. 60. 61. 76. 656.
 Irish, the, "a fair people," 433. Mix better with the English than the Scotch do, 259. J.'s compassion for the distresses of, 217. 263. J.'s kindness for, 638. Union, 638. Gentlemen, good scholars among them, 220. Accent, 232. Impudence, 433. Language, 531. 575. And Welch languages, affinity between, 108. And Erse languages compared, 231. 446. Papists, 217. 263. Family pride, 355.
 Irreparable, or irreparable? 479.
 Irvine, Mr., 295. 349.

- Irwin, Captain, 460.
 Isle of Man, 518.
 — of Muck, 341.
 Italy, Johnson's projected tour to, 342. 496. 500. 503. 505.
 772. 775. 781.
 Ivy-lane Club, 58. 107. 745. 752.
- Johnson, Henry, Johnson's schoolfellow, 489. 538.
 —, Richard, Esq., M. P., the "Omniscient," 500. 540.
 —, Thomas, the servant, 6. 489.
 —, Mr., of Canterbury 32.
 Jacobites, 147. 438.
 Jacobitism, Johnson's ingenious defence of, 147.
 James I., 243. 420. His "Daemonology," 627.
 — 11., 278. 325. 444.
 — IV. of Scotland, Boswell's intended history of, 293.
 — Dr., 19. 43. 235. 501. 783. His "Medicinal Dictionary,"
 48. His character, 48. His death, 495.
 James, Mr., 312. 317.
 Japix, Gisbert, his "Rymelerie," 163.
 "Jealous Wife," a comedy, 123.
 Jealousy, 512.
 Jenkinson, Charles (Lord Liverpool), letter to, 543.
 Jennings, Charles, of Gopsal, 243.
 Jennings, Mr., 573.
 Jenyns, Soame, 68. 106. 509. 593. His "Origin of Evil," 106.
 392. His epitaph on Johnson, and Boswell's retaliation,
 106. Application of a passage in Horace to, 590. His
 "Evidence of the Christian Religion," 593.
 Jephson, Robert, Esq., 56. 205.
 Jersey, William, third Earl, 3.
 Jervis, Mr., of Birmingham, 21.
 —, Elizabeth, (Mrs. Johnson), 24. 78.
 Jesuits, destruction of the order of, 468.
 Jodrell, Richard Paul, Esq., 643. 754.
 Johnson, Michael, father of Samuel, 4. 5. 19. 214. 438. 812.
 —, Mrs., his mother, 5. 7. 19. 23. 114. 812. Her death, 113.
 —, Nathaniel, brother of Samuel, 4. 23.
 —, Mrs., wife of Samuel, 25. 26. 28. 29. 59. 58. 65. 74. 75, 76,
 77. 81. 85. 165. 502. 612. 615.
 —, Andrew, Samuel's uncle, 4. 198. 239. 342. 427.
 —, Thomas, Samuel's cousin, 427.
- JOHNSON, SAMUEL. *Leading events of his life.*
 1709. his birth, 4.
 inherits a vile melancholy, 4. 832.
 his account of his family, 812.
 traditional stories of his precocity, 6.
 afflicted with scrofula, 7.
 1712. touched by Queen Anne for the evil, 7.
 1716. at school in Lichfield, 7. Boyish days, 8.
 1726. removed to the school of Stourbridge, 10.
 1727. leaves Stourbridge. J.'s two years at home, 12. 837.
 1728. enters at Pemb. Coll., 12. College life, 13. 837.
 translates Pope's "Messiah," 13.
 the "morbid melancholy" increases, 14.
 his reading, 16. Specimens of exercises, 17.
 1731. quits college, 18.
 1732. becomes usher of Bosworth school, 20.
 1733. at Birmingham and translates Lobo, 21.
 1734. returns to Lichfield, 22.
 proposes to print Politian's poems, 22.
 offers to write for the "Gent. Mag.," 23.
 1736. marries Mrs. Porter, and opens a school at Edial, 25.
 1737. goes to London with Garrick, 27.
 retires to lodgings at Greenwich, 29.
 designs to translate Father Paul, 29.
 returns to Lichfield and finishes "Irene," 29.
 removes to London with his wife, 30.
 1738. becomes a writer in the "Gent. Mag.," 31.
 writes the debates in parliament, 32.
 publishes "London," sells it for ten guineas, 33.
 fails to obtain the degree of A. M., 37.
 1739. publishes "Marmor Norfolciense," 40.
 1740. writes Lives of Blake, Drake, and Barretier, 43.
 1741. translates the "Jests of Hierocles," Guyon's "Disser-
 tation on the Amazons," and Fontenelle's "Panegyric
 on Dr. Morin," 44.
 1742. writes "Essay on the Account of the Conduct of the
 Duchess of Marlborough," Lives of Burman and
 of Sydenham, and proposals for "Bibliotheca Har-
 leiana," 46.
 1743. writes "Considerations on the Dispute between Crou-
 saz and Warburton," &c., and dedication to Dr. Mead,
 of James's "Medicinal Dictionary," 47.
 1744. publishes the "Life of Savage," and writes "Preface
 to the Harl. Miscell.," 49. 53.
 1745. publishes "Miscellaneous Observations on Macbeth,
 with Remarks on Hamner's Shakspeare," 53.
 no details of his life for the years 1745-6, 54.
 1747. publishes the prospectus of his Dictionary, 56.
 forms the King's Head Club, Ivy Lane, 58.
 1748. visits Tunbridge Wells, 58.
 writes "Life of Roscommon," "Preface to Dodsley's
 Preceptor," and "Vision of Theodore the Hermit,"
 59.

- JOHNSON, SAMUEL. — *continued.*
 1749. gets fifteen guineas for the "Vanity of Human Wishes,"
 59.
 his "Irene" acted at Drury Lane, 60.
 1750. begins to publish "The Rambler;" his prayer on com-
 mencing the undertaking, 62. Writes a prologue for
 the benefit of Milton's grand-daughter, 72.
 1751. writes "Life of Chenevix," Letter for Lauder, and
 dedication to Lenox's "Female Quixote," 72.
 1752. works at the Dictionary and Rambler, 74.
 death of his wife, and grief for her, 75.
 writes her funeral sermon and epitaph, 77.
 circle of his friends at this time, 79.
 1753. writes papers T in "Adventurer," 75. 81.
 1754. writes "Life of Cave," 84. Visits Oxford, 88.
 obtains the degree of A. M. from Oxford, 90.
 1755. publishes his Dictionary, 91.
 projects a "Bibliotheca," 93.
 his depressed state of mind, 98.
 the Academy della Crusca and the French Academy
 present him with their "Dictionaries," 98.
 his scheme of life for Sunday, 99.
 1756. publishes an abridgment of Dictionary, 103.
 writes in "The Universal Visitor," 103.
 edits the "Literary Magazine," 103.
 composes sermons for clergymen, 107.
 proposes an edition of Shakspeare, 107.
 offered a living, but declines taking orders, 107.
 1757. dictates a speech at a public meeting on the expedition
 to Rochfort, 107.
 1758. commences the "Idler," 110.
 he breaks up housekeeping, and removes to chambers
 in the Temple, 110.
 1759. death of his mother, 113.
 writes his "Rasselas," to pay for her funeral, 115.
 makes an excursion to Oxford, 117.
 writes a Dissertation on the Greek Comedy," the
 Introduction to "The World Displayed," and "Three
 Letters concerning Blackfriars' Bridge," 119.
 1760. writes "Address of the Painters to George III.," the
 dedication to Baret's Italian Dictionary, and a re-
 view of Tytler's "Vindication of Mary Queen of
 Scots," 119.
 forms resolutions for his conduct and studies, 119.
 1761. writes preface to "Rolt's Dictionary," 121.
 1762. writes dedication of "Kennedy's Astronomical Chro-
 nology," and preface to the Catalogue of the Artists'
 exhibition, 124. E
 obtains a pension of 300*l.* a-year, 126.
 accompanies Sir Joshua Reynolds into Devon, 127.
 1763. writes character of Collins, "Life of Ascham," dedica-
 tion to Hoole's "Tasso," and Detection of the Im-
 posture of the Cock-lane Ghost, 130-8.
 Boswell becomes acquainted with him, 131.
 1764. the "Literary Club" founded, 163.
 afflicted with severe hypochondria, 165.
 writes review of Grainger's "Sugar Cane," and of Gold-
 smith's "Traveller," 164.
 visits Dr. Percy, 166.
 1765. visits Cambridge, 167.
 created L.L.D. by Dublin University, 168.
 is introduced to the Thrales, 169. 171.
 publishes his Shakspeare, 167.
 1766. writes the dedication of Gwynn's "London and West-
 minster Improved," and "The Fountains," a fairy
 tale, 181.
 1767. his interview with the King, 184.
 writes dedication to the King of "Adams' Treatise on the
 Globe," 187.
 1768. writes prologue to Goldsmith's play, 187.
 visits Oxford, 189.
 1769. appointed professor in ancient literature to the Royal
 Academy, 197.
 visits Oxford, Lichfield, and Brighton, 197.
 appears at the Old Bailey as a witness, 207.
 1770. publishes "The False Alarm," 213.
 1771. publishes "Thoughts on the late Transactions respect-
 ing Falkland's Islands," 221.
 design of bringing him into parliament, 222.
 prepares a 4th edition of the Dictionary, 230.
 1772. writes law arguments for Boswell, 241.
 sketches of his state of mind, 243.
 1773. publishes new edition of Dictionary, 246.
 writes preface to "Mucaney's Dictionary of Ancient
 Geography," 246.
 attempts to learn the Low Dutch languages, 265.
 journey with Boswell to the Hebrides, 267.
 presented with the freedom of Aberdeen, 292.
 1774. writing his "Journey to the Hebrides," 411.
 visits North Wales with the Thrales, 415.
 visits Mr. Burke at Beaconsfield, 425.
 writes "The Patriot," 425.
 1775. publishes his "Journey to the Hebrides," 426.
 publishes "Taxation no Tyranny," 434.
 receives degree of D.C.L. from Oxford, 446.
 visits France with the Thrales, 459.
 1776. writes proposals for an Analysis of the Celtic Language,
 476.

JOHNSON, SAMUEL. — *continued.*

- visits Oxford and Lichfield, 481., and Bath, 508.
 1777. engages to write "The Lives of the Poets," 530.
 writes dedication of the works of Bishop Pearce, 531.
 visits Oxford and Derbyshire, 538.
 exerts himself in behalf of Dr. Dodd, 541.
 1778. his visit to Warley Camp, 618.
 squabbles of his inmates, 620.
 1779. publishes the first four volumes of "The Lives of the Poets," 622.
 1780. employed on "The Lives of the Poets," 642.
 1781. completes his "Lives of the Poets," 665.
 death of Mr. Thrale, 681. J. one of his executors, 682.
 loses his friend Mr. Strahan, 687.
 plans a life of greater diligence, 698.
 purposes to study Italian literature, 698.
 visits Oxford, Birmingham, and Lichfield, 698.
 1782. loses his old friend Robert Levett, 700.
 declining state of his health, 702.
 visits Oxford, 708.
 takes leave of Streatham, 710.
 1783. has a stroke of the palsy, 734.
 visits Lichfield and Oxford, 736.
 founds the Essex Head Club, 746.
 troubled with spasmodic asthma, 746.
 1784. visits Oxford, 758.
 his friends project a tour to Italy, 772. 775. 776.
 visits Lichfield, Birmingham, and Oxford, 783.
 expiatory visit to Uttoveter, 791.
 details of his last illness and DEATH, 793—807. 839—846.
 WILL, 801.
 FUNERAL in Westminster Abbey, 807.
 Monument in St. Paul's, 808.
 Epitaphs by Mr. Flood and Dr. Parr, 809.
 Chronological Catalogue of his PROSE WORKS, 821.
 List of various PORTRAITS of him, 811.
 List of various intended DESIGNS, 794. 820.
 RECOLLECTIONS of him by Miss Reynolds, 830.
 Miscellaneous Anecdotes of. By Mr. Wickins, 835. By
 the Rev. Mr. Parker, by Mrs. Rose, by Mr. Robert
 Barclay, by Mr. Green, 836.

Leading points of his habits, manners, and character.

- Johnson, his peculiarities of person and manner, 7. 8. 9. 16.
 23. 24. 26. 41. 42. 87. 165. 166. 176. 195. 268. 269. 282. 371.
 409. 420. 511.
 —, very imperfect sight, 406. 511. 833.
 —, inability to discriminate features, 556. 835.
 —, defective hearing, 835.
 —, gesticulations, 42. 269. 339. 677.
 —, peculiar march, 677. Loud tone of voice, 835.
 —, remarkable laugh, 457.
 —, heat and irritability of blood, 721.
 —, dress, 269. 606. 832.
 —, general traits of character and mode of living, 8. 9. 12.
 18. 21. 25. 36. 41. 48. 51. 58. 63. 79. 81. 216. 268. 371.
 —, morbid melancholy, 14. 42. 91. 98. 116. 165. 188. 211. 269.
 336. 482. 496. 526. 553. 640. 661. 737. 764. 831.
 —, envy, 51. 134. 600.
 —, uncouth habits, 409. 835.
 —, occasional rudeness, 393. 397. 420. 487. 510. 518. 593. 628.
 658. 673. 685. 691. 832.
 —, readiness to take offence at a slight, 79. 85. 832.
 —, eating, 159. 160. 269. 599. 835., and drinking, 160. 508.
 —, respect for birth and family, 220.
 —, profound reverence for the hierarchy, 679. 723.
 —, bow to an archbishop, 723.
 —, insensibility to music and painting, 123. 373. 470. 770.
 832.
 —, alleged superstition, 165. 228.
 —, personal courage, 430. Activity, 834. 836.
 —, great love of late hours, 563.
 —, disregard of public abuse, 624. 663. 672. 675.
 —, abhorrence of affectation, 662.
 —, love of chemistry, 40. 634.
 —, knowledge of trades, 348. 355.
 —, extensive knowledge of literary history,
 —, alleged deficiency in Greek, 794. 795.
 —, power and extent of his memory, 6. 9. 86.
 —, political prejudices, 41.
 —, prejudice against the Scotch, 269. 432. 433.
 —, unjust contempt for foreigners, 659.
 —, oratorical powers, 223.
 —, conversational powers, 58. 216. 267. 6. 0. 692. 738.
 —, dexterity at retort, 719.
 —, bow-wow way of speaking, 430.
 —, mode of reading, 561., and recitation, 834.
 —, rule to talk his best, 719. 831.
 —, great talent for humour, 58.
 —, powers of improvisation, 471.
 —, dislike to be teased with questions, 583.
 —, extraordinary fertility of his mind, 64.
 —, tenderness, benevolence, humanity, and affability, 19.
 48. 77. 78. 113. 114. 118. 119. 127. 163. 166. 187. 217. 438. 535.
 588. 599. 612. 770. 834.
 —, candour and amiableness, 438.

Johnson, ceremony to ladies, 467. 832.

- , gratitude, 168.
 —, kindness to servants, 722.
 —, constancy to those once employed, 769.
 —, fondness for animals, 722.
 —, charity, 536. 570. 632. 758. 834.
 —, love of the poor, 127. 142. 216. 697.
 —, kindness to authors, 624.
 —, rigid honesty, 18.
 —, early and systematic piety, 5. 15. 24. 41. 100. 113. 792.
 —, inviolable regard to truth, 45. 149. 479. 572.
 —, would only write for pay, 41. 107. 171.
 —, kindness to children, 503. 722.
 —, confidence in the efficacy of prayer, 285. 296. 831—834.
 —, dread of death, 206. 211. 397. 430. 545. 595. 748. 755.
 760. 836.
 —, objection to the use of parenthesis, 720.
 —, writing by fits and starts, 789.
 —, rapid composition, 59. 63. 285. 299. 445. 513. 665. 695.
 —, the "Raubers" written hastily, 63. 58. 100 lines of
 "The Vanity of Human Wishes," in a day, 177. "Rasselas,"
 in a week, 115. "False Alarm" in twenty-eight hours,
 213. A sermon after dinner, 285. Forty-eight pages of the
 "Life of Savage" at a sitting, 285. Six sheets of transla-
 tion from the French in a day, 285. "The Patriot"
 in one day, 426.
 —, at sixty-seven purposes to apply vigorously to the
 Greek and Italian languages, 523.
 —, style characterised, 69. 79. 71. 582. 666.
 —, various imitations of, 765.
 —, W. S., of Connecticut, Johnson's letter to, 248.
 —, Commodore, 241.
 —, of the lay monastery, 393.
 —, Charles, author of "Adventures of a Guinea," 359.
 —, Samuel, author of "Huro Thrumbo," 366.
 —, the equestrian, 136. 573.
 —, Thomas, 427., and Samuel, 632. 802.
 —, Miss (Mrs. Whiting), 601.
 —, Mrs. (widow of a clergyman), 129.
 "Johnsoniana," the collection so called, 479. 606.
 Johnstone, Arthur, his poems, 156. 291. 750.
 —, Sir James, 757.
 Jones, Sir William, 37. 218. 239. 298. 629. 646. 676.
 —, Philip, 483.
 —, Miss, 108.
 Jonson, Ben, 72. 404.
 Jordan, Rev. Mr., 12. 13. 18. 89. 837.
 Jortin, Dr., his sermons, 579. His epitaph, 711.
 "Joseph Andrews," Fielding's, 238.
 Journal, Johnson advises keeping one, 148. 251. 449. 508. 716.
 —, des Savans, 186.
 Journey. See Hebrides.
 Juilice, 138.
 Judges, private life of, 402. Trading, 445. Why they should
 not hold their places for life, 448.
 —, an opinion of the Twelve, 613.
 Judgment, 450.
 Julian, Emperor, 74.
 Julien, M., 298.
 Junius, 58. 177. 222. 635. 765.
 Juries, 499.
 Justamond, J. O., 530.
 Juvenal, 33. 34. 59. 390. 581. 617.
 —, Holyday's notes on, praised, 841.
 Kaime, Henry Home, Lord, 43. 134. 159. 191. 205. 244. 358.
 392. His "Elements of Criticism," 134. 578. His "Sketches
 of Man," 578. 611. 616.
 Kearney, Bishop, 168. 489.
 —, Dr. Michael, notes and observations, 51. 52. 140. 160.
 168. 204. 251. 585. 605. 636. 678.
 Kearsley, Mr., the bookseller, 67. 677.
 Kedleston, 416. 548.
 Keene, Mr., 465.
 Keith, Mr., of the Excise, 304. 305.
 —, Lady, 488.
 Kelly, Hugh, 190. 532. 804.
 —, Thomas, sixth Earl of, 399. 551.
 Kemble, John Philip, 560. 741. 742.
 —, Charles, 741.
 Kempis, Thomas à, 572. 661.
 Ken, Bishop, 452. 551. 759.
 Kendal, Duchess of, 151.
 Kennedy, Sir Alexander, 395.
 —, Dr., dedication of his "Astronomical Chronology," 124.
 —, Dr., his Tragedy, 576.
 Kennicot, Dr. Benjamin, 219. 276. Mrs., 686. 731.
 Kenrick, Dr. William, attacks on J., 171. 188. 194. 358. 582.
 Kent, Duke of, 187.
 Keppel, Admiral, 161. 658.
 Kerr, Mr. James, 276.
 Kerry, Knight of, 377.
 Kettel, Hall, 88.
 Kildare, Earl of, 300.
 Kilmarnock, Lord, 257.
 Kilmorey, John, tenth Viscount, 417.

- Kimchi, Rabbi, 3.
 Kindersley, Mr., 740.
 Kindness, 555, 709.
 King, Dr., on the happiness of a future state, 593.
 —, Archbishop, his "Essay on Evil," 635.
 —, Lord, his "Life of Locke," 153.
 King, Johnson's interview with the, 185.
 Kings, their situation, 144, 151, 185, 343, 670.
 Kingsborough, Earl, 377.
 "Kingsburgh," (Alex. Macdonald), 324, 325, 333, 352, 355.
 King's-Head Club, 58.
 Kippis, Dr., 117, 223, 292, 552, 553, 792. J.'s opinion of, 836.
 Knagton, Miss, 56, 96.
 Kneller, Sir Godfrey, 575.
 Knight, Lady, 24, 74, 76, 181. Anecdotes of Johnson, 76. And of Mrs. Williams, 74, 181.
 —, Captain Sir Joseph, 480, 481.
 —, Joseph, the negro, 566.
 Knights Templars, College of, 340.
 Knitting, 577. Johnson attempts to learn, 449, 758.
 Knolles, 27.
 Knowledge, 142, 182, 252, 449, 484, 506, 603.
 Knowles, Mary, 517, 518, 591, 592, 593, 595. Dialogue with Johnson, 596.
 Knox, John, the reformer, 26, 283, 284.
 —, Rev. Vicesimus, imitates Johnson's style, 70, 773, 797.
 —, Mr. John, opinion of Johnson's "Journey," 431.
 Konigsmark, Count, 190.
 Kristrom, Mr., 231.
 Labefaction of all principles, 453.
 La Bletrie, 74.
 La Bruyère, 450.
 Lactantius, 538.
 Lade, Sir John, Johnson's verses on, 805.
 Ladies, Johnson's politeness to, 832.
 Lafontaine, 61.
 Lambesc, Prince, 462.
 Landed property, 473.
 Landlords, 209, 333, 343, 366, 370, 443, 579, 712.
 Langley, Rev. Mr., 416.
 —, Charles, Esq., husband of "Alley Croker," 580.
 Langton, Bennet, Esq., 8, 29, 59, 79, 80, 85, 108, 109, 112, 121, 138, 163, 177, 178, 188, 184, 197, 203, 222, 290, 263, 265, 266, 292, 298, 327, 378, 413, 428, 430, 445, 451, 457, 479, 486, 509, 510, 523, 524, 528, 537, 548, 556, 570, 579, 583, 589, 597, 602, 603, 614, 618, 646, 662, 680, 686, 703, 736, 740, 756, 803.
 —, Johnson's letters to, 95, 108, 112, 121, 177, 178, 188, 222, 225, 226, 413, 451, 457, 535, 620, 697, 703, 740, 751, 779, 786. Character of, 834.
 —, collection of Johnson's sayings, 655.
 —, letter to Boswell, 646.
 —, Miss, Johnson's letter to, 227.
 —, Miss Jane, 427, 565. Johnson's letter to, 755.
 —, Mr., Senior, 260, 509. Mrs., 363.
 —, Peregrine, Esq., his economy, 178.
 —, Bishop, 80.
 —, parish, 107.
 Language, 731. Origin of, 726.
 —, ancient, not to be modernised, 763.
 —, on writing verses in a dead, 454.
 Languages, 156, 182, 202, 231, 467, 506.
 —, the pedigree of nations, 340.
 —, poets the preservers of, 506.
 —, Irish and Gaelic the same, 231. Chinese, 611.
 Lansdown, Marquis of, 505.
 Lapidary inscriptions, inaccurate, 622.
 Lapouchin, Madame, 611.
 Lascaris' Grammar, first book printed in Greek, 425.
 Late hours, Johnson's fondness for, 563.
 Latimer, 210.
 Latin inscriptions, 313, 392.
 —, language, Johnson's proficiency in, 468, 837.
 La Trobe, Rev. Mr., 805, 846.
 Laud, Archbishop, his diary, 250.
 Lauder, William, his forgery, 35, 72, 73, 667.
 Lauderdale, Earl of, 297, 501.
 "Laughters," useful monitors, 718.
 Laughter, 833. Johnson's peculiar, 457.
 Laurel, the, 57.
 Law, 478, 554. Law reports, 252. Of entail, 473.
 —, Johnson's intention of studying, 168.
 —, his opinions on, 175, 179, 189, 250, 271, 278, 291, 454, 478, 501, 513, 527, 554, 613, 678, 688.
 Law, Edmund, Bishop of Carlisle, 635, 641.
 —, William, 15, 218, 448, 759, 762.
 —, his "Serious Call," 15. Commended, 217.
 Lawrence, Dr. Thomas, 79, 113, 416, 429, 501, 525, 642, 643, 644, 650, 702, 704, 734. J.'s letters to, 429, 642, 700, 702.
 J.'s letters to his daughter, 703. His death, 734.
 —, Sir Thomas, 113, 338.
 Laws, 473, 502.
 Lawyers, 175, 257, 271, 599, 678, 766.
 —, not to be censured for multiplying words, 678.
 —, on their soliciting practice, 478.
 —, Sunday consultations of, 456.
 Lawyers, Cicero's defence of, 189.
 Laxity of talk confessed, 387.
 Lay patronage, argument in defence of, 260, 815.
 Laziness, 343, 502.
 Lea, Rev. Samuel, 9, 10.
 Learned women, 201.
 Learning, 242, 282, 289, 396, 452.
 —, more general than formerly, 731.
 Leasowes, 424.
 Lectures, on the practice of teaching by, 174, 684.
 Lee, Alderman, 517.
 —, Arthur, Esq., 515, 517.
 —, John, Esq., the barrister, 571.
 —, Mrs., 52.
 Leechman, Dr. William, 393. On "Prayer," 285, 296.
 Leclerc, 93.
 Le Despenser, Lord, 35.
 Leeds, Francis, Duke of, lines on, 658.
 Legitimation by subsequent marriage, 487.
 Legrand, 21.
 Leibnitz, 231, 363.
 Leicester, Dudley, Earl of, 418.
 Leicester, Duke of, 198.
 Leisure for intellectual improvement, 252.
 Leith, 280.
 Leland, Rev. Dr. Thomas, 168, 263, 531, 600.
 —, Johnson's letter to, 168.
 —, Counsellor, 693.
 Leland's "Itinerary," 420.
 Leman, Sir William, 53.
 Lending money, means of influence, 235.
 Lenox, Mrs. Charlotte, 79, 83, 99, 117, 124, 427, 657, 755.
 —, "Leonidas" Glover's, 301.
 Le Roy, Mr., 460.
 Leslie, Charles, 752.
 —, John, 284.
 Letham, Prior, plane tree there, 286.
 Letter-writing, 637.
 Letters, the sanctity of private, 193.
 —, "none received in the grave," 806.
 Lettsom, Dr., 515.
 Levellers, 152.
 Lever, Sir Ashton, 775.
 Levett, Mr., 19, 49, 62, Johnson's letter to, 48.
 —, Robert, 76, 78, 125, 149, 173, 250, 501, 569, 604, 620, 624, 684, 700, 735.
 —, Johnson's letters to, 421, 459, 463, 524.
 —, death, and verses on, 700.
 Lewis, David, and his lines on Pope, 765.
 —, Mr. F., 71.
 —, Dean and Mrs., 125.
 Lewson, (Leveson), Mrs., 646.
 "Lexiphanes," Campbell's, 188.
 Libels, 366, 479, 499, 527.
 —, from the pulpit, 513. On the dead, 499.
 Liberty, 194, 261, 628. Political, 194. Of conscience, 261.
 Of conscience and liberty of teaching, distinction between, 730. Of the press, 194, 499. Of the pulpit, 513, 523. And necessity, 677.
 Libraries, size of several great, 284.
 Library, Johnson's, 149, 803.
 Licensers of the stage, 40.
 Lichfield, its inhabitants, 489.
 —, Johnson's visits to, 30, 125, 187, 191, 214, 245, 283, 415, 458, 488, 489, 790.
 —, Lord, Chancellor of Oxford, 600.
 Liddell, Sir Henry, 235.
 Lies, 120, 149, 765.
 Life, rules for the conduct of, 769.
 —, Johnson's extreme attachment to, 804.
 —, Dryden's philosophical lines on, 764.
 —, human, 773.
 —, reflections on, 124, 127, 179, 214, 511, 524, 537, 538, 709, 764.
 —, on living it over again, 764.
 "Lilliburlero," ballad of, its political effects, 446.
 Lilliput Parliament, 321.
 Lindsay, Lady, 404.
 Linen, advantages of wearing, 337.
 Linley, Miss, 453.
 Lintithgow, 297.
 Lintot, the bookseller, 28, 149.
 Liquors, Johnson's scale of, 627, 680.
 "Literary Anecdotes," Nichols's, 789.
 Literary fame, 199, 237, 450.
 —, frauds, 72, 82, 107, 122, 701.
 —, labours, Johnson's, 794.
 —, man, life of, 686.
 —, journals, 186.
 —, property, 149, 264, 279, 286, 411, 693.
 "Literary Magazine," J.'s contributions to, 103, 107, 109.
 Literature, French and English compared, 372.
 —, small quantity of, in the world, 598.
 —, dignity of, 600.
 Liturgy of our church commended, 762.

- Liverpool, second Earl, 568.
 "Lives of the Admirals," 142.
 "Lives of the English Poets," Johnson's, 187. 330. 540. 603.
 612. 618. 622. 624. 626. 629. 630. 633. 642. 643. 646. 651. 665.
 675. 677. 703. 759. 773.
 —, critique on, and account of, 665. 675.
 —, the most popular of his works, 186.
 —, Cibber's, 504. 506. 818.
 —, of Dryden and Shakspeare, by Johnson, 516.
 Llewellyn, 418.
 Lloyd, Dr., Bishop of St. Asaph, 79. 418. 759.
 —, Mr., the Quaker, of Birmingham, 487.
 —, Humphry, the antiquary, 418.
 —, Miss Olivia, the Quakeress, 23.
 Lobo's "Account of Abyssinia," 21. 22. 285. 496.
 Local attachment, 209.
 Locality, 737.
 Lochbuy, the Laird and Lady of, 333. 334.
 Loch Lomond, 391. 627.
 Lock, William, Esq., 668.
 Locke, John, 155. 293. 656.
 —, his verses, 293.
 —, plan of education imperfect, 618.
 Lockhart, Sir George, 342.
 Lockman, Mr., 656.
 Lodgings, list of Johnson's various, in London, 30. 58.
 Lofft, Capel, Esq., 750.
 Loggan's drawing of company at Tunbridge Wells, 26. 58.
 Lombe, Mr. John, his silk-mill, 549.
 "London," Johnson's poem of, 23. 33. 36. 37. 59.
 London, 27. 28. 443. 449. 501. 553. 565. 578. 581. 597. 619. 625.
 635. 712. 724. 728. 791.
 —, field of genius and exertion, 27. Fountain of intelligence and pleasure, 412. Preeminence over every other place, 625. No place ceases vanity so well as, 217.
 —, "Art of Living" in, 28.
 —, Johnson's love of, 107. 143. 200. 217. 221. 370. 554. 581. 625. 785. 791.
 —, state of the poor in, 635.
 —, too large, 449.
 —, no similarity to a head connected with a body, 449.
 —, mode of choosing its mayors, 617.
 —, shopkeeper, 289. 290.
 —, Pennant's account of, 588.
 "London Chronicle," 106. 164. 209. 243. 570. 679.
 "London Magazine," 45.
 Londoners, 269. 370.
 Long, (North) Dudley, Esq., 678. 681.
 Longitude, 99.
 Longlands, Mr., 241.
 Longley, John, Esq., Recorder of Rochester, 657.
 —, Bishop, 657.
 Longman, the Messrs., 56. Thomas, 96.
 Lonsdale, first Earl of, 300.
 Looking-glasses, 463.
 Lord's Prayer, 704.
 Loudon, third and fourth Earls of, 394. 497.
 —, Lady Margaret Dalrymple, Countess of, 322. 394. 620.
 Loughborough, Lord (A. Wedderburn, Earl of Rosslyn), 37.
 45. 126. 127. 131. 132. 425. 448. 455. 478. 494. 717.
 —, taught English pronunciation by Sheridan, 132.
 —, his talents and great good fortune, 132.
 Louis the Fourteenth, 186. 235. 279. 609.
 —, the Fifteenth, 236. 461.
 —, Philippe, 461.
 Lovat, Simon, twelfth Lord, 55. 342. 402.
 —, verses on his execution, 55.
 —, his inscription to the memory of his father, 344.
 Love, 129. 217. 450. 458. 561.
 Love, Mr., 232.
 "Love of Fame," Young's, 357.
 "Love in a Hollow Tree," 680.
 "Love and Madness," 720.
 Loveday, Dr. John, 264.
 Lovibond, Edward, Esq., 27.
 Low company, 767. Low life, 371.
 Lowe, Rev. Mr., 8. 9.
 —, Mauritius, 605. 626. 653. 705. 724. Letters to, 709. 735.
 Louth, Bishop, 48. 185. 289. 303. 420. 443. 506. 513. 727.
 Lowther, Sir James, 300. Family of, 300.
 Lucan, Rowe's, 837.
 Lucan, Lord and Lady, 610. 637. 644. 646.
 Lucas, Dr. Charles, 104. Dr. Richard, 366.
 Lucian, 497. 665. More's Translation of, 836.
 Lumsden, Andrew, Esq., 466.
 Lunardi, the aeronaut, 784.
 Lusad, Mickle's translation, 336. 744.
 —, Johnson's intention to translate the, 745.
 Luthon, 337.
 Luthon Hoe, Johnson and Boswell's visit to, 695.
 Luttrell, Colonel, 213. Lady Anne, 253.
 Luxury, 236. 251. 282. 389.
 —, outcry against, 512. 571. 590. 694.
 Lydia, Thomas, 60.
 Lye, Edward, and his Saxon Dictionary, 177.
 Lyttelton, George Lord, 58. 84. 89. 205. 218. 224. 252. 254.
 313. 362. 424. 465. 484. 504. 558. 618. 672. 673.
 Lyttelton, his Life of Henry II., 185. 504. His "Dialogues of the Dead," 218. 673. His extreme anxiety as an author, 504.
 —, Johnson's life of, 672. 837.
 —, Thomas, the second Lord, 424. 650. His visions, 703.
 —, Lady, 442.
 —, Mr., 224.
 —, Mr. (Lord Westcote) and Miss, 511.
 Macallen, Eupham, the fanatic woman, 275.
 Macartney, George, Earl of, 124. 437. 501. 577. 646. 658. 673.
 Macaulay, Thomas Babington, his blundering criticisms on former edition; on the epigram *at Lauram parituram*, 47. On the omission of indecent expressions, 176. On the execution of Montrose, 367. On Prince Titi, 461. On *Θηται ζῶνται*, 625. One of his suggestions adopted, 484.
 —, Rev. Kenneth, his account of St. Kilda, 191. 229. 301. 457.
 —, Mrs. Catharine, 78. 152. 167. 232. 442. 457. 509. 517. 556.
 M'Aulay, Rev. John, 3-8. 390.
 Macbean, Alexander, 39. 57. 246. 502. 654. 684. 774.
 Macbeth, 54. 205. 206. 300. 305. 627.
 —, "Maccaroni," 324.
 Maccaroni verses, etymology of, 591.
 Macclesfield, George, Earl of, 88.
 —, Anne Maron, Countess of, the reputed mother of Savage, 50. 51. 53.
 Macconochie, Mr., afterwards Lord Meadowbank, 566.
 Maccruslick, Sandie Macleod, 318. 322.
 Macdonald, Sir James, 153. 231. 312. 313. 321. 331. 352. 364. 681.
 —, inscription on his monument, and letters to his mother, 824.
 —, Sir Alexander, afterwards Lord, 231. 236. 311. 312. 313. 316. 321. 326. 334. 359. 360. 374. 396.
 —, Latin verses, addressed by him to Dr. Johnson in the Isle of Skie, 824.
 —, Lady Margaret, 326. 353. 354. 627.
 —, Miss Flora, some account of, 322. 324. 325. 326. 331. 353. 409.
 —, Alexander, of "Kingsburgh," 324. 333. 345. 352. 353.
 —, Major-general, 355.
 —, Colonel John, 324. 411.
 —, Mr. Donald, 312. 327.
 —, Sir Archibald, 232. 431.
 —, Mrs., 325.
 —, Colonel, son of Flora, 411.
 Macdonalds, the, 383. 410.
 Macfarlane, Mr., the antiquary, 314.
 McFarquhar, 383.
 Macghee, Dr. William, 58. 107. 147. 399.
 Macginnis, Johnson's guide, 382.
 McGregor, Clan, 304. 383.
 Mac Ian, 383.
 Mackenzie, Sir George, 335.
 —, Henry, Esq., 122. His novels, 359.
 —, John, 327. 328.
 —, clan of, 309.
 Mackinnon, Mr., of Corrichatachin and his lady, 314. 315. 329. 353. 355.
 Mackinnon's Cave, 380.
 Mackintosh, Sir James, 200. 230. 253. 412. 433. 446. 505. 567. 519. 593. 764. 769.
 —, J., watchmaker, 308.
 Macklin, Charles, the actor, 131. 495.
 Macky, 450.
 MacLaurin, Colin, 498. His epitaph, 279.
 —, John, afterwards Lord Dreghor, 159. 278. 279. 401. 451. 566.
 Maclean, Alex., Laird of Col, 299. 379. Alex., his son, 499.
 —, Donald. See Col.
 —, Sir Allan, 376. 384. 457. 527. 536.
 —, Rev. Hector, 363.
 —, Dr. Alexander, his description of Johnson, 372. 373. 383.
 —, Captain Laughlan, 362. 363. 366.
 —, Miss, 375.
 —, of Torloisk, 433.
 —, Laird of Lochbuy, 383.
 —, Mr., of Corneek, 366. 369.
 —, Mr., nephew to Laird of the Isle of Muck, 341.
 Macleod, General John, Laird of, 299. 312. 317. 321. 333. 336. 341.
 —, Johnson's letter to, 356.
 —, his "Memoirs" of his own life, 321.
 —, Lady, 354. 335. 339. 340. 341. 356.
 —, some account of, 334.
 —, Miss, of Rasay, 322. 535.
 —, Sir Roderick, 334. 335. 346.
 —, Rev. Neal, 382. 383.
 —, Malcolm, 316. 324. 327. 329. 331.
 —, Alexander, or Sandie, 317. 318. 322. 331. 334.
 —, Mr., of Uinish, 344. 345.
 —, Professor, 293. 294. 350.
 —, Captain, a Dutch officer, 310.
 —, Colonel, of Talisker, 317. 318. 336. 350. 352.
 —, Doctor, 317. 324. 327. 328. 329.

- Macleod, Mr. Donald, 343. 354. 358.
 —, Mrs., daughter of Flora Macdonald, 324.
 Macleod's dining-tables, 345.
 — maidens, 345.
 Macdonish, 367.
 Maclure, Captain, 375.
 Macneil, of Barra, 342.
 Macnicol, Dr. Donald, 5. 433.
 Macpherson, James, 134. 294. 346. 347. 399. 428, 429, 430, 431.
 —, 433. 434. Johnson's letter to, 430.
 —, Dr. John, his "Scottish Antiquities," 301. 315. 333.
 —, Latin Ode from Barra, 356.
 —, Rev. Martin, 315. 355. 356.
 —, William, of Cambridge, 300. 301. 302. 310. 314. 318. 341.
 Macquarrie, of Ulva, 375. 380. 383. 527. 536. 538.
 MacQueen, Lachlan, 308.
 MacQueen, Rev. Donald, 312. 316. 318. 324. 337. 338. 340. 341.
 —, 350. 352. 353. 459.
 —, the innkeeper, 307. 308.
 Macra, Mr. John, 340.
 Macraes, clan, of, 309. 310. 340.
 Macsweeney, Mr. and Mrs., 364. 370.
 —, "Mac Swine's gun," 364.
 Macswinney, Owen, 516.
 Madden, Dr. Samuel, 86. 107. 303. 437. His "Boulter's Monument," 107.
 Madness, 5. 135. 336. 553. 664.
 —, Johnson's mental disorder so called by himself, 14. 336. 832.
 Magicians, 627.
 Magistrates, interference between parents and children, 262.
 "Mahogany," a liquor so called, 680.
 Mahomet, 60.
 Maiden assize, 583.
 Maitland, Mr., 57.
 —, "Malagrida," 643. 716.
 Malet de Pan, 452.
 Mallet, David, 71. 88. 110. 139. 219. 232. 257. 321. 559. 628. 635. *Alias* "Malloch," 730.
 —, his tragedy of "Elvira," 139. "Life of Bacon," 559.
 —, his poem on repairing the University of Aberdeen, 730.
 —, Mrs., 88.
 Malmesbury, Earl of, 254.
 Malone, Edmund, 8. 9. 15. 16. 20. 27. 47. 49. 68. 75. 81. 82. 86. 121. 169. 240. 249. 272. 489. 492. 512. 536. 605. 631. 653. 670. 671. 778. 821. Johnson's letter to, 701.
 Malthe, Chevalier de, 298.
 Man, 447. Not a machine, 301.
 —, a cooking animal, 273. A tool-making animal, 578.
 —, picture of, by Shakspeare and Milton, 678.
 —, difference between a well and ill-bred, 769.
 —, of fashion, 714.
 "Man of Feeling," "Man of the World." See Mackenzie.
 Mandeville, doctrine of "private vices public benefits," 591.
 —, Sir John, "Travels in China," commended, 841.
 Manley, Mrs., 723.
 Manners, 511. 663. Of the great, 616. Change of, 282.
 Manning, Rev. Owen, 177.
 —, Mr., the compositor, 770.
 Manningham, Dr., 52. 548.
 Mansfield, Lord, 37. 47. 232. 241. 244. 254. 272. 294. 402. 437. 442. 494. 522. 555. 585. 648. 670. 717.
 Mant, Dr., 153.
 Mantuanus, Johannes Baptista, 718.
 Manucci, Count, 460. 523.
 Manufactures, Johnson's knowledge of, 348.
 Mapletot, Dr. John, 210.
 Mar, Earl of, 342.
 Marana, J. P., author of the "Turkish Spy," 723.
 Marchetti, an Italian physician, 841.
 Marchmont, Hugh, fourth Earl of, 233. 612. 613. 630. 642. 670.
 —, Johnson's interview with, 630.
 Marcus, Flaminius, 76.
 Marechal, Lord, 331.
 Maria (Aston), epigram on, 40. 611.
 —, Louisa, 344.
 Markham, Dr., 274. 723.
 Markland, Jeremiah, 711.
 —, J.H.Esq., notes communicated by, 596. 653. 709. 711. 717. 719. 720. 729. 755. 758. 762. 765. 767. 784. 789. 823. 841. 842.
 Marlay, Bishop of Waterford, 529. 678.
 Marlborough, John, Duke of, 35. 260. 321. 370. 420. 485. 513. 628.
 —, Sarah, Duchess of, 46. 321. 680.
 —, her "Apology" written by Hooke, 321.
 Marmor Norfolciensis, 40.
 Marriage, 117. 129. 192. 201. 209. 212. 219. 234. 337. 341. 440. 457. 488. 493. 495. 637. 701. Boswell's song on, 212.
 —, legitimation by subsequent, 457. Disgraceful state of the law respecting, 457.
 —, with inferiors, 440. With a public singer, 453.
 —, service, 212.
 —, bill, royal, 229.
 —, ties, 502. 529.
 —, late, 219. Mercenary, 192. Second, 201.
 Marshall's "Minutes of Agriculture," 601.
 Marsigli, Dr., 126. 632.
 Martial, Johnson's fondness for, 16. 35.
 —, translation of, Elphinstone's, 65. 582. Hay's, 392.
 Martin's "Account of the Hebrides," 153. 267. 283. 577.
 —, "*Reliquie Divi Andree*," 283.
 Martiueli, V. 252. 253. 302. "*Istoria d'Inghilterra*," 252.
 Martyrdom, 261. 262.
 Mary Magdalene, 656.
 —, Queen of Scots, 119. 276. 410. 428.
 —, inscription for a print of, 410. 413. 414. 428.
 Mason, William, 2. 149. 234. 325. 504. His "Elfrida" and "Caractacus," 442. His prosecution of Mr. Murray, the bookseller, 595. His share in the "Heroic Epistle," 691. 768.
 Masquerades, 246.
 Mass, 210.
 Massillon, 292. 372.
 Massinger, his play of "The Picture," 637.
 Masters, Mary, 78. 743.
 Mathias, Mr., 214.
 Matrimonial infidelities, 502.
 —, "Thought!" a song, by Boswell, 212.
 Mattaire, Johnson's opinion of, 655. His account of the "Stephani" and "Senilia;" "Book of the Dialects," 655.
 Maty, Dr. Matthew, 45. 93. 530. Gibbon's opinion of his "Bibliothèque Britannique," 93.
 Maupeituis, 192.
 Mawbey, Sir Joseph, 157.
 Maxwell, Dr. William, his anecdotes of Johnson, 215.
 Mayer, Dr., 260.
 Mayne, William, Esq., 637.
 Mayo, Rev. Dr., 260. 261. 262. 591.
 Mayors, selection of, 617.
 Mead, Dr., 48. 551. 617.
 —, dedication to, of "James's Medicinal Dictionary," 48.
 Meadowbank, Lord, 566.
 Meals, stated, 599.
 Medal given to Home by Sheridan, 437.
 Medicated baths, 208.
 Meditation on a pudding, 387.
 Mediterranean, the, 505.
 Medley, Rev. Mr., 89. 90.
 Melancholy, 7. 15. 28. 91. 152. 188. 336. 483. 496. 522. 526. 553. 640. 643. 661. 737. 831.
 —, Johnson's remedy against, 152. 482. 496. 553. 621.
 —, Johnson projects a history of, 189.
 Melancton, Boswell's letter from the tomb of, 533. 534.
 Melcombe, George Bubb Dodington, Lord, 65. 68. 673.
 Melmoth, William, Esq., 645. His "Letters" quoted, 754.
 Member of Parliament, duty on election committee, 678.
 Memis, Dr., 428. 430. 454. 525. 527.
 Memory, 6. 221. 266. 285. 392. 559. 636. 658. 695. 833.
 "Menagiana," 259. 468. 605. 612. 718.
 Mental diseases, how to be treated, 152. 482.
 Menzies, Mr., of Culdare, 402.
 Merchants, 139. 170. 378. Enlarged views of our great, 655.
Mercheta Muercherum, 376.
 Mercier's *Tableau de Paris*, 452.
 Merit, intrinsic, 151. Men of, not neglected, 715.
 Metaphysical tailor, 720.
 Metaphysics, 16.
 Metcalfe, Philip, Esq., 521. 710. 752.
 Method, advantages of, 524.
 Methodism, 216.
 Methodists, 216. 218. 219. 401. 437. When so called, 156.
 —, Rev. Joseph Milner's defence of, 156.
 Meynell, Hugh, Esq., 20. His saying of London, 626.
 Mickel, William Julius, 241. 248. 346. 386. 387. 506.
 —, his "Lusiad," 566. 744.
 Microscopes, 186.
 Micyllus, Jacobus, 416.
 Middle state, doctrine of, a, 77. 389.
 —, rank, in France, want of, 462. 466.
 Middlesex election, 213. 637.
 Middleton, Lady Diana, 295.
 Midgeley, Dr. Samuel, 723.
 "Midnight Conversation," Hogarth's, 614.
 Migration of birds, 260.
 Military character, respect paid to, 203. 497.
 Miller, Andrew, the bookseller, anecdotes of, 56. 94. 630.
 —, Lady, her vase at Bath-Easton, 442.
 —, Sir John, 443. 515.
 —, Professor John, 393.
 —, Captain and Mrs., 442.
 —, Philip, his "Gardener's Dictionary," 288.
 Milman, Mr., 445.
 Milner, Rev. Joseph, his defence of the Methodists, 156.
 —, Dr. Isaac, 156.
 Milton, 2. 58. 69. 72. 258. 259. 269. 385. 420. 468. 618. 626. 636. 660. 667. 675. 678. 765. 771.
 —, his "Tractate on Education," 618.
 —, his picture of man, 678.
 —, Lauder's forgery against, 72.
 —, "The Apotheosis of," not written by Johnson, 40.
 —, his granddaughter, Johnson's prologue for, 72.
 —, Johnson's Life of, 667.
 —, Johnson abhors his politics, but just to his poetical merit, 72. 258.

- Milton, Johnson's saying respecting, 765.
 —, Mr. John, thus indexed by Flexman, 771.
 —, Lord, 227.
 Mimicry, 230.
 Mind, 511. 581. 609. Management of the, 482.
 —, Cardan's mode of composing his, 553.
 —, influence of the weather on the, 111.
 Minto, Lord, 233.
 Miracles, 152. 557.
 "Mirror," the, 797.
 Miseries of human life, 447.
 Misers, 300. 374. 605.
 Misery, balance of, 764. 819.
 Misfortunes, 664.
 Missionaries, 401.
 Mistresses, 128.
 Mitchell duns Johnson for 2*l.*, 77.
 Mitford's edition of Gray, 149.
 Mitre tavern meetings, 136. 142. 144. 146. 174. 175. 200. 207.
 231. 259. 454. 547.
 "Modern Characters from Shakspeare," 581.
 Modesty, 616.
 Moira, Earl of, 322.
 Molière, 15. 120. 372. 438.
 Moltzer, or Micyllus, Jacobus, 416.
 Monarchy, 509.
 Monasteries, 123. 175. 283.
 Monbodo, James Burnet, Lord, and his writings, 200. 227.
 242. 264. 277. 286. 287. 288. 290. 299. 379. 396. 402. 459. 527.
 550. 552. 566. 645. 695. 754. Johnson's visit to, 288.
 —, his remarks on Johnson's style, 552.
 Money, 283. 584. A stimulus to exertion, 171. Advantages
 of, 299. Borrowers, 706. 707. Getting, 438. 627.
 —, lending, the sure way of acquiring influence, 235. 300.
 Monks, 460.
 Monkton, Hon. Mary, Countess of Cork, 645. 647.
 —, Boswell's verses to, 690. Her letter to the editor, 646.
 Monnoye, M. de la, 605.
 Monro, Dr., 749.
 Montagu, Lady Mary Wortley, Pope's lines on, 201.
 —, Mrs., anecdotes and mention of, 74. 90. 118. 164. 194.
 204. 205. 206. 220. 347. 348. 410. 458. 470. 501. 509. 577. 619.
 625. 644. 647. 651. 675. 678. 739. 740. 755. 834. 837.
 —, Johnson's letters to, 118. 410. 470. 569. 570. 739.
 —, Johnson's admiration of, 118. 754.
 —, "Letters," 118. "Essay on Shakspeare," 204. 347.
 —, resents J.'s "Life of Lord Lyttelton," 205. 675. 678.
 —, Mr. F.'s motion to repeal observance of 30th of Jan., 229.
 Montesquieu, 334. His "*Lettres Persannes*," 594.
 Montgomery, Colonel, 313.
 —, Chief Baron, 272.
 Monthly Review, 186. 504. 508.
 Montrose, 286. 287.
 —, second Duke of, shoots a highwayman, 576.
 —, James, third Duke of, 627. 689.
 —, first Marquis of, 367.
 Monuments, 258. Inaccuracy of inscriptions, 622.
 Moody, Mr., the actor, 443. 444.
 Moor, Dr., 506.
 Moore, Thomas, 132. 166. 251. His "Life of Lord Byron"
 quoted, 439. 504. His "Irish Melodies," 252.
 Morality, 414. 616.
 Morbid melancholy, 7. 91. 336. 821. See Melancholy.
 More, Sir Thomas, 416.
 —, Miss Hannah, 159. 434. 468. 480. 481. 510. 582. 594.
 620. 646. 685. 686. 687. 706. 708. 731. 755. 765. 803. 806.
 —, her battery of Johnson, 594.
 —, Dr. Henry, the Platonist, 233. 366.
 —, Rorie, or Roderick, 334. 340.
 Morell, Dr. Thomas, 386.
 Moreri's Dictionary, 372.
 Morgann, Maurice, his "Essay on Falstaff," 721.
 Morris, Corby, his "Essay on Wit," 688.
 —, Miss, 807. 846.
 Mortimer, Mr., 483.
 Mosaic account of the Creation, 124.
 Moss, Dr., 448. 678.
 Motto on Johnson's watch, 193. For Banks's goat, 226.
 Mounsey, Dr., extraordinary character and will, 194.
 Mount Edgecumbe, 296.
 Mountstuart, Lord, afterwards Marquis of Bute, 179. 180.
 478. 494. 524. 639. 695. 726. 732.
 "Mourning Bride," Congreve's, 203. 204.
 Muck, Isle of, 341.
 Mudge, Rev. Zachariah, 127. 128. Johnson's character of,
 679. —, and of his "Sermons," 686.
 —, Dr. John, 127. Johnson's letter to, 739.
 —, Thomas, the eminent watchmaker, 128.
 —, and Dutton, 192.
 Muidarth, or Muidart, 364.
 Mulgrave, Constantine Phipps, Lord, 497.
 Mull, Isle of, 373. 375. 383.
 Muller, Mr., the engineer, 119.
 Mulso, Hester, afterwards Mrs. Chapone, 63. 644. 743.
 Mummies, 695.
 Munros, the, 309.
 Murchison, Mr., 311.
- Murder, prescription of, 270. 291.
 Murdoch, Dr., 533.
 Murillo, 50.
 Murison, Professor, 284.
 Murphy, Arthur, Esq., 9. 31. 35. 45. 59. 61. 68. 71. 79. 88.
 100. 104. 109. 110. 113. 114. 120. 126. 168. 170. 191. 203. 218.
 219. 314. 433. 436. 447. 468. 503. 507. 572. 590. 736. 746.
 —, his "Poetical Epistle" quoted, 120.
 —, unacknowledged use of Boileau, 120.
 —, acquaintance with Johnson, 120.
 Murray, Lord George, Chief of the Pretender's staff, 410.
 455.
 —, the Regent, 300.
 —, William, Attorney-General, 97. His opinion respecting
 Johnson's definition of the word "excise," 97. See Mans-
 field, Lord.
 —, Mr., afterwards Lord Henderland, 279. 498.
 —, Mr. John, the bookseller, the grandfather of the pub-
 lisher of this work, 415. 504. 595. Prosecution of, by
 Mason, 595. His letter to Mason, 595.
 —, Mr. John, jun., his account of the various portraits of
 Dr. Johnson, 808.
 "Muses' welcome to King James," 282.
 Musgrave, Sir Richard, 770.
 —, Dr. Samuel, 603.
 Music, 265. 561. 577.
 —, the only sensual pleasure without vice, 661.
 —, in heaven, 43. 234.
 —, Johnson's insensibility to, 123. 373. 470. 832.
 —, Johnson's wish to learn, 266.
 Musk, used medicinally by Johnson, 620.
 Micyllus. See Moltzer.
 Myddleton, Mr., erects an urn to Johnson, 423.
 Mylne, Robert, the architect, 119.
 Mystery, 571. 605.
 Mythology, 659.
- Nairne, William, Lord Dunsinane, 275. 280. 283. 402. 507.
 —, Colonel, 285. 286.
 Nash, Dr., his "History of Worcestershire," 587. 763.
 —, "Beau," 35. 48. 760.
 National Debt, Johnson's notion respecting it, 219.
 —, faith, 661.
 Native place, love of, renewed in old age, 704.
 "Natural History," Goldsmith's, 240. 258. 520.
 Necessity, doctrine of, 773.
 Negro, Johnson's argument in favour of our claiming his
 liberty, 527. 562. 566.
 Nelson, Robert, his "Festivals and Fasts," 487.
 Neni, Count, 505.
 Nervous affection, Johnson's, 41.
 "Network," Johnson's definition of, 97.
 Newberry, Mr., bookseller, 74. 79. 102. 143.
 Newborough, Lord, 423.
 Newcastle, Duchess of, 83. Duke of, 99. 498.
 Newhaven, William Mayne, Lord, 637.
 Newmarsh, Captain, 307.
 Newspapers, 235. 663.
 New Testament, 393. 596.
 Newton, Sir Isaac, 155. 363. 661. 698. 731.
 —, Johnson's praise of, 218. 274.
 —, Lord King's "Life" of, 155.
 —, Dr. Thomas, Bishop of Bristol, 8. 72. 448.
 —, his character of Johnson, and Johnson's of him, 759.
 —, Mr., of Lichfield, visit to, 415.
 Nichols, Dr. Frank, 448. "De Animâ Medicâ," 549.
 —, Mr. John, 23. 665. 667. 674. 789.
 —, Johnson's notes and letters to, 666. 789. 794. 823.
 —, his anecdotes, 789. Johnson's character of them, 711.
 A storehouse of facts and dates, 789.
 Nicol, Mr. George, 745. Johnson's letter to, 787.
 —, Joannes, 292.
 Nicolai (Berlin bookseller), 229.
 Night-caps, 357. 371.
 "Night Thoughts," Young's, 267. 357. 673.
 Nisbet, of Dirleton, 335. His "Doubts," 563.
 "No, Sir," how used by Johnson, 768.
 Nobility, 139. 152. 219. 296. 616. 691.
 —, usurpation of the, 744.
 "Noble authors," Park's edition of, 117.
 Noble, the Rev. Mark, 352.
 Nolteken, his bust of Johnson, 565. Mrs., 568.
 "Nonnis umbra" explained, 838.
 "Nonjuror," Cibber's play of the, 437.
 Nonjurors, 437. 759.
 Nores, Jason de, his comments on Horace, 483.
 Norris, Thomas, 367.
 North, Dudley, Esq. See Long.
 —, Frederick, Lord, 222. 223. 227. 229. 357. 406. 436. 441.
 453. 505. 558. 705.
 —, his letter to Oxford for Johnson's degree, 441.
 Northampton, Lady, translation of Erse song, 364.
 Northcote, the painter, 73. 128. 203.
 Northumberland, Duke and Duchess of, 220. 443. 587.
 North Pole, Johnson's conjectures respecting, 314.
 Norton, Sir Fletcher, 205. 493.

"Nose of the Mind," sagacity the, 775.
 "Notanda," Addison's, 63.
 "Nourjahad," Mrs. Sheridan's, 121.
 Nourse, Mr., the bookseller, 498.
 Novels, 218.
 Novelty, the paper on, in the "Spectator," 505.
 — and truth seldom combined, 150. 625.
 Nowell, Rev. Dr., 229. 762.
 —, his sermon before the Commons, 229.
 "Nugæ Antiquæ," Harington's, 717.
 Nugent, Robert, Earl, 222.
 —, Dr., 163. 164. 259.
 "Nullum nomen abest," &c., 717.
 Numbers, science of, 480.
 Nundcomar, 500.
 Nuremberg Chronicle, 424.
 Νῦξ γὰρ ἐγέρται, 192.
 Oath of abjuration, boast of its framer, 437.
 —, impolicy and inefficacy of such tests, 437.
 Oaths, 252. 400. 507. Morality of taking, 437.
 "Oats," Johnson's definition of, 97. 399. 489. 588. 713.
 Obedience, 595.
 O'Brien, Lady Susan, 440.
 Observance of days and months, 487.
 "Observer," Cumberland's, 675.
 Occupation, 554.
 Occupations, hereditary, 302.
 O'Connell, the Queen *versus*, 613.
 O'Connor, Charles, Esq., account of, and Johnson's letters to, 108. 531.
 Ode, Latin, "Ad Ornatisimam Puellam," 47.
 —, to Friendship, by Johnson, 48.
 —, Latin, "Ad Urbanum," 31.
 —, translation of, by Mr. Jackson, of Canterbury, 32.
 —, Latin, upon the Isle of Skie, 313.
 —, Latin, to Mrs. Thrale, 314.
 —, in Theatro, 222.
 —, Latin, on Inchkenneth, 378.
 —, Dr. McPherson's Latin, 356.
 —, on St. Cecilia's Day, 143.
 —, on the peace, Miss H. M. Williams's, 757.
 Odes, Gray's, 442.
 Odyssey, 647. 670. 731. 837.
 Ofellus, on the "Art of Living in London," 28.
 Offely, Mr., a pupil of Johnson, 25.
 Officers, military, their ignorance, 403.
 —, respect paid to, 497. 585.
 Ogden, Dr. Samuel, 362. 694. His Sermons on Prayer, 272.
 275. 285. 292. 377. 386. 579. 694.
 Ogilvie, Dr. John, his "Day of Judgment," 143. 144.
 Oglethorpe, General, 35. 42. 239. 240. 241. 447. 512. 590. 714.
 "O'Hara, you are welcome," 355.
 Οἱ φίλοι, οἱ φίλοι, 64. 593. 629.
 O'Kane, the Irish harper, 374.
 O'Keefe's, "Highland Reel," 380.
 Old age, 559. 581. 610. 613. 661. 718. 755.
 —, one word to express, 613.
 Old Bailey dinners, 610.
 Oldfield, Dr., story of, 513.
 Oldham's imitation of Juvenal, 33.
 "Old Man's Wish," a song, 660.
 Old Men, folly of putting themselves to nurse, 494.
 Oldmixon, John, 97.
 Old Street Club, 720. 752.
 Oldys, William, 46. His part in Harleian Miscel., 53.
 Oliver, Dame, Johnson's schoolmistress, 7.
 Omal, 497.
 O'Moore, Colonel, anecdote of Goldsmith, 141.
 Onslow, Speaker, 38.
 Opera girls, 714.
 Opie, John, his picture of Johnson, 777.
 Opium, Johnson's use of, 714.
 Opposition, the, 687.
 Orange peels, use of by Johnson, 440.
 Orator, Johnson's qualifications as an, 223. 348.
 Oratory, 249. 443. 688. 726. 732.
 Orchards, 220. 725.
 Ord, Mrs. (Anne Dillingham), 501. 644. 645. 649.
 Orde, Lord Chief Baron, 272. 277.
 Orford, Horace, Earl of, 559. 768. See Walpole.
 —, Robert, Earl of, his pictures, 775.
 Organ, 442.
 "Oriental Gardening," Sir W. Chambers's, 325.
 Origin of evil, 392.
 Original sin, 694.
 Orlando Furioso, 91.
 Orme, Mr., opinion of the "Journey," 406. 431. Of J., 591.
 —, Captain, 653.
 Ormond, Duke of, 309. 367.
 Orrery, Earls of, 345.
 —, John, fifth Earl of, 57. 78. 79. 98. 117. 345. 579. 602.
 —, his letter on the specimen of the Dictionary, 57.
 Orton's "Life of Doddridge," 357.
 Osborne, Mr. Francis, his works, 243.
 —, Thomas, the bookseller, 41. 46. 48. 613.

Osbornes, the, 170. 243.
 Ossian's poems, their merits and authenticity discussed, 134.
 219. 277. 317. 321. 334. 341. 346. 347. 399. 428. 429. 431. 433.
 434. 437. 446. 510. 701. 718. 745.
 Otahite, inhabitants of, 515.
 "Othello," morality of the tragedy of, 507.
 O'Toole, Arthur, 471.
 Otway, Thomas, 72. His pathetic powers, 690.
 —, Master, 248.
 Oughton, Sir Adolphus, 277. 303. 401.
 Ouran-outang, 277.
 Overbury, Sir Thomas, 201.
 "Overbury, Sir Thomas," a tragedy, by Savage, 532.
 Overell, Bishop, on a future state, 389.
 Ovid, 240. 258. 280. *Fasti* praised, 837. 838.
 Oxford, Earl of, his library, 46.
 —, University, advantages of, 191.
 —, Johnson's attachment to, 759.
 —, expulsion of students from, 241.
 Pagan mythology, 659.
 Pains of human life, 447.
 Painters, reputation of, 508. Styles of different, 590.
 Painting, 481. 490. 770. Johnson's insensibility to, 123. 832.
 Palaces, 462.
 Paley, Dr., on submission to government, 332.
 —, his defence of revelation, 332.
 Palmer, Rev. John, his "Answer" to Priestley, 594.
 —, Rev. Thomas Fysche, 695.
 —, Miss, 24.
 "Palmerino d'Inghilterra," 9. 494.
 Palmerston, Henry Temple, second Viscount, 443. 736.
 Palsy, Johnson's attack of, 734. 735.
 Pamphlet, 603.
 Pamphlets, Johnson's, 126. 213. 221. 425. 435.
 Panckoucke, 92.
 Panegyric, 546.
 Pantheon, in Oxford Street, 236.
 Panting, Dr. Matthew, 17.
 Paoli, General, 32. 185. 189. 199. 202. 203. 234. 242. 243. 253.
 265. 422. 505. 546. 605. 621. 630. 638. 687.
 Papier maché, 425.
 Papists, 299. 760.
 Paradise, John, Esq., 14. 441. 629. 649. 704. 732. 746. 787.
 Parental authority, 625.
 Parenthesis, Johnson's objection to, 720.
 Paris, state of society in, 581.
 —, Johnson's visit to, 459.
 Parish clerk, his necessary qualifications, 695.
 Park, 117. 354. 461.
 Parker, Chief Baron, 8.
 —, Rev. Mr., anecdotes of Johnson, 836. Possessor of his tea-pot, 105.
 —, Mr. Sackville, the Oxford bookseller, 766.
 —, John, Esq., of Brownsholme, 416.
 Parkhurst, Rev. Mr., curious letter from Dr. Dodd to, 590.
 Parliament, 281. 449. 563. 574. 591. 687. 688. 731.
 —, the use of, 449. Duration of, 200.
 —, speakers in, 732.
 —, duty of a member of, 678.
 —, corruption of, 216. 563.
 —, attempt to get Johnson into, 222. 223.
 Parliaments, triennial, advocated by Johnson, 197.
 Parliamentary debates, Johnson's, 32. 38. 44. 45. 804.
 —, influence, 281.
 Parnell, Dr., 417. 671. 800. Johnson's life of, 671. Johnson's epitaph on, 672.
 —, a disputed passage in his "Hermit," 569. 631.
 —, his habit of drinking, 546.
 Parodies of Dr. Johnson, 795. 796.
 Parr, Rev. Dr. Samuel, 121. 669. 738. 808.
 —, Johnson's opinion of his conversation, 659.
 —, recommended by J. to Norwich grammar school, 659.
 —, His description of Mrs. Sheridan, 121.
 —, his epitaph on Johnson, 808. 809.
 Parson, the life of a, 598.
 Party, necessity of adhering to, 274.
 Pascal, *Pensées de*, 626.
 Passion Week, dining out in, 683. 833.
 Passions, the purging of, 506.
 "Pastern," Johnson's definition of, 97. 123.
 Patence, Mr., 208.
 Paternity, 584.
 Pater Noster, 353.
 Paterson, Mr. Samuel, 238., and his son, 523. 751.
 "Paterson and others against Alexander," 455.
 Patrick, Bishop, 210. 513.
 "Patriot," a political pamphlet by Johnson, 126. 425. 426. 503.
 Patriotism, "the last refuge of a scoundrel," 446.
 Patriots, self-styled, 683.
 "Patron," the, 87.
 Patronage, 282. 715.
 —, lay, Johnson's argument for, 259. 815.
 Patten, Rev. Dr. Thomas, 699. 711.
 Paul, Sir George Onesiphorus, 376.
 —, Father, 32. 39. 163.

- Paul, Mr. Lewis, Johnson's letters to, 43, 44, 100, 101, 102, 103.
 Payne, W., preface to his work on "Draughts," 106.
 —, Mr. John, 58, 63, 78, 79, 746.
 Pearce, Bishop, 97, 483, 531. Johnson's dedication of his posthumous works, 531. Curious anecdote of, 531. Supplied Johnson with etymologies, 97.
 Pearson, Rev. Mr., 492, 623, 736.
 —, Mrs., of Lichfield, 62, 163, 492, 568.
 —, Rev. Dr., 135.
 Pecuniary embarrassment, evil of, 709.
 —, motive to writing, 41, 106.
 Peel, Right Honourable Robert, 487.
 Peers, House of, 296. Judicial powers of the, 613.
 —, influence of, in the House of Commons, 281.
 Peers of Scotland, interference in elections, 744.
 Pegler, Mary, 52.
 Peiresc, lamented in forty languages, 454.
 Pelham, Right Hon. Henry, Garrick's ode on, 89.
 Pelisson, 22.
 Pellé, Mrs., Johnson's charity to, 757.
 Pellet, Dr., 615.
 Pembroke, Lord, 306, 439. Johnson's "bow-wow way," 269.
 Penance in church, 334. Johnson's filial, 791.
 Penitence, gloomy, madness turned upside down, 503.
 Penmaen Mawr, 421.
 Penn, Governor Richard, 651.
 Pennant, Mr., 314, 339, 446, 536. His tour in Scotland, 303, 587, 588. His merits as a zoologist; his "London;" his character of Johnson, 583.
 Pennington, Colonel, 304.
 —, Rev. Mr.'s Life of Mrs. Carter, 34.
 Pension, Johnson's definition of, 97. Johnson's own, 126, 127, 147, 227, 436, 663, 691.
 —, application for an increase of, 772, 781.
 Pensioners, Johnson's, 569, 570, 620.
 Pepys, William Waller, Esq., 255, 644, 646, 647, 649, 681.
 —, Sir Lucas, 222.
 —, his diary, 376.
 Perceval, Lady Catherine, 422.
 Percy, Dr., afterwards Bishop, 9, 10, 17, 24, 26, 41, 58, 59, 164, 166, 171, 194, 195, 222, 249, 298, 351, 445, 456, 486, 547, 586, 589, 601, 603, 620, 641, 643, 632, 636.
 —, Boswell's letter to, 589. Squabble with J., 587. Heir male of the ancient Percies, 587. J.'s character of, 589.
 —, Mrs., 166, 187.
 —, Reliques, 346, 446.
 Perelle's landscapes, 123.
 "Peregrinity," 308.
 Perfection, to be aimed at, 776.
 Perkins, Mr., and letters to, 426, 680, 681, 692, 708, 747, 786.
 Perreux, execution of the, 484, 544.
 Perseus and Andromeda, 320.
 Peruvian bark, 762.
 Peter the Great, 349.
 Peterborough, Earl of, 670, 774.
 Peters, Mr., 493.
 Petitions, facility of getting them up, 205.
 Petrarch, 12, 32.
 Petty, Sir William, 655.
 Peyton, Mr., Johnson's amanuensis, 57, 58, 230, 231, 243, 457.
 Pheasant, Mrs., 52.
 Phillips, the musician, Johnson's epitaph on, 43.
 —, Ambrose, 55, 288. His "Cyder," a poem, 288.
 —, Lady, 74.
 —, Miss, afterwards Mrs. Crouch, 733.
 —, Sir John, 359.
 Philosophers, ancient, good humour in disputation, 497.
 Philosophical necessity, 594.
 "Philosophical Survey of Ireland," Campbell's, 443, 531.
 —, Transactions," 186.
 Philosophy, 494, 599.
 Phipps, Rev. J., leaves his fortune to Pemb. Coll., 599.
 —, Capt., his "Voyage to the North Pole," 344.
 Physic, irregular practitioners in, 630.
 —, Johnson's knowledge of, 501.
 Physician, Johnson's reply to a foppish, 769.
 —, anecdote of one, 486, 491.
 —, argument in the case of Dr. Memis, 454.
 Physicians, 491, 749. Duties of, towards patients, 765.
 "Physico-Theology," Derham's, 377.
 Piazzas, 300.
 Picture, superstitious reluctance to sit for, 655.
 —, Johnson's motto for Dr. Dodd's, 726.
 "Picture," Massinger's play of the, 637.
 Pig, the learned, 791.
 "Pilgrim's Progress" commended, 838.
 Pillory, punishment of the, 602.
 Pindar, West's translation of, 663.
 —, Petrarch, 409.
 Pinkerton, 773.
 Piozzl, or Thrale, Mrs., 6, 7, 13, 16, 24, 42, 43, 59, 63, 65, 68, 73, 76, 78, 89, 129, 139, 141, 145, 146, 160, 163, 164, 170, 180, 198, 199, 200, 203, 204, 213, 225, 230, 235, 242, 250, 252, 254, 260, 272, 322, 343, 347, 348, 351, 361, 379, 415, 416, 419, 422, 425, 430, 440, 441, 447, 452, 462, 463, 468, 479, 481, 485, 489, 494, 495, 503, 504, 510, 570, 573, 650, 653, 663, 777, 778, 779, 780, 799.
 —, Johnson's acquaintance with, 169.
 Piozzl, receives 500*l.* for her collection of J.'s letters, 187.
 —, Johnson's letters to, 198, 214, 224, 225, 245, 246, 248, 456, 457, 458, 492, 518, 525, 564, 565, 573, 610, 619, 623, 625, 632, 634, 637, 638, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 649, 650, 682, 699, 706, 708, 734, 735, 736, 737, 740, 742, 746, 750, 752, 774, 777.
 —, her letters to Johnson, 645, 777.
 —, bequeaths her patrimonial estate to a foreigner, to the exclusion of her own children, 418.
 —, Barrett's strictures on her marriage with Piozzl, 510.
 —, substantial accuracy of her anecdotes of Johnson, 573.
 —, Johnson's verses on her birth-day, 471.
 —, her miserable *mésalliance*, 776, 777, 778.
 —, Boswell's proneness to disparage her, 573, 577, 778, 779, 780, 799.
 —, her beautiful handwriting, 666.
 —, Signor, 776, 777.
 Pitcairne, his Latin poetry, 282.
 Pitt, William, Earl of Chatham, 37, 45, 58, 92, 244, 254, 383, 769.
 —, William, the son, 495, 748, 750.
 —, Boswell's expectation from, 750.
 Pitt and Fox, 761.
 Pitts, Rev. John, 718.
 Pity, 149.
 Place-hunters, 574.
 Plagiary, Sir Fretful, intended for Cumberland, 248.
 —, "Plain Dealer," 47, 52.
 Planting, 564. In Scotland, era of, 405. Spur given to, by Johnson's "Journey," 527.
 Plato, 511.
 Plaxton, 4.
 Players, 51, 62, 137, 205, 257, 275, 277, 304, 467, 489, 556, 584.
 Pleasure, 412, 578, 594, 629.
 Pleasures, no man a hypocrite in his, 769.
 "Pleasures of the Imagination," Akenside's, 121, 234.
 Plott's "History of Staffordshire," 557.
 Plunkett, Lord, 452.
 Plymouth and "Dock," dispute between, 128.
 Pocock, Mr. Lewis, 43, 57.
 Pococke, Dr. Richard, 586.
 —, Rev. Edward, the orientalist, 586, 663, 719.
 Poetical scale, 667.
 Poetry, Reflections on, 448. Definition of, 506. Pathetic, Johnson's fondness for, 720. Johnson's early, 10.
 —, and lexicography compared, 278, 824.
 Poets, 258, 291. See Lives.
 —, the preservers of languages, 506.
 —, of our great, have left issue, 72.
 "Polite Philosopher," 501.
 Politeness, 290, 548.
 —, Johnson's, 94, 185, 270, 290, 305, 391, 451, 610, 695.
 Politian's poems, Johnson's projected edition of, 22.
 "Political Survey of Great Britain," Campbell's, 377, 485.
 Politics, modern, 448, 453.
 "Polluted," use of the word, 802.
 Polygamy, 337.
 Pomfret, the poet, 135.
 "Pomposo," Johnson so called, 774.
 "Ponsonby, you may sit down," 355.
 Poor, a decent provision for, the test of civilisation, 220.
 —, methods of employing, 655.
 —, in France, 460. Of London, 635.
 Pope, Alexander, 13, 29, 35, 36, 37, 40, 41, 46, 47, 56, 69, 72, 76, 102, 145, 153, 164, 172, 173, 176, 185, 201, 203, 220, 233, 235, 240, 249, 251, 267, 289, 290, 365, 385, 410, 462, 484, 489, 511, 605, 613, 614, 630.
 —, praise of Johnson's "London," 36.
 —, recommends Johnson to Earl Gower, 37.
 —, note concerning Johnson, 41.
 —, peculiar mode of writing, and imperfect spelling, 41.
 —, his "Messiah" translated, 13.
 —, Johnson's observation against a monument to aim in St. Paul's, 76, 258.
 —, Johnson's dissertation on the epitaphs of, 103.
 —, his "Dunciad" written primarily for fame, 442.
 —, Johnson's character of his "Homer," 582.
 —, his "Essay on Man," 635, 636.
 —, Dr. Blair's letter concerning his "Essay on Man," 635.
 —, his knowledge of Greek, 635.
 —, his "Grotto," 657.
 —, Johnson's Life of, 609. Character of his poetry, 608.
 —, his limited conversational powers, 670.
 —, his "Universal Prayer," 614.
 —, Lewis's verses to, 765.
 —, reply to Prince of Wales, 670.
 Pope, Rev. Walter, his "Old Man's Wish," 660.
 Popery, 76, 209, 210.
 Popular elections, Johnson's opinion of, 617.
 Population, 209, 271, 574.
 Port, Mr. Bernard, 557.
 Porter, Mrs., J.'s wife, 4, 6, 21, 24, 26. See Johnson, Mrs.
 —, Henry, 78.
 —, Miss Lucy, 4, 6, 23, 26, 62, 76, 113, 117, 118, 122, 127, 130, 144, 163, 169, 173, 187, 193, 197, 214, 224, 462, 488, 491, 492, 565, 568, 639, 641, 736.
 Porter, Miss Lucy, Johnson's letters to, 62, 113, 114, 115, 118.

122. 130. 144. 145. 163. 173. 193. 197. 214. 459. 469. 565. 568.
622. 623. 631. 643. 683. 702. 736. 742. 744. 748. 749. 753. 798.
Porter, Captain, her brother, 130.
—, Mrs., the actress, 125. 741.
—, Sir James, 635.
Porteus, Bishop, 159. 501. 555. 589. 639. 641. 653. 679. 683.
Portland, Duchess Dowager of, 646.
Portrait, Mr. Beauclerk's inscription for Johnson's, 718.
Portrait-painting, an improper employment for a woman, 451.
Portraits, 338.
— of Dr. Johnson, 133. 224. List of the various, 808.
Portree, 323.
Possibilities, 277.
Post-chaise travelling, 485. 495. 548.
Posterity, 473.
Pott, Archdeacon, his sermons, 488.
Potter, Rev. Dr., his translation of *Æschylus*, 582.
Poverty, 18. 19. 99. 110. 150. 706. 707. 709. 710. 712. 782.
Power, despotic, 591. Of the Crown, 236.
Powerscourt, Lord, his wages, 351.
Praise, 190. 571. 588. 664. 681. 754.
—, indiscriminate, 629. Exaggerated, 681.
— and flattery, difference between, 419.
Prayer, 275. 285. 296. 302. 303. 733. 762.
—, the Book of Common, 762.
—, a form of, Johnson's arguments for, 391. 762.
—, Johnson's, on the death of his wife, 75.
—, unpublished, 1759. 823.
Prayers, Johnson's classification of, 792.
— "Prayers and Meditations," J.'s., 17. 25. 62. 75. 81. 83. 99. 100.
110. 114. 118. 120. 165. 167. 168. 187. 188. 213. 225. 242. 243. 251.
263. 265. 266. 410. 425. 450. 502. 523. 526. 597. 602. 636. 650.
654. 665. 682. 698. 702. 704. 710. 759. 792. 799. 800. 803.
—, not intended by him for publication, 792. 803.
Preachers, women, 157.
Preaching above the capacity of the congregation, 719.
"Preceptor," Dodsley's, 59.
Precocity in children, 469.
Predestination, 210.
Prejudice, 713. Johnson's, 456. Against Scotland and
Scotchmen, 54. 269. 302. 431. 432. 713.
Premium scheme in Dublin University, 107.
Pendergast, Sir Thomas, presentiment of his death, 241.
Presbyterians, 209. 397. 398. 805.
Prescience of the Deity, 594.
Prescription of murder in Scotland, 270. 291.
Presentiment of death, 241.
Press, superfluity of, prejudicial to literature, 608.
Pretender, the, 42. 54. 92. 147. 325. 331. 351. 401. 455. 466. 510.
— Boswell's account of the escape of, 326—331.
—, history of, proposed to Sir W. Scott, 401.
Price, Archdeacon, 424.
—, Dr. Richard, 738.
Pricley, Dr. Joseph, 593. 594. 738. 804. J.'s opinion of, 218.
Primrose, Dorothea, Lady, 331.
Prince of Wales, his situation, 718.
—, afterwards George IV., 187.
— "Prince Titi," history of, 461.
Principle, 151. Principles, fundamental, 446.
— "Principles of Politeness," Trusler's, 511.
Pringle, Sir John, 234. 294. 331. 395. 397. 497. 499. 513. 553. 578.
Printers' devil, 686.
Printing, 236. 425. 506.
Printing-house, Virgil's description of the entrance into hell
applied to, 372.
Prior, Matthew, 201. 282. 559. 633. 646.
—, Johnson's extraordinary defence of, 559.
—, James, his "Life of Burke," 136. 253.
—, Life of Goldsmith, 140. 141. 203. 247. 249. 258.
—, adopts the editor's rejection of indelicate expressions, 176.
Prisons on the Continent, 753.
Pritchard, Mrs., the actress, 61. 123. 206. 304. 447.
Private conversation, 730.
Prize-fighting, 342.
Procrastination, 63.
Progress of Edinburgh, prosecution by, 696.
"Progress of Discontent," Warton's, 93.
"Project," The, a poem by Tickell, 603.
Prologues, 55. 189. 438. 532.
Pronunciation, 232. 233. 290. 489. 560.
Property, 262. Laws of, 472. 475.
Propitiatory sacrifice, 292. 695.
Prospect, fine, 399.
Prosperity, 615.
Prospero, 68.
Prostitution, 500.
Providence, a particular, 754.
Prujean, Mr., 20. 622.
Prussia, King of, 609. 689. His writings, 149. Anecdote of,
149. 151.
Psalmazzer, George, 213. 602. 720. 754. 794.
Psalms, biblical version of, 420.
Public amusements, 236. Schools, 498. Speaking, 249.
443. Worship, 142. Institutions, administration of, 511.
"Public Virtue," Dodsley's, 660.
Pudding, meditation on a, 387.
Puffendorf, 231. 478.
Pulpit, liberty of the, 513. 523.
Pulsion, theory of, 505.
Pulteney, William, Earl of Bath, 45. 382.
Punctuation, 504.
Punishment, eternity of, 562. 694. 764.
Punishments, 469. 586. 592. 611. 694.
Puns, 249. 259. 605. 768. 769.
Purcell, 444.
Purgatory, 77. 210. 234.
Purposes, good, the benefit of, 799.
Pym, John, 18.
Quakers, 157. 457. 728. 730. Female preachers, 157.
Quarrels, 556.
"Quarterly Review," Byng's trial treated in, 105.
— of Horace Walpole's Memoirs, 768.
Queen's Arms Club, not patriots, 682.
Queensbury, Duke of, 433. Duchess of, 476.
Queeny (Miss Thrale), 423.
Questioning, not the mode of conversation, 493. 585.
Quin, the actor, 453. 533. 584.
— "Quos Deus vult perdere," &c., whence taken, 718.
Quotation, 687.
"Quotidian expenses," 385.
Rabutin, Bussy, 279.
Racine, 55. 372.
Rackstraw, Colonel of the trained bands, 769.
Radcliffe, Dr., 89.
—, small success of his travelling fellowships, 762.
Rajapouts, 683.
Raleigh, Sir Walter, 72. 228.
Ralph, Mr. James, 51. 673.
—, secretary to Frederick Prince of Wales, 461.
"Ramblor," the, 62. 63. 65. 67. Reasons for that name, 62.
Prayer on commencing, 62. Cave's letter, 65.
—, remarks on, 67. 71. 83. 508. 707. 727.
—, translations of the mottoes to, 71.
—, translation into Italian, 638.
—, said to be translated into Russian, 755. A mistake, 755.
"Ramei," the, 837.
Ramsay, Allan, 252. 394. 395. "Gentle Shepherd," 252. 395.
—, Allan, junior, 508. 579. 580. 608. 610. 627. 630. 787.
—, Colonel, 83.
Ranby, John, "Doubts on Slave Trade Abolition," 563.
"Random Records," (Colman's), 511.
Ranelagh, 236. 561.
Rank, its importance in society, 151. 176. 238. 265. 440.
Rann, Mr., 632.
Raphael, 50.
Rasay, Isle of, 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 407. 408. 457.
—, John Macleod, Laird of, 317. 324. 327. 406. 408. 459. 536.
—, his letter to Boswell, on Johnson's "Journey," 406.
—, Johnson's and Boswell's letters to, 407.
—, Lady, 317. Miss Flora, 322. 533.
"Rascal," Johnson's use of the word, 494.
"Rasselas," 22. 114. 115. 116. 118. 148. 603. 617. 692. Written
in one week, 115. Translated into four languages, 247.
Ratcliffe, Dr., Master of Pembroke, neglect of Johnson, 89.
"Rats, *Muse let us sing of*," 485. 834.
Rattakin mountain, 310.
Rawlinson, Dr. Richard, the antiquarian, 711.
Ray, Miss, 628.
Ray's Proverbs, 205.
Reading, 452. 508. 559. 591. 664. 726. 731. 766. Advantages
of, 450. Snatches of, 661. The small quantity of, in the
world, 731. The manner and effect of, 12. 147. 559. 628.
Best mode of, 508. And writing, 242. 506. Quick, 830.
Reay, George, third Lord, 376.
Rebellions, sometimes justifiable, 401.
Red ink, kind of, used by Johnson, 649. 716.
Reed, Mr. Isaac, 61. 259. 696.
Reeves, Sir Thomas, 90.
Refinement in education, 551.
Reformers, 262.
— "Refrain" and "Abstain," distinction between, 159.
Registration of deeds, Johnson's note on, 678.
"Rehearsal," the Duke of Buckingham's, 235. 770.
Reid, Dr., of Glasgow, 393.
Rein-deer, introduction of, into England, 235.
Relations, 297. Relationship, 238. 297.
Relics, 693.
Religion, 15. 100. 135. 137. 165. 167. 172. 175. 199. 207.
209. 210. 212. 213. 218. 229. 237. 250. 285. 374. 377. 433.
596. 611. 683. 693. 730.
—, revealed, evidence for, 840.
—, Roman Catholic, 760.
Religious discourse, 730. Houses, 319. Orders, 480. Dis-
ciple, 694. Impressions, 694.
"Remembrance" and "Recollection," distinguished, 605.
Renegade, definition of, 98.
Rents, 209. 333. 366.
Repentance, 695. 729. 800.
Resentment, 507. 788.
Residences, a list of Johnson's, 30. 636.
Resolutions, difficulty of keeping, 213. Of amendment, 450.

- Respect not to be paid to an adversary, 272.
"Respublicæ," the little volumes entitled, 511.
 Resurrection, 122, 684, 729.
"Resurrection," The, a poem, 122.
 Retired tradesmen, 443.
 Retirement from the world, 283.
 Retort, Johnson's dexterity in, 719.
 Reviewers, meanness of returning thanks to, 673.
 Reviews, 729. Monthly and Critical, 504, 508.
 Revolution of 1688, 253, 332, 714.
 Reynolds, Sir Joshua, 41, 42, 50, 63, 73, 79, 96, 113, 123, 125, 126, 127, 128, 141, 161, 163, 164, 171, 177, 186, 203, 205, 212, 226, 253, 257, 269, 273, 296, 298, 305, 338, 363, 424, 432, 445, 482, 479, 480, 496, 502, 507, 508, 519, 521, 523, 573, 583, 597, 600, 601, 603, 607, 608, 610, 612, 620, 622, 624, 629, 642, 656, 678, 683, 685, 733, 743, 746, 747, 756, 757, 768, 787, 788, 806.
 — Johnson's *"duce deus,"* 79. His prices for portraits, 113. His visit to Devonshire with Johnson, 127.
 — Johnson's letters to, 166, 224, 226, 519, 523, 697, 711, 716, 724, 731, 733, 746, 747.
 — Johnson's letter to, 747.
 — style and economy of his table, 519.
 — two dialogues by, in imitation of Johnson's, 601.
 — his *"Discourses to the Royal Academy,"* 621, 770.
 — Miss, 42, 113, 129, 161, 166, 385, 441, 465, 467, 480, 509, 519, 567, 577, 594, 642, 644, 649, 691, 697.
 — her character, by J., 129. Her letter to J., 519.
 — Johnson's letters to, 129, 161, 224, 226, 505, 519, 623, 632, 639, 649, 697, 706, 741, 744, 753, 757.
 — her *"Essay on Taste,"* 697. Her poem, 649, 834.
 — her *"Recollections"* of Dr. Johnson, 550, 691, 830.
 Rhetorical gesture, Johnson's ridicule of, 111.
 Rheumatism, Johnson's recipe for, 451.
 Rhubarb, 749.
 Rhudlan Castle, 419.
 Rhyme, its excellence over blank verse, 146, 668.
 Rich, Miss, 442.
 Richardson, Samuel, 36, 42, 63, 65, 73, 79, 83, 95, 100, 113, 125, 129, 146, 141, 181, 190, 218, 238, 402, 556, 602, 644, 655, 663, 830.
 — Johnson's resource in pecuniary distress, 100.
 — writes a paper in the *"Rambler,"* 63. Johnson's character of, 63, 73, 238, 402. Letters to, 73, 83, 95, 100.
 — compared with Fielding, 190.
 — limited conversational powers, 663.
 — Martha, (Mrs. Brigden), 125.
 — Jonathan the elder and the younger, 36.
 — Mr., an attorney, 68.
 Riches, 150, 230, 235, 299, 714, 782. Influence of, 299.
 Riddoch, Mr., 291, 293, 294.
 Ridicule, the great use of, 626, 659.
 Ridley, Bishop, 210.
 Riggs, Mrs., 442.
 Right, natural, 473.
 Ring, Johnson's wedding, 76, 163.
 Riot, Johnson leads one, 771.
 Riots of 1780, 647, 651. Johnson's account of, 647.
 Ritson's songs, 352.
 Ritter, Joseph, 290, 280, 470.
 Rivers, Earl of, 50, 52.
 Rizzio, David, 276.
 Roberts, Miss, 111.
 — J., printer, 50.
 Robertson, Dr. James, 276.
 — Dr. William, the historian, 103, 182, 191, 194, 230, 244, 258, 267, 273, 275, 276, 302, 394, 399, 401, 402, 412, 552, 608, 609, 611, 636, 680, 770. Note to Boswell, 273.
 — his style imitated from Johnson, 552, 796.
 — his History of Scotland, 191, 609.
 — Mr., 299.
 Robin Hood Society, 684.
 Robinson, Mr., sen., 79.
 — Crusoe, 585.
 — Archbishop, 220.
 — Sir Thomas, 148, 220.
 Rochester, Lord, 280. His poems, 280, 325, 559.
 Rockingham, Lady, 83. Marquis of, 177.
 Rockville, Alexander Gordon, Lord, 159, 160, 401, 402.
 Rod, punishment of the, 8, 235.
 Rodney, Admiral Lord, 465.
 Rofette, Abbé, 468.
 Rogers, Captain Francis, 127.
 — Rev. Mr., 801.
 Rokeby, Mathew, second Lord, 118, 148, 220.
 Roit, Richard, *"Dictionary of Trade and Commerce,"* 121.
 Roman Catholics, Johnson's charitable opinion of, 76, 209, 216, 229, 637.
 — Catholic religion, 286, 499, 760.
 Romances, 659. Johnson's love of, 9. Reasons for reading, 659.
 Romans, character of the ancient, 104.
 Rome, the fountain of elegance, 608.
 Romney, the painter, 508.
 Rorie, or Roderick More, 334.
 Roscommon, Johnson's Life of, 59.
 Rose, Dr., 79, 737. Repartee on Johnson's pension, 713.
 Rose, Mrs., her anecdotes of Johnson, 836.
 — Sir George, 83.
 Roslin Castle, 404.
 Ross, Bishop of, 754. Thane of, 657.
 Rosses, the, 309.
 Rosslyn, Earl, Professor, 292. See Loughborough.
 Rothes, Lady, Langton's wife, 222, 225, 227, 241, 528, 597.
 — Ladies, 222.
 — family, 284.
 Round-rob on Goldsmith's epitaph, 520, 521.
 Rous, Francis, Speaker, 18.
 Rousseau, 150, 175, 176, 760. Johnson's opinion of, 175. His *"Profession of Foi,"* and *"Confessions,"* 176.
 Rowe, (the poet), 72. Mrs., 105.
 Rowley, Thomas, 510.
 Royal Academy instituted, 197.
 — family, 358, 546.
 Rouston, Lord, 121.
 Rudd, Margaret Caroline, 454, 518, 607.
 Ruddiman, Thomas, 66, 179, 231, 287, 335, 623.
 Rudeness, J.'s occasional, 393, 628, 658, 663, 670, 685, 691.
 Ruffhead's Life of Pope, 235.
 Ruins, artificial, 424.
 "Rumble," Hayley's character of Johnson, 774.
 Runic inscription, 47.
 Runts, 610.
 Russell, Lord, 249, 588.
 — Dr., his *"Aleppo,"* 714.
 Russia, Catherine Empress of, 622. Orders a translation of the *"Rambler,"* 755. A mistake, 755.
 Rotty, Dr. John, extracts from his *"Spiritual Diary,"* 551.
 Ryland, Mr., 58, 78, 79, 783, 842, 844.
 Sabbath, the, Johnson's opinions concerning, 99, 199, 250, 283, 377, 456, 601.
 Sacheverel, Dr., 6. *"History of the Isle of Man,"* 382.
 Sacrament, 391. Impropriety of sitting at, 627.
 Sagacity and intuition, difference between, 775.
 Sailor's life, J.'s aversion, 117, 308, 349, 480, 585.
 — English, 403, 585.
 St. Alban's, Duke, 80.
 — Andrew's, city of, 283. Its library, 284. Ruins of its cathedral, 540. Its university, 540.
 — Asaph, Bishop of. See Shipley.
 — Bruno, 465.
 — Columba, 381, 382.
 — Helens, Alleyne Fitzherbert, Lord, 20.
 — Hycinthe, 461.
 — Jolien, M. de, 461.
 — Kilda, 191, 228, 301, 342, 360.
 — Louis, 465.
 — Quintin, Catherine, Countess of Eglington, 395.
 — Rule's Chapel, 283.
 — Vitus's dance, described by Sydenham, 42, 269.
 Saints, worship of, 210.
 Salamanca, University of, 155.
 Sale, Mr., his share in the Universal History, 794.
 Salisbury, Bishop of. See Douglas.
 — Cathedral, 74.
 Sallust, 420. Spanish translation of, 722.
 Salter, Rev. Dr., 58, 68.
 Salisbury, Mrs., 251, 266, 457, 458, 610.
 — Miss, afterwards Mrs. Thrale, 170.
 Sanderson, Bishop, 69, 210, 803, 842.
 — Professor, 242.
 "Sandford, your mother's son is welcome," 355.
 Sandhills, 371.
 Sandwich, John, sixth Earl of, 628.
 Sandys, Mr., 45, 362. Lord, 423, 424.
 Sanguhar, Lord, 297.
 Santerre, the Parisian brewer, 464.
 Saratoga, surrender of the British army at, 617.
 Sardinia, 202.
 Sarpedon, Lord Errol like, 296.
 Sarpi, Father Paul, his *"History of the Council of Trent,"* 29, 38, 39. His Life by Johnson, 40. See Paul.
 Sastres, Mr., the Italian master, 501, 802.
 Saunderson, Nicholas, 242.
 Savage, Richard, 35, 43, 50, 52, 53, 84, 798.
 — Johnson's Life of, 47, 49, 50, 51, 285.
 — inquiry as to his birth, 51. His tragedy of *"Sir Thomas Overbury,"* 532. His *"Wanderer"* quoted, 760.
 Savage girl, 299. Life, 200, 255.
 Savages, 200, 234, 255, 261, 289, 290, 510, 511, 728, 766.
 Savings, trifling, 597.
 Sawbridge, Catherine, afterwards Mrs. Macaulay, 78.
 Scaliger, 468.
 Scalpa, island of, 316.
 Scarsdale, Lord, and Keddlestone, 416.
 Scepticism, 278. Eleven causes of, 792.
 Schomberg, Dr. Ralph, the Jew physician, 490.
 Schoolmasters, 8, 23, 226, 227, 237, 241. Right to punish, 231.
 Schools, public, 291, 409, 498, 566.
 Science, books of, 308.
 Scolding, a specimen of Johnson's, 662.
 Score, in music, meaning of, 439.
 Scorpions, inquiry concerning, 191.

- Scotch, Johnson's feelings towards, 145. 191. 201. 217. 232. 244. 259. 276. 286. 291. 349. 383. 432. 434. 451. 478. 579. 629. 650. 658. 687. 696. 713. 719.
- accent overcome by perseverance, 232.
- clergy, 350. Highlander, 403. Impudence, 433.
- conjectures as to the origin of Johnson's antipathy to, 54. 431. 713. 827.
- learning of the, 452.
- cause of their success in London, 719.
- Lairds, Johnson's notion of the dignity of, 139.
- jealousy of the, 432.
- nationality of the, 259. 432. 433. 439. 493. 720.
- Scotland, episcopal church of, 623.
- peers of, their interference in elections, 744.
- Scots, Mary, Queen of, 119. 276.
- Scott, Sir Walter, notes on "Tour in the Hebrides," by, 227. 231. 264. 270. 272. 275. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 296. 299. 301. 302. 303. 307. 309. 313. 314. 316. 317. 318. 319. 324. 326. 340. 341. 342. 345. 346. 347. 351. 359. 362. 364. 371. 409. 410.
- adopts editor's rejection of indelicate expressions, 176.
- a history of the Pretender suggested to him, 401.
- George Lewis, sub-preceptor to George III., 60.
- John, of Amwell, 443. His "Elegies," 448.
- Dr., afterwards Sir William and Lord Stowell, 37. 90. 117. 157. 210. 223. 268. 270. 271. 277. 280. 319. 425. 458. 483. 553. 585. 600. 646. 648. 684.
- his character of Boswell, 280. His account of Mr. Coulson, 425.
- Scoundrel, a favourite word of Johnson's, 494.
- and blockhead, applied to women, 496.
- Scoundrellism, "a good *ism*," 298.
- Scrimshaw, a relation of Johnson's, 311.
- Scripture phrases, 249.
- Scriptures, inspiration of our copies questioned, 176. Proposal for an Erse translation of, 181, 182.
- Scrofula, Johnson afflicted with, 7.
- frequently attended by morbid melancholy, 7.
- Scruples, prayer against, 799. Unnecessary, 283.
- Scuderi, Mademoiselle, 442.
- Seaforth, Lord, 309.
- Sea life, Johnson's aversion to, 64. 349. 480.
- Seal, Johnson's, 220.
- Seasons, influence of, 265.
- Secker, Archbishop, 3. 219. Johnson's prejudice against, 663. Porteus's Life of, 663.
- Second sight, 35. 175. 228. 315. 317. 341. 376. 400. 405. 437.
- Sedley, Sir C., and daughter, Countess of Dorchester, 278.
- Seduction, 615.
- Seed, Rev. Jeremiah, his "Sermons," 579.
- Self-importance, 552. Praise, 605.
- Selden's "Table Talk" quoted, 372. 719.
- Selctne, queries on the, 461.
- Selwyn, George, 629.
- "*Senex insaniamus omnes*," &c., whence taken, 718.
- Seneca, 336. 367. 468.
- "*Senectus*," use of the word, 613.
- Sensibility, Johnson's, 720.
- Sensual intercourse, 578. 612.
- "Sentimental Journey," Sterne's, 664.
- "Serious Call," Law's, 15. 218.
- Sermons, the best English, for style, 578.
- collections of, 688.
- Johnson's, 107. 285. 555. 603.
- Johnson's advice on the composition of, 652.
- "Serotinus," 68.
- Servants, male and female, 251.
- Services, 180.
- Settle, Elkanah, the city poet, 517.
- Sève* China, 549.
- Severity, 480.
- Servigné, Madame de, 22. 186. 511.
- Seward, Rev. Mr., 19. 491. 545.
- Anna, 4. 5. 6. 7. 20. 23. 76. 188. 239. 374. 415. 491. 577. 591. 593. 596. 774. Ode on death of Cook, 773.
- William, 200. 201. 424. 425. 535. 536. 639. 643. 734.
- anecdotes of distinguished persons, 767.
- Sexes, inequality of the, 502.
- sensual intercourse between, 612.
- Sforza, Ludovico, 359.
- Shakespeare, 54. 55. 72. 83. 86. 111. 112. 125. 137. 144. 168. 171. 172. 173. 177. 204. 205. 206. 207. 247. 303. 309. 353. 355. 512. 627. 662. 836. 838.
- orthography of his name, 303.
- J.'s edition of, 54. 107. 110. 125. 164. 171. 172. 246.
- his witches, 627.
- Johnson's opinion of his learning, 658. 660.
- Johnson's lines on, 662.
- compared with Congreve, 203. 207.
- his picture of man, 678.
- "Modern Characters" from, 581.
- Shame and conscience contrasted, 833.
- Sharp, Archbishop, his murder and monument, 284.
- Samuel, 74. 121. His "Letters on Italy," 512.
- Dr. John, 65. 167. Account of Johnson's visit to Cambridge, 167.
- Mr. William, jun., Johnson's letter to, 536.
- Sharpe, Rev. Dr. Gregory, 220.
- Shaving, varieties in, 549.
- Shaw, Cuthbert, his poem of "The Race," 183.
- William, works on the Erse Language, 528. 529. 567. His pamphlet on Ossian, 745.
- Professor, 285. 286.
- Shawe, Colonel Meyrick, on the Irish and Erse, 231.
- Shebbeare, Dr., 68. 195. 602. 690. 729. His letters under the name of "Battista Angeloni," 691.
- Sheep's head, 384.
- Sheffield, Lord, 229.
- Shelburne, Earl of, (Lord Lansdowne,) 232. 500. 505. 584. 645. 715. 721. Goldsmith's blundering speech to, 716.
- Shellock, Mr., 794.
- Shenstone, William, 356. 385. 424. 425. 485. His essays, 733. Favourite stanza of, 763.
- Sheridan, Richard Brinsley, 121. 131. 132. 166. 217. 447. 453. 521. 529. 532. 573.
- prologue to "Sir Thomas Overbury;" compliment to J. on his Dictionary; proposed by J. for the club; meditated answer to J.'s "Taxation no Tyranny," 532.
- Thomas, 51. 62. 121. 126. 127. 131. 132. 134. 154. 166. 204. 207. 219. 233. 247. 264. 437. 447. 494. 532. 625. 726. 730.
- Johnson's description of his conversation, 154.
- irreconcilable difference between Johnson and, 131.
- Johnson's character of, 713. 732.
- his "Lectures on Oratory," 732.
- his medal to the author of "Douglas," 390. 437.
- Mrs. (Frances Chamberlaine), some account of, and of her novels, "Sydney Biddulph" and "Nourjahad," 121. 132.
- Mrs. R. B. (Miss Linley), 453. 707.
- Charles, his "Revolution in Sweden," 591.
- Sherlock's Sermons, 579.
- the Rev. Martin, his travels, 770.
- "She Stoops to Conquer," Goldsmith's, 247. 248. 250. 251. 253. 257.
- Shields, Mr. Robert, 57. 504. 506. 533.
- "Ship of Fools," 91.
- Shipley, Bishop, 418. 420. 448. 480. 501. 519. 579. 644. 645. 647. 679. 683. 743.
- Dean, 141.
- Shoe-buckles, 269.
- Shopkeepers of London, 289. 290.
- Shore, Jane, 279.
- Short-hand, 253. 586. 713.
- Siam, the King of, 609.
- Sibbald, Sir Robert, 572.
- Sick, duty of telling truth to the, 765.
- chamber, 737.
- Siddons, Mrs., her visit to Johnson, 741.
- Sidney, Sir Philip, 215. Arcadia quoted, 538.
- Algernon, 249.
- Siege of Aleppo, 583.
- Sight, Johnson's defective, 100. 835.
- Silence, Johnson's occasional, 287.
- Simpson, Joseph, 117. 168. 503.
- Thomas, the engineer, 119.
- Rev. Mr., 79. 618.
- Sin, original, 292. 694.
- Sinclair, Sir John, 700.
- Mr., stabbed by Savage, 35.
- Singularity, 200.
- Sins, 237.
- "Sisters," The, a comedy, 657.
- "Sixteen-string Jack," 506.
- Skeggs, Mr., plays on a broomstick, 143.
- Skene, Sir John, 640.
- Skie, Isle of, 312.
- Johnson's ode on, 313.
- Slain's Castle, 295.
- Slater, Mr., the druggist, 515.
- Slave-trade, Johnson's abhorrence of, 562. 663.
- Sleep, 550.
- Smalbrooke, Dr., his "Sermons," 38.
- Small debts, 117.
- Smalridge, Dr., his sermons, 579.
- Smart, Christopher, 15. 65. 103. 135. 143. 664. Mrs., 785.
- Smelt, Leonard, Esq., 645.
- Smith, Rev. Edward, his verses on Pococke, 587.
- Dr. Adam, 16. 146. 269. 272. 323. 498. 534. 608.
- his "Wealth of Nations," 478. His meetings with Johnson, 333. 608. 661. 662. His letter about Hume, 272. Garrick's opinion of, 662.
- Lady, 632.
- Captain, 619.
- Mr., 568.
- Smithson, Sir Hugh, 220.
- Smoking, 106. 282.
- Smollett, Dr., 118. 153. 212. 392. 504. Letter to Wilkes, 118. Epitaph corrected, 392.
- Commissary, 392.
- Sociability, Johnson's, 758.
- Society, 594. Our duties to, 175. 283.
- civilised, customs of, 150. 151. 152. 175.
- Socrates, 585. Learned to dance, 680.
- "*Solamen miseris socios*," &c., author of, unknown, 718.
- Solander, Dr., 226. 227. 228. 378. 379. 496.

- Soldiers, 111. 307. 497. 585.
 "Soldier's letter," 47. 111.
 Solitude, 188. 735.
 —, reasons against, 735.
 Solon, 468.
 Somerset, Duchess of, 154. Duke of, 220.
 Somerville, James, thirteenth Lord, 670.
 Sonnambulum, Dr. Blacklocke's, 277.
 Sophron, in the "Rambler," 68.
 Sorbonne, 464.
 Sorrow, 206. 284.
 Souls, notion of the middle state of, 77.
 Sounds, 243.
 South, Dr., his sermons, 210. 579.
 Southwark, people of, 654.
 Southwell, Robert, stanzas "Upon the Image of Death, 420.
 —, Thomas, second Lord, 78. 123. 243. 246. 653. 715.
 —, Lady, Johnson's letter to, 653.
 —, Thomas George, third Lord and first Viscount, 653.
 —, Thomas Arthur, second Viscount, 123. 246.
 —, Edmund, younger brother of second Lord, 653.
 —, Edmund, third son of the first Lord, 246.
 —, the Hon. Misses Frances and Lucy, 246. 645.
 —, Robert, 420.
 Spades, 344.
 Spain, no country less known than, 124. 139. 155.
 Spanish plays, 650.
 Speaking, public, 443. Johnson's qualifications for, 223.
 — of one's self, 605.
 "Spectator," the, 65. 249. 454. 504. 573. 602. 664. 679. 684.
 — "*Spectulum Humanae Salvationis*," 464.
 Spells, 317.
 Spelman, Sir Henry, on the fatality attending the inheritance of confiscated church property, 711.
 Spence, Rev. Joseph, 374. 675. His "Anecdotes," 145. 643. 657. 675.
 Spencer, John George, Earl, 590. 646. Countess, 480.
 —, Edmund, 88. 90. 92.
 Spirits, appearance of, 116. 138. 228. 234. 239. 241. 685.
 —, evil, 277.
 "Spleen," the, 506.
 Sporus, 29.
 Spottiswoode, Mr. John, 438. "Of that ilk," 606.
 Sprat, his style characterised by Johnson, 69.
 Spurs, Johnson's, 317. 804. Kelly's, 804.
 Squires, the Rev. Mr., 65.
 Stage, the, 304.
 Stage coaches, 758. 838.
 Stair, the Earl of, 394.
 Stanhope, Mr., Lord Chesterfield's son, 88. 217. 680. 774.
 —, Earl, 48.
 Stanley, Hans, 229.
 —, Honourable Mrs., 461.
 Stanton, Mr., the player, 489. 490.
 Stanyan, Temple, his account of Switzerland, 617.
 Statham, the Rev. Mr., 18. 427.
 Statuary, 481.
 Staunton, Sir George, letter to, and account of, 124.
 Steele, Sir Richard, 53. 439. 484. 684. His "Christian Hero," 484. Addison's conduct towards, 671.
 —, Mr. Joshua, his "*Proserpina Rationalis*," 439.
 Stevens, George, Esq., 141. 192. 211. 213. 214. 246. 248. 411. 412. 445. 456. 526. 559. 590. 616. 629. 666. 717. 754. 771. 803.
 —, Johnson's letter to, 411. 526.
 Stella, Swift's, 471.
Stellus inter luna minores, 784.
 Stephani, account of the, 655.
 Sterne, 238. 253. 664. 689. His "Tristram Shandy," 484.
 Stews, licensed, 500.
 Stick, Johnson's, joke on the loss of, 375.
 Stillingfleet, Benjamin, Esq., 689.
 Stinton, Dr., 589. 663.
 Stirling, corporation of, J.'s argument in favour of, 455.
 Stockdale, the bookseller, 111.
 —, Rev. Perceval, 213. 228. 769. His "Remonstrance," 213.
 Stonehenge, 741.
 Stopford, General, the Hon. Edward, 456.
 Stories, truth essential to, 479.
 Stourbridge School, Johnson's connexion with, 10.
 Stowell, Lord. See Scott, Dr.
 Strahan, Rev. Dr. George, 75. 147. 168. 185. 289. 651. 753. 792. 806.
 —, Johnson's letters to, 129. 130. 146. 161. 168. 651.
 —, publishes Johnson's "Prayers and Meditations," 75.
 —, 792. Observations on his doing so, 792. 803.
 —, William, Esq., 79. 83. 222. 254. 293. 393. 437. 438. 524. 525. 582. 619. 687. 719.
 —, recommending J. to be brought into Parliament, 222.
 —, difference between Johnson and, 619. 625.
 —, Johnson's letters to, 687. 701.
 —, Mrs., 66.
 —, William, Esq., junior, 687.
 Strathgairn, 588.
 Strathnaver, Lord, 391.
 Streatham, 201. 615. Johnson's valediction to, 710.
 Strichen, Lord, 298.
 Strickland, Mrs., 465. 467. 533.

- Stuart family, 119. 147. 252. 332. 546.
 —, Mr., of Dunearn, kills Sir W. Boswell in a duel, 240.
 —, Hon. William, Archbishop of Armagh, 723.
 —, Hon. Colonel James, 634. 639. 641.
 —, Andrew, "Letters to Lord Mansfield, 255. 494.
 —, Francis and Mrs., sister, 54. 57. 641. 643. 748. 750. 827.
 —, Rev. James, translator of the Scriptures into Erse, 182.
 —, Harriot, Lieut. of, by Mrs. Lenox, 83.
 —, Lady Mary, daughter of Lord Bute, 300.
 Study, plan of, 139. 147. 155. 156. 157. 162. 168. 177. 266. 591. 616. 628. 637. 657. 660. 767.
 —, Cumberland's mode of, 581.
 Style, 68, 69, 70, 71. 243. 582. 590. 656. 673. 811.
 —, Burrowes's Essay on Johnson's, 69.
 —, Addison's and Johnson's compared, 71.
 —, Johnson's character of Addison's, 71.
 —, various kinds of, 243. 837.
 —, metaphorical expression, a great excellence in, 552.
 —, of writers and painters, how far distinguishable, 590.
 Subordination, 583. 628. Necessary to human happiness, 138. 151. 152. 176. 252. 265.
 —, impaired in England, by the increase of money, 544.
 —, in society, duty of maintaining, 440.
 Subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles, 210. 229. 284.
 Succession, 472. 473.
 Suckling, Sir John, his "Aglaura," a play, 603.
 Suetonius, 591.
 "Sugar Cane," a poem, 455. 456. 834.
 Suicide, 255. 281. 707. 733.
 Sully, 99.
 Sunday. See Sabbath.
 Sunderland, Lord, Johnson inquires for a life of, 48.
 Superfletation of the press, prejudicial to literature, 608.
 Superiors, deference to, 297.
 Superstitions, 166. 228.
 Supper, a turnpike to bed, 599.
 Suspicion, 539.
 Sutherland, Duke of, 224.
 Swallows, 192.
 Swan, Dr., 40.
 Swearing in conversation, 235. 507.
 Swene's stone, 301.
 Swift, 15. 28. 37. 57. 71. 72. 132. 154. 204. 259. 345. 347. 460. 484. 512. Johnson's prejudice against, 277.
 —, his "Tale of a Tub," 154. 243. 277. 437. His "Conduct of the Allies" 195. His "Gulliver's Travels," 437. His "Journal," 716.
 —, Lord Gower's application to, 37.
 —, Johnson's opinion of, 132. 154. 195. 220. 243. 277. 437.
 —, Lord Hailes's opinion of, 148.
 —, Johnson's Life of, 674.
 —, his verses on his own death, quoted by Johnson on his death-bed, 841.
 Swimming, Johnson's skill at, 524. 836.
 Swinfen, Dr., 4. 7. 12. 14. 570. 654. Mrs., 101.
 Swinton, Rev. Mr., authorship of the Universal History, 89.
 Sydenham, Dr., 293. Description of St. Vitus's dance, 42. 269. Johnson's Life of, 6. 46.
 Sydney, Lady, 366.
 Sympathy, 491. With others in distress, 206.
 "*Système de la Nature*," 278.
 Table, sinking, invented by Louis XV., 461.
 "Table Talk," Selden's, 372. 719.
 Tacitus, style of, 242. 428.
 Tait, Rev. Mr., 305.
 Talbot, Mrs. Catherine, 63.
 —, "Tale of a Tub." See Swift.
 Talisker, (Col. Macleod), 317. 318. 336. 350. 352. 353.
 —, "Talk" and "Conversation," J.'s distinction between, 719.
 Talkers, exuberant public, ridiculed, 260.
 Tallow-chandler, story of one, 443.
 Tanning, Johnson's knowledge of, 348.
 Tarleton, 58.
 Tasker, Rev. William, a crazy poet, 624. 714.
 Tasso, his Jerusalem, 427. 608.
 —, Johnson's dedication of Hoole's translation of, 130.
 Taste, 243. Refinement of, 776.
 Tavern, the chair of a, 485.
 Taverns, 485. 678.
 —, "Taxation no Tyranny," 435. 442. 509. 591. Suppressed passages in, 435.
 Taylor, Jeremy, 69. 175. 760. 762. 806.
 —, Rev. Dr. John, 12. 13. 18. 20. 51. 56. 60. 77. 79. 214. 215. 235. 285. 417. 471. 491. 493. 508. 511. 518. 539. 540. 541. 544. 546. 547. 551. 555. 558. 564. 603. 632. 734. 752. 807. 809.
 —, his sermons, 555. Johnson's letters to, 77. 734. 752.
 —, Chevalier, 630.
 —, John, Esq., 23. 61.
 —, "Demosthenes," a silent man, 603.
 Tea, J.'s defence of and fondness for, 105. 260. 563. 584.
Te veniente die, &c., 105.
 Tea-pot, Johnson's, 105.
 Tedious gentleman, Johnson's remark to, a 243.
 —, "Telemachus," Graham's, 139. 294. 528.
 —, "Telemachus," (Fénelon's), 372. 457.

- Temple, Sir William. His style, 69. 582.
 —, Rev. Mr., 149. 175. 260. 436. Character of Gray, 708.
 Temptation, 575.
 Tenants, 366. 370. 443.
 Terence, 490. 660.
 Testimony, 757.
 Thales, 35.
 Thatching, 355.
 Theft allowed in Sparta, 594.
 Theobald, Lewis, 110. 345.
 Theocritus, his character as a writer, 655.
 —, "Theophilus Insulanus," 341.
 Thicknesse, Philip, Esq., his "Travels," 575.
 Things, attention to small, 721.
 Thirlby, Dr. Styan, 711.
 Thomas, Mr. Nathaniel, 524.
 —, Colonel, 728.
 —, the two bishops of that name, 448.
 Thompson, W., author of "The Man in the Moon," 409.
 Thomson, J., 154. 194. 453. 506. 530. 533. 538. 618. 670.
 —, Rev. James, his case, 513. 816.
 Thornton, Mrs., George II.'s compliment to, 185.
 —, Bonnell, Esq., 65. 68. 89.
 —, his burlesque "Ode on St. Cecilia's Day," 143.
 —, Henry, Esq., 654.
 Thoughts, perplexing, Johnson's prayer against, 789.
 —, "Thoughts in Prison," Dodd's, 586.
 "Thoughts, &c. on the Falkland Islands." See Falkland Islands.
 Thrale, Henry, Esq., 60. 76. 164. 165. 169. 170. 197. 203. 222. 223. 234. 305. 359. 424. 425. 447. 465. 491. 496. 500. 501. 502. 503. 529. 530. 537. 632. 654. 677. 681. 687.
 —, Johnson's introduction into the family of, 169. 170. 654.
 —, his design of bringing Johnson into Parliament, 223.
 —, Johnson's letters to, 632.
 —, address to Southwark electors, by Johnson, 653.
 —, his reported death, 529.
 —, his death, 682. 703. 710.
 —, sale of his brewery, 682. 697.
 —, Mrs. See Piozzi. Johnson's opinion of, 834.
 —, Letters to, anecdotes by, *passim*.
 —, Johnson's Latin Ode to, 314.
 —, verses on her thirty-fifth birthday, 471.
 —, Henry, jun., death of, 491. 495.
 —, Mr. John and Margaret, his wife, 169.
 —, Miss, (Lady Keith), 415. 417. 423. 425.
 Threshing, 355.
 Thuanus, 468. Johnson's proposed translation of, 804.
 Thucydides, 608.
 Thurlow, Lord, 37. 717.
 —, Boswell's letter to, on J.'s proposed tour to Italy, 772.
 —, Johnson's letter to, 781. His to Johnson, 654. To Reynolds, 782. To Boswell, 775.
 —, opinion on the liberty of the pulpit, 513. 817.
 Thynne, Mr., his murder, 191.
 Tillotson, Archbishop, 69. Style of his sermons, 578.
 Time and space, 662.
 Timidity, 767.
 Tindal, Dr., forgery of his will, 255.
 Titi, history of Prince, 461.
 Toasts, 663.
 Tobemorie, 371.
 Todd's edition of Johnson's dictionary, 96. 97.
 Tolcher, Alderman, of Plymouth, 129.
 Toleration, 261. 262. Universal, 626. 658.
 "Tom Jones," Fielding's, 238.
 Tomkeson, Mr., Johnson's letter to, 823.
 Tonson, 72. 79.
 Tooke, Rev. John Horne, 562. 602. 613. 616.
 —, his "Letter to Mr. Dunning on the English Particle," and "Divisions of Purley," 616.
 Topham, the King *versus*, for a libel, 499.
 Toplady, Rev. Mr., 260. 263.
 Tories, 252. 358. 606. 612. 687. 722.
 Torloisk, Maclean of, 433.
 Torre, M., 506.
 Tory, Johnson's definition of, 97.
 — and Whig, Johnson's description of, 761.
 Torture in Holland, 159.
 Towers, Dr., his "Letter" to J., 436. "Essay on J.," 667.
 Town-life, 553. 581.
 Townley, Charles, Esq., 465. 533.
 Town-malling, 188.
 Townshend, Right Hon. Charles, 252. 495.
 —, Lord, 389.
 Townson, Rev. Dr., 264.
 Trade, 207. 238. 343. 378. 478. The rage of, 343.
 Trades, Johnson's knowledge of, 348. 355.
 Tradesmen, opulence of, 378.
 —, retired, 216. Unhappiness of, 443.
 Tradeswomen, 616.
 Tradition, 286.
 Tragedy, 506. A strange one, 576.
 Tragic acting, Johnson's contempt of, 275. 556.
 Translation, 181. 506. 582.
 "Transpire," definition of the word, 612.
 Transubstantiation, 286. 292.
 Traupaud, Mr., 307.
 Travel, Lord Essex's advice on, 148.
 "Traveller," Goldsmith's, 141. 165. 174. 258. 384. 580. 604.
 Travelling, 139. 148. 158. 214. 217. 485. 495. 496. 505. 510. 548. 575. 586. 597. 616. 617. Use of and rules for, 708.
 —, writers of, 456. 575. 597.
 Treason, constructive, 683.
 Trecothick, Mr. Alderman, 517. 562.
 Trees, paucity of, in Scotland, 285. 287.
 Trial by duel, 271.
 Trianon, 463.
 Triennial parliaments advocated by Johnson, 197.
 Trifles, 106. 634. Duty of attending to, 106. 148. 617.
 Trimlestown, Lord, 572.
 Trinity, 263. 292.
 Tripasse, Queen, 461.
 —, Tristram Shandy," 484.
 Troughton, Lieut., the wanderer, 422.
 "Troye, Histories of," 425.
 Trusler, Rev. Dr. John, his "Principles of Politeness," 511.
 Truth, 252. The bond of society, 594.
 —, great importance of a regard to, 149. 151. 479. 498. 499. 572. 636. 765. 786. 799.
 —, difference between physical and moral, 656.
 —, essential to stories, 479.
 Tuam, Archbishop of, afterwards Earl of Mayo, 737.
 Tull's Husbandry, 377.
 Tunbridge Wells, Johnson at, 26. 58.
 "Turkish Spy," 383. The authors of, 723.
 Turks, 475.
 Turnpike roads, effect of, 838.
 Turton, Dr. and Mrs., 23. Miss, 224.
 Twalmley, the inventor of the ironing-box, 721.
 Tweedale, Marquis of, 497.
 Twining, Rev. T., translation of Aristotle's "Poetics," 506.
 Twiss, Richard, "Travels in Spain," 445. 446. 456. 457.
 Tyers, Mr. Thomas, 59. 79. 86. 105. 211. 287. 345. 436.
 —, account of, 599. Description of Johnson, 287.
 Tyrrawley, Lord, 249.
 Tyrcornel, Lord, 53.
 Tyrwhitt, Thomas, Esq., his "Vindication," 701.
 Tyler, William, Esq., 119. 358. 399. 402. 432.
 —, his character of Johnson's "Journey," 432.
 —, Alexander Fraser, Lord Woodhouselee, 399. 404.
 Ulinish, 344. 345.
 Ulva, 376. 538.
 Ulysses, 176. 839.
 Union, Scotch, 276.
 —, with Ireland, Johnson's prophecy as to the effects, 638.
 "Unius lacerte," meaning of the expression of Juvenal, 581.
 "Universal History," list of the authors of, 767.
 —, Warburton's and Gibbon's character of, 794.
 "Universal Visitor," Johnson's essays in, 103. 445.
 University, advantages of a, 838.
 Universities, English, not sufficiently rich, 498.
 Upcot, Mr., 15. 58. 167. 267.
 Upper-Ossory, Lord, 529. 573.
 Urban, Sylvanus, 32. 34. 48. Johnson's Latin ode to, 31.
 —, letter to, proposing "Life of Savage," 50.
 Urie, Captain, 307.
 Urns, Johnson's dislike to, 423. 835.
 "Ursa Major," 423. 808. 839. Johnson so designated by Lord Auchinleck, 398.
 Usher, Archbishop, 60. Luminary of Irish church, 221.
 Usury laws, 502.
 Uttoxeter, Johnson's expiatory visit to, 791.
 Vachell, William, Esq., 521.
 "Vagabondo," Italian translation of "The Rambler," 638.
 Valetudinarian, 494. 545.
 Vallière, Mademoiselle de la, 278. 279.
 Vails to servants, 201.
 Vanbrugh's "Provoked Husband," 190.
 Vandyke, 338.
 Vane, Anne, 60. 278.
 Van Helmont, 233.
 Vanity, 804.
 —, Goldsmith's extraordinary, 203.
 "Vanity of Human Wishes," 59. 177. 278.
 —, Byron's opinion of, 59.
 Vanstuart, Dr. Robert, 117. 243. 244. 425.
 —, Mr., 425.
 —, Mr. Henry, 117.
 Vasa, Gustavus, 40.
 Vauxhall Gardens, 599. 600.
 Veal, Mrs., ghost story of, invented by Defoe, 234.
 Venus of Apelles, 688. Of Medici, 835.
 Verses, alleged pleasure in writing, 731.
 —, on Ireland, by a lady, 604.
 —, favourite, 830. 837.
 Vertot, M., 258.
 Vesey, Right Hon. Agmondesham, 298. 436. 663.
 —, Mrs., 164. 442. 501. 625. 637.
 "Vicar of Wakefield," 141. 624. Johnson sells it, 604.
 Vice, 594. 612. 615.

- "Vicious Intromission," argument on, 244. 247. 278. 814.
 Victoria, Queen, former practice with regard to sentences of death abrogated on her accession, 534.
"Vidit et crebuit," &c., by whom written, 598.
 Vigneul-Marvilliana, 461.
 Viletti, Rev. Mr., 773.
"Village," a poem, 716.
 Villiers, Sir George, ghost story respecting, 616.
 Vincent, Dr., 59.
"Vindication of Natural Society," Burke's, 157, 158.
 Virgil, 15. 219. 245. 279. 381. 428. 559. 608. 837-8.
 —, Johnson's juvenile translations from, 10.
 —, comparative excellence of Homer, 559. 838.
 —, superior to Theocritus, 655.
 —, his description of the entrance into hell applied to a printing-house, 372.
 Virtue, 148. 594. 612. 615. 616.
 —, happiness dependent upon, 594.
"Vision of Theodore the Hermit," considered by Johnson his best writing, 59.
 Vivacity, 489.
 Voltaire, 149. 171. 172. 174. 176. 204. 297. 372. 401. 461. 608.
 —, his "Candide" resembles "Rasselas," 115. 617. A good narrator, 218. His attack on Johnson, 171. His distinction of Pope and Dryden, 173.
 Voting, right of, 443.
 Vows, 179. 180. 617.
 Vyse, Rev. Dr., 113. 415. 469. 535. 790. 801.
 —, his letter to Boswell, 535.
 —, Johnson's letters to, 535. 654. 801.
 —, Miss, 632.
 Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury, 441.
 Waldegrave, the ladies, portrait of, 113.
 Wages of labourers, 355. 716.
 Wales, Johnson's tour to, 415.
 —, the Prince of, his situation, 718.
 —, Frederick Prince of, 60. 65. 185.
 —, George (afterwards George IV.), 187.
 Walker, the actor, the original Macheath, 453.
 —, Mr. Joseph Cooper, 108. 531.
 —, John, the master of elocution, 725.
 —, Rev. Robert, 400.
 Wall, Dr., the physician, 762.
 Waller, Edmund, the poet, 291. 450. 606. 665.
 —, his "Divine Poesie," 761.
 —, Johnson's Life of, 666.
 —, Sir William, his "Divine Meditations," 704.
"Walloons," Cumberland's, 706.
 Walmesley, Mrs., 490.
 Walsley, Gilbert, Esq., 19. 24. 27. 28. 54. 61. 147. 299.
 —, his character by Johnson, 19. 27. 147. 399.
 —, his letter recommending Johnson and Garrick, 27.
 Walpole, Horace, sen., 45.
 —, Horace, afterwards Earl of Orford, 90. 113. 184. 189. 190. 202. 204. 233. 243. 253. 325. 345. 352. 362. 363. 439. 442. 444. 508. 524. 629. 691. 720. 768.
 —, his share in "The Heroic Epistle," 325. 768.
 —, his description of Bath-Easton, 442.
 —, his account of Dodd's preaching, 541.
 —, his "Reminiscences" quoted, 53. 444. 553.
 —, his character of Johnson, 768.
 —, Sir Robert, 36. 40. 41. 61. 104. 202. 233. 244. 362. 383. 447. 512. 523. 553. 681.
 —, Johnson's opposition to his government, 41.
 Walshe, Lieutenant-Colonel, 198.
 Walton, Isaac, his "Life of Bishop Sanderson," quoted, 842.
 —, His "Angler," 415. His "Lives," 413. 414. 452. 483. 529.
 War, 254. 585. 661. 728.
 Warburton, Dr., 2. 47. 54. 58. 83. 86. 110. 158. 185. 219. 289. 293. 303. 448. 559. 600. 669. 794.
 —, his "Doctrine of Grace," 293.
 —, Johnson's high opinion of, 86.
 —, made a bishop by Pope, 185. Denied, 185. 289.
 —, opinion of Johnson's "Observations on Macbeth," 54.
 —, writes the preface to "Clarissa," 83.
 —, J.'s character of, 669. 670. 760. J.'s conduct towards, 669.
 —, his contest with Lowth, 303.
 Ward, the noted quack doctor, 630.
 Wardlaw, Sir H. and Lady (Elizabeth Halket), 205.
 Warley Camp, Johnson at, 618.
 Warner, R., his "Tour through the Northern Counties," 791.
 Warrants, general, 159. Death, 534.
 Warren, Dr., 800.
 —, Mr., the first bookseller at Birmingham, 21. 43.
 Warton, Joseph, mention of and letters to, 32. 75. 81. 82. 83. 91. 102. 125. 153. 172. 173. 186. 215. 235. 387. 520. 521. 635. 647.
 —, Thomas, mention of and letters to, 13. 15. 19. 50. 62. 65. 83. 88. 99. 90. 91. 92. 93. 95. 96. 102. 108. 110. 111. 112. 197. 198. 214. 230. 387. 483. 547. 572. 573. 591. 647. 656.
 —, his account of Johnson's conversations at Oxford, 88.
 —, his opinions on Johnson's Dictionary, 93.
 —, Johnson's parodies on his bad style of poetry, 547.
 Wasse, his Greek Trochaics to Bentley, 420.
 Waste, 685.
 Watch, Johnson's, 192. His father's, 814.
 Watson, Bishop, his "Chemical Essays," 692. 736. Would equalise bishoprics, and why, 692.
 —, Mr., 315.
 —, Dr., the historian of Philip II., 282. 285. 286. 528.
 Watts, Dr., 105. 135. 536. 618. 622. Johnson's Life of, 536.
 Way, Daniel, Esq., 706. Mrs., 740.
 Wealth, 254. 478. 584. 695. Right employment of, 715.
 Weather, influence on the mind, 111. 146. 154. 785.
 Webster, Rev. Dr. Alexander, 279. 400. 402. 411.
 Wedderburn, Alexander, &c. Loughborough.
 Wedding ring, Johnson's, 76.
 Welch, Saunders, Esq., 138. 503. 567. 568. 635. 719.
 —, Misses Mary (Mrs. Nollekens) and Anne, 568.
 Wellesley, Marquis, 253. 501. 610.
 Welsh language, 421.; and parson, 423.
 Wentworth, Mr., Johnson's schoolmaster, 9. 10.
 Wesley, Rev. John, mention of and letters to, 274. 436. 475. 573. 595. 631. 644. His ghost story, 595. 631.
 —, Charles, 596.
 West, his translation of "Pindar," 663.
 —, James, Esq., M.P., 222.
 Westcote, Lord, afterwards third Lord Lyttelton, 424. 650.
 Western Islands. See Hebrides.
 Westmoreland, Earl of, 117.
 Weston, Sir William, 31. 79.
 Wetherell, Rev. Dr., 449. 476. 483. 489.
 Wharton, Lord, 446.
 Wheeler, Rev. Dr. Benjamin, 425. 621. 652. 737.
"Whig," Johnson's definition of, a, 97. 606.
 —, a Staffordshire, 606. The Devil, the first, 606.
 —, and Tory, 692. 761.
"Whiggism," Johnson's definition of, 148. 216. 382. 483. 606.
 Whigs, 45. 252. 352. 358. 433. 588. 624. 732.
 —, after the fireplace, 89.
 Whiston, 127.
 Whitaker, Rev. James, his "History of Manchester," 609.
 Whitbread, Samuel, M.P., epigram quoted by, 344.
 Whitty's "Commentary," 359.
 White Knight, 377.
 White, Rev. Dr. Joseph, 247.
 —, Rev. Henry, 791.
 —, Mr., factor in the Calder estate, 303.
 —, Mrs., Johnson's servant, 801.
 Whitefield, Rev. George, 18. 202. 274. 638.
 Whiteford, Caleb, 770.
 Whitehead, Paul, 35. 56. 86. 137. 301.
 —, William, 3. 35. 56. 137.
 Whiting, Mrs., 427.
 Whittigill, L. Walton's eulogy on, 682.
"Whole Duty of Man," the author of, 259.
 Whyte, Mr. S., 131. Anecdotes of Johnson, 166. 437. 439.
 Wickedness, 337.
 Wickens, Mr., anecdotes of Johnson by, 835.
 Wife, Johnson's advice on the choice of, 192. 341.
 Wight, Mr., the lawyer, 279.
 Wightman, General, 309.
 Wigs, 316. 606. 837.
 Wilcox, Mr., the bookseller, 28.
 Wilkes, John, Esq., 35. 98. 117. 134. 175. 200. 205. 213. 273. 325. 383. 425. 444. 478. 513. 516. 517. 555. 562. 571. 605. 648. 664. 670. 687. 688. 689. 732.
 —, his conduct during the riots in 1780, 648.
 —, his *jeu d'esprit* on Johnson's Dictionary, 98.
 —, Johnson's opinion of, 134. 383. 555.
 —, meetings between him and Johnson, 513. 515. 687.
 —, Smollett's letter to, respecting Barber, 118.
 —, Israel, Esq., 832.
 Wilkinson, the Misses, 74.
 Wilks, the actor, 671.
 Will, Johnson's, 801. Burke's, 842.
 Will-making, 265.
 Willes, Chief Justice, 8. 688.
 William the Third, Johnson's character of, 352. 444.
 —, the Fourth, Prince William Henry, 187.
 Williams, Mr. Zachariah, 99.
 —, Mrs. Anna, 43. 74. 82. 101. 110. 118. 143. 158. 166. 181. 194. 198. 208. 458. 470. 503. 509. 510. 514. 524. 535. 537. 538. 569. 620. 737. 738. 739. 740.
 —, her letter to Mrs. Montagu, 459. Her death, 737. 739.
 —, Miss Helen Maria, 757.
 —, Sir Charles Hanbury, 98. 184. 357.
 Willis, Dr. Thomas, 373.
 Wilmot, Chief Justice, 8.
 Wilson, Rev. T., his "Archæological Dictionary," 711.
 —, Mr., 79.
 —, Father, 460.
 Windham, Right Hon. William, 13. 332. 432. 534. 616. 719. 723. 724. 733. 755. 784. 786. 800.
 —, his hypochondriacism, 617. 840.
 —, his Journal of conversation with Johnson, 837., and of his last moments, 838.
 Windus's "Journey to Mequinez," 420.
 Wine, 220. 242. 243. 282. 336. 480. 507. 508. 551. 576. 578. 579. 599. 606. 607. 609. 627.
 —, reason and times of J.'s abstinence from, 28. 174. 569.
 Wingfield, Edward, second Viscount Powerscourt, 351.
 Winifred's Well, 419.

Winton, Earl of, 289.
 Wirgman's toy-shop, 605.
 Wirttemberg, Prince of, 240.
 Wise, Dr. Francis, 89, 90.
 Wisedome, Robert, his prayer, 420.
 Wishart, Dr. William, on death-bed repentance, 350.
 —, Mr. George, 234.
 Wit, 507. 688.
 Witchcraft, 277. 317.
 Witches, 239. 277. 627.
 — in Macbeth, 300. 627.
 Witnesses in courts of justice, 347.
 Wives, 341. 637. 664.
 Woodhouselee, Lord. *See* Tytler.
 Woffington, Miss, 349. *Pegg*, 584.
 Wolfe, General, 311.
 Wollaston, 8.
 Women, 341. 451. 592. 664. 760. 761.
 — of quality, 616.
 — preachers, 157.
 Wood, Anthony, 12.
 —, R., on Homer, 837.
 Woodcocks, 192. 260.
 Woodhouse, the poetical shoemaker, 170. 219.
 Woolf, Rev. John, his "Life of Warton," 83. 647.
 Worcester, 424.
 "Word to the Wise," Johnson's prologue to, 532.
 Works designed by Johnson, 794. 820.
 —, list of Johnson's, 821.
 World, injustice of the complaints against the, 714.
 "World," the, 84. 143. 499.
 "World Displayed," J. writes the introduction to, 117.
 Worldly-mindedness, singular instance of, 601.
 Worthington, Dr. William, 420. 424.
 Wortley, Col. James Stuart. *See* Stuart.
 Wotton, Sir H., commended, 837.

Wraxall, Sir Nathaniel William, 457. 644. 646.
 Wrexham, 423.
 Wright, Mr. Richard, of Lichfield, 20. 812.
 Writers, modern, the moons of literature, 608.
 — to the Signet, 334.
 Writing, alleged pleasure in, 731.
 Wyatt, Mr., the architect, 236.
 Wynne, Sir Thomas, and Lady Catherine, 422.

Xenophon, his "Treatise on Economy," 524.
 —, his "Retreat of the Ten Thousand," 664.
 —, "Memorabilia," by Edwards, 621.
 Xerxes, 561.

Yalden, the poet, 133. 622.
 Yates, Mrs., the actress, 643.
 Yonge, Sir William, 61. 233.
 "Yorick's Sermons," 253.
 York, Edward, Duke of, dedication to, 172
 —, Duke and Duchess of, 156.
 —, Cardinal, 325.
 Yorke, Sir Joseph's Dragoons, 198.
 Young, Dr., 65. 67. 357. 580. 673. 692. 693. 763.
 — his "Night Thoughts," 207. 357. 673. "Conjectures
 on Original Compositions;" "Love of Fame," 357.
 "Universal Passion," 673.
 —, Life of, by the Rev. Herbert Croft, 673.
 —, his writings described by Johnson, 673.
 —, Mr., his criticism on Gray's Elegy, 797.
 Young people, Johnson's fondness for, 152.
 Yvery, Lord Egmont's history of the house of, 723.

Zenobia, a tragedy, by Murphy, 191.
 Zobeide, a tragedy, by Cradock, 506.
 Zouch, Rev. Dr., 453. 525.

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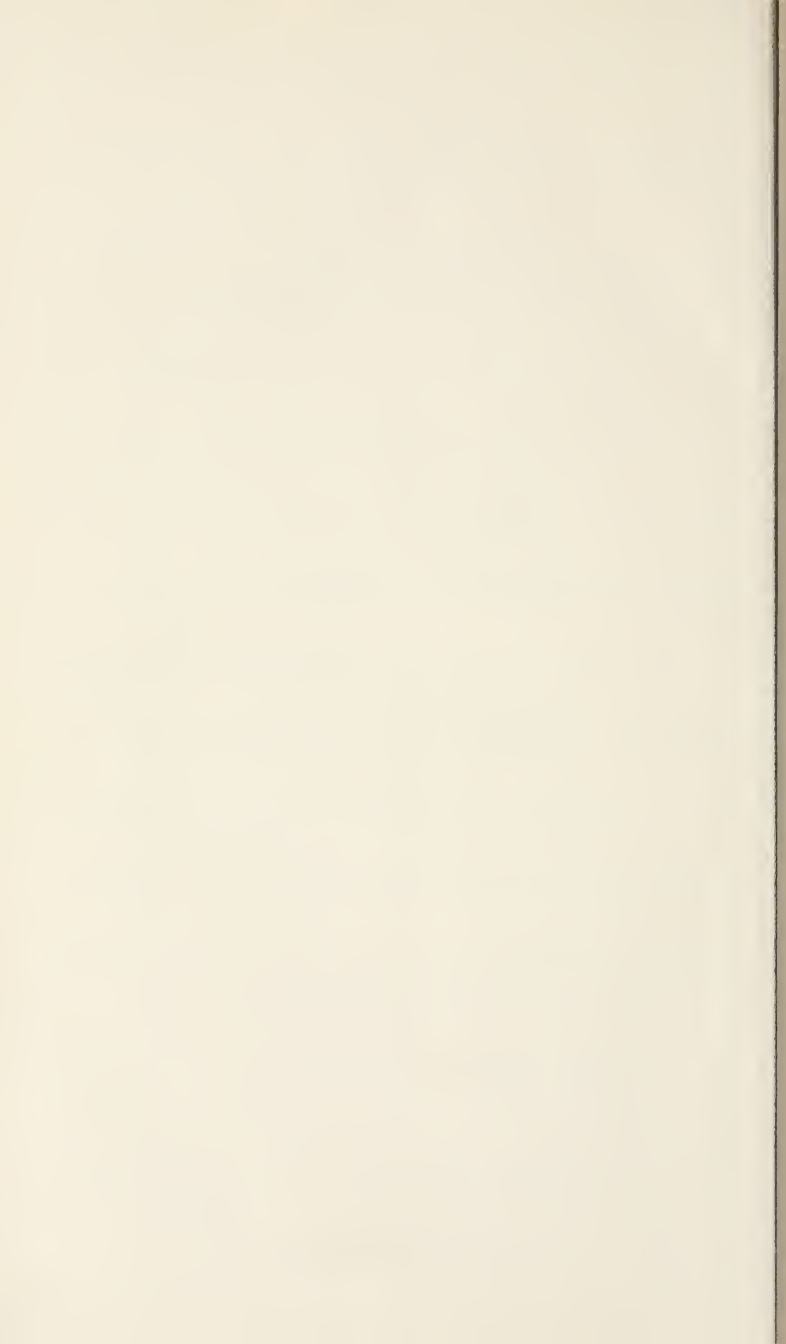
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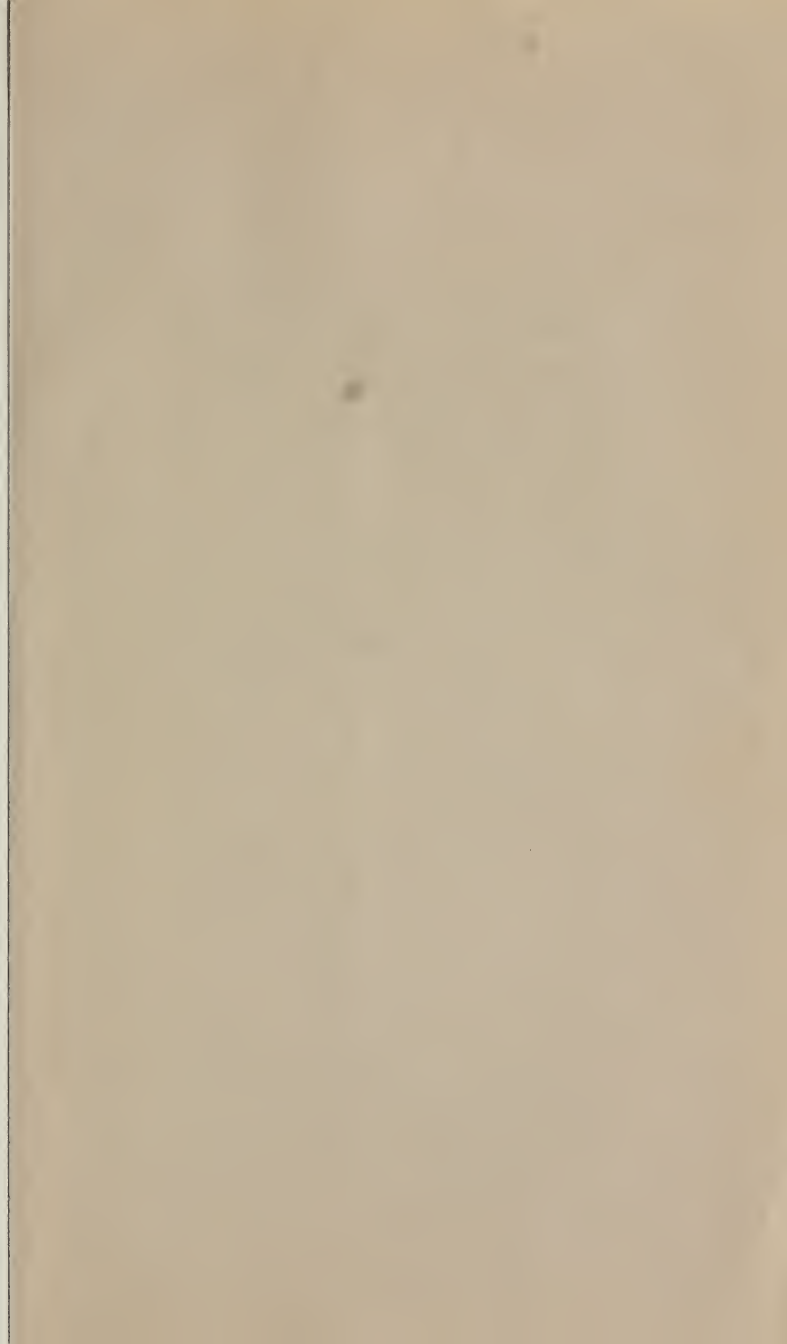
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